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***A Critical Edition of Sefer Yosef ha-Meqanne', with an Introduction, a Translation and a Commentary.***

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## CONTENTS

<i>Abbreviations</i> .....	VI
<i>Notes on Transliteration</i> .....	VIII
<b>Introduction: The Jewish-Christian Debate</b> .....	<b>X</b>
<i>I. Jesus and Paul</i> .....	XI
<i>II. Minim</i> .....	XIII
<i>III. The Literary Genres of Patristic Literature</i> .....	XV
<i>IV. Augustine</i> .....	XVII
<i>V. Peter Alfonsi and the Christian (Re)discovery of Talmud</i> .....	XIX
<i>VI. Peter the Venerable</i> .....	XXIII
<i>VII. Church Policy towards the Jews in the 12<sup>th</sup> and 13<sup>th</sup> century</i> .....	XXV
<i>VIII. The Hebrew accounts of the Paris (1240) and Barcelona (1263) Disputations:     some excerpts</i> .....	XXXIV
<i>VIII.1 Raymond of Penyafort</i> .....	XXXVII
<i>VIII.2 Pablo Christiani</i> .....	XXXIX
<i>IX. Raymond Martini and his Pugio Fidei</i> .....	XLIII
<i>X. Conclusions</i> .....	LI
<b><i>Sefer Yosef ha-Meqanne'</i>. Text, Authors and Transmission</b> .....	<b>LIV</b>
1. <i>The Author(s) of the Text</i> .....	LIV
2. <i>A Tentative Dating of SYM</i> .....	LVII
3. <i>Textual Transmission</i> .....	LXII
4. <i>The Gospel Sections</i> .....	LXV
5. <i>Conclusions</i> .....	LXVII
<b>Manuscripts and Partial Editions of <i>Sefer Yosef ha-Meqanne'</i></b> .....	<b>LXVIII</b>
1.1. <i>Primary Manuscripts</i> .....	LXVIII
1.2 <i>Later Manuscripts (not utilized)</i> .....	LXIX
2. <i>Partial Editions</i> .....	LXIX
<b>The Book of Joseph the Zealot. Translation</b> .....	<b>1</b>
<i>Introduction*</i> .....	2
<i>Index of Chapters and Biblical Verses discussed therein*</i> .....	7

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\* These are MS Paris's exclusive materials.

<i>Infra-marginal Annotation*</i> .....	13
<i>Consolatory Prophecies*</i> .....	14
Torah .....	28
Prophets .....	59
Writings .....	92
Gospel .....	117
<b><i>Commentary</i></b> .....	132
<b><i>Works Cited</i></b> .....	239
<b><i>Index of Biblical Quotations in the Translation</i></b> .....	255
<b><i>Key to the Symbols in the Critical Apparatus and Hebrew Text**</i></b> .....	1-74

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\* These are MS Paris's exclusive materials.

\*\* In this section, layout and page numbering are in accord with Hebrew writing and reading system, i.e. from right to left.

## Abbreviations

CCL	<i>Corpus Christianorum. Series Latina</i> (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols, 1953).
GCS	Die Griechischen Christlichen Schriftsteller
H	MS Hamburg 187 folia 50r - 71r
HUCA	<i>Hebrew Union College Annual</i>
HTR	<i>Harvard Theological Review</i>
JQR	<i>Jewish Quarterly Review</i>
<i>Mil. ha-Shem</i>	Jacob ben Reuben, <i>Milhamot Ha-Shem</i> , ed. Judah Rosenthal (Jerusalem: Mosad ha-Rav Kook, 1970).
NV	<i>Niṣṣaḥon Vetus (Sefer Niṣṣaḥon Yashan)</i> ed. Berger, David, <i>The Jewish-Christian Debate in the High Middle Ages. A Critical Edition of Nizzahon Vetus</i> (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 1979).
P	MS Paris 712 folia 1v - 43r
PG	Migne, <i>Patrologia Graeca</i>
PL	Migne, <i>Patrologia Latina</i>
R	MS Rome Or. 53 folia 1r - 19v
REJ	<i>Revue des Études Juives</i>
<i>Rome MS Wik. Dati</i>	Rome (Vittorio Emanuele Library) Hebrew manuscript 53 (folia 21r-25v), ed. Judah Rosenthal “Wikkuah dati ben ḥakham be-shem Menaḥem u-ven hamumar ve-ha-nazir ha-dominiani Pablo Christiani”, in M. Zohori, A. Tartakover, H. Ormian, <i>Hagut ‘Ivrit ba-Ameriqah</i> vol. 3 (Tel-Aviv: Brit ‘Ivrit ‘Olamit ‘al yede Yavneh, 1974) pp. 61-74.
SC	De Lubac H., Danielou J. et al. (eds.), <i>Sources Chrétiennes</i> (Paris: Editions du Cerf, 1941).
<i>Sef. ha-ber.</i>	Kimḥi, Joseph, <i>Sefer ha-Berit</i> ed. Frank Talmage (Jerusalem: 1974).
<i>Sef. Yos.</i>	Joseph Official, <i>Sefer Yosef ha-Meqanne’</i> , ed. Judah Rosenthal (Jerusalem: Meqiṣe Nirdamim, 1970).
SYM	<i>Sefer Yosef ha-Meqanne’</i>
T.B.	<i>Talmud Bavli</i>
T.Y.	<i>Talmud Yerushalmi</i>
<i>Wik. ha-Ram</i>	<i>Kitvei Rabbenu Mosheh ben Naḥman</i> , ed. Charles B. Chavel, vol. 1 (Jerusalem: 1971).
<i>Wik. ha-Rad.</i>	<i>Wikkuah ha-Radaq</i> ed. Frank Talmage, “An Hebrew Polemical Tractate: Anti-Cathar and Anti-Orthodox” <i>HTR</i> 60 No. 3 (1967) pp. 323-348.



### *Notes on Transliteration*

*In the attempt to pursue greater clarity and for the sake of the reader's comprehension, I have opted for a scientific rendering and transliteration only of those Hebrew words and phrases which the author utilizes to suggest impromptu puns and associative assonances, and which generally are not of common use in the English-speaking academic and non-academic world. These are the values I adopted for the Romanization of Hebrew letters in the cases described above:*

<i>Letter</i>	<i>Transliteration</i>
א	'
ב / בּ	b / v
ג	g
ד	d
ה	h
ו	w - u
ז	z
ח	ḥ
ט	t
י	y - iy - i
כ / כּ	k / kh
ל	l
מ	m
נ	n
ס	s
ע	'
פ / פּ	p / f
צ	ṣ
ק	q
ר	r
ש / שׁ	s / š
ת	t

*For all of those words containing the letters שׁ (shin) and/or צ (tzadi) which made it into standard English lexicon (such as parashah, Ashkenaz, Tzarfat etc.), as well as for the names of individual parashot (Mishpatim, Wa-yetze) and for several bibliographic references, I have preferred to render the original phoneme respectively via the forms “sh” and “tz”.*

*For the same reasons and limited to words of common use, א (‘aleph) and ע (‘ayn) have been occasionally rendered as mere vocals (e.g., aggadot).*

*Prepositions (-ב, -כ, -ל, -מ, -ש) and conjunctions (ו) are separated from the word they are originally attached to by a hyphen (-).*

*No distinction has been made in transliteration between ט (tet) and ת (tav) and between שׁ (sin) and ס (samekh).*





## Introduction: The Jewish-Christian Debate

The Jewish-Christian debate, despite unquestionably becoming a full-fledged and independent literary manifestation only from the Middle Ages onwards, must not be circumscribed to that period alone; rather, a quick glance at those sources which immediately follow the birth of Christianity and constitute its canon seems to show that the strive for a definition of boundaries - what I am *versus* what I am not and/or what they are - has been a main concern for both Jews and Christians ever since the religious hiatus took place.

Without this awareness, one could hardly understand the scope and the stakes involved in compilations such as *Sefer Yosef ha-Meqanne'* ("The Book of Joseph the Zealot", 13<sup>th</sup> century, Northern France; henceforth *SYM*) and other similar handbooks stemming from the same period and milieu; the accuracy, the vigor employed in the refutation of even the apparently most marginal detail could look at best pedantic if not understood in the light of a crucial diatribe entirely carried out on the Scriptures; a debate which, by the time of the composition of *SYM* in the 13<sup>th</sup> century, could already boast a thousand-year old history.

Much like the closely related *Niṣṣaḥon Vetus*<sup>1</sup> ("Old Book of Polemics" henceforth: *NV*), with which *SYM* shares *Sitz im Leben* but not the encyclopedic and quasi all-encompassing afflatus<sup>2</sup>, our work too does not display the philosophical and theological refinement which seems to characterize other types of polemical literature<sup>3</sup>; on the contrary, even though some attempts at a theological discourse are not entirely lacking, *SYM* is primarily a collection of very straight-forward, grammar-based and literal counter-arguments to the Christian - and Christological - reading of the Hebrew Bible. In the course of the work, furthermore, obscenities and vulgarities do not represent a rare occurrence: Mary, for example, is exclusively called by the derogative nickname *ḥariya'* ("excrements"), while Jesus is mostly referred to as *talui*, "the hanged one"; Catholic priests are described as barking dogs, and Christians as a whole are said to be lustful for money and prone to theft; also, in one particularly caustic and heated debate, the polemicist goes as far as to suggest to the archbishop of Sens "to find relief" on the "abomination" of the cross.

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<sup>1</sup> Berger, David, *The Jewish-Christian Debate in the High Middle Ages. A Critical Edition of Nizzahon Vetus* (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 1979).

<sup>2</sup> So Berger, *The Jewish-Christian Debate* (Northvale, New Jersey - London: Jason Aron Inc., 1996), p. 3.

<sup>3</sup> See for example *Milḥamot ha-Shem* by 12<sup>th</sup> century polemicist Jacob ben Reuben; ed. Judah Rosenthal (Jerusalem: Mosad ha-Rav Kook, 1970).

To the analysis of the book, its textual transmission and its authors, I have dedicated the next section of my work; for the time being, I would like to delineate a brief overview of the Jewish-Christian debate and of its overall traits based on the main sources that we have at our disposal.

### *I. Jesus and Paul.*

One does not have to look far to find the moment when Christianity started encouraging a first rupture with Jewish Law and with the strict observance of its precepts. It is indeed true that the overall process will be characterized by alternate phases of religious overlapping (as are to be found, for example, in the first Jewish-Christian community described in Acts 1-9); and that Jesus himself instructed his disciples to follow the Law of the scribes and the Pharisees (Mt 23:1-4) and reassured the masses that he had not come to abolish anything concerning the Law itself (Mt 5:17-20). At the same time, however, it is hard to deny the disruptive and subversive potential of other passages, such as the following one from Matthew's gospel, which constitutes an open contradiction to the above-mentioned pericopes:

*“15 Then the scribes and Pharisees who were from Jerusalem came to Jesus, saying, 2 “Why do Your disciples transgress the tradition of the elders? For they do not wash their hands when they eat bread.”3 He answered and said to them, “Why do you also transgress the commandment of God because of your tradition? 4 For God commanded, saying, ‘Honor your father and your mother’; and, ‘He who curses his father or mother, let him be put to death.’ 5 But you say, ‘Whoever says to his father or mother, “Whatever profit you might have received from me is a gift to God”— 6 then he need not honor his father or mother.’ Thus you have made the commandment of God of no effect by your tradition. 7 Hypocrites! Well did Isaiah prophesy about you, saying:*

*8 ‘These people draw near to Me with their mouth,  
And honor Me with their lips,  
But their heart is far from Me.  
9 And in vain they worship Me,  
Teaching as doctrines the commandments of men.’ ”*

Not only we have a disqualification of the Temple sacrifice (*qorban*) in vv. 5-6, where the practice is seen as a human tradition (gr. παράδοσιν) which nullifies God's words and supplants the commandment of honoring the father and the mother; we also have in vv. 8-9 a quote from the which Jesus utilizes to support his own argument and to the detriment of Pharisaic tradition itself (and presumably, of the Oral Law), lastly declared to be nothing more than mere *commandments of men*. This is the same approach which, shortly afterwards, will be adopted by the so called *testimonia* literature, i.e. that branch of patristic literature whose aim was to collect as many biblical quotations as possible and to interpret them as a prophecy on the coming of Jesus and the abrogation of the Law. Later on, during the 12<sup>th</sup> and 13<sup>th</sup> century, when Catholic intelligentsia will have become more familiar with the Talmud and some other post-biblical Jewish literature, these unarticulated and vague attacks against Jewish "tradition" will develop into a veritable rejection of all Talmudic and midrashic literature, to the point of declaring the Talmud an heretic book: we will see the process in more detail further on; for the time being, we will be satisfied with pointing out that it was none other but the Jesus of the gospels who devised and inaugurated this methodology. Paul, on the other hand, can be attributed with a new, revolutionary conception of universal predication: the truth of the Gospel no longer needed to be limited to the Jews, but was to be taught to the masses of Gentiles too<sup>4</sup>. The apostle goes even further in his gradual detachment from Jewish tradition: he can be seen as the veritable inventor of a theological paradigm which sees the existence of the Jewish people as merely functional to the truth of Christian *kerygma*, in reason of which even the most obstinate and stubborn among the Jews will finally convert:

*“For I do not desire, brethren, that you should be ignorant of this mystery, lest you should be wise in your own opinion, that blindness in part has happened to Israel until the fullness of the Gentiles has come in. And so all Israel will be saved [...] Concerning the gospel they [i.e. Israel] are enemies for your sake, but concerning the election they are beloved for the*

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<sup>4</sup> So Paul in Rm 11:13: *“For I speak to you Gentiles; inasmuch as I am apostle to the Gentiles, I magnify my ministry; and cf. also Acts 13:44-52, on Paul and Barnabas becoming aware of their unsuccessful preaching to the Jews and deciding to turn to the Gentiles: “Then Paul and Barnabas grew bold and said, ‘It was necessary that the word of God should be spoken to you [Jews] first; but since you reject it, and judge yourselves unworthy of everlasting life, behold, we turn to the Gentiles. For so the Lord has commanded us: ‘I have set you as a light to the Gentiles, that you should be for salvation to the ends of the earth [Is 49:6]”*. Of particular interest, once again, is the new theological use of Isaiah as proof-text against Jews themselves and in support of Christian preaching.

*sake of the fathers. For the gifts and the calling of God are irrevocable. For as you were once disobedient to God, yet have now obtained mercy through their disobedience, even so these also have now been disobedient, that through the mercy shown you they also may obtain mercy. For God has committed them all to disobedience, that He might have mercy on all.*

Rm 11:25-26; 28-32

This important passage - typically convoluted in its phrasing as it often happens with Pauline writings - argues that, in spite of their temporary blindness (gr. πώρωσις), the Jews are unarguably the depository of God's election; and if they now are disobedient to the new preaching, it is only for God to show them His mercy and convert them at the end of time; after all, also the new masses of Gentiles who have welcomed Jesus's message were once disobedient, and God has already showed them His mercy by converting them. As we shall shortly see, this doctrine will be elaborated by Augustine and become of quintessential importance for the history of medieval religious thought and especially within patristic literature.

Summing up, it appears quite clearly that the two main voices within New Testament literature, Jesus and Paul, had already fully established the manifesto and the theological premise which would characterize, often without remarkable differences, more than a millennium of polemical literature: the former for his critique of Jewish mitzvot and the latter for the role assigned to Jews within God's salvific plan.

## *II. Minim.*

The encounter with newly-born groups of Christians - or rather, Judeo-Christians - is recorded also by the Talmud, where the term *min* appears to generally designate clusters of non-aligned "sectarians", of very heterogeneous affiliation<sup>5</sup>. Of particular interest for our analysis can be, for example, the account pronounced by r. Eliezer before r. Akiba about his meeting with a *min*, Jacob of Kefar Sekhanya, who had declared to be one of Jesus's disciples; a meeting that even brought about r. Eliezer's arrest with the charge of *minut*, though the rabbi was later acquitted of all

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<sup>5</sup> The word is, for example, used to halakhically define Jewish sectarians only in *T.B. Hullin* 13b: "R. Nahman in the name of Rabbah b. Abbuha answered: 'There are no minim among the gentiles' [...] R. Joseph b. Minyomi stated in the name of R. Nahman: 'There are no minim among the idolatrous nations'" (ed. Soncino). At the same time, however, in this same passage a Roman nationalist who invokes the Capitol or the eagle of Rome (גפא דרומא) is also called a *min*.

accusations. Surprisingly enough, r. Eliezer declared he had enjoyed the *min*'s words, even though in no way he denied that his taking pleasure in them constituted apostasy<sup>6</sup>. In another passage<sup>7</sup>, this same Jacob is referred to as one who heals from snakebites, a prerogative of Jesus's followers according to the Nazarene's spiritual testament that can be read in Mk 16:15-18.

In any event, it is not entirely clear to which type of sectarians the term refers to from time to time; there are instances, for example, in which allusion seems to be made to Gnostics rather than to Judeo-Christians<sup>8</sup>. Things have been further complicated by the fact that the Hebrew term that unambiguously designates Christians, *nošrim*, was often subject to censorship. This is what happened to the twelfth blessing of the Amidah prayer, *Birkhat ha-minim* ("The blessing over the sectarians", to be understood ironically): in the so-called *'Ereš Isra'el* version of the prayer found in the Cairo Genizah, the text explicitly mentions "the Christians (heb. *nošrim*) and the *minim*", and it goes on to say: "May the *Minim* and the *Notzrim* perish in a single moment, may they be erased from the book of life; let them not be enumerated among the righteous ones<sup>9</sup>".

Regardless of the censorship issue which the Talmud subsequently - and tragically - underwent, one cannot deny that the history of Jewish-Christian polemics in its lively, dialogic form is already an integral part of the Talmudic corpus, and that its role within the later formation of Jewish polemics as a literary genre should be further emphasized. Let us examine, by way of illustration, one of the several instances where Joshua b. Hanina appears in front of Emperor Hadrian to discuss issues of faith:

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<sup>6</sup> "והנאי הדבר על ידי זה נתפסתי למינוות ועברתי על מה שכתוב בתורה", *T.B. 'Avodah Zarah* 17a. Adolph Büchler has suggested that until the early 2nd century CE the term mostly denotes Jewish heretics, while starting from that period onwards and especially in 2<sup>nd</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> century Galilee "*min* denoted in the first instance non-Jewish sectaries... Bible-reading heathens who oppose Judaism and its basic doctrines, antinomian Gnostics, or, in a few cases, heathen Christians who agree with them"; A. Büchler, *Studies in Jewish history*, ed. Israel Brodie and Joseph Rabinowitz (Oxford: 1956) pp. 247, 271.

<sup>7</sup> *Tosefta Hullin* 2:22-23.

<sup>8</sup> So for example the *minim* alluded to by Tanḥuma B to Nm 30:41 according to Buchler, *op. cit.*, p. 271.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. Wilson, Marvin R., *Our father Abraham: Jewish roots of the Christian Faith* (Eerdmans, 1989) p.68: "We must emphasize that only two texts of the Birkat ha-Minim (both found in the Cairo Genizah) explicitly mention Christians. Both texts refer to "the Christians [*nošrim*, ie, the Nazarenes] and the heretics [*minim*]" ; see also: William David Davies, Louis Finkelstein, Steven T. Katz (eds.) *The Cambridge History of Judaism: The late Roman-Rabbinic period* (Cambridge University Press, 2006) p.291 "He [i.e. Gedaliah Alon] proposes that the original Yavnean version of the Birkat ha-Minim, following the medieval Genizah fragment, included both *minim* and 'Nazarenes,' and that 'in this liturgical fragment *minim* and *Notzrim* are synonymous, ie, that both refer to the Jewish Christians.' But Alon's 'assumption' about the form of the original version is unconvincing, and this not least because, if the terms *minim* and *Notzrim* are synonymous, there would be no need for both of them in the benediction. Thus, as already argued, it appears more reasonable to suspect that *Notzrim* was added to a pre-existing malediction after the period of Yavneh – and most likely after the Bar Kochba revolt (or later)".

“The Emperor once said to R. Joshua b. Hananiah, ‘Your God is likened to a lion, for it is written: The lion hath roared, who will not fear? The Lord God hath spoken, who can but prophesy [Am 3:8]? But what is the greatness of this? A horseman can kill the lion!’ He replied: ‘He has not been likened to the ordinary lion, but to the lion of Be-Ilai’i!’ ‘I desire’, said the Emperor, ‘that you show it to me’. He replied: ‘You cannot behold it’. ‘Indeed’, said the Emperor, ‘I will see it’. He [R. Joshua b. Hananiah] prayed and the lion set out from its place. When it was four hundred parasangs distant it roared once, and all pregnant women miscarried and the walls of Rome fell. When it was three hundred parasangs distant it roared again and all the molars and incisors of man fell out; even the Emperor himself fell from his throne to the ground. ‘I beseech you’, he implored, ‘pray that it return to its place’. He prayed and it returned to its place<sup>10</sup>.”

In the above quoted passage, the Emperor’s arrogance - he tries to disprove the Scriptural doctrine of God’s omnipotence, by logically arguing that, if God is a lion, than a mere human being can kill Him - is silenced by Joshua, who argues that the lion of Be-Ilai’i is not an ordinary lion, but one endowed with incredible powers<sup>11</sup>. After summoning the fabled beast, Joshua unarguably emerges as the winner of the dispute, and the Emperor can only admit his defeat and implore the rabbi to stop the fearsome beast.

### *III. The literary genres of patristic literature*

What polemic material the Talmud records in a scattered and non-systematic way, in Christian patristic literature it is progressively formalized and arranged within four independent and precise literary genres, starting already from an early period<sup>12</sup>:

- the letter, with the *Epistle of Barnabas* (written between 70 - 130 CE); of particular interest to our analysis are the affirmations that the suffering of Jesus and the cross had already been

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<sup>10</sup> *T.B. Hullin* 59b (ed. Soncino).

<sup>11</sup> See Emil G. Hirsch, I. M. Casanowicz, Solomon Schechter, “Lion” in *Jewish Encyclopedia* vol. 8 (New York and London: Funk and Wagnalls Company, 1901-1906), pp. 94-95 “By "Be-Ilai" is probably meant a mountain height or mountain forest, perhaps specially the Lebanon[...]; and if by "tigris" the tiger is meant, it would appear that the Talmudical writers did not know this animal from personal observation, and it was therefore endowed by them with fabulous proportions and qualities”.

<sup>12</sup> So Dahan, Gilbert, *Les intellectuels juifs et les Chrétiens au moyen age* (Paris, Les éditions du cerf, 1990; p. 339).

announced by the prophets<sup>13</sup>; and that Christians, not Jews, represent the new heirs of God's covenant<sup>14</sup>;

- the dialogue, with the *Dialogue with Trypho* by Justin Martyr (100 - 162/168 CE), which voices the famous assertion that Christians had by Justin's own time become the True Israel, and which causes Trypho's incredulous reaction: "'What?' Said Trypho. 'You are Israel<sup>15</sup>?'".
- the tractate, with the work *Adversus Iudaeos* by Tertullian (c. 155 - c. 240), which opens with the account of a recently happened dispute between a Jew and a Christian and the premise that Gentiles have already overcome Jews in obtaining God's favor<sup>16</sup>;
- the collection of *testimonia* (i.e. of biblical prophecies read in Christological sense) with the work *Ad Quirinum* by Cyprian (c. 200 - 258).

The theological stances adopted by these and other authors will form, with negligible variations, the basis for most polemical arguments in the centuries to come, thus shaping a literature based on repetitions and stereotypes<sup>17</sup>, which Blumenkranz has declared to begin already in the 4<sup>th</sup> century with John Cassian (c. 360 - 435) and to last - without remarkable innovations - at least until the 12<sup>th</sup> century, with Gilbert Crispin<sup>18</sup> (c. 1055 - 1117).

The exegesis and Christological reading that these work carry out are focused on a limited number of books, such as Genesis, Psalms, Isaiah, Ezekiel and Daniel; among the themes which the Christian authors tend to emphasize the most, particularly recurring are: 1) hints and allusions to the Trinity (e.g., the three angels who appear before Abraham at the Oak of Mamre, see Gn 18:2); announcements of Jesus's birth (see especially Is 7:14 and the prophecy on the maiden who will conceive and give birth to a son, whose name will be Emmanuel); 3) prefigurations of Christ's

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<sup>13</sup> *Ante-Nicene Fathers* (Ed. Roberts -Donaldson) vol. 1, pp. 140-141, 144-145).

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.* pp. 145-6.

<sup>15</sup> *Dialogue with Trypho* chap. 123, English translation in *Ante-Nicene Fathers* p. 261.

<sup>16</sup> "It happened very recently a dispute was held between a Christian and a Jewish proselyte. Alternately with contentious cable they each spun out the day until evening. By the opposing din, moreover, of some partisans of the individuals, truth began to be overcast by a sort of cloud. It was therefore our pleasure that that which, owing to the confused noise of disputation, could be less fully elucidated point by point, should be more carefully looked into, and that the pen should determine, for reading purposes, the questions handled [...] Whence is proved that they [i.e. Jews] have ever been depicted, out of the volume of the divine Scriptures, as guilty of the crime of idolatry; whereas our "less"--that is, posterior--people, quitting the idols which formerly it used slavishly to serve, has been converted to the same God from whom Israel, as we have above related, had departed. For thus has the "less"--that is, posterior--people overcome the "greater people," while it attains the grace of divine favour, from which Israel has been divorced" *Ante-Nicene Fathers*, vol. 3, pp. 151-152.

<sup>17</sup> So Funkenstein, Amos, *Perceptions of Jewish History* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993) pp. 173-174.

<sup>18</sup> B. Blumenkranz, *Les auteurs chrétiens latins du moyen âge sur les juifs et le judaïsme* (Paris: Mouton & Co., 1963).



coming as the messiah (based on verses such as the notorious Gn 49:10, *The scepter shall not depart from Judah until Shiloh comes*: since Judah has already lost any pretension of sovereignty, it must mean that Jesus/Shiloh has already come, and he was the Messiah).

Most of the argumentations by the authors who lived and wrote within the above-mentioned chronological frame (4<sup>th</sup> to 12<sup>th</sup> century) tend to absorb and reutilize the doctrines and the interpretations already expounded by authors such as Tertullian, Cyprian and Augustine<sup>19</sup>. The Christian discovery of the Talmud in the 12<sup>th</sup> century - thanks to a Jewish convert, Moshe Sephardi, later baptized Peter Alfonsi- will bring about, with unparalleled vigor, the element of novelty; but, before we take that issue into full consideration, let us turn our attention to Augustine of Hippo and to his redefinition of the Jews' theological status.

#### *IV. Augustine*

In his masterwork *De Civitate Dei* ("On the City of God"), Augustine of Hippo (354 - 430) writes the following about the Jews:

"While Herod, therefore, reigned in Judea, and Cæsar Augustus was emperor at Rome, the state of the republic being already changed, and the world being set at peace by him, Christ was born in Bethlehem of Judah [...] But the Jews who slew Him, and would not believe in Him, because it behoved Him to die and rise again, were yet more miserably wasted by the Romans, and utterly rooted out from their kingdom, where aliens had already ruled over them, and were dispersed through the lands [...] and are thus by their own Scriptures a testimony to us that we have not forged the prophecies about Christ [...] Therefore, when they do not believe our Scriptures, their own, which they blindly read, are fulfilled in them, lest perchance any one should say that the Christians have forged these prophecies about Christ which are quoted under the name of the sibyl, or of others, if such there be, who do not belong to the Jewish people. For us, indeed, those suffice which are quoted from the books of our enemies, to whom we make our acknowledgment, on account of this testimony which, in spite of themselves, they contribute by their possession of these books, while they themselves are dispersed among all nations [...] Therefore God has shown the Church in her

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<sup>19</sup> So Funkenstein, *Perceptions* (174); e Dahan, *Les intellectuels* (388; 409).

enemies the Jews the grace of His compassion, since, as saith the apostle, “their offence is the salvation of the Gentiles [Rm 11:11]. And therefore He has not slain them, that is, He has not let the knowledge that they are Jews be lost in them, although they have been conquered by the Romans, lest they should forget the law of God, and their testimony should be of no avail in this matter of which we treat<sup>20</sup>”.

According to Augustine, then, the survival of the Jewish people - albeit scattered “through the lands” following the Roman conquest - is merely functional to the announce of the Christian truth: God only spared them so that they could preserve for “the salvation of the Gentiles” those prophecies of the Torah which foretell Jesus’ birth; had they completely disappeared, one could have argued that the few extant extra-biblical prophecies - such as the ones appearing within the Sibylline Oracles corpus - are not sufficient, and have been forged by the Christian themselves. On the contrary the Jews - both through their afflicted state, a symptom of having lost God’s favor; and through their Torah - provide the world with the best possible testimony of Christian truth. At all events, before final judgment, also the Jews will acknowledge Jesus’ messianship and his crucial role within God’s salvific plan:

“After admonishing them to give heed to the law of Moses, as he foresaw that for a long time to come they would not understand it spiritually and rightly, he went on to say, “And, behold, I will send to you Elias the Tishbite before the great and signal day of the Lord come: and he shall turn the heart of the father to the son, and the heart of a man to his next of kin, lest I come and utterly smite the earth [Ml 4:5-6]. It is a familiar theme in the conversation and heart of the faithful, that in the last days before the judgment the Jews shall believe in the true Christ, that is, our Christ, by means of this great and admirable prophet Elias who shall expound the law to them [...] When, therefore, he is come, he shall give a spiritual explanation of the law which the Jews at present understand carnally<sup>21</sup>”

As pointed out by Amos Funkenstein, such statements reflect the concrete awareness that it is not possible to bring about the conversion of the whole Jewish people, and it is consequently wiser and easier to delegate the task to a vague, eschatological future; at the same time, one could not define

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<sup>20</sup> *De Civitate Dei* 18:46, English translation in *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers* (ed. Philip Schaff, vol. 2, p. 389).

<sup>21</sup> *De Civitate Dei* 20:29 in *ibid.* p. 448.

the Jews as heretics, nor argue that they were without any faith: their status fell outside of both categories<sup>22</sup>.

Augustine's theological stance, in any event - as limited and humbling as it may appear - allowed for a certain measure of tolerance and inclusiveness: as long as they were seen as the keepers of the Law, the existence of the Jews would have had meaning within God's plan.

#### *V. Peter Alfonsi and the Christian (Re)discovery of the Talmud*

Petrus Alfonsi (1062 - c. 1140), born Moshe Sephardi in Huesca (North-Eastern Spain), converted to Christianity on 29 June 1106; the choice of the name was both in honor of the saint celebrated on that day (St. Peter) and a homage to his patron, Aragonese King Alfonso I (1073-4 - 1134).

His main work, *Dialogus Petri et Moysi Iudaei*<sup>23</sup> ("Dialogue of Peter and Moses the Jew"), - conceived as a theological confrontation between his new self and his former Jewish persona - is of great interest for our analysis, since it represents a turning point in the behavior displayed by Catholic intelligentsia towards Judaism and the Talmud in particular.

Jeremy Cohen argued that Peter Alfonsi - who had, previous to his conversion, pursued a medical and scientific career - still considered his scholarly achievements as the most defining traits of his new life as a Christian<sup>24</sup>. This is what Peter writes (after his conversion) in a letter addressed to some French scholars:

"To all those of Holy Mother Church throughout France who are students of Aristotle (*perypatetici*), otherwise nourished with the milk of philosophy or diligently engaged in any scientific study - Peter Alfonsi, servant of Jesus Christ, their brother and fellow student, [wishes] salvation and blessing from him who conveys salvation and blessing. Because all of who have been given to drink any of the nectar of philosophy should love one another, if any should have some rare, precious thing useful but unknown to others, it is right and fair

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<sup>22</sup> Funkenstein, *Perceptions*, pp. 176-7.

<sup>23</sup> *Dialogus Petri cognomento Alphonsi, ex Judaeo Christiani, et Moysi Iudaei*, PL 157. 535-672.

<sup>24</sup> Cohen, Jeremy, "The Mentality of the Medieval Jewish Apostate: Peter Alfonsi, Hermann of Cologne, and Pablo Christiani" in *Jewish Apostasy in the modern world*, ed. Todd M. Endelmann (New York: Holmes & Meier, 1987) p. 27.

that he freely communicate it to the others so that the knowledge of all may grow and increase over time<sup>25</sup>”.

The importance attached by Peter Alfonsi to Aristotelian values is quintessential in the understanding of his criticism towards the Talmud and other midrashic literature: it is because of the claim that certain aggadot allegedly offend reason and common sense that Peter ultimately denies any positive value to Jewish post-biblical literature as a whole.

Let us see now some excerpts from Peter’s *Dialogus*; we have first and foremost a condemnation of those passages which appear to contradict God’s attributes of immutability and incorporeality:

Moses: “First of all, then, I want you to show me where our Sages said that God has a [human] shape and a body, and how they have spoken regarding this issue”

Peter: “If you want to know where it is written, [it is found] in the first section of your lore, whose name is *blessings*<sup>26</sup>”.

When asked by Moses where exactly Peter found, within Jewish literature, allusions to God’s body and shape, the latter promptly points to tractate *T.B. Berakhot* (“Benedictions”), and the precise reference is probably to folio 6a where, among other things, it is said that God not only resides exclusively in the Synagogue, but also that he wears the phylacteries<sup>27</sup>. Shortly afterwards, Peter argues that he found other, even more irrational descriptions of God’s nature and behavior:

Peter: “Nor it is for them [Jews] enough to say this about God, but also that that He cries once a day every day; and they affirm that two tears coming forth from His eyes fall in the Great Sea, and these are the lightning that in the nighttime one can see falling from the firmament<sup>28</sup>”.

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<sup>25</sup> Text quoted *ibid.*

<sup>26</sup> PL 157.541: “Moyses: ‘In primis itaque mihi volo ostendas, ubi Doctores nostri Deum corpus et formam habere dixerunt, et quomodo super hac re locuti fuerunt’. Petrus: ‘Si nosse cupis ubi scriptum sit, in prima parte vestrae doctrinae, cujus vocabulum est benedictiones’”.

<sup>27</sup> A curious description of the practice of wearing phylacteries is also presented by Peter Alfonsi *ibid.*: “Si igitur vis scire quomodo dixerunt Deum habere caput et brachia, et in caesarie pixidem gestare ligatam corrigia, ipsiusque corrigiae nodum a postera capitis parte sub cerebro firmatum, intra pixidem vero quatuor essere cartulas, Judaeorum laudes continentes, in summo autem sinistri brachii gestare aliam pixidem, simili modo corrigia ligatam, chartamque ibi esse continentem quae in praedictis quator scriptae dicuntur”.

<sup>28</sup> “Nec hoc sufficit eis de Deo dicere, sed eum etiam quotidie semel in die plorare, et ab ejus oculis duas prodeuntes lacrymas in magnum mare dicunt coincidere, et has fulgorem esse affirmant illum qui tempore nocturne de stellis

Peter is, however, a man of science; and, in reading his response to the Talmudic *aggadot*, it appears that his rebuttal is not so much based on theology as on notions of Aristotelian physics:

“According to this reasoning, it would appear that God is composed of the four elements. And, as a matter of fact, tears are made of nothing else but of an excess of moistness coming forth from the top of the head. If it were as you say, then, the elements would constitute God’s matter. However, all matter precedes form, and it is more elementary than it; it would then follow that the elements would precede and be more elementary than God, which is a sacrilegious thing to believe. If, then, God is such as you say He is, that He can neither eat nor drink and still drops every day two tears, it would be necessary to diminish Him; unless perhaps he always drinks of the waters which are above the sky<sup>29</sup>”.

Though the last remark is probably ironical, one thing is sure: Peter takes very literally whatever he finds in (or recalls of) the Talmud, animated by the certainty that the *aggadot* - which surely all Jews accept in their literal meaning - are repulsive to human rationality. Unlike the scientific and rational explanations of physical phenomena, whose truth is crystalline and self-evident,

“the sayings of the prophets are obscure, and they are not sufficiently clear in every respect. Therefore, when we encounter in the prophets such things whose literal sense would have us deviate from the path of reason, we should interpret them allegorically, so as to return to the rightful course. Necessity compels us to do this, inasmuch as the rationality of the text cannot otherwise be maintained<sup>30</sup>”.

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videtur cadere” PL 157.550b. As for the source of this tradition, see *T.B. Berakhot* 59a, where however - even though the discussion revolves also around lightning, clouds, thunders and hurricanes - it is stated that God’s tears falling into the ocean are the cause of earthquakes (זועות), and not of lightning.

<sup>29</sup> “Haec autem ratio, Deum ex quator elementis ostendit compositum esse. Neque enim fiunt lacrymae nisi ex humiditatis abundantia descendenti 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 fruatur nec potu, et quotidie duas ex se emittat lacrymas, necesse est eum decrescere, nisi forte de aquis quae super coelo sunt jugiter bibat” PL 157.550c.

<sup>30</sup> “Obscura sunt prophetarum dicta, nec omnibus satis aperta. Ob hoc etiam cum in prophetis talia invenimus quae secundum litteram accipientes a rationis tramite exorbitemus, ea allegorice interpretamur, ut ad rectitudinis semitam reducamus. Necessitas enim cogit nos sic agere, eo quod aliter non potest litterae ratio stare” *ibid.* 157.553; english translation in Cohen, “The Mentality”, p. 25.

But God and his attributes as they are described in Talmudic and midrashic literature are not Peter's sole concerns; unsurprisingly enough, also the Talmudic depiction of Jesus attracts his attention. Besides his predictable bewilderment at the idea that Jesus is called a magician<sup>31</sup>, that he was born out of prostitution<sup>32</sup> and led all humankind astray<sup>33</sup>, of particular interest is a passage where it is quite clearly implied that the Talmud already spoke of Jesus's messianism, a truth which the Jews deliberately ignored. Giving evidence of a certain - and perhaps unprecedented - degree of theological creativity, Peter mentions the unusual events which are said<sup>34</sup> to take place forty years before the Destruction of the Temple and says:

“Since such prodigies<sup>35</sup> were witnessed forty years before the destruction [of the Temple], and on the fortieth year following Christ's death the city was destroyed by Titus, one can clearly conclude that those signs were made in conjunction with Christ's death. And indeed Johanan [ben Zakkai<sup>36</sup>] - much like those other Sages of yours - understood this: that Christ's death has been for you [Jews] the cause of captivity. They, however, affirmed that not this, but the malevolence and the jealousy of men [...] was the cause of their captivity; but they withheld the real reason<sup>37</sup>”.

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<sup>31</sup> See, among others, the uncensored version of *T.B. Shabbat* 104b.

<sup>32</sup> See e.g. *Yevamot* 49a, where R. Shim'on b. 'Az'ai declares, based on a scroll of genealogies he found in Jerusalem, that such and such (פלוני) is a bastard born from an illegitimate union with a married woman; though the reference may seem generic and inconclusive, פלוני is often used in Talmudic literature as an euphemism for Jesus. In other, more notorious passages, Jesus is declared to be the son of Stada/Stara or Pandera (see *Shabbat* 104b; *Sanhedrin* 67a), and Miriam is suspected of having committed adultery with either of the two; it follows, then, that the Talmudic narrative implied that Jesus was a bastard (ממזר) and that his mother deserved to die by stoning, as per biblical decree; so Schäfer, Peter, *Jesus in the Talmud* (Princeton University Press, 2007) pp. 18, 95.

<sup>33</sup> Quia Christum Dei Filium occidistis, dicentes eum magum, et de scorto natum, et de scorto natum, et quod totam gentem in errorem induxit” PL 157.573a.

<sup>34</sup> *T.B. Yoma* 39b.

<sup>35</sup> The resemblance between this and the Talmudic account is indeed striking; says Peter Alfonsi: “Aiunt enim quod quadraginta annis antequam subverteretur, rubra lana quae haedi cornibus annectebatur, nequaquam more solito albescebat, candela quoque candelabri quae ad occidentem respiciebat, ante consuetum tempus exstinguebatur. Valvae praeterea templi, nullo tangente, cum magno strepito sponte sua reserebantur” PL 157.573 c-d; and cf. *T.B. Yoma* 39b: “During the last forty years before the destruction of the Temple the lot [‘For the Lord’] did not come up in the right hand; nor did the crimson-coloured strap become white; nor did the westernmost light shine; and the doors of the Hekal would open by themselves” (ed. Soncino).

<sup>36</sup> Clearly identified as such shortly before in this same column: “quidam doctorum vestrorum, nomine Joannes, filius Zachai...”, PL 157.573.

<sup>37</sup> “Cum igitur ista prodigia quadraginta annis ante destructionem fuerint visa, et quadagesimo a Christi morte anno civitas fuerit destructa a Tito, liquido concluditur quod haec signa a tempore mortis Christi sint facta. Sed et hoc cum aliis doctoribus vestris Joannes intellexit, quod mors Christi captivitatis vobis causa exstitit. Non autem eam, sed malevolentiam hominum et invidiam [...] captivitatis causam esse dixerunt, sed veram causam tacuerunt”. PL 157.573d - 574a.

What we have here is nothing less than the idea that the Talmud understood and recorded Jesus's messianism, as well as the ominous signs that his death brought about; but the Jews appear to have deliberately ignored both of them. This is a probably unprecedented theological feature that will play a major role in the debates and public disputations to come, as we shall soon see.

## VI. Peter the Venerable

Criticism of the Oral Law is not a particularly novel feature in the Church Fathers: Jerome had already criticized Pharisees and Jews for their following a human tradition (*deuterosis*<sup>38</sup>), an opinion which Agobard of Lyon (779-840) still reports in Jerome's name in the 9<sup>th</sup> century: "I cannot even begin to recount just how many traditions of the Pharisees - which today they call *deutoroseis* - exist, nor how old these folktales are"<sup>39</sup>.

In the 12<sup>th</sup> century, however, Peter of Montbossier - abbot of Cluny, better known as Peter the Venerable (1092-1156) - makes an unprecedented statement: in a vicious outburst of anti-Jewish hatred, he declares that Jesus himself appeared to him and revealed him a most contemptible truth, i.e. that the Jews are neglecting the Old Testament<sup>40</sup> and have elevated the Talmud above it:

"O Jew, you beast, I bring forward before the eyes of all men, that book of yours, that book I say, that Talmud of yours; that eminent doctrine of yours, which is to be preferred to the book of the Prophets and to all authentic opinions. But look: since I am not a Jew, from where did that name become known to me, how did it resonate to my ears? Who betrayed to me the secret of the Jews? Who revealed to me your innermost secrets? It was him, I say, him, that same Christ whom you deny, that Truth revealed your falsehood [...] But already

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<sup>38</sup> "Non quod lex vetus, ut Manichei arbitrantur, ad comparationem Evangelii scybala computetur (quod impium est dicere cum unius Dei utrumque sit Testamentum), sed quod doctrinae Pharisaeorum et praecepta hominum et Deuterosis Judaeorum stercora dicantur ab apostolo", *Commentariorum in Abacuc Prophetam* PL 25.1297.

<sup>39</sup> "Quantae [...] traditiones Pharisaeorum, quas hodie deutoroseis vocant, et quam aniles sint fabulae, revolvere nequeo" *De Judaicis Superstitionibus*, PL 104.88.

<sup>40</sup> Ephraim Kanarfogel has pointed out that in 12<sup>th</sup> century Ashkenaz a tendency indeed prevailed among scholars and rabbis to dedicate most if not all of their time to the study of Talmud, since it alone encompasses all other doctrines including Torah (thus argued, for example, Rabbeinu Tam; see Kanarfogel, E., *Jewish Education and Society in the Middle Ages* [Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1992] p. 79). The status of he who dedicated himself to the study and teaching of Torah alone, without moving on to Talmud as well - thus becoming *melammed*, i.e. "teacher" - was not particularly high, especially because his receiving a fee for teaching young children would make him "no more important in his profession than any other layman" (*ibid.* p. 25). A renewed call to maintain a balance between the study of Torah and that of Talmud had consequently already come from Abraham ibn Ezra, and was later reiterated by German Pietist Eleazar of Worms (c. 1176 - 1238; see Kanarfogel, *ibid.* pp. 88-89).

darkness itself is going to be made clear, and that doctrine which you favor, the Talmud, will be revealed<sup>41</sup>.”

Despite Peter’s declaredly ambitious intentions, however, what follows is an unimaginative and stereotyped repetition of old arguments, which adds very little to Alfonsi’s anti-Talmudic attacks; Lukyn-Williams had already questioned the abbot’s originality and even intellectual honesty, by pointing out that he probably knew no Hebrew at all, and that his arguments appear to be nothing more but a reutilization of Alfonsi’s *Dialogus*<sup>42</sup>. The same doubts have been voiced more recently by Funkenstein, who - besides wondering if Peter ever consulted any Talmudic source in its original form - also points out that he appears to deliberately alter the text he quotes, so as to have Jewish sources allegedly proclaim the superiority of the Oral Law with respect to the written one<sup>43</sup>. He is even less of a philologist than Alfonsi himself who - despite being moved by theological purposes - at least undeniably knew and consulted the Talmudic passages he quoted.

In the last analysis, we have to think of Peter the Venerable’s particularly harsh judgment also in the light of an extraordinarily exacerbated - even for the times - hatred harbored against the Jews, which finds full expression in a letter<sup>44</sup> to King Louis VII of France (1120 - 1180), dated to 1146; the document invites the king to reconsider if the Saracens truly are the main enemies of Christianity, since in the Christians’ own lands live the worst blasphemers of all, i.e. the Jews. Yet, it would not be appropriate to slain them, since it is God’s plan that they should be preserved in a life that is even worse than death; this is the punishment that God has decreed over them since time immemorial, and so will it be until the end of time. They are but deserving of such a destiny for, if there is a reason why

“they fill their barns with produce, their bins with wine, their purses with money, their chests with gold and silver” [it is only because of] “those things which they treacherously

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<sup>41</sup> “Profero tibi coram universis, o Judaeae, bestia, librum tuum, illum, inquam, librum tuum, illum Talmuth tuum, illam egregiam doctrinam tuam, propheticis libris et cunctis sententiis authenticis praeferendam. Sed miraris, cum Judaeus non sim, unde hoc mihi nomen innotuit, unde auribus meis insonuit? Quis mihi secreta Judaica prodidit? quis intima vestra et occultissima denudavit. Ille, inquam, ille, ille Christus, quem negas, illa veritas denudavit falsitatem tuam [...] Sed jam tenebrae ipsae nudandae sunt, et electa Scriptura tua Talmuth in mediam proferendam”, *Adversus Iudaeorum Inveteratam Duritiam*, PL 189.602-603.

<sup>42</sup> Lukyn-Williams A., *Adversus Judaeos. A Bird’s-eye View of Christian Apologiae until the Renaissance* (Cambridge University Press, 1935); p. 393.

<sup>43</sup> Funkenstein, *Perceptions*, pp. 191-192.

<sup>44</sup> PL 159.566-568; a partial translation is found in Lukyn-Williams, *op. cit.* pp. 393-4.



filch from the worshippers of Christ, and the things that they secretly buy from thieves [...] If a thief breaks into a church by night and dares commit sacrilege and carry off candlesticks, vessels, thuribles, and even the holy crosses or the chalices, he escapes to the Jews, and sells to the synagogue of Satan what he has stolen from God's house. And Jews will use [...] the sacred vessels for the vilest purposes<sup>45</sup>”.

Following accusations such as these ones within an atmosphere of ever increasing hostility, Jewish communities in the 12<sup>th</sup> and the 13<sup>th</sup> century will ask papal authority for help and support against the violence variously perpetrated against them; we will now briefly see what policy the Church officially endorsed and embraced.

### *VII. Church policy towards the Jews in the 12<sup>th</sup> and 13<sup>th</sup> century*

In 1120, pope Calixtus I (pope 1119 - 1124) was the first pontiff to issue an oft-reiterated papal bull, *Sicut Iudaeis*, whose alleged purpose was to grant protection and support to the troubled Jewish communities; the gesture is probably to be read in the light of the hardships they had undergone one generation earlier, during the First Crusade of 1096. Thomas Aquinas (1225 - 1274) had already compliantly emphasized that the bull did nothing more than grant the Jews life and religious observance (albeit with restrictions); in his *Summa*, while discussing Church policy towards Jewish conversion and specifically objecting to the possibility of forcibly baptizing Jewish children, he writes:

“[...] Jews are the servants of rulers according to civil enslavement, which does not exclude [them from enjoying] the order of both natural and divine Law<sup>46</sup>”.

Thomas Aquinas's words are probably quite telling of the feeling and also of the theological stances of his times: even though religious freedom and life have been granted them because of the

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<sup>45</sup> Quoted in Lukyn-Williams, *ibid*.

<sup>46</sup> “[...] quod Iudaei sunt servi principum servitute civili, quae non excludit ordinem iuris naturalis vel divini”, Pars tertia, quaestio 68, art. 3.

sacredness of natural and divine law - which makes so that they should not be forcibly converted - nonetheless their status in society is not questioned: they are to remain servants<sup>47</sup>.

What follows is an excerpt from the oldest extant versions of the bull, the one issued by Pope Alexander III (1159-1181):

“Just like it should not be allowed that the Jews dare, in their synagogue, exceed the limit of what is permitted by the law, so they should not suffer any injustice with respect to what has been granted them. Therefore, even if they desire to persist in their great obstinacy rather than understand the obscure words of the Prophets and thus become aware of Christian faith and salvation; and since, this notwithstanding, they ask for our protection and help, attached to the example of the mildness of Christian piety set out by our predecessors of good memory, the Roman Pontiffs Calixtus and Eugene, We accept their request and grant them the shield of our protection. We then decree that no Christian should compel them to undergo the baptism if they are either reluctant or do not wish so; [...] Because it is not to be believed that he who is known to undergo the Christian baptism not spontaneously but reluctantly, may actually have a true Christian faith. No Christian whatsoever shall dare to injure them, kill them or steal any of their wealth and goods without the verdict of a local authority [...] In particular, nobody shall in no way molest them with canes or stones during the celebration of their festivities, nor demand of them any forced service besides those that they themselves usually carry out in due time. For this reason [...] we establish that nobody shall dare to damage the Jewish cemetery, nor exhume human bodies to gain a profit<sup>48</sup>. But if anybody, despite having understood the sense of this decree, dares to act - God forbid - against it, he will endanger his office and his honor, or will be punished with a verdict of excommunication; unless he corrects his arrogance in a proper and satisfying manner<sup>49</sup>”

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<sup>47</sup> And more precisely, servants of rulers; this may be an allusion to the status of *servi camerae* that befell the Jews of Germany starting from the 13th century and especially under the rule of Frederick II (king: 1220 - 1250). See s.v. “KAMMERKNECHTSCHAFT” in *Jewish Encyclopedia*; Cecil Roth, “*Servi Camerae Regis*” in *Encyclopedia Judaica* vol. 18 (Thomson Gale, 2007) p. 317.

<sup>48</sup> A particularly deplorable and loathsome practice, apparently carried out - among others - also by the infamous convert Pablo Christiani; see Shatzmiller, J., “Paulus Christiani: un aspect de son activité anti-juive” in *Hommage a Georges Vajda: Etudes d'histoire et de pensée juives*, ed. Gérard Nahon e Charles Touati (Louvain: 1980) pp. 203-17.

<sup>49</sup> Sicut Judaeis non debet esse licentia, ultra quam permissum est lege in synagogis suis praesumere, ita in eis, quae concessa sunt, nullum debent praesudicium sustinere. Nos ergo, cum in sua magis velint duritia permanere, quam prophetarum verba arcana cognoscere atque Christianae fidei et salutis notitiam habere, quia tamen defensionem et auxilium nostrum postulant, ex Christianae pietatis mansuetudine praedecessorum nostrorum felicis memoriae Callisti et Eugenii Romanorum pontificum vestigiis inhaerentes, ipsorum petitiones admittimus eisque protectionis nostrae

As Solomon Grayzel already pointed out more than 80 years ago<sup>50</sup>, *Sicut Iudaeis* proved to be, in the long term, quite inefficient: the Jew hardly ceased to be perceived as the vicious, treacherous enemy one should watch out for. This gave rise to a paradoxical situation: a policy of protection in favor of the Jews against Christian persecution was countered by a symmetrically opposed socio-political and religious discourse, one arguing that Christians should pay attention lest they would become themselves victims of the Jews; and, as a matter of fact, it did not take long for such fundamental contradiction to officially find expression and representation.

In a letter to the Count of Nevers dated 1208, Innocent III (pope: 1198 -1216) instructs the count with respect to the Jews and how he should behave towards them<sup>51</sup>:

- i. in reason of what they did to Jesus, the Jews should remain as wanderers on earth and in a state of perennial enslavement;
- ii. no secular power should come to their help, but rather the authorities should secure that they persist in their condition of submission;
- iii. Christian princes should not appoint Jews as their agents in collecting usury, which often results in entire families being robbed of their wealth and inheritance - for, surely, the Jewish agents would exact from Christians disproportionate interests on their loans - and in the Churches being deprived of their tithes and incomes;
- iv. Christian princes, furthermore, should not grant the Jews the privilege of having their meat slaughtered according to the Jewish rite, because the Jews take of it as much as they desire, while leaving the rest to the Christians; the same holds true for the milk sold as nourishment to the infants and for kosher wine, which is now and again even used by Christians to perform the Holy Communion;

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clypeum indulgemus. Statuimus enim, ut nullus Christianus invitos vel nolentes eos ad baptismum venire compellat [...] Veram quippe Christianitatis fidem habere non creditur, qui ad Christianorum baptismum non spontaneus, sed invitus cognoscitur pervenire. Nullus etiam Christianus eorum quemlibet sine iudicio potestatis terrenae vulnerare vel occidere vel suas eis pecunias auferre praesumat aut bonas [...] Praesertim in festivitatum suarum celebratione quisquam fustibus vel lapidibus eos nullatenus perturbet nec aliquis ab eis coacta servitia exigat, nisi ea, quae ipsi praefato tempore facere consueverunt. Ad haec [...] decernimus, ut nemo coemeterium Iudaeorum mutilare vel invidare audeat, sive obtentu pecuniae corpora humana effodere. Si quis autem, hujus decreti tenore agnito, quod absit, temere contraire praesumpserit, honoris et officii sui periculum patiatutur aut excommunicationis sententia plectatur, nisi praesumptionem suam digna satisfactione correxerit”, see Simonsohn, Shlomo, *The Apostolic See and the Jews. Documents: 492-1404* (Toronto: 1988), 51.

<sup>50</sup> Grayzel, Solomon, *The Church and the Jews* (Philadelphia: The Dropsie College for Hebrew and Cognate Learning, 1933) p. 78; I have followed Grayzel’s work for some of the following considerations too.

<sup>51</sup> Text found *ibid.* pp. 127-131.

- v. nobles and princes should also abstain from persecuting, threatening and imprisoning those among the Christians who refuse to mingle with the Jews in the above mentioned practices; even though the Jews try to win their hearts with the promise of gifts and remuneration, as a matter of fact they are only satisfied in the event that a sentence of excommunication or interdiction of the land be issued precisely against that same prince or nobleman who had protected them and put them in charge of the above mentioned offices;
- vi. lastly, the letter concludes with the pontiff expressing his hope that the Count will very shortly change his behavior and with the not-so-veiled threat that, in case he will not, the Pope will have to stretch his hand and personally “correct this state of affairs”.

If, at the opening of the 13<sup>th</sup> century, these were to be the feelings expressed by the highest Christian authority with regard to the Jews, one should then not marvel at the many requests for papal support and consequent pontifical responses that were issued during the 13<sup>th</sup> century.

In 1236, for example, Pope Gregory IX (pope: 1227 - 1241) expressed his bewilderment at the unprecedented atrocities committed by the Crusaders against the Jews; and even allowed the recipients of the letter, i.e. the Archbishop of Bordeaux and the Bishops of Saintes, Angouleme and Poitiers, to use both secular power and ecclesiastical authority against riotous Christians:

“[...] But (the crusaders) try to wipe them almost completely off the face of the earth. In an unheard of and unprecedented outburst of cruelty, they have slaughtered in this mad hostility, two thousand and five hundred of them; old and young, as well as pregnant women [...] And in order that they may be able to hide such an inhuman crime under the cover of virtue, and in some way justify their unholy cause, they represent themselves as having done the above, and they threaten to do worse, on the ground that they (the Jews) refuse to be baptized [...] Therefore, lest such great temerity if unpunished, continue to injure still others, we command that each one of you force the inhabitants of your dioceses who commit such excesses, to bring proper satisfaction for the crimes perpetrated against the Jews and for the

property stolen from them. After giving due warning you may use ecclesiastical punishment without appeal<sup>52</sup>”.

Not only against the crusaders did the Popes express their harsh critique and disapproval, but also against one of the most infamous accusations ever to be levelled against Jews, and which, starting from the 12<sup>th</sup> and 13<sup>th</sup> century, became more and more common: the blood libel, i.e. the charge that Jews would ritually kill Christian children and at times even consume their flesh and blood. In a letter dated to July 5, 1247 and addressed to all archbishops and bishops of Germany, Pope Innocent IV (pope: 1243 - 1254) writes:

“We have received the tearful plaint of the Jews of Germany that some princes, both ecclesiastical and lay, and other nobles and rulers [...] are plotting evil plans against them [...] so as to rob them unjustly and seize their property [...] Despite the fact that, among other things, Divine Scriptures pronounces the law 'Thou shalt not kill,' and despite the fact that it prohibits the Jews, while solemnizing the Passover, to touch any dead body, nevertheless they are falsely accused that during this very festival they share the heart of a murdered child. No matter where a dead body is found, their persecutors wickedly throw it up to them. Because of this and many other imaginary crimes, they rage in their midst, although the Jews are not accused of these crimes, nor do they confess them, nor are they convicted of them. Contrary to the privileges mercifully granted the Jews by the Apostolic Throne, and in subversion of God and justice, the Jews are robbed of all their goods<sup>53</sup>”.

Innocent IV shows to be quite sensitive concerning the issue of unjust Jewish persecution, as well as aware of the restrictions which ritual purity implies: not only would a murdered child be a deplorable thing in itself and contrary to the commandments, it would also constitute a violation of the norms of purity; in no way could the Jews carry out such a misdeed.

On this same topic, Innocent IV had already and quite vigorously expressed his opposition hardly two weeks before, on May 28, 1247, when a petition of Jews from the French community of Vienne had asked for support against the allegation that they had ritually killed a little girl aged two. On

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<sup>52</sup> Quoted *ibid.* pp. 227, 229.

<sup>53</sup> Quoted *ibid.* pp. 269, 271.

this occasion too, Innocent IV is completely aware of the inhumane abuses and tortures that the Jews had to undergo, as well as of the specious and opportunistic nature of the charges:

“[...] though they were not convicted, nor had they confessed, nor had they even been accused by anyone, the noble Draconet [...] despoiled them of all their goods and cast them into a fearful prison, and without admitting the legitimate protestation and defense of their innocence, he cut some of them in two, others he burned at the stake, of others he castrated the men and tore out the breasts of the women. He afflicted them with other divers kinds of torture, until, as it is said, they confessed with their mouth what their conscience did not dictate, choosing to be killed in one moment of agony than to live and be afflicted with torments and tortures [...] taking advantage of an excuse of this kind, threw into prison whatever Jews dwell in their lands and dominions, after having robbed these Jews of all their property<sup>54</sup>”.

Pope Innocent then, once again reiterates his condemnation of all those involved in the injustices described in the letter - i.e. the main addressee, the Archbishop of Vienne, as well as his constable - and declares that freedom and remuneration be accorded to the Jews for the huge loss and deprivation they had to suffer.

Lastly, Jews further asked for papal protection in case of general violence perpetrated against them by nobility and burghers; this could be expressed either in the form of hatred on the side of the borrowers towards the lenders (i.e. Jews who often had the protection of a prince); or be the product of a resentment originally harbored against the prince himself, which could only be vented against his protégés, i.e. the Jews. The former case is illustrated in a letter sent by Gregory IX to the Archbishops and Bishops of France, dated April 6, 1233:

“[...] Indeed, we have heard that recently in certain parts of the same kingdom it was enacted by means of a certain device, that after postponing for a period of four years the payment of the debts which Christians owed them, they agreed to pay them in annual instalments, not being bound to pay anything above the principal, though all this was contrary to the contracts into which they had publicly entered. At the end of the four years, however, the

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<sup>54</sup> Quoted *ibid.* pp. 265, 267.

Jews were seized and were kept for so long under custody in prison, until, having pooled all the debts which were due them from the Christians, they gave the Lord of the place whatever security he thought proper that within a stated period of time they would not demand any payment on their debts whether these were being paid or not. Whence, some of the Jews, unable to pay what security was considered sufficient in their case, perished miserably, it is said, through hunger, thirst, and privation of prisons, and to this moment some are held in chains. Certain ones of these lords rage among these Jews with such cruelty, that unless they pay them what they ask, they tear their finger-nails and extract their teeth, and inflict upon them other kinds of inhuman torments [...] Wherefore [...] we order that [...] you make every effort carefully, in our name, to warn all the faithful Christians in your dioceses and to induce them, not to harm the Jews in their persons, nor to dare rob them of their property, nor, for the sake of plunder, to drive them from their lands, without some reasonable cause or clear guilt on their part, but rather to permit them to live in pursuance of their laws and their former status, as long as they do not presume to insult the Christian Faith. After the captive Jews have been restored to their former liberty, they are to observe the legitimate contracts and agreements which are made with them, though without the exaction of any usury. Such kindness must be shown to Jews by Christians, as we hope might be shown to Christians who live in pagan lands<sup>55</sup>”.

This letter illustrates - through Gregory’s apparently accidental remarks on what should constitute the limits of Jewish freedom - to what extent could the policy of protection safeguard the Jews’ interests and assets: they are not to be subject to any physical punishment nor to expulsion only as long as they do not behave irreverently toward the Christians or lend them money on interest. An intuition that, as we saw, Thomas Aquinas will voice three decades later in his *Summa* by observing that Jewish freedom should not exceed the limits of natural and divine law, i.e. the right to live and practice one’s religion; for the rest, Jews are “servants of rulers according to civil enslavement<sup>56</sup>”.

The sources, at all events, seem to exhibit no shortage of declarations issued by the Popes and aimed at the Jews’ protection and support; and, consequently, one wonders - with Grayzel - what would have happened had this not been the policy officially endorsed by the Church<sup>57</sup>.

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<sup>55</sup> Quoted *ibid.* pp. 201, 203.

<sup>56</sup> See note 45 above.

<sup>57</sup> *Ibid.* p. 81.

It is undeniable that a fundamental paradox lied at the core of this issue: protection was to be granted to a minority universally seen as Christianity's nemesis and archenemy; and such protection was to be understood not so much (or not exclusively) for the Jews' own sake, but so that they be witness, with their misery, of the truth of Christian faith and of the guilt they carry: it is no surprise that visceral feelings would often prevail over subtle theological reasons.

An example of such "schizophrenia", so to say, is exemplified once more by Gregory IX: as we just read, in 1233 he had addressed a heartfelt plea to the clergymen of France to the effect that they release the Jewish loaners and stop torturing them; in 1236 - see the letter quoted above - he had vigorously denounced the atrocities committed by Christian crusaders against Jews, and even allowed secular and ecclesiastical powers to be used against the perpetrators. Yet, this is what he writes in a letter to the bishop of Cordova on August 29, 1239:

"We have learned that whenever, as often happens, the Christians of these districts and dioceses have to leave their homes and property and remain away for a long time occupied in fighting and pursuing the Saracens, the Jews as often run about the districts and cities of these provinces and dioceses, bearing no visible sign, and, in order to deceive the Christians even more, claiming that they are themselves Christians. They thus kidnap Christian boys, and steal whatever else they can, and sell them to the Saracens. Nor are they afraid to commit other enormities likewise in injury of the Christian name and the scandalization and ruin of many. Wherefore, since, in order that evils of this sort might be the more easily and completely avoided, the General Council decided after careful deliberation, that Jews of either sex shall in all Christian lands and at all times be distinguished from Christians by the nature of their clothes, we, by Apostolic Letters, inform Your Fraternity that we desire you to compel the Jews of Cordova and of the province and diocese of Baeza to wear the said sign, in accordance with the decree, by which they may be distinguished from Christians. You shall do so by removing them from communication with the faithful, who shall be forced to obedience by the secular arm if need be. You may grant no appeal<sup>58</sup>".

There are probably no means to ascertain *a priori* if such an account can be trusted or not; tragically enough, however, the kidnapping and selling of children - as loathsome a crime as it is - may not

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<sup>58</sup> Quoted *ibid.* p. 245.



sound like too much an exaggerated revenge against the atrocities the Jews had in turn suffered; for even the most devout and rigorous of the communities must have had its outcasts, perhaps harboring long-repressed feelings of resentment against the ruling majority. One such individual will soon change the history of Jewish-Christian relations in the Middle Ages.

What is striking, in any case, is Pope Gregory's zeal in ordering that the Jews wear their distinctive sign and that they be secluded from any intermingling with the Christians (both measures had been enacted by the Fourth Lateran Council in 1215<sup>59</sup>). One must, therefore, refrain from seeing even the most earnest and fervent condemnations of Christian abuses against the Jews as the charitable act of a passionate champion of tolerance and guardian of human rights; though, at least in Gregory's case, a very specific event had in all likelihood changed the pope's attitude towards the Jews.

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<sup>59</sup> See canons 67 to 70 in S. Grayzel, *op. cit.* pp. 306-311. The four canons specifically dedicated to the "Jewish question" brought about a strong limitation of the Jews' participation in communal and public life, as well as of their own personal freedom. In particular:

- i. canon 67 proclaimed that "when in the future a Jew, under any pretext, extort heavy and immoderate usury from a Christian, all relationship with Christians shall therefore be denied him until he shall have made sufficient amends for his exorbitant exactions"; and also, with regard to princes and their Jewish protégés: "We also impose this upon the princes, not to be aroused against the Christians because of this, but rather to try to keep the Jews from this practice".
- ii. canon 68: "we decree that these people (Jews and Saracens) of either sex, and in all Christian lands, and at all times, shall easily be distinguishable from the rest of the populations by the quality of their clothes [...] Moreover, they shall not walk out in public on the Days of Lamentation or the Sunday of Easter";
- iii. canon 69: "We forbid that Jews be given preferment in public office since this offers them the pretext to vent their wrath against the Christians. Should anyone entrust them With an office of this kind, he shall be restrained from so doing by the Council of the Province"; they "moreover, shall suffer the denial of all intercourse, commercial and otherwise, with Christians until they shall have turned for the use of poor Christian [...] all that they may have earned from the Christians through the office they had undertaken. Disgraced, they shall lose the office which they had so irreverently assumed";
- iv. and lastly canon 70, concerning converts who secretly remained faithful to Judaism: "We decree, therefore, that such people shall in every possible manner be restrained by the prelates of the churches, from observing their old rites [...] For there is less evil in not recognizing the way of the Lord than in backsliding after having recognized it".

But the Fourth Lateran Council of 1215 was only the apex of a process aiming at fighting and eventually eradicating all enemies of the Catholic Church, first and foremost Christian heretics: in 1184, Lucius III (c. 1110 - 1185) issued the decretal *Ad abolendam*, which authorized local dioceses to denounce all suspects of heresy and even granted them the support of temporal powers (see *Corpus iuris canonici*, ed. Emil Ludwig Richter 1879 [Reprint, Graz: 1959] vol. 2 pp. 781-2). At the close of the century, in 1199, Innocent III's new decretal, *Vergentis in senium*, declared that heresy was to be considered a crime far worse than *lèse-majesté*, and that all heretics' lands and possessions had to be confiscated for, after all, it is more deplorable to offend the eternal majesty than the temporal one ("quum longe sit gravius, aeternam quam temporalem laedere maiestatem?", quoted *ibid.* p. 783). Of no small account, furthermore, are the quasi-inquisitorial powers Gregory IX granted the newly-born Dominican order: in April 1233 two bulls issued by the Roman Pontiff bestowed on the mendicant order full powers in the preaching and the persecution against the heretics of southern France (see especially Potthast, *Regestae* No. 9143 and No. 9152); and in the June of the same year, Dominicans are also sent to fight the heretics in Burgundy (Potthast No. 9235). An analysis of the relationship between Jews and the Dominican inquisitors exceeds by far the scope of my work; for an exhaustive examination of this issue, see Jeremy Cohen, *The Friars and the Jews* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University press), especially "Part One: The Emergence of Mendicant Anti-Judaism", pp. 19-99.

What had happened to him? Of no small account must have been the meeting that Pope Gregory IX had with the ex-Jew Nicholas Donin<sup>60</sup> who, in June 1239, came before the Roman Pontiff and expounded the blasphemy of the Talmud. What had been the prerogative of only a few Christian intellectuals from the time of Jerome onwards, i.e. the Oral Law and especially some of its most allegedly problematic passages, now became a socio-political issue of international relevance. An apostolic letter (*Si vera sunt*)<sup>61</sup> was sent by an outraged Pope Gregory to virtually all personalities - both ecclesiastical and lay, to the exclusion of Frederick II - of Western Europe: the Archbishops and the Kings of France, England, Castile, Leon, Navarre and Portugal; Louis IX of France was the only monarch who took into account Gregory's letter, an eventuality which brought about the notorious disputation of Paris (June 1240) and the consequent burning of the Talmud in Place de Grève.

We will now briefly turn our attention to some of the charges levelled against the Talmud during the Parisian controversy, as well as to some other key statements on the Talmud pronounced at the Barcelona disputation of 1263.

#### *VIII. The Hebrew accounts of the Paris (1240) and Barcelona (1263) disputations: some excerpts.*

The Paris disputation of June 1240 brought about a fundamental novelty: even though public disputations between rabbis and clergymen were not unprecedented<sup>62</sup>, however never before had they taken place at the presence of the highest-ranking personalities of both the secular and the ecclesiastical sphere.

Besides King Louis IX, the Christian side was represented by Queen mother Blanche of Castile, Eudes de Chateauroux (chancellor of the University of Paris) and the King's chaplain; the rabbis who were ordered to appear before the court were Yeḥiel of Paris, Judah ben of Melun, Samuel ben Solomon of Château-Thierry and Moshe of Coucy (author of the *SeMaG*)<sup>63</sup>.

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<sup>60</sup> Not lightheartedly I called him an outcast: he had been expelled from his community in 1225, and it was only in 1236 that he was baptized; he does not appear, in any event, to have ever joined any clerical order; see André Tuilier, "La condamnation universitaire du Talmud par les maîtres universitaires parisiens, ses causes et ses conséquences politiques et idéologiques," in *Le brûlement du Talmud à Paris: 1242-1244*, ed. by G. Dahan (Paris: Les Editions du Cerf, 1999), pp. 61-62.

<sup>61</sup> For the text, see *ibid.* letter n° 96 pp. 241, 243.

<sup>62</sup> In the 1230s, for example, a Dominic friar at the head of a Christian delegation had entered the main synagogue of Narbonne with preaching intent, following which a veritable disputation ensued between the friar and R. Meir ben Shim'on; see the account in Henri Gross, "Meir b. Simon und Seine Schrift Milchemeth Mizva: Analekten" in *Monatsschrift für die Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judenthums* 30 (1881), p. 297.

<sup>63</sup> Cohen, *The Friars and the Jews* p. 63.

We will not deal with the dynamics and the stakes involved in this public process, nor with its consequences; rather, we will just address a few remarks on the Talmud and its utilization in the course of the public debate.

What follows is a discussion on a Talmudic passage which Nicholas Donin brings to the attention of R. Yehiel for its offensive remarks against Jesus:

“Then the opponent [Donin] opened his mouth and further questioned [r. Yehiel], saying: ‘These people revile and blaspheme our God [...] They speak of [...] Jesus and say that he has been sentenced to boil in excrements’.

And he read the end of chapter *nezīqin*:

‘Onkelos son of Kolonikos [...] went and raised by incantations Jesus [...] He asked him: What is your punishment<sup>64</sup>?’

[Donin] said: ‘Of whom is this said?’

The Rabbi answered: ‘Of Jesus’.

Donin continued: ‘What will he reply concerning the fact that he has been sentenced to stay in boiling excrements?’, and he said so in a slanderous fashion before the queen so as to mar our demeanor.

[...]

Answered Rabbi [Yehiel]: ‘[...] However, the sages did not speak thus regarding the god of the Christians, but with reference to a certain other Jesus who mocked at the words of the Sages and who - like you - did not trust their words, but only the written Torah. And know that it is indeed so, for it is not written Jesus the Nazarene, but merely the name of a person who lived at another time; had it been question of Jesus, he not only did this, but also instigated and led astray Israel, he made himself a god and denied the essence of the Torah; but surely it is another Jesus, one who did not deny the written Torah but only the oral one; and thus was called a sectarian<sup>65</sup>’.

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<sup>64</sup>See end of *T.B. Gittin* 56b and beginning of 57a.

<sup>65</sup>*Sefer wikkuaḥ rabenu Yehie'el mi-Paris* ed. Grünbaum (Thorn: 1873) p. 4:

"אח"כ פתח אויב את פיהו ויוסף לשאול ויאמר, זה העם מחרפים ומגדפים את אלהינו [...] הם מדברים ביראתכם ישו ואומרים כי נידון בצואה רותחת [...] ויקרא בסוף הניזקין אונקלוס בר קלוניקוס [...] אסקיה לישו א"ל דיני דהאי גבירה במאי על מי אמר כן? ויען הרב על ישו שאל ומה ענה לא שנידון בצואה רותחת, ואמר בלשון לעז לפני המלכה כדי להבאיש ריחינו. ויען הרב [...] אמנם לא על אלהי הגוים דברנו ככה רק על ישו

R. Yehiel's criticizes Donin's Christian-centered use of the Talmud: one does not have to believe that every *Yeshu* mentioned by the text is always Jesus the Nazarene for, after all, it is quite a common name. However, this does not make Jesus less guilty; on the contrary - and one wonders if the rabbi may actually have had the audacity to say so in front of all personalities involved - Jesus' condemnation would have been much harsher: not only, as a matter of fact, did he deride the Oral Law, he also denied the Torah and proclaimed himself a god.

But Yehiel's apology of the Talmud does not end here; the Rabbi had already made an important theological premise beforehand:

“And that locust stood up, that foolish heretic (i.e. Donin); pronouncing absurdities, he questioned the assembly: ‘Do you believe in those four? I am referring to the four orders [*sic*] of the Talmud’.

And the Marvelous Counselor [i.e. Donin] answered: ‘I believe in all the statutes and the laws which are written there and which have been deduced to instruct us; and this is called Talmud, and it's been named thus after the verse *And you shall teach them* [we-limmadtem] *to your children* [Deut 11:9]. There are, however, within it words of aggadah to please the heart of men, to explain metaphors [...] and wonderful things which are hard for the skeptic, the heretic and the schismatic to believe. And, regarding them, I do not even need to refute you: if you want, you may believe in them; otherwise, you do not have to. For no law is deduced based on them. In any event, I knew that the sages wrote in the Talmud naught but reliable and trustworthy things; and if they cause those who hear them to wonder, indeed many similar things can be found also in the Torah [...] And, indeed, great is he who reconciles these verses in the Torah with their plain meaning, lest - in seeing them [apparently] denying such and such thing - they may become an obstacle<sup>66</sup>”.

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אחר שהלעיג על דברי חכמים ולא האמין לדבריהם רק לתורה שבכתב, ותדע שכן הוא שהרי אין כתיב ישו הנוצרי אלא ישו גרידא, ועוד אם אותו היה לא זו בלבד עשה אלא הסית והדיח את ישראל ועשה עצמו אלהים וכפר בעיקר, אלא ודאי אחר היה שלא כפר בתורה שבכתב וכפר בשבעל פה ונקרא מין”.

<sup>66</sup> *Ibid.* p. 2:

“ויקם החסיל המין הכסיל, ויפרוש אולת וישאל את קהלת: האתה מאמין בארבעה אלה, פירוש בארבעה סדרים של התלמוד? [...] ויען יועץ פלא, אני מאמין לכל החקים והמשפטים הכתובים בהם, אשר דרשו להורותנו, זה התלמוד ונקרא תלמוד ע"ש המקרא דכתיב ולמדתם אותם את בניכם, אך יש בהם דברי אגדה להמשיך את לב האדם להבין המליצה [...] ויש בהם דברי פלא שקשה להאמין לכופר ולאפיקורוס ולמין ולזאת לא הצרכתי להשיבך אם תרצה תאמין אותם ואם לא תרצה לא תאמין אותם כי אין משפט נכרת על פיהם. אמנם ידעתי כי חכמי התלמוד לא כתבו מאומה רק דברים כנים ואמיתים, ואם מופלאים הם לשומעיהם גם יש כאלה רבים במקרא [...] וגדול הוא המיישר את המקראות שבתורה על אופניהם פן יבולע אדם בראותו מקראות מכחישין זה את זה ויהפך לרועץ”.

In reading the passage, one might get the impression that the Rabbi is actually teaching the convert how the Talmud is to be read: haggadic material surely enough is not as binding as halakha, on which both statutes and laws are deduced. Ultimately, it is only a matter of personal choice: it is completely admissible to prefer an aggadah to another. Also, it is considered a virtuous thing to reconcile even the most problematic and obscure passages with their plain meaning, and to be able to explain them: this way, a potential obstacle to faith is neutralized.

A very similar observation is made by Naḥmanides 23 years later, during the disputation of Barcelona, when confronted with an aggadah purportedly alluding to Jesus; in this case, however, rabbi and convert have switched places: the latter insists that the midrash which is being debated represents the proof that the messiah has already come and that he was Jesus; the former, on the other hand, affirms (among other things) that he does not personally give heed to that aggadah, and prefers to believe another one.

What happened in Barcelona, however, can hardly be understood without a brief excursus on one of the main personalities - besides Pablo Christiani - directly involved in the organization of the event: Raymond of Penyafort.

### *VIII.1 Raymond of Penyafort*

Born in the small Catalan town of Vilafranca del Penedès, Raymond of Penyafort (c. 1180 - 1275) taught first at the cathedral school in Barcelona and then in 1216 earned a doctorate in Bologna; in 1222 he joined the Dominican Order<sup>67</sup>. From this point onwards his career progressed very quickly: in 1230 he was summoned by Gregory IX and appointed chaplain and grand penitentiary (i.e. head of the Apostolic Penitentiary, one of three tribunals of the Roman Curia); during this period, upon Gregory's instruction, he committed himself to a reorganization of canon laws by collecting and editing all papal decretal letters that had been issued in the past 100 years (following Gratian's *Decretum*); he also wrote his *Summa de casibus poenitentiae*. In 1238 he was appointed Master General of the Dominicans, but resigned from the office only two years later; lastly, he spent the years from 1240 onwards in his convent in Barcelona, where he died in 1275<sup>68</sup>.

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<sup>67</sup> Lukyn-Williams, *Adversus Judaeos* pp. 242-4; Cohen, *The Friars and the Jews*, pp. 104-5.

<sup>68</sup> *Ibid.*

During the ten years spent at the Pope's Curia, it appears that most of his efforts were aimed at fighting and eradicating heresy: already in 1233 he convinced King James I to establish the Aragonese Inquisition in his territories<sup>69</sup>. But of greater interest to our analysis is the innovation he carried out with respect to the polemical methodology: Raymond founded Dominican *studia* with the precise intent of providing the Preachers with a full command of both Hebrew and Arabic, thus allowing them to be able to refute Jews and Saracens on their own sacred texts; they would lastly attain a *licentia disputandi* in place of the usual permission to teach (*licentia docendi*)<sup>70</sup>.

By 1250, such schools had flourished all over Al-Andalus and part of Christian Spain: Tunis, Murcia, Valencia, Jativa and Barcelona. This is what a 14<sup>th</sup> century biographer of Raymond writes concerning this new phenomenon:

“With his advice and approval, certain friars were thus instructed in the Hebrew language, so that they could overcome the malice and the errors of the Jews, who might no longer, as they had been accustomed to do in the past, audaciously deny the true text and the glosses of their own sages which agree with our own saints in these matters pertaining to Catholic Faith. Moreover, [the Friars studied Hebrew] so that the falsehood and the corruptions which they [the Jews] had inserted in many places in the Bible to hide the mysteries of the Passion and other sacraments of the faith, might be revealed through their authentic scriptural texts - which is all meant to confuse them [the Jews] greatly and confirm the Christian faith<sup>71</sup>”.

Theologically speaking, the words by Raymund of Penyafort's biographer represent an immense step backwards in terms of Christian tolerance towards the Jews: that the Talmud was a blasphemous second Torah, which kept Jews from converting, was a reality that Christians had already come to term with; now, however, even the only thing for which the Jews had been spared - the Torah and its preservation for the sake of the Christians - was declared to have been intentionally forged and modified by the Jewish Sages so as to hide any reference to Jesus and his coming. This approach - together with more specifically anti-Talmudic stances - will also be adopted by two among the most notorious students of Raymond of Penyafort: Pablo Christiani,

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<sup>69</sup> Cohen, *op. cit.* p. 105.

<sup>70</sup> *Ibid.* p. 107.

<sup>71</sup> Quoted *ibid.* pp. 107-8.

whose debate with Nahmanides will now be object of discussion; and Raymond Martini, with whom we will conclude our brief overview of Jewish-Christian polemics in the Middle Ages.

### VIII.2 Pablo Christiani

Pablo Christiani, originally born Saul in Montpellier, had studied - prior to his conversion - with Rabbi Eliezer of Tarrascon and Jacob ben Elijah de Lattes, with whom he was in all likelihood related<sup>72</sup>; the latter rabbi is also the author of a letter to Pablo, in which he complains about the many anti-Jewish activities of the newly-convert, such as: attacks against the Talmud, interruptions of Jewish prayers and services, preaching to the Jews, and even exhuming the corpses of those Jewish converts whose ultimate faithfulness to Christianity during their life was in doubt<sup>73</sup>.

Turning now our attention to the account of the Barcelona disputation, here is what Pablo argued about Jesus' messianism based on a Talmudic passage:

“Friar Paul said: ‘And I will show you - based on the words of your own Sages - that [this parashah, i.e. ‘my servant shall prosper’, Is 52:13] - refers to the Messiah’. [...] That man returned and argued that in the Talmud it is explicitly stated<sup>74</sup> that r. Jehoshua b. Levi had asked Elijah when the messiah would come, and he had answered: ‘Ask the messiah himself.’ - ‘And where is he?’ - [Elijah] had answered: ‘At the gates of Rome, among the sick ones’ - Then [Jehoshua] went there and found him’. If so, then the Messiah has already come, he is in Rome, and he is Jesus who rules over Rome”.

I [i.e. Nahmanides] answered him: “Is it not clear from this that he has not come yet? [...] However, he is indeed born, according to the plain meaning of these aggadot, which I do not believe in<sup>75</sup>”.

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<sup>72</sup> Robert Chazan, *Barcelona and Beyond: The Disputation of 1263 and its aftermath* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1992); p. 25.

<sup>73</sup> Cf. Robert Chazan, “The Letter of Jacob ben Elijah to Friar Paul” in *Jewish History* 6 No. 1/2, *The Frank Talmage Memorial Volume* (1992), p. 58.

<sup>74</sup> See *T.B. Sanhedrin* 98a.

<sup>75</sup> *Wikkuah ha-Ramban*, ed. Reuben Margalioth (Lwow, 1929), p. 31:

“אמר פראי פול: ואני אראה מדברי החכמים שלכם שהיא מדברת במשיח [...] חזר אותו האיש ואמר כי בתלמוד מפורש שרבי יהושע בן לוי שאל לאליהו מתי יבוא המשיח, והוא ענה אותו: שאל למשיח עצמו. (אמר) והיכן הוא. (אמר) בפתח דרומה בין החולים. הלך שם ומצאו. ושאל לו כו' אם כן כבר בא, והוא ברומה, (והוא ישו המושל ברומה. עניתי לו: והלא מפורש מכאן שלא בא [...] אבל נולד כפי פשוטי אלו ההגדות, ואיני מאמין בכך.”

The King, then, asked what the Ramban personally believed concerning the messiah's current location; the Rabbi reminded him that it had been agreed that no debate should have taken place between himself and the king directly. However, on the following day - the second out of four days, according to the Hebrew account - Nahmanides returned on the issue of aggadot and explained:

“We have one more [type] of literature called midrash, which means *sermones*. It is akin to the case in which a bishop would stand and deliver a sermon, and one among the audience found it beautiful and wrote it down. Concerning this book, whoever wants to believe in it, it is good for him; and for whoever does not want to, there is no danger. And some of our sages wrote that the messiah will not be born until near the end of days, when he will come to deliver us from the exile; therefore I do not believe in that book which said that he was born on the day of the Destruction<sup>76</sup> [...] You also asked, our lord and king, where he is to be found; it is clear from the Scripture that Adam's dwelling place was in the Garden of Eden; and concerning his sin, it is written *And the Lord God banished him from the Garden of Eden* (Gn 3:23). If so it is, then, he who was exempted from Adam's punishment [i.e. the Messiah] must reside there, in the Garden of Eden; and thus said also the Sages in the book of aggadot<sup>77</sup> which I mentioned<sup>78</sup>”.

The resemblance with the words pronounced by R. Yehiel during the disputation of Paris 23 years earlier is striking. Be it because of a direct influence or not, it is in any event sure that the two rabbis were facing a similar situation and responded in similar ways: a particularly zealous convert of Jewish origin wanted his opponent to admit publicly to the validity of an approximate, superficial reading of the Talmud, one where all elements are read literally and have the same importance and value. The converts, probably - feeling safe and invigorated by the presence of the major ecclesiastical and lay personalities - hoped they could easily get away with a total victory over their opponents: after all, how could the king and the bishops not be outraged by what the Jews' second Torah - the Talmud - proclaimed? Their hopes were however miserably frustrated by the response

<sup>76</sup> *Midrash 'Eikhah Rabba* 2:57.

<sup>77</sup> *Derekh 'Eres Zutta'* chap. 1 affirms that nine people entered the Garden of Eden alive, including the Messiah.

<sup>78</sup> *Ibid.* p. 32-33:

"עוד יש לנו ספר שלישי הנקרא מדרש, רוצה לומר שרמ"וניש. כמו שאם יעמוד ההגמון ויעשה שרמון (אחד), ואחד מן השומעים היה טוב בעיניו וכתבו. וזה הספר מי שיאמין בו טוב, ומי שלא יאמין בו לא יזיק. ויש לנו חכמים שכתבו שהמשיח לא יולד עד קרוב לזמן הקץ שיבוא להוציאנו מן הגלות. על כן איני מאמין בזה הספר במה שאמר שנולד מיום החורבן [...] עוד שאלת אדוננו המלך, אנה הוא עומד, מפורש הוא בכתוב, כי אדם הראשון מעמדו היה בגן עדן שבארץ, ובחטאו נאמר וישלחוהו ה' א-להים מגן עדן. אם כן זה שהוא פטור מעונשו של אדם עומד שם בגן עדן, וכן אמרו חכמים בספר ההגדות שהזכרתי."



of the rabbis, veritable scholars whose knowledge and field of expertise - unlike the converts' - went far beyond reading Hebrew and Aramaic sources.

The Ramban himself also explicitly denounced Christiani's biased reading of the texts; concerning the reason why the Lord let the Messiah sit at his right hand side, and Abraham at his left hand side<sup>79</sup> - which in the convert's view shows that the Messiah is more important than Abraham, therefore he is divine and not human - Nahmanides requested to read such passage and then clarified:

“Look, he was falsifying the whole thing, for this aggadah says that in the future to come the Holy one - blessed be He - lets the Messiah sit to his right and Abraham to his left, and that Abraham turns yellow [out of shame] and says: ‘A son of my son sits at the right of the Holy one - blessed be he - and I to his left’; and the Lords appeases him etc. Behold, from here it is clear that the messiah is not a god and that Jesus is not the messiah at all. Had he been a god, then Abraham would not have been put to shame: a God's honor is superior to his, and his face would not have turned yellow and green at all. And indeed he says ‘A son of my son’ and not ‘a son of my daughter’. And Jesus, according to your words, was not Abraham's son at all. And the Messiah's sitting at the Lord's right is equivalent to Abraham's sitting at His left: they both are perfect men. It follows necessarily that Jesus was not the messiah, since the midrash reads ‘in the future to come’, and the sages who said this lived approximately 500 years after Jesus. But Friar Paul devours the end and the beginning [of his sources], and has no shame<sup>80</sup>”

Just like in Paris we saw R. Yeḥiel instruct the convert Nicholas Donin on the differences between aggadot and halakhot, here too we are under the impression that Pablo Christiani is being reprimanded for his approximate reading and understanding of midrashic literature: not only did he

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<sup>79</sup> *Yalqut Tehillim* 869; the midrash discusses Ps 110:1: *The Lord says to my Lord: "Sit at my right hand until I make your enemies a footstool for your feet"*.

<sup>80</sup> *Wikkuah ha-Ramban* p. 40:

ראו שהיה גונב הדבר, שההגדה הזאת אומרת לעתיד לבא הקב"ה מושב משיח לימינו ואברהם לשמאלו ופניו של אברהם מתכרכמות, ואומר בן בני יושב לימינו של הקב"ה ואני לשמאלו והקב"ה מפייסו וגו' הנה בכאן מפורש שאין המשיח אלוה ושאין ישו משיח כלל, שאלו היה אלוה לא היה אברהם מתביש אם האלוה נכבד ממנו ולא היו פניו מתכרכמות (ולא מוריקות) כלל, וכן אומר בן בני ולא בתי, וישו כפי דבריכם לא היה בן בנו של אברהם כלל, והישיבה לימינו במשיח כמו הישיבה לשמאלו באברהם שניהם אנשים גמורים, וכן מוכרח שאין ישו משיח, לפי שאומר לעתיד לבא והחכמים האומרים כן היו אחריו כחמש מאות שנה, אבל פראי פול אוכל ראשו וסופו, ואיננו בוש.

fail to understand that the messiah's sitting at the right hand of God is a proof not of his divinity<sup>81</sup> but rather of his being human; he is also accused of reading the sources he quotes in a biased manner, falsifying their contents and shamelessly omitting those details which do not fit his interpretational scheme.

As anticipated above, Raymond Martini - also a pupil of Raymond of Penyafort like Pablo Christiani - will constitute the ideal conclusion of our overview of Jewish-Christian polemics up to the 13<sup>th</sup> century; his *Pugio Fidei* ("Dagger of Faith") has, as a matter of fact, earned a most prominent place among the anti-Jewish works of this century. Martini fully absorbed his master's lesson on the importance of studying Hebrew sources in their original, being active as both founder and teacher of the *studia dominicana* since the earliest times. This is what he writes concerning Jews and Judaism in his *proemium* to *Pugio Fidei*:

"Therefore, inasmuch as - according to Seneca's adage - "no plague is as efficient in causing damage as a familiar enemy is": indeed no enemy of Christian faith is more familiar, and for us more inevitable, than the Jew<sup>82</sup>,"

This sentence alone is perfectly illustrative of centuries of heated debates and skirmishes; despite full awareness that Church and Synagogue are related to each other and even share a considerable amount of founding texts, a proper dialogue and a confrontation appear far from possible: the points in common are themselves the cause of an exacerbated hatred rather than the starting point for mutual appreciation and tolerance. What is more, accumulated resentment and desire for annihilation of the other can even lead - in an unprecedented attempt at severing all bonds - to the erosion of what constituted a long-established and shared basis: kinship through Torah. As we shall shortly see, this is precisely what Martini's chief work seems to be aiming to.

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<sup>81</sup> There is no doubt that, in biblical imagery, the right hand has specific meaning and symbolical value: it is the one used by the Patriarchs in performing their blessings (Gn 48:17-20) and by God himself in the taking of oaths (Is 62:8); also, sitting at the king's right hand implied being given a special place of honor (1 Kgs 2:19); see *s.v.* "Right, Right Hand" in *Dictionary of Biblical Imagery*, eds. Leland Ryken, James C. Wilhoit, Tremper Longman III (InterVarsity Press, 1998); pp. 727-728.

Pablo Christiani and his fellow clergymen, however, were in all likelihood reading this midrash in the light of the Christian doctrine of the Session of Christ, i.e. the idea that to Jesus is reserved a special place to the right hand of God's throne; such view recurs in many New Testament passages (such as Heb 10:12; Eph 1:20; 1 Pt 3:22), and particularly in Acts 2:33 the apostle Peter reads Ps 110:1 (*The Lord says to my lord: sit at my right hand* etc.) with reference to Jesus.

<sup>82</sup> "Deinde cum iuxta sententiam Senecae, *nulla pestis sit efficacior ad nocendam quam familiaris inimicus*: nullus autem inimicus Christianae fidei magis sit familiaris, magisque nobis inevitabilis, quam Judaeus"; Raymund Martini, *Pugio Fidei adversus Mauros et Judaeos* (Leipzig and Frankfurt: 1687), proemium II p. 2.

## IX. Raymond Martini and his *Pugio Fidei*

Martini was born near Barcelona around 1210-1215 and joined the Dominican Order between 1237 and 1240; he appears to have spent a good deal of his life first as a student and then as a teacher in those schools of Arabic and Hebrew which his teacher, Raymond of Penyafort, had devised. Thus, he spent the years between 1250 and 1262 in Tunis, at the first *stadium arabicum*; in 1266 he may have joined the Dominican *stadium* in Murcia, and in 1268 he once again travelled to Tunis. In 1269 Raymond appoints him as emissary to the court of Louis IX, whom he convinces to proclaim a crusade against the Muslims of North Africa; while in Paris, he may also have influenced Thomas Aquinas in writing his *Summa contra Gentiles*. He subsequently spends the remainder of his life in Barcelona where, in 1281, he is put in charge of the local *stadium hebraicum*. Martini dies in Barcelona between 1285 and 1290<sup>83</sup>.

After an earlier work published in 1267 - *Capistrum Iudaeorum*<sup>84</sup> (“The noose of the Jews”) - had been declared by Martini himself ineffective for the conversion of Jews in that it only presented its sources in Latin translation, in 1278 the Dominican friar published his monumental *Pugio Fidei*, whose declared purpose was to instruct the Jews and refute their arguments:

“It has been enjoined upon me, that from those books of the Old Testament which the Jews accept and even from the Talmud and the rest of their writings authoritative among them, I compose such a work as might be available like a dagger (*pugio*) for preacher and guardians of the Christian faith - at some times for feeding to the Jews the bread of the divine word in sermons; at other times for confronting their impiety and perfidity, and for destroying their pertinacity against Christ and their impudent insanity<sup>85</sup>”.

In making up for his previous work’s lack of Hebrew and Aramaic quotes, Martini declares that he will adduce the texts from Hebrew, but will not follow neither the Septuagint nor any other

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<sup>83</sup> These and others references on Martini’s biography found in Cohen, *The Friars and the Jews*, p. 129-130.

<sup>84</sup> Preserved in MS Lat. 3643 of Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris and MS 1675 of Biblioteca Universitaria di Bologna.

<sup>85</sup> Transl. by Cohen, *ibid.* p. 132; from *Pugio Fidei* proemium III p. 2: “Injunctum est mihi, ut de illis Veteris Testamenti, quos Judaei recipiant, libris, *vel etiam* de Talmud ac reliquis scriptis suis apud eos authenticis opus tale componam, quod quali *Pugio* quidam praedicatoribus Christianae fidei atque cultoribus esse possit in promptu, ad scindendum quandoq[ue] Judaeis in sermonibus panem verbi divini; quandoque vero ad eorum impietatem atque perfidiam jugulandam, eorumque contra Christum *pertinaciam*, & impudentem infamiam perimendam”.

translator (Jerome included)<sup>86</sup>: “This way, indeed, the undoubtedly wide and spacious way of subterfuge will be precluded to the deceitful Jews, and hardly they will be able to say that among them it is not to be read thus; so that, with my own translation, the truth will be brought forth by us against them<sup>87</sup>”.

The novelty of *Pugio fidei*, in any event, does not reside in the idea - here once again clearly stated - that the Talmud is mostly blasphemous but still contains a few traditions which, emanating directly from the holy fathers, from Moses and from the Prophets, attest to Jesus’s coming and messianship<sup>88</sup>; rather, what is new is the statement that all Jews across space and time - the Israelites, the Talmudic Jews and the contemporary ones - have always been more or less secretly devoted to practices of idolatry; and in particular, of the last two categories (the Talmudic and the contemporary Jews) it is even said that they became veritable heretics and worshippers of the devil. As for the Israelites of the Old Testament, their condition of innate and inescapable depravity is owed to the original sin of Adam, which lasted until Christ’s advent; and God’s punishment for their sins - such as the selling of Joseph, the worshipping of idols and the sacrifice of children - has manifested itself in the exile and in the destruction of their cities and communities; in a thorough analysis of Is 64, this is what Martini concludes with respect to the Israelites:

“Thus continues Isaiah: *We have become like one who is unclean* - like he who, as per law, is excluded from the military camp; *all of us* - to the exception of nobody, until the advent of the Redeemer; *and like polluted rags* [...] *our good statutes have become* - both the legal statutes and others, in comparison with divine justice. Indeed, all human justice is injustice when compared to divine justice; *and our sins* - not only the original one, but also the present one [...] Indeed demons used to take away the soul of the unrighteous ones, and still took them away for their sins to an eternal torment; truthfully, because of the original sin, [also] the souls of the righteous ones, even if they committed no other sin, were led to a somewhat different hell; certainly to a place of darkness, because they lacked the glory of the vision of God [...] Therefore all men became, hereafter, sinners not only originally but

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<sup>86</sup> “Caeterum inducendo auctoritatem textus ubicumq[ue] ab Hebraico fuerit *desumptum*, non septuaginta sequar, nec interpretem alium; & quod majoris presumptionibus videtur, non ipsum etiam in hoc reverebor Hyeronimum, nec tolerabilem linguae Latinae, ut eorum quae apud Hebraeos sunt, ex verbo in verbum quotiescumq[ue] servari hoc potuit, transferam veritatem” *ibid.* proemium X p.4.

<sup>87</sup> “Per hoc enim Judaeis falsiloquis lata valde spatiosaque subterfugendi praecluditur via; & minime potuerunt dicere, non sic haberi apud eos, ut a nostris contra ipsos, me interprete, veritas inducetur” *ibid.*

<sup>88</sup> *ibid.* proemium V-IX, pp. 2-4.

also in their present [...] Now, since I believe that all the things expounded in this chapter are sufficient to prove that all the fathers of that era, as well as the holy men, were guilty and culpable before God, I will move on to something else<sup>89</sup>.”

In Martini’s harsh words we start seeing the progressive deterioration of Augustine’s theological stance of tolerance: not only were the Jews subject, like all nations, to the original sin and had to wait for Jesus’s advent in order to gain redemption; they also committed their own personal sins, such as following a law whose statutes were merely human products. And Martini does not have the Talmud in mind, but Moses’s own Law, as one can gather from another passage of *Pugio fidei*:

“May your judgment also be aware, o reader, that what is written in Ps 19:8 - *The Law of the Lord is perfect, it restores the soul* - suits the Law of the Messiah alone because of its perfection; and r. Ibn Ezra said:

‘The meaning of *Torah* is ‘it will show’ the right way through signs; and remember the verse *it restores the soul*, for the Torah will remove all doubts from the soul’.

This saying fits neither the above mentioned text nor the exposition of Mosaic Law: thence it is clear, first of all, that [their law] was always imperfect that way, since no Jew could ever show you that either through it or from it did anybody - no matter how great an observer of that law he was - ever glimpse paradise and avoid hell [...] Secondly, the law of Moses was further imperfect because, as the above mentioned R. Ibn Ezra said, it did not show “the right way” to the sinners, that is to say, the way of penance, simply through words; but only through certain signs of sacrifices [...] in an utterly obscure and imperfect way [...] Whenever that law was questioned: what a sinner was to do so that forgiveness could be granted him? It was said: may he offer a sacrifice. But truthfully God, if questioned about

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<sup>89</sup> “Sequitur in Esaia, *Fuimus ut immundus*, qui secundum legem de castris excludebatur; *omens nos*, nullo excepto usque ad Redemptoris adventum. *Et sicut pannus menstruorum* [...] *Omnes iustitiae nostrae*, tam legales, quam alia, ad comparationem iustitiae divinae. Omnis enim iustitia humana divinae comparata iniustitia est [...] *Et peccata nostra*, non solum originale; sed etiam actuale [...] Nam impiorum animas tollebant, & tollunt daemones propter peccata sua ad aeternum supplicium: justorum vero animae propter originale peccatum, etsi aliud non erat, ducebantur, ad alium quendam infernum, ad locum scilicet tenebrosus, propter carentiam gloria visionis Dei [...] Porro quod non solum originaliter, sed etiam actualiter omnes homines fuerint peccatores [...] Nunc quoniam, quae in hoc capitulo dicta sunt ad probandum, omnes Patres seculi, quoniamque Sanctos, fuisse Deo culpabiles, atque reos, satis credo sufficere; ad aliud transeundum est”, *ibid.* 3.2.7.10, pp. 600, 601.

this very topic, would have answered: may he repent, and it will be forgiven to him [...] Thirdly, the Law of Moses has thus far been found exceedingly imperfect in giving the Jews cognition of God [...] What else can be found, in order to attain cognition of God, less apt than that which is written (Gn 6:6): *And God regretted having made man on earth and was saddened in his heart?* Here the Jews got accustomed to say that their law provided them with the perfect cognition of God, when it is said (Dt 6:4): *Hearken, o Israel, the Lord is our God, the Lord is One*; based on which, it can be argued that, since the sun too is but one, this same thing may the worshippers of the sun also say of their own god [...] Fourthly, the law of Moses has been found particularly imperfect concerning the doctrine of the cognition of soul as well as concerning divine cognition [...] Fifth, the Law of Moses can be called imperfect because it contained unbecoming precepts and verdicts by which nobody lived, that is to say, lived a life of spiritual glory [...] Sixth, furthermore, the law of Moses was imperfect in that it only promised its observers and fulfillers temporal rewards [...] Seventh and last, it contains no manifest allusion whatsoever to resurrection<sup>90</sup>.

The conclusion Martini aims at reaching, despite not being fully stated, is quite clear: the Jews have mistaken Moses's law for God's law, and this is the reason why the former is so full of imperfections and flaws. The passage is also quite telling of the friar's *modus operandi*: the best approach is to refute the Jews based on their own sources, as even a modern Jewish exegete like

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<sup>90</sup> "Attendat etiam tua prudentia, Lector, quod soli legi Messiae propter suam perfectionem, convenit quod in *Ps. 19. v. 8.* hoc modo scribitur; תורה יהוה תמימה משיבת נפש *Lex Domini perfecta convertens animam.* Dixit *R. Aben Ezra*: ופירושו וינחם יהוה כי עשה את תורה שנתורה הדרך הישרה בסימנין והזכיר משיבת נפש כי התורה תסיר הספק מהנפש *Lex dicitur תורה i.e. ostendens, quia ostendit viam rectam per signa: memoratur autem convertens animam, quia aufert ab anima dubium, & errorem ignorantiae.* Textum praedictum, & expositionem Legi Mosaicae non convenire, inde primo manifestum est, quia sic semper imperfecta fuit, quod numquam tibi Judaeus in ea, sive ex ea ostendere potuit, quod aliquis quantumcumque magnus observator ipsius Paradisum intraverit, & infernum evaserit [...] Secundo etiam lex Moysis imperfecta fuit, quia, ut dicit praedictus *R. Aben Ezra*, viam rectam peccatoribus, i.e. poenitentiam viam non quidem verbis, sed per quaedam sacrificorum signa [...] obscura valde e imperfecte monstravit [...] cum quaesitum fuisset a lege, quid ageret peccator ut parceretur ei? Dixit, offerat sacrificium: Deus vero de hoc eodem interrogatus ait, agat poenitentiam; & parceretur ei [...] Tertio ad huc imperfecta valde invenitur lex Moysis in dando Judaeis cognitionem Dei [...] Quid quoque imperfectius potuit inveniri ad habendam cognitionem Dei quam id quod scribitur, *Genes. 6. v. 6.* וינחם יהוה כי עשה את לבו *Et poenituit Dominus quod fecit hominem in terra, & doluit cor suum.* Hic consueverunt Judaei dicere, quod tunc tradidit lex eorum eis perfectam Dei cognitionem quando dixit *Deut 6. v. 4.* שמע ישראל יהוה יהוה אחד *Audi Israel, Dominus Deus noster, Deus est unus:* quibus dici potest quod, cum sol non sit unus; hoc ipsum poterant dicere cultores solis de Deo suo [...] Quarto: Multum imperfecta invenitur lex Moysis in doctrina cognitionis animae, sicut in doctrina cognitionis divinae [...] Quinto imperfecta dici potest lex Moysis, quia continebat *praecepta non bona, & judicia in quibus nemo vivebat*, vita scilicet gloriae [...] Sexto denique imperfecta fuit lex Moysis in eo, quod observatoribus & factoribus suis sola temporalia promittebat [...] Septimo & ultimo in eo, quod resurrectionis articulum numquam continent evidenter" *ibid.* 3.3.20.15, pp. 891-892.

Abraham ibn Ezra (1089 - 1167) can show<sup>91</sup>; since the Spanish Rabbi had argued that the Torah is that which shows the right way through signs, how then can this apply to the obscure and imperfect statutes of Mosaic Law?

A veritably new, ideological reconstruction of the Jews takes place in Martini's work, one which progressively starts lacking historical verisimilitude and lastly leaves very little or nothing to be spared and appreciated; and thus the Dominican argues, for example, that R. Aqiva and his colleagues were killed by the Romans because they abandoned Moses' law and proclaimed two false messiahs in succession (one called Bar Cosba and the other Ben Cosba), publicly denying that Jesus was their messiah<sup>92</sup>.

Martini's downplaying of God's role in giving Jews the Torah, furthermore, is part of a precise theological purpose: instill in his reader's mind the notion that behind some of the most characteristic precepts of Jewish tradition lay not God's will but none other than the Devil himself:

“Besides of the spirit of fornication which is found among them, in their heart; of whom must it be more aptly said than of the demon Bentamalyon, that it was him who returned them the circumcision, the Sabbath, and those other ceremonies which God had removed through the Romans? Undoubtedly this demon - with God's permission - seduced them, and took away their common sense and even their understanding of the truth; so that they have become less understanding of divine scriptures than asses, as it is written in the book *Shekalim*<sup>93</sup>: ‘Said r. Haggai: the first ones plowed, sowed, hoed, reaped, harvested, threshed, winnowed, sifted, grinded, baked; as for us, we do not even have a mouth to eat. Said R. Abba: If the first ones were the sons of men, we are asses. Said R. Meni: At a time like this, even she-asses. Said R. Pinhas son of r. Yair: We are not even to be compared<sup>94</sup>”.

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<sup>91</sup> Contemporary rabbinical authorities are portrayed in *SYM* as well, debating with Jewish converts and Catholic priests: Rabbeinu Tam (chap. 24); Joseph Qara (chap. 76); Joseph Bekhor Shor (chap. 84); Menaḥem of Joigny (chap. 124). Furthermore, in at least one case (chap. 113), an apostate tries to refute the author by resorting to Bekhor Shor's and Rashbam's commentaries on the book of Psalms.

<sup>92</sup> *Ibid.* 2.4.27, p. 329.

<sup>93</sup> Cf. *T.Y. Shekalim* 21a-b.

<sup>94</sup> “Porro spiritus fornicationum, qui in medio, i.e. in corde eorum est, quis melius dici debet quam Bentamalyon diabolus, qui restituit eis circumcisionem, & sabbatum, aliasque cerimonias, quas Deus abstulerat per Romanos; iste utique diabolus permittente Deo infatuavit eos, & abstulit eis sensum quoad veritatis intellectum, ita minoris intelligentiae sint in divinis scripturas quam asini, sicut scribitur *in libro* Schekalin [...] א"ר הגי הראשונים חרשו וזרעו ועידרו וקיצרו ועמרו ודשו וזרו וביררו וטחנו ואפו ואנו אין לנו פה לאכול א"ר אבא אם הוו קדמאים בני אינש אנן חמורין א"ר מני באותה שעה אפילו & arconisaverunt, & trituraverunt, & ventilaverunt, & purgaverunt, & moluerunt, & apposuerunt; & non est nobis os

Martini's exegetical approach is so bold and unusual that at times it even appears problematic and contradictory from a theological point of view: God had at first allowed the Romans to suppress the Jewish revolts and destroy Jerusalem, so that Jews would be deterred from fulfilling their precepts; and then, later on, he had once again allowed the devil to return them their Law and cause them to be ignorant of the Scriptures.

As for the Talmudic quote, one thing must surely be acknowledged: it fits perfectly Martini's reasoning and the point he aims to make, especially if we read the statement which immediately precedes R. Haggai's words:

“Said r. <Aḥa> Eliezer: ‘It is written: *To Ezra, priest and scribe*; what does scribe mean? It means that, just like he was a scribe concerning the words of the Torah, so he was also a scribe concerning the words of the Sages’”.

The feelings of self-pity which R. Haggai and the others expressed immediately afterwards while comparing themselves to the “first ones”, then, are particularly apt to be read as pointing to a cultural and technological loss and to a decline of which the rabbis themselves were aware. One, therefore, wonders why Martini did not also quote r. Eliezer's words, which would have remarkably strengthened his point; though, in any event, his knowledge of the sources remains noteworthy.

Not only did the Jews failed to understand the true, spiritual sense of Scriptures and preferred to follow the Law literally; they are also responsible for forging the contents of the divine books. Arguing that in the period of time elapsing between Josephus Flavius and Jerome they intentionally concealed and erased many inconvenient passages from the Bible<sup>95</sup>, this is what Martini argues with respect to the practice of scribal emendation, or *tiqqun soferim*:

“He himself, I say, the son of God alone, is fit to accomplish all things which have been proclaimed by God through the Prophets. If these only consisted of the qualities which affect the divine potency alone - such as remitting guilt; acquitting the impious one; bestowing grace; reviving from death; saving the absolved and resuscitated ones for eternity and

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*ad edendum. Dixit R. Abba, si fuerunt primi filii hominum; nos sumus asini. Dixit R. Meni, Quin imo in hac hora etiam asinae. R. Pinchas filii Jair non sumus comparandi”* *ibid.* 3.3.21.23 p. 918.

<sup>95</sup> “Quando autem תקון סופרים *Aptatio, sive correctio scribarum* antedicta partata sit? videtur quod ante S. Hieronymum absque dubio quippe veritatem [...] transtulisset [...] Rursum etiam non videtur ista temeritas Josephum praecessisse” *ibid.* 2.3.9. p. 278.



sending the wicked ones to hell, and many others like these - then everything would be possible and completely sufficient if we consider God's divinity; but if on the other hand they [also] consisted of the qualities which befall human frailty - as it is said that he was afflicted by many tribulations, the attributing of which to God appears like nothing more than the folly of some degraded mind; to fulfill all of these things, then, [Jesus] alone is apt in reason of the human condition he acquired; and through it, indeed, he could suffer and he could die; he could also resurrect and accomplish everything. The sage and the wise ones among the Jews completely erased these things from the holy page [of the Bible] or replaced them with other things; also, either by using a wrong punctuation or writing a certain thing privately and a then another one publicly, they deflected them from reality, since they reckoned that many ignoble, impossible things were being attributed to God<sup>96</sup>."

And thus, argues Martini, if there is a contradiction between God's glory and the sufferings which are attributed to Him - such as, for example, the ones described in Is 52, 53, which the friar was in all likelihood referring to - it is only because the scribes had voluntarily suppressed the Torah's fundamental truth: that is to say, all those prophecies which point to God's human counterpart, later incarnated in Jesus.

As Jeremy Cohen already emphasized<sup>97</sup>, Martini does not hold modern Jews in higher regard than their biblical or Talmudic ancestors; of them it is said that they still forge the Scriptures according

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<sup>96</sup> "Ipse, inquam, solus Dei filius est ἵψ *sufficiens* ad complendum universa, quae de Deo dicta sunt per Prophetas. Si enim sunt ex eis quae solam potentiam respiciunt divinam, ut est culpas remittere, impium justificare, gratiam infundere, a morte resuscitare, salvare justificatos & resuscitados in aeternum, & mittere impios in infernum, & caetera multa hujusmodi, omnia potest & ad omnia sufficit, si ad ejus respicimus Deitatem: si vero sunt ex illis, quae infirmitatem consequantur humanam; ut est dictum diversis passionibus fuisse afficiendum, quae quidem Deo attribuere nihil videtur aliud, quam cujusdam praecipitatae mentis infamia; ad haec omnia complenda ipse sufficit ratione humanitatis assumptae: secundum eam quippe potuit pati, & potuit mori, potuit quoque resurgere, e universa complere, quae a Scribis, & sapientibus Judaeorum de sacra pagina, vel omnino abrasa sunt, vel loco eorum alia substituta, vel punctando perperam, vel aliter scribendo interius, aliter exterius, a veritate, quia indigna multa & impossibilia Deo videbantur attribuere, deviata [...]" *ibid.* 3.3.4.15 pp. 705-6.

<sup>97</sup> *The Friars and the Jews*, p. 152.

to their will and whim<sup>98</sup>, and are so willing to contradict the Christians that they even deny that man was created in God's image and likeness<sup>99</sup>.

What is more, their weeping and afflicted deity can hardly be called a god nowadays: since this sadness is caused by the Jews' own exile, it follows that their God either cannot free them, or he can but does not sufficiently desire to; be it because of a quite ungodly helplessness, be it due to an unescapable and pointless vicious cycle of self-inflicted sorrow, one thing is sure: "And thus it follows manifestly that the God of the modern Jews is not the real one: indeed the God of Abraham, and of the other Holy Fathers, is exalted as a Wise and Powerful one<sup>100</sup>".

Lastly, the friars' words on both the present and the eschatological status of the Jews leave very little room for doubt:

*"And, in disdain[ing] [...] money, you were not like a harlot, but like an adulterous wife, who takes strangers instead of her husband! [Ez 16:31-32] [...] It is then clear from these verses that the adulterous woman of the above mentioned parable is the Jewish synagogue, which does not limit herself to eating that most pleasant bread of which it is said (Pr 20:17): The bread of falsehood is pleasant to a man, but afterward his mouth is filled with gravel. This gravel stands for the eternal punishment of hell; gravel, indeed, cannot be chewed, nor can it be consumed because of its hardness; nor spat, nor swallowed inasmuch as the whole mouth is filled with it. So also is the punishment of hell very hard, and lasting, and in no way can it be eluded, brought to an end, or reduced; neither can moisty tears mitigate it. Just how this bread is pleasing to the Jews, and savory, is demonstrated by Jer (9:5) [9:4]: They will not speak the truth, they taught their tongue to speak lies; [...] Truly, what consideration of Solomon[‘s Proverbs] could, or necessitated to, conceive the vastness of malice, the depth of impiety and the amount of faithlessness whereby that adulteress would condemn to death the Messiah, our altogether guiltless Lord Jesus Christ? And vigorously claim to spare*

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<sup>98</sup> "[...] quemadmodum moderni Judaei falso punctant, & falso legunt, addentes quando exponunt aliquid ibi semper ex propriis", *Pugio Fidei* 3.3.7.6., p. 743; "Nota quod aliquorum modernorum Judaeorum perfidia tam evidens testimonium pro divinitate Messiae non valens depravare dicit, non esse in hoc loco respicient אלי ad me; sed אליו ad eum. Quorum falsitas revelatur [...]", *ibid.* 3.3.16.14, p. 855; here Martini is discussing Zech 12:10 and denouncing the case of those contemporary Jews who deny that it is God himself who, in pronouncing the expression והביטו אלי את אשר דקרן, is actually prefiguring His future incarnation and torment.

<sup>99</sup> "Moderni vero Judaei tanta nobis contradicendi cupiditate feruntur, quod hominem, quem scriptura superius inducta ad imaginem Dei factum manifeste insinuat, inficiantur, & eam renitentem ad (aliter) significandum trahere moluntur" *ibid.* 3.2.1.3. p. 551.

<sup>100</sup> *Ibid.* 2.15.15. pp 473- 474.

Barabbas, the mutinous and the murderer? What stupidity, and what folly, what idleness of the mind and what demon incited her so that she could reject the Messiah? [...] Bar Kosba, truly, who never accomplished anything of the sort, she accepted in place of the Messiah [...] Furthermore, why should Solomon not only marvel, but be stupefied? Because [that adulteress], while being in Jerusalem, was deceived by the above mentioned impostor; and nonetheless she made herself yet another Messiah in the city [...] whose name was Ben Cosba [...] What powerful demon could so blind the oft-quoted adulteress to the point that, thus indecently infatuated with the two above mentioned messiahs, she would still wait for two messiahs, one the son of Joseph and the other the son of David<sup>101</sup>?”

## X. Conclusions

In outlining this brief overview of the Jewish-Christian debate up to the 13<sup>th</sup> century, it was never my intention to suggest a univocal, consequential and perhaps even deterministic way of reading history, one where an event led to its inevitable, amplified consequence until a climatic point of no return would be reached; I am aware that this is but one of many interpretational patterns that can be applied, and specifically one that the reading of the above-quoted Jeremy Cohen, Amos Funkenstein, Robert Chazan etc. suggested me.

This nonetheless, I believe that such reading retains its validity in that it shows how Christians and Jews gradually forfeited the crystalized vision they had of each other and reached a new awareness (and self-awareness), one initially based on the consultation of the opponent's sources and then more efficiently and directly shaped by firsthand encounters.

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<sup>101</sup> “*Et non fuisti sicut meretrix ad deridendum [...] pretium, sed ut mulier adultera quae (sub viro suo) suscipit alienos [...] Ex istis itaque pater, quod mulier adultera in supradicta parabola est Synagoga Judaica quae comedit, & non definit comedere sapidissimum sibi pane illum, de quo dicitur Prov. 20. v. 17. ימלא פיהו חצץ Sapidus est homini panis mendacii, & postea implebitur os ejus calculo. Calculus hic dicitur poena aeterna inferni. Calculus enim masticari non potest, nec consumi quia durus est, nec expui, nec glutiri quando totum os eo plenum est: sic poena inferni durissima, & durabilis est, & nullatenus evadi potest, nec finiri, nec minui, nec aliqua lacrymarum humiditate molliri. Quod autem panis mendacii suavis sit Judaeis, ac sapidus, ostenditur per Jerem. cap. 9. vers. 5. ubi sic ait de Judaeis: שקר ואמת לא ידברו למדו לשונם דבר שקר Et veritatem non loquuntur, docuerunt linguam suam loqui mendacium [...] Qualiter enim Salomonis ratio potuit, aut debuit capere malitiae immensitatem, impietatis profunditatem, & perfidiae quantitatem, quae haec adultara erat Messiam, id est Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum omnino innocentem morti condemnatura: & Barrabam seditiosum, & homicidam hominem instanter petitura? Qua etiam fatuitate, qua[que] infamia, qua mentis inopia, vel quo agitata demonio posset Messiam repellere [...] Bar Kosba, vero, qui nihil unquam hujusmodi fecit, pro Messia suscipere [...] Rursum etiam cum Salomoh non solum mirari debuit; sed etiam stupere, quod adultara haec, dum esset in Jerusalem, in praedicto fuisset decepta falsario, nihilominus alium sibi fecit Messiam in civitate [...] cui nomen erat Ben Cosba [...] quis tam validus daemon saepedicta[m] adulteram sic potuit caecare, ut in duobus Messias ante dictis tam turpiter seducta duos adhuc Messias, unum filium Joseph & alterum filium David, venturos praestoletur?” *ibid.* 3.3.7.4. pp. 741-742.*

The process can easily be appreciated when assessing the Christians' gradual discovery of the Talmud; thus, for example, Jerome, Augustine and still Agobard of Lyon in the 9<sup>th</sup> century appeared to exhibit a very limited knowledge of the Jews' oral tradition, which they call *deuterosis* and which is described as nothing more than the ridiculous folktales of the Pharisees.

By denouncing the blasphemies of the Talmud yet at the same time appreciating those aggadot which recorded Jesus's mission, then, Peter Alfonsi's step forward is only relatively huge; it is indeed huge because, as we said, that the Talmud attested to the wondrous signs which accompanied Jesus's death and which the Jews voluntarily ignored, is undeniably a remarkable and novel theological feature. A novelty which, however, is also relative in that it was intimately connected to Peter's, or rather Moses', specific background: only a man divided between two worlds and profoundly striving to fully enter a new religious dimension could exhibit the zeal it takes to argue that even God's gift most peculiarly addressed to the Jews, the Talmud, was in reality yet another proof of Jesus's messianism; only the linguistic expertise deriving from a Jewish upbringing, furthermore, could allow Alfonsi to read post-biblical Hebrew and Aramaic literature in a Christological manner.

For a century and half or so, it appeared that command of Hebrew sources and will to refute the Jews based on their own texts was to remain a prerogative of converts: of Jewish origin are, as a matter of fact, both Donin and Christiani who, in the two main disputations of the century, are eager to display their often less than perfect knowledge of Talmud and Midrash before their former coreligionists. The core of the misunderstanding between rabbis and converts both in Paris and in Barcelona seems to lie in an exegetical issue: while the latter insist on the literal meaning of whatever the Talmud and the midrashic compilations have to say about Jesus, the former explain that aggadah is not as binding and univocal as halakha, therefore neither are the statements - be they read positively or negatively - that one can find there about Jesus.

Raymond of Penyafort and his school, finally, inaugurated a new approach: being able to read the Talmud in order to appreciate the truth of Christianity was not to be merely the ability of converts; on the contrary, veritable schools of Hebrew and Arabic were to be instituted, and expertise of Jewish and Muslim sacred texts extended to all those who attended them. In reading Martini's *Pugio Fidei*, one has the impression that the pupil had more than lived up to the master's expectations: only a thorough analysis of this monumental work, or even better a modern edition, could fully convey to the modern reader the extent of the Dominican's utilization of Hebrew sources. In the final analysis, Martini's work marks the end of Augustine's fossilized vision of the

docile Jew who, after endowing the Christians with the Torah, only had to wait for final redemption: *Pugio Fidei* sees the construction of a living and fully active archenemy who, in pursuing heretic and blasphemous purposes, had decreed his own eternal condemnation.

*Sefer Yosef ha-Meqanne'*  
**Text, Authors and Transmission.**

The medieval compilation conventionally known as *Sefer Yosef ha-Meqanne'* (Heb. ספר יוסף המקנא, "Book of Joseph the Zealot"; henceforth *SYM*) is a Hebrew polemical treatise (*wikkuaḥ*) dealing with the interpretation of both the Hebrew Bible and the Gospels. It is divided into two main parts; the first part (137 chapters) discusses verses taken from most books of the *Tanakh* (19 books out of 24<sup>102</sup>), while the second part (43 chapters) is conceived as a critique of the four canonical Gospels<sup>103</sup>. These two distinct textual unities follow - albeit with a few exceptions - the same fundamental structure: i) a biblical quotation is introduced<sup>104</sup>; ii) a point of view or an interpretation is presented which is not in line with the Jewish rabbinic establishment, and in many cases is openly opposed to it (in the part dedicated to the Gospels, point 1 and point 2 coincide); iii) the correct interpretation of the text is given, or the opponent's remarks rejected (which can be achieved either on the basis of the author's personal exegesis, or resorting to others' authoritative commentaries). The following remarks are based both on Judah Rosenthal's edition of the text<sup>105</sup> (to which I owe very much) and on personal research carried out on the three main manuscripts of the work: MS Paris 712 (henceforth: P); MS Hamburg 80 (henceforth: H); MS Or. Rome 53 (henceforth: R)<sup>106</sup>.

*1. The Author(s) of the Text*

It appears that *Sefer Yosef ha-Meqanne'* was not necessarily the title that the collection bore originally, for this is merely the name given to the composition by a certain R. Elijah, whose remarks appear before the beginning<sup>107</sup> of the text itself: "This is the oration of R. Elijah, up to the beginning of Genesis; because from that point onwards follow the refutations of R. Joseph son of R.

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<sup>102</sup> The total of the books discussed in *SYM* amounts to 26 if we - unlike the Jewish canon of the Scriptures - count 1 Sam and 2 Sam as separate books, and if the books constituting the Minor Prophets are taken individually as well (*SYM* discusses verses from Hosea, Amos, Micah, Zephaniah, Habakkuk, Zechariah and Malachi).

<sup>103</sup> The composition also presents some extra materials that only appear in MS Paris 712: an introduction, an index of the chapters, a series of consolatory prophecies and a critique to the Gospel (the latter also appears in MS Rome OR. 53, but quite independently from MS Paris).

<sup>104</sup> In the second part, quotations from the Vulgate version of the Gospels are often - but not always - reported in Latin written in Hebrew script and then translated.

<sup>105</sup> *Sefer Yosef ha-Meqanne'* (Jerusalem: Meqise Nirdamim, 1970).

<sup>106</sup> For a description of the MSS and their cataloguing, see Rosenthal, *Sefer Yosef*, pp. 29-32.

<sup>107</sup> R. Elijah's words appear before a list of consolatory prophecies taken from the Bible, and this is one of the materials that can only be found in P; see here note 2.

Nathan the Official, and of R. Nathan himself; and of the rest of the sages who are mentioned and identified by name. Behold, see for yourselves: I gave this composition the name of Joseph the Zealot<sup>108</sup>”. R. Elijah then goes on and explains - in quite poetic garb and with an utterly modern sensibility - that he is but the editor of the text: “And may the Heavens be my witnesses, not out of presumption I committed myself to arrange its structure<sup>109</sup> but for two reasons<sup>110</sup>”; and these two reasons - explains Elijah - are his unquestionable devotion to the God of Israel and the fact that he has grown old, and can only hope to destroy “the prince of oblivion<sup>111</sup>” who rules over the Land of Israel by teaching his coreligionists how to verbally refute their opponents. As if to reiterate his role as a mere redactor<sup>112</sup> of the text, Elijah adds that: “...not indulging my personal inclination I collected [these sayings], but turning to venerable men and gathering all [their] words together<sup>113</sup>”. Who, then, can be regarded as the author of the text? As already explained above by R. Elijah himself, the contents of the work must be attributed to R. Joseph “the Zealot” and to his father R. Nathan the Official<sup>114</sup>; but it is only at two thirds of the work (after chapter 106<sup>115</sup>, at the end of the section dedicated to the Prophets) that R. Joseph (who has very often been speaking in the first person in the course of the work) introduces himself and even provides us with the genealogical tree of his family, reaching as far as six generations in the past, up to R. Todros of Narbonne<sup>116</sup> “who completed the building of a synagogue in Narbonne and who destroyed the barren house of the wicked through his prayer<sup>117</sup>”. It is very likely that the epithet “official” (from the Latin *officialis*) designated a service<sup>118</sup> performed by R. Nathan for the archbishop of Sens<sup>119</sup>: apart from several

<sup>108</sup> Rosenthal, *Sefer Yosef* p. 15; P fol. 5v; this and the following translations from *SYM* are mine.

<sup>109</sup> Heb. לְסֹדֵר הַסֵּדֵר; Rosenthal, *ibid*.

<sup>110</sup> Rosenthal, *ibid*; P, *ibid*.

<sup>111</sup> שֶׁר שֶׁל שְׂכֵחָה; Rosenthal, *ibid*.

<sup>112</sup> In P fol. 34r we have a case of scribal error in the form of homeoteleuton: the copyist - while reading the original text - skipped from one word to the same word on a later line, thus leaving out a whole line in transcription (which has been later reintegrated in the margin). We can therefore trust r. Elijah’s words that he is but a redactor, though we can only speculate if he was copying from the *Urtext*.

<sup>113</sup> *Ibid*.

<sup>114</sup> The epithet “official” (אֲרֻפִּיזְיָאֵל) seems to have been in use in southern France until the 15<sup>th</sup> century; see Neubauer, A., “Nachtrag”, *Monatsschrift für die Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judenthums*, 20 (1871), p. 514; here is mentioned a copyist by the name of Judah bar Solomon the Official, who lived in the 15<sup>th</sup> century.

<sup>115</sup> Rosenthal, pp. 96-97; P fol. 30v. Reference to chapters will also be indiscriminately made, since they already appear at the margins of P and are adopted by Rosenthal himself in his edition.

<sup>116</sup> On the origins of the Officials’ family from the city of Narbonne, see also Zuckerman, A. J., “The Nasi of Frankland in the Ninth Century and the *Colaphus Judaeorum* in Toulouse”, *Proceedings of the American Academy for Jewish Research*, 33 (1965), p. 52. Todros of Narbonne appears to be identical with Todros the Nasi mentioned by Benjamin of Tudela, whose grandson Meshullam ben Kalonymos ben Todros was among the Provençal rabbinic authorities involved in the Maimonidean controversy around the years 1230-1235; so Kahn, Z., *REJ* 3 (1881), p. 2.

<sup>117</sup> Rosenthal, *ibid*.

<sup>118</sup> S.v. “officialis” in J.F. Niermeyer (ed.), *Mediae Latinitatis Lexicon Minus* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1976), p. 736.

dialogues centred on religious matters between the two of them, we have one specific instance<sup>120</sup> where R. Nathan and the archbishop are horse-riding next to each other and another, even more telling passage<sup>121</sup> in which R. Nathan, giving account to the archbishop of a disastrous business transaction which took place without his knowledge, refers to the lost assets as “our goods”, thus implying a proximity to the bishop that might even be seen - if only speculatively - as some form of business partnership. In addition to this profession, R. Nathan must have also distinguished himself as a respectable rabbinic authority because, even though no singular work has been attributed to him, still his interpretations on the Bible - in the style of northern France’s *peshat* exegesis - can be found in a remarkable number of sources<sup>122</sup>. Furthermore, he can be regarded as the main voice within the whole work: no less than forty dialogues are attributed to him, involving a plethora of personalities spanning from unidentified priests (*komer*) or tonsured monks (*gallah*), to the already mentioned archbishop of Sens (chap. 3, 30, 39, 83, 92, 93), from the Chancellor of the University of Paris (chap. 8, 36, 122; identified with Odo of Châteauroux<sup>123</sup>, 1190-1273) to the bishops of Meaux (chap. 30), Poitiers and Angoulême (chap. 85); in two instances (chap. 37 and 114) R. Nathan debates with a pope, who in a marginal addition to chap. 92 is called Pope Gregory<sup>124</sup>.

Interpretations attributed to R. Joseph son of R. Nathan the Official can also be found in a number of later sources<sup>125</sup>; the two polemicists in turn show great familiarity with a great number of rabbinical personalities and exegetes, who may occasionally take part in the debate and refute the Christian authorities (see for example the dialogues attributed to Rabbenu Tam, chap. 23; and to R. Joseph Qara, chap. 5, 21, 76 and 77). Moreover, resort to both Rashi’s exegesis and to other tosafists’ interpretations is common throughout the whole composition<sup>126</sup>; among the many

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<sup>119</sup>We do not precisely know which bishop or archbishop *SYM* refers to, because - unlike other personalities mentioned in the text -the archbishop of Sens is never called by name; what we know is that during the period of our concern (ca 1220 - 1260), the episcopal see in Sens was dominated by scions of the Cornu (or Cornut) family: Gautier (1221 - 1241); Gilles or Gilon (1241 - 1254); Henri (1254 - 1258). See P. Quesvers, “Notes sur les Cornu Seigneurs de Villeneuve-la-Cornue, La Chapelle Rablais et de Fontenailles en Brie”, *Bulletin de la société d’archéologie, sciences, lettres et arts du département de Seine et Marne* 10 (1894), p. 37 ff.

<sup>120</sup>Rosenthal, *Sefer Yosef* p. 14; P fol. 4v.

<sup>121</sup>Rosenthal, *ibid.* p. 32; P fol. 11v.

<sup>122</sup>See for example: *Da’at Zeqenim* (early 14<sup>th</sup> century; Livorno: 1783) fol. 3v; 39r; 88r; Joseph Kimḥi’s *Sefer ha-Galui*, (Berlin: 1887) Appendix p. 164; *Hadar Zeqenim* by R. Asher ben Yehiel (1250 or 1259 - 1317; Livorno: 1840) fol. 46r and 70v.

<sup>123</sup>So Kahn, Z., “Étude sur le livre de Joseph le zélateur”, *Revue des Études Juives*, 3 (1881), p. 12.

<sup>124</sup>In the text: גריגוריא (P) or גריגוריא (H); it is object of debate if he is to be identified with Gregory IX (pope: 1227 - 1241) or with Gregory X (1271 -1276), the dating of the work also depending on this (see below my discussion on the dating of the work).

<sup>125</sup>For a list of references, see Rosenthal, *Sefer Yosef*, Introduction pp. 23-24 and especially notes 83-86.

<sup>126</sup>For an exhaustive enumeration of the many personalities involved or mentioned in *SYM* - pertaining to both the rabbinical establishment and the clergy - see Kahn Z., *REJ* 3 (1881), pp. 3-16.



references to patristic literature<sup>127</sup>, Jerome - while only being explicitly mentioned in chap. 107 as the one who (mis)translated the Torah for the Christians - is probably the Christian commentator whose exegesis recurs the most in the course of the work<sup>128</sup>.

Much like his father, R. Joseph also meets and debates with a considerable amount of ecclesiastic personalities of the time, such as: the bishop of Mans (chap. 25); the bishop of Vannes (chap. 54, 58 and 107); a Dominican friar (chap. 16); some Franciscan friars (chap. 19, 56, 64, 87); and others. Joseph was furthermore a student of R. Yehi'el of Paris (quoted in chap. 36 and 59), who participated in the notorious Paris disputation of 1240; he also composed the Hebrew account<sup>129</sup> of this event, as one can infer from the presence of his signature - albeit skilfully encrypted - in a short poem<sup>130</sup> found at the end of the account of the disputation itself in P<sup>131</sup>; and also from the fact that, both in P and H, the disputation is placed immediately after *SYM*, as if to emphasize the proximity and the affinity between the two works.

## 2. A Tentative Dating of *SYM*.

Polemical texts from the Middle Ages are hardly, if ever, conceived as stable, concluded literary units; rather, an urge for syncretic expansion seems to characterize them<sup>132</sup>, in the likely awareness

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<sup>127</sup> These span for a period of over a millennium, from Justin Martyr (100 - 165) to Alan of Lille (c. 1128 - 1202/1203); it does not necessarily mean - and it is indeed quite unlikely - that the author had read extensively from the patristic literature, but it is probably symptomatic of the fact that the Christian arguments reproduced in *SYM* are genuinely derived - albeit with some comprehensible modifications - from a real contact with learned exponents of the Church establishment.

<sup>128</sup> In the commentary to *SYM* which follows the translation, it has emerged in no less than thirty cases that Christian's arguments on certain biblical passages seem to echo a more or less vulgarized version of Jerome's commentary on the quoted biblical verses. This does not imply a direct consultation of patristic sources, as I will make clear later on.

<sup>129</sup> As very recently pointed out by Piero Capelli, - "Editing Thirteenth-Century Polemical Texts. Questions of Method and the Status Quaestionis in Three Polemical Works", *Henoah* 37 (1/2015), pp. 46-47 - the two available critical editions of the *Wikkuah Paris* (Thorn: Grünbaum, 1873; Margalot, 1922) are methodologically outdated; Capelli is also working on his own, revised edition of the text.

<sup>130</sup> This poem can be found in Rosenthal, *Sefer Yosef*, Appendix 2 pp. 141-2.

<sup>131</sup> Kahn had already quite satisfactorily decoded the short poem and his references to both R. Joseph's full name (*Yosef ben ha-rav Natan ha-Ofisial*) and to the work itself (*teshuvot*, i.e. "refutations"); see *REJ* 3 (1881), pp. 1-2.

<sup>132</sup> This is quite evident in MS Paris, where several marginal additions accompany the whole work (with the exception of the last 5 *folia* containing the critique to the Gospels); curiously enough, three of these additions (to chapter 47, 91 and 96) are integrated in the text by H, and referred to not in the first person but in the name of one of R. Joseph's brothers, R. Asher. Since MS Paris dates from the end of the 13<sup>th</sup> century, it is not unlikely that these annotations came from R. Asher's own hands (though he is not the editor of the text, as seen above): D. Simonsen had already argued (*REJ* 4 [1882] pp. 146-147) that the suppression of R. Asher's name in the notes to the earlier P might be due to modesty (which usually befits those who are still alive at the time of the writing), while it reappears in the later H; and that his signature - as well as Joseph's - is actually concealed in the poem that closes the *Wikkuah Yehi'el*: אשר עד כה : אשר עד כה ( "Asher, in his grace, helped me thus far and allowed me to conclude the refutations"). Modesty would also explain why R. Joseph only introduces himself in chapter 106, at two-thirds of the work; which, as

that it is crucial “to be persistent in studying what you will reply to the freethinker<sup>133</sup>”; this is probably also the reason why a considerable amount of polemical arguments that feature in *SYM* can be found in *Niṣṣaḥon Vetus*<sup>134</sup> (“The Ancient [Book of] Victory”, henceforth: *NV*) And it is probably no coincidence that *SYM* itself has been referred to, in the past, as *Sefer Niṣṣaḥon*<sup>135</sup>, which may perhaps suggest that the two compositions and their content were already perceived as akin and mutually related.

It is especially from the 16<sup>th</sup> century that books such as *SYM* started raising suspicion and indignation among Christian Hebraists: in 1510 the German theologian and convert from Judaism Johannes Pfefferkorn (born Joseph; 1469-1523) confiscated over 1500 volumes from the Jewish community of Frankfurt (the previous year he had asked and obtained from emperor Maximilian I permission to investigate all the books of the Jews in the whole Empire, and to destroy those which he considered blasphemous against Christianity and the Bible); also a *Nixxon* appeared in the list of the books confiscated<sup>136</sup>. Sebastian Münster (1489 - 1522) mentions in one of his letters a *Sefer Niṣṣaḥon*, which he declares to use for his translation of the gospels into Hebrew<sup>137</sup>. Finally, yet another Christian Hebraist, Johannes Buxtorf (1564 - 1629), expresses his own indignation against “[...] impurus ille et execrandus liber נִיצַחֹן Nizzachon”, which has been dictated by the Devil himself and which attacks and scoffs at the stories narrated in the four Gospels<sup>138</sup>.

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seen above, prompted the “editor” R. Elijah to add, among other things, an introduction clearly specifying the work’s authorship.

<sup>133</sup> “Freethinker”, Heb. אפיקורוס. This saying (Mishnah *Avot* 2:4), often found in polemical literature albeit with slight, negligible modifications, also appears in *SYM* (ed. Rosenthal, p. 15; P fol. 5r)

<sup>134</sup> The reference edition is the exemplar work by David Berger, *The Jewish-Christian debate in the High Middle Ages. A Critical Edition of Nizzahon Vetus* (Northvale, New Jersey - London: Jason Aronson Inc., 1996; first edition: Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America, 1979) see especially pp. 379-380 where Berger argues that *SYM*’s critique to the Gospels as it appears in R (fol. 13-19) served as an indirect source of *NV*’s critique to the Gospel. Also noteworthy is the fact that one argument is explicitly attributed by *NV* to R. Nathan the Official (האופסיול; see Berger, *Nizzahon Vetus* p. 67); actually a much greater number of parallel passages between the two works exist, which can be easily identified through Berger’s Index to his work (I counted no less than 113).

<sup>135</sup> L. Zunz, *Zur Geschichte und Literatur* (Berlin, Verlag von Veit und Comp., 1845), p. 86; M. Steinschneider, *Catalog der Hebräischen Handschriften in der Staatsbibliothek zu Hamburg* (Hamburg: Otto Meissner, 1878), pp. 71, 176-177. In H, *SYM* is clearly defined as a *sefer niṣṣaḥon*, an expression that here seems to describe a literary genre (see note 66 below).

<sup>136</sup> Kracauer, J., “Pfefferkorn et la confiscation des livres hébreux à Francfort en 1510”, *REJ* 22 (1891); p.118.

<sup>137</sup> Karl Heinz Burmeister (ed.), *Briefe Sebastian Münster: Lateinisch un Deutsch* (Frankfurt: 1964) p. 79.

<sup>138</sup> Kaufmann, J., *Rabbi Yom Tov Lipman Mühlhausen* (New York: 1927) pp. 96-97; the remarks by Buxtorf here reported (note 43) actually identify the author of the above-mentioned book with “Rabbi Lipman”; the work - Buxtorf informs us - was composed in the year 1459, and it would be the same book from which Buxtorf’s own predecessor, Sebastian Münster, had drawn years before for his edition of Matthew’s Gospel in Hebrew, which was published in Basel. The elements that make it quite doubtful that Buxtorf’s identification of the work with the notorious *Sefer ha-Niṣṣaḥon* by R. Yom Tov Lipman Mühlhausen was correct are essentially two: 1) Mühlhausen composed his work in the years between 1401 and 1405 (Kaufman, *ibid.* p. 63), and by 1459 he was in all likelihood dead; 2) his work deals with the Gospels and their contents only incidentally and very briefly (*ibid.* 97), while being mostly focused on the Old

One of the decisive points in formulating a correct dating of *SYM* is to decide if it predates or postdates *NV* and - in view of their resemblance in content - which of the two has drawn from the other. Oliver S. Rankin considered Wagenseil's dating of *NV* to the 12<sup>th</sup> century<sup>139</sup> as reliable<sup>140</sup>; however, as Leopold Zunz had already pointed out more than a hundred years earlier, *NV* quotes numerous rabbinic authorities who lived in the 13<sup>th</sup> century - such as the anti-Maimonist Solomon ben Abraham of Montpellier<sup>141</sup> - and even the Tartars, namely Genghis Khan's Mongols, who rapidly conquered the territories encompassing modern-day Russia, Poland, Hungary, Dalmatia and Bulgaria in the period between 1237 and 1242, much to the bewilderment of the European Christendom of the time<sup>142</sup>.

Furthermore, in a comment on Gn 37:15 appearing in the already mentioned *Da'at Zeqenim*<sup>143</sup>, Zunz<sup>144</sup> managed to grasp an allusion to the end of the 5<sup>th</sup> millennium (i.e. the year 1239), when the "exile in Edom" will come to an end<sup>145</sup>; therefore, since the author of *Da'at Zeqenim* attributes this prophecy to his own father and teacher, and since he also reports another saying that his teacher (presumably not his father again) heard from R. Nathan the Official<sup>146</sup>, Zunz maintained that the activity of the two authors of *SYM* must have taken place around the years 1220-1240 (R. Nathan) and 1240-1260 (R. Joseph). Heinrich Graetz rejected the dating suggested by Zunz, pointing out that R. Nathan's activity must have taken place before the year 1240, otherwise the author of *Da'at Zeqenim* would have not reported an obviously unfulfilled prophecy; also, the fact that R. Joseph affirms to have heard R. Elijah of Joigny's words from his very mouth<sup>147</sup> should backdate the whole work of at least half a century, since the latter was killed in the York massacre of 1190<sup>148</sup>. Zadoc

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Testament. These considerations already brought David Berger (*Jewish Christian Debate*, p. 377) to assume this "Nizzachon" identical not with the one written by Mülhausen but with the older work by the same name, which is the object of his critical edition; the latter (commonly called *Sefer Nišṣaḥon ha-yashan* or *vetus*, to distinguish it from Mülhausen's work) contains as a matter of fact many quotations from the Gospels, which - as also suggested by Berger (*ibid.*) - probably constituted a source of Münster's *Evangelium Mattheum in Lingua Hebraica* (1537 and 1557).

<sup>139</sup> *Tela Ignea Satanae* (Altdorf, 1681), vol. 2 p. 2: "[...] at, qui presentem composuit librum, nisi fallor, duodecimo seculo infelicem vitam agebat, vel circiter".

<sup>140</sup> O. S. Rankin, *Jewish Religious Polemic* (Edinburgh University Press, 1956), p. 49.

<sup>141</sup> Zunz, *Zur Geschichte*, p. 85.

<sup>142</sup> See for example P. Jackson, "The Mongols and Europe" in D. Abulafia (ed.), *The New Cambridge Medieval History*, vol. 5 (Cambridge University Press, 2008), pp. 703-707.

<sup>143</sup> *Da'at Zeqenim*, fol. 19r: גלות אדום לסוף האלפים יכלה במהרה בימינו מפי מורי אבי ז"ל.

<sup>144</sup> *Ibid.* p. 87.

<sup>145</sup> For an overview of apocalyptic expectations around the years 1239-1240, see I. J. Yuval, "The End of the Millennium (1240): Jewish Hopes, Christian Fears" in Id., *Two Nations in Your Womb. Perceptions of Jews and Christians in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press, 2006), pp. 257 ff.

<sup>146</sup> *Ibid.* fol. 3v.

<sup>147</sup> Heb.: ועתה דברי הקדוש הרב ר' יום טוב מיואני אפרש, אשר מפיו יקרא אלי; Rosenthal, *Sefer Yosef* p. 31; P fol. 11v.

<sup>148</sup> Graetz, Heinrich., *Geschichte der Juden* (Leipzig: Verlag Von Oskar Leiner, 1874-1900), vol. 6 p. 406.

Kahn, however, refuted Graetz's argumentations and argued that prophecies such as the one appearing in *Da'at Zeqenim* should be seen as customary games of imagination, with the aim of brightening up people's spirits and consoling the Jews of the precarious conditions they experienced in the diaspora. As for Graetz's second argument, Ephraim E. Urbach emphasized<sup>149</sup> that it is impossible to read here an active form of the verb ("which his mouth would pronounce") but that, on the contrary, the preposition *me-* ("from, on the part of") can only allow for a passive rendition of the passage ("from whose mouth it was related to me" through an intermediary). Finally, even Graetz's last assumption - that religious disputations in northern France must have taken place before the synodal decree promulgated by Odo of Sully around 1203, which forbade any religious dispute between clergymen and Jews<sup>150</sup> - is rebutted yet again by Urbach<sup>151</sup>, based on the observation that other later works (such as the already mentioned *NV* and another polemical fragment<sup>152</sup> dated with certainty to the year 1269) show the same liberty of expression and even audacity as *SYM*. On top of all that, as already remembered by Rosenthal<sup>153</sup>, we have the notorious account related by Jean de Joinville, biographer of King Louis IX of France, in which a disputation takes place between a Jew and a Christian knight in the presence of the king himself, who reigned between the years 1226-1270; and thus not only after Odo of Sully's synodal decrees, but even following the canons emanated in the Fourth Lateran Council of 1215, which strongly limited the Jews' participation in communal and public life<sup>154</sup>.

Today, most scholars are inclined to believe that *SYM* predated *NV* and that the latter drew freely from the first; thus, if *SYM* is to be dated around the years 1240-1260, *NV* should be dated to a few decades after the work by R. Joseph the Official, namely between the end of the 13<sup>th</sup> century and the beginning of the 14<sup>th</sup><sup>155</sup>. There is, of course, no lack of dissenting voices: Albert Ehrmann

<sup>149</sup> Urbach, Ephraim E., "Études sur la littérature polémique au moyen-âge", *REJ* 100 (1935), p. 64.

<sup>150</sup> Synodal Decree n° 67: "Nullus clericus fidejubeat Judaeo vel feneratori; nec obliget pro pignore aliquo modo ornamenta ecclesie vel libros Judeo"; in O. Pontal, *Les statuts synodaux français du XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle. Tome I: Les status de Paris et le synodal de l'Ouest* (Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale, 1971), p. 76.

<sup>151</sup> Urbach, *ibid.* p. 60, 63-4.

<sup>152</sup> Judah Rosenthal, "Wikkuah dati ben hakham be-shem Menaḥem u-ven ha-mumar ve-ha-nazir ha-dominiqani Pablo Christiani", in M. Zohori, A. Tartakover, H. Ormian, *Hagut Ivrit ba-Ameriqah* (Tel-Aviv: Brit Ivrit 'Olamit 'al yede Yavneh, 1974), vol. 3 pp. 61-74.

<sup>153</sup> *Sefer Yosef*, Introduction pp. 18-19.

<sup>154</sup> See canons 67 to 70 (Latin and English) in S. Grayzel, *The Church and the Jews in the XIIIth Century* (Philadelphia: The Dropsie College for Hebrew and Cognate Learning, 1933), pp. 306-311.

<sup>155</sup> So Urbach, *REJ* 100 (1935); Rosenthal, *Sefer Yosef*, Introduction p. 15; Berger, *Jewish-Christian Debate*, pp. 33-4; but not Zadoc Kahn, who identifies the above mentioned pope Gregory appearing in the marginal addition to chap. 92 (see here note 23) with Gregory X, and argues that *SYM* must have been written some years after 1274, when the pope came to Lyon in occasion of the second council which bears this city's name (Second Council of Lyon); *REJ* 1 (1880), pp. 230-31.

argued that the defense of the Talmud which appears only in *NV* and not in *SYM*, coupled with the complete absence of any reference in *NV* to the Paris disputation of 1240 and to the personalities there involved (such as R. Yehi'el of Paris), make it clear that the author of *NV*, unlike our R. Joseph, felt comfortable in defending openly the Talmud, and thus he must have composed his work before 1240; which would in turn imply that it was *SYM* which drew from *NV* and not vice versa<sup>156</sup>. Before discussing the relation between *SYM* and *NV*, I will briefly address the following remarks to Ehrmann's statements:

- i) works such as *NV* and *SYM* are primarily conceived as manual-like collections of small, independent polemical fragments, each one of them expounding a challenge and a counter-challenge on a biblical passage (i.e., a Christian interpretation of the Scripture is readily refuted by a Jewish exegete); in no way they can be seen as a coherent, unitary account of a historical event. In reading them, one has the impression that the very few, blurred references to historical events that occasionally appear (such as the "affair [Heb. *'alilah*] of Pons", of which nothing is explicitly said<sup>157</sup>) are solely accessory, while the focus of the work rests mainly on how to refute the Christians. Furthermore - as seen above - Joseph son of R. Nathan the Official had dedicated one entire, separate work to the account of the Paris disputation of 1240, and probably did not feel the need to mention in *SYM* either that episode or the Talmud, the latter being already extensively dealt with in the account of the Paris disputation itself;
- ii) the assertion that the Talmud does not appear in *SYM* is simply inexact: in chapter 41<sup>158</sup> we have the explicit mention of tractate *Yevamot* with reference to excluding the Moabites and the Ammonites from the Assembly of the Lord (Dt 23:3), and how this conciliates with David himself descending from Ruth the Moabite<sup>159</sup>. What is more, this also constitutes the only explicit mention of the Talmud in *NV*<sup>160</sup> as well;

<sup>156</sup> Ehrmann, A., "When was the 'Sefer Nitzakhon' written?" in *The Harvard Theological Review* 71 (1978), pp. 155-7.

<sup>157</sup> The episode is mentioned in chapter 85 of *SYM* (Rosenthal, *Sefer Yosef*; P fol. 26v), though all the details are to be learnt through collateral literature: Gross, *Gallia Judaica* p. 445 and Kahn *REJ* 3 (1881), p. 15-16 (note 1) both point to the report originally found in Armand Maichin, *Histoire de Saintonge, Poitou, Aunis et Angoumois* (Saint Jean d'Angely: 1671) p. 139: "Mais la haute Ville n'est pas fort peuplée, parce que les Juifs y demeurants autresfois, & y ayans pendu un Religieux croisé, il s'en furent tous chassés et leurs maisons abbatues". The date of the event, however, is unknown.

<sup>158</sup> Rosenthal, *Sefer Yosef* p. 56-7; P fol. 19r.

<sup>159</sup> See *T.B. Yevamot* 69a, 76b.

<sup>160</sup> Berger, *Jewish-Christian Debate* p. 230.

iii) on top of that, besides the scattered Talmudic and Midrashic allusions that often and predictably constitute the basis of the rabbis' counter-arguments, converts and Catholic clergymen as well do not refrain from displaying their knowledge of extra-biblical Jewish sources. Thus, for example, a friar quoting the Talmud<sup>161</sup> on the purportedly heretical consumption of the Leviathan's flesh in the eschatological banquet is promptly refuted by the author, who does not hesitate in agreeing with the Talmud's view and in asserting that the Leviathan is a powerful and remarkable being, not a demon. In another instance<sup>162</sup>, an apostate goes even further and tries to prove his point based on a midrashic quotation: just like the Midrash says that the Lord wounds with a knife and heals with the knife<sup>163</sup>, so one should admit that the world was lost because of a woman (Eve) and subsequently saved by a woman (Mary)<sup>164</sup>.

### 3. Textual Transmission.

As illustrated in the previous paragraph, the historical relation between *Sefer Yosef ha-Meqanne* and *Niṣṣaḥon Vetus* has been along the years the subject of much academic debate, with a remarkable number of scholars in favor of a chronological priority of the first over the latter<sup>165</sup>, and some other proposing the opposite relation<sup>166</sup>. Though it is quite reasonable to refrain from expressing any final and ultimate evaluation on the chronology of the two works, it is at best frustrating for the modern philologist to conclude, with Raimund Leicht, that “[...] in realm of Jewish polemical literature from medieval France and Germany, there do not seem to have been anything like ‘archetypes’ or ‘copies’ *per se*, but only a corpus of unique manuscripts<sup>167</sup> [...]”. After a thorough analysis of *SYM*'s three main manuscripts carried out while preparing the critical apparatus of the work, I feel indeed inclined to share Leicht's opinion on the problematic and composite nature of R, mainly due to its

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<sup>161</sup> Chap. 132; the Talmudic reference is to *T.B. Bava Batra* 75a.

<sup>162</sup> Chap. 10.

<sup>163</sup> Cf. *Leviticus Rabbah, parashah* 18 (ed. Margalio).

<sup>164</sup> On the apostates using midrashic and Talmudic literature to prove the truth of Christianity, see here my Introduction on the Jewish-Christian debate and especially paragraphs V, VI and VIII.

<sup>165</sup> Loeb, Isidore, “La controverse religieuse entre les Chrétiens et les Juifs au moyen âge en France et en Espagne”, in *Revue d'histoire des religions* 17 (1888) pp. 311-317; Breuer, M., *Sefer Niṣṣaḥon Yashan* (Bar Ilan University: 1978), p. 10; Berger, *Jewish-Christian Debate*, pp. 379-80.

<sup>166</sup> Cf. the already mentioned Ehrmann, pp. 155-7.

<sup>167</sup> Leicht, R., “Johannes Reuchlin's Lost Polemical Manuscript and the Archetype of the *Nizzahon Vetus*” in Ra'anan S. Boustan, Klaus Herrmann, Id., Annette Yoshiko Reed, Giuseppe Veltri (ed.), *Envisioning Judaism. Studies in honor of Peter Schäfer on the Occasion of his Seventieth Birthday* vol. 2 (Tubingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2013) p.1307.

consisting of “different manuscript codices, each written by more than one scribe at the same time”<sup>168</sup>. As for *SYM*, however, I am much more optimistic on the relation between P (the most complete of the MSS insofar as it contains additional materials and no truncation whatsoever of the refutations) and H (which is interrupted after Job and does not contain neither the last five refutations on Daniel nor the critique of the Gospels<sup>169</sup>), to the point that I can say that the latter is a direct copy of the first. My reasons are as follows:

- i) it is indeed true that there are some, even relevant sections of P that are only exclusive to it (an introduction; an index of the chapters; a series of consolatory prophecies taken from Deuteronomy and the Prophets), but - as seen - they have been declared to come from a different hand than Joseph the Official’s: “This is the oration of R. Elijah, up to the beginning of Genesis; because from that point onwards follow the refutations of R. Joseph son of R. Nathan the Official, and of R. Nathan himself; and of the rest of the sages who are mentioned and identified by name. Behold, I gave this composition the name of Joseph the Zealot<sup>170</sup>”. We must therefore assume that the editorial concerns of H differed from those of P, and that the redactor of the first simply preferred to report the veritable *corpus* of the text (from the refutations to Genesis onwards) and to omit the extra parts<sup>171</sup>;
- ii) H follows faithfully P with neither interpolations nor innovations<sup>172</sup>. Simply, H reintegrates in the body of the text - which is regularly constituted by two columns of text per *folio* - the marginal additions to P, and does so respecting the canonical order of biblical books and of

<sup>168</sup> *Ibid.* p. 1304. Urbach had divided the manuscript in three distinct fragments (A1, A2 and B) and studied each of them separately, see his *Études sur la littérature polémique*; he also considered B to be one of the main sources for the later *NV*, together with *SYM* itself: “L’auteur du *Nizzahon vetus*, ouvrage qui est certainement un remaniement du manuscrit B, a collationné ce dernier avec l’ouvrage de Joseph le Zélateur” (p. 77).

<sup>169</sup> R had stopped copying *SYM* even earlier, in the middle of chapter 72 dedicated to Ezekiel.

<sup>170</sup> Cf. note 7 above.

<sup>171</sup> A marginal note appears at the beginning of *SYM* in H [fol. 50v] and explains: בספר נצחון נמצא אך ורק התחלה גזולה; “in [this] *Sefer nissahon* is to be found only the beginning, which has been robbed of the consolations and of the reward which resonate [for us], such as are reported in the *Nathan* while being absent in this book”. In contrast to the idea of a total lack of authoriality and of an extreme, even disruptive fluidity in medieval works, here we have a scribal personality - which must have lived not much later than the original editor, since he saw it fit to fill the margin of other folios with his personal additions, the content thereof is not too distant from the routine polemical arguments - declaring his awareness that the present book of polemics originated from the collection attributed to *Nathan*; and that it has been “robbed” of some of its constitutive elements, namely the prophecies of consolation, which were clearly still felt as necessary. It is also to be noted that the verb “to rob” is far from neutral, and quite telling of this individual’s attitude towards the omission carried out by the copyist.

<sup>172</sup> In at least one case H appears more informed than P on the value of bread and wine within the ritual of Holy Communion, and thus exhibits an original rephrasing of P; the argument, however, remains unvaried, as well as the biblical quotations adduced (see marginal addition to chap. 91 and commentary).

the chapters within the books. Therefore, it may seem that H occasionally adds an extra section between two paragraphs which appeared consecutively in P, whereas actually it only places the polemical argument where it belongs according to the biblical progression;

- iii) We have precisely in one of these marginal additions to P<sup>173</sup> an instance of what in Lachmann's method would be called "significant error", i.e. an error that cannot be easily reproduced by several copyists independently from each other<sup>174</sup>. The addition reports a quotation from Habakkuk 2:4 in which a *hapax legomenon* would appear - 'uppelah ("insolent", referred to the soul of the unrighteous) - but what we actually find is an easier (*facilior*) *shefalah* ("low, humble"). H reintegrates the annotation<sup>175</sup> into the body of the text right after the chapter dealing with Habakkuk 2:3, and yet again writes *shefalah* in place of 'uppelah (the former is an antonym of the latter).

R is indeed quite flexible in his redaction of *SYM*: it definitely does not refrain from adding and modifying what does not fit its editorial plan, drawing freely and sometimes even whimsically from a *corpus* that he no longer feels bound to follow and copy *verbatim*. As a general rule, the names of the *pashtanim* of Northern France (Joseph Bekhor Shor, Joseph Qara, Rashbam and at times even Rashi) are omitted, and their argumentation is often replaced by the impersonal declarative periphrasis "it is necessary to reply" (*yesh le-hashiv*). There are exceptions: in one case the name of Rabbenu Tam is quoted explicitly (whereas in P and H we only have the abbreviation); and in another case R. Joseph of Chartres<sup>176</sup> - Nathan the Official's uncle - becomes for unclear reasons R. Mattatiah of Chartres<sup>177</sup>, a contemporary of Rashi and in no way related to the Officials' family. Other Christian personalities are generally maintained: the pope, the archbishop of Sens, the chancellor of Paris and even an unidentified friar by the name of Garin (or Guerin).

It is furthermore very likely that R did not know any of the marginal additions to P that H faithfully reports<sup>178</sup>; thus, R may have originated from a textual transmission of *SYM* that developed quite independently from the two other manuscripts.

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<sup>173</sup> P fol. 28r.

<sup>174</sup> This would be described in Lachmannian terms as conjunctive error (*Bindefehler*): a mistake that is common to B and C against A, and that it is such that, in all likelihood, B and C cannot have incurred in this mistake independently from each other. In this case, A is not represented by an archetype or an antigraph of *SYM*, but by the biblical text itself.

<sup>175</sup> H fol. 64v, top of the second column.

<sup>176</sup> See Gross, *Gallia Judaica* pp. 603-604 and Kahn Z. in *REJ* 1 (1880), pp. 238-239, 246.

<sup>177</sup> See Gross, *ibid.*

<sup>178</sup> With at least one significant exception, see here note 76.



#### 4. The Gospel Sections

Both P and R have a section specifically dedicated to the refutation of the Christian Gospels, with some of the arguments being common to both works<sup>179</sup>; in both instances Matthew is the most quoted of the four Gospels<sup>180</sup>. H, on the other hand, completely omits the critique to the Gospels, and there are good reasons to believe that the copyist did so deliberately: this section is sensibly different from the first part of the work, to the extent that it can be questioned whether it originated with the Officials themselves or rather was a subsequent expansion. In particular:

- i) in P, the critique of the Gospels does not mention either the Officials or any of the other personalities (both Christians and Jewish) which had characterized the previous part of the work. This section is thus conceived not as a vivid exchange of dialogues in set times and places or as an account thereof, but rather has a more referential, essayistic tone where a proof-text is presented (“it is written in their book” i.e. the Gospel) and subsequently argumentations and refutations are directly expounded - either in the form of a statement or as rhetorical questions - or introduced by impersonal expressions (“it is necessary to reply”, “you shall answer”). The critique of the Gospels in R is quite independent in its contents, though the structure is not at all different from the one described above; R. Joseph is quoted only once at the very beginning of the section<sup>181</sup>; neither he nor any other specific personality is mentioned later, with the sole exception of the archbishop of Sens in one instance<sup>182</sup> seemingly echoing a marginal addition already found in MS Paris<sup>183</sup>;

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<sup>179</sup> However, it is indeed true that the bulk of the argumentations differ sensibly, with R being much closer to the critique of the Gospels as it appears in *NV*, as acknowledged also by Berger in his critical edition (*Jewish-Christian Debate*, pp. 379-80). It is also quite significant that Rosenthal did not include R's critique to the Gospel in his edition of *Sefer Yosef ha-Meqanne'*, thus not considering it technically a part of *SYM* at all; the scholar published this material separately: “Biqqoret Yehudit shel ha-Berit ha-Ḥadasha min ha-Me'ah ha-Yod-Gimel”, in *Studies in Jewish Bibliography, History and Literature in Honor of I. Edward Kiev*, ed. Charles Berlin (New York: KTAV Publishing House, 1971) p. 123-140.

<sup>180</sup> For an overview of the use of Matthew and the other gospels in *SYM*, see C. Ochs, “The Use of the Gospel of Matthew in Joseph ben Nathan's *Sefer Yosef ha-Meqanne'*”, in Id., *Matthaeus Adversos Christianos. The Use of the Gospel of Matthew in Jewish Polemics against the Divinity of Jesus* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2013), pp. 127-166; I fully share Ochs' conclusions that *SYM* “stands in the trajectory of earlier works” and that Joseph's “arguments also share the same philosophical assumption with previous works, i.e. that it is effectively impossible for God to become human [...] The intricacies of the Christian dogma of Jesus, namely being at the same time truly divine and truly human, appear to be rudimentarily appreciated, but by not engaging with any kind of deeper Christian reasoning this view is essentially ignored” (*ibid.* p. 165).

<sup>181</sup> From R *fol.* 13v: אֲתַחִיל תַּחֲלַת הַתְּשׁוּבָה שֶׁהַשִּׁיב הַר"ר יוֹסֵף עַל הַשְּׂמֵד.

<sup>182</sup> R *fol.* 18v.

<sup>183</sup> So also Rosenthal, *Sef. Yos.* p. 48 note 3 to chap. 29a.

- ii) the critique of the Gospels in P presents at least one purely philosophical argument which seems quite at odds not only with the overall tone of the work, but also with the polemical style of Northern France and Askhenaz in general, where vulgar and even obscene elements do not represent a rare occurrence<sup>184</sup>. Shortly after the opening of the Gospel section, we have as a matter of fact a disquisition on incarnation taking place despite God's fundamental immutability and uncreatedness, an argument which is certainly more remindful of debates taking place in contemporary Scholasticism rather than in Jewish polemical literature: "Moreover, you shall object to: '*Par puissance, non par nature, Createur fut fait creature*' - which means: 'Through power, not through midwifery<sup>185</sup>, the Creator was made into a creature'. Now, every wise man must admit that that which has been shaped, cannot shape a living thing; therefore, your deity has no power to create a creature: what profit is there in him<sup>186</sup>?";
- iii) finally, in reading the Tanakh and Gospel section consecutively, one cannot help perceiving a certain gap between the few, almost trivial notions on Jesus appearing in the first part (Jesus as the Messiah; part of the Trinity; son of Mary, in whose womb he entered; crucified; savior of all souls in Hell; resurrected) and the thorough - albeit not always correct - translation and refutation of several, specific pericopes of the New Testament in the second part (these are first reported in the Latin of the Vulgate, but written in Hebrew script, and subsequently translated into Hebrew);
- iv) it is also quite relevant that the Tanakh section does not display any knowledge of Latin, but of the vernacular language only. What is more, in discussing Ps 2:12 "*Arm yourselves with purity (Heb. bar)*", our author argues that Jerome translates *bar* with "son", thus implying an

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<sup>184</sup> On this distinction, see very recently Daniel J. Lasker "Joseph ben Nathan's Sefer Yosef ha-Mekanné and the Medieval Jewish Critique of Christianity", in E. Baumgarten, J. D. Galinsky (ed.), *Jews and Christians in Thirteenth-Century France* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015); pp. 113-122. Unlike Lasker, however, I am quite hesitant in believing that our author had a satisfactory knowledge of Latin and of the philosophical debates taking place at the time; the fact that some prophecies from the eighth chapter of Saadia Gaon's *Emunot ve-deot* appear after the introduction does not constitute sufficient proof, both because - as we saw - it is far from sure that they can be ascribed to R. Joseph; and also because (unlike other, purely philosophical sections of Saadia's work more directly involved with Aristotelian and Mutazilite doctrines and significantly ignored by *SYM*) these prophecies on the messianic age and its miracles have very scarce philosophic afflatus: simply, the fact that their literal fulfilment has not come to pass is taken as the empirical proof that the messiah has not come (i.e., Jesus was not the messiah of the biblical prophecies).

<sup>185</sup> Heb. בחכמה התולדה.

<sup>186</sup> P fol. 39v, *Sef. Yos.* p. 125. This passage seems to echo the doubts already rhetorically voiced by Gilbert Crispin (c. 1055 -1117) in his *Disputatio Iudaei cum Christiano*: "Quae me ratio, quae me Scripturam cogit auctoritas ut credam quod Deus homo fieri queat, vel homo factus jam existat? Si nulla apud Deum est transmutatio, nec ulla vicissitudinis obumbratio (*Jac.* I, 17), quomodo penes eum tanta rerum fieri potest alteratio, ut Deus homo fiat, Creator creatura, et incorruptibilis credatur factus esse corruptela?" (PL 159.1018).

easy Christological interpretation<sup>187</sup>; however, neither the *Vetus Latina* nor any of Jerome's three revisions of the Psalter translate *bar* with "son"<sup>188</sup>. On the contrary, Jerome's so-called *versio juxta Hebraicum* (his last revision of the book of Psalms carried out on Hebrew pre-Masoretic manuscripts) actually reads: *adore pure*, "worship with purity", which is quite a correct rendering of the original<sup>189</sup>. Why would Joseph the Zealot correctly use the Vulgate for the Gospel section and then be so inaccurate when quoting it in the first part of the work? And why would he here neglect to report the Latin text, as he did for most of the second section?

## 5. Conclusions.

In concluding, I would call for more optimism when it comes to establishing a relationship between the MSS of *SYM*, especially in identifying P as the antigraph of H; it is also relevant that even the more imaginative R - though probably not related to the other two MSS in a direct manner - reports at least one marginal addition only found in P<sup>190</sup>. Also, I believe there exist significant hints that, differently from what is generally assumed, the Gospel section was not originally conceived by the same author who penned the Tanakh section; and that the Officials' command of Latin did not allow them a direct consultation of Latin sources, be they scriptural, patristic, or even philosophical. This does not mean that they lacked any contact with the Catholic intelligentsia of their time; on the contrary, the vivid depiction of dialogues and the impressive knowledge of Christian exegesis that emerges from *SYM* cannot but entail a constant, participated and intense frequentation, as also suggested and legitimated by the service carried out by R. Nathan for the archbishop of Sens.

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<sup>187</sup> P fol. 31v; Rosenthal, *Sefer Yosef* p. 100.

<sup>188</sup> It is however necessary to remember that, in his commentary on the book of Psalms, Jerome admits that the above mentioned expression could also be read as alluding to Jesus, and would thus constitute a prophecy of his coming: "Pro eo quod in Graeco dicitur, δρὰξασθε παιδίας; in Hebraeo legitur NESCU BAR, quod interpretari potest, *adore filium*. Apertissima itaque de Christo prophetia, et ordo praecepti, Adorate filium: ne forte irascatur Dominus, hoc est, Pater" (*Breviarium in Psalmos*, PL 026.827).

<sup>189</sup> Cf. H. Ehrensberger, *Psalterium Vetus und die Psalterien des hl. Hieronymus. Psalm 1-17* (Tauberbischofsheim: Druck der J. Langschen Buchdruckerei, 1887), p. 3. The Latin versions prior to the so-called *juxta Hebraicum* translated *bar* with the Latin *disciplina* (*ibid.*).

<sup>190</sup> See here notes 76 and 77.

## Manuscripts and Partial Editions of *Sefer Yosef ha-Meqanne'*

### 1.1 Primary Manuscripts

- Bibliothèque Nationale de France, MS Paris 712 (P), folia 1v - 43r; parchment, Ashkenazi script, dating from end of the 13<sup>th</sup> - early 14<sup>th</sup> century<sup>191</sup>. Undoubtedly the most complete among the three main manuscripts, inasmuch as it contains, besides the biblical refutations, also an introduction, an index of the chapters, a series of consolatory prophecies and a critique to the Gospels. Following Rosenthal's own example and also reckoning that a different choice would have hardly been philologically reasonable, P has been taken as the reference text on which I carried out the collation of variants.
- Hamburg Stadtbibliothek (now: Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek) Hebrew MS 187 (H), folia 50r - 71r; parchment, Ashkenazi script, 14<sup>th</sup> - 15<sup>th</sup> century<sup>192</sup>. As pointed out above<sup>193</sup>, H tends to follow P quite faithfully, even though it lacks all of P's exclusive materials as well as the Gospel critique. The MS concludes with the refutation on Job (chap. 132 according to P's numbering) and omits the last five chapters on Daniel (133-137).
- Vittorio Emanuele Library (now: Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale), Rome, Hebrew MS Or. 53 (R), folia 1r - 19v; partly on parchment and partly on paper, cursive Ashkenazi script, early 15<sup>th</sup> century<sup>194</sup>. It also contains the Gospel critique, but quite independently from MS Paris<sup>195</sup>.

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<sup>191</sup> Zotenberg, Hirsch, *Catalogues des manuscrits hébreux et samaritains de la Bibliothèque Impériale* (Paris: 1865) p. 114.

<sup>192</sup> Steinschneider, Moritz, *Catalog der Hebräischen Handschriften in der Staatsbibliothek zu Hamburg*, (Hamburg: 1878) pp. 71-73.

<sup>193</sup> See *infra* p. LI.

<sup>194</sup> Di Capua, Antonio, "Cataloghi dei codici ebraici della Biblioteca Vittorio Emanuele" in *Cataloghi dei codici orientali di alcune biblioteche d'Italia stampati a spese del ministero della pubblica istruzione* (Firenze: Le Monnier, 1878) p. 46.

<sup>195</sup> Folia 13b-19b, which I have excluded from the present edition because of a closer resemblance to *Niṣṣaḥon Vetus*; Rosenthal - who also considered this an independent work, yet ascribable to the Officials family - published the Hebrew text in: "Biqqoret Yehudit shel ha-Berit ha-Ḥadasha min ha-Me'ah ha-Yod-Gimel", in *Studies in Jewish Bibliography, History and Literature in Honor of I. Edward Kiev*, ed. Charles Berlin (New York: KTAV Publishing House, 1971) p. 123-140.

## 1.2 *Later Manuscripts (not utilized).*

- Bodleian Library, Oxford, MS Mich. 240, folia 91r - 94r; paper, cursive Ashkenazi script, dated 1645<sup>196</sup>.
- Das Jüdisch-Theologisches Seminar, Breslau (now: The Jewish Historical Institute, Warsaw), MSS 176.2, 247 and 364.7<sup>197</sup>. The first is a copy of P, while the other two are copies of H; all three MSS date to the 19<sup>th</sup> century.
- The National Library of Israel, Jerusalem, Hebrew MS 38<sup>o</sup>775<sup>198</sup>; the MS was created by Adolf Posnanski based on MSS P, H and R. It was originally preserved in David Simonsen's library in Copenhagen<sup>199</sup>;
- Alliance Israélite Universelle, Paris, MS 448, which in 1889 Israel Isser Goldblum created by copying folia 1r - 13r and 31r - 35r from MS R<sup>200</sup>;
- Institute of Oriental Manuscripts, the Russian Academy of Sciences, St. Petersburg, MS B 481; a copy of MS Paris created in 1894 by Aryeh Liv ha-Cohen Schloßberg<sup>201</sup>.

## 2. *Partial Editions*

- Chapter 84 of *SYM* can be found (respectively in Hebrew and English translation) in Neubauer, A., Driver, S.R., *The Fifty-Third Chapter of Isaiah according to the Jewish Interpreters* vol. 1 (Oxford and London 1876) pp. 68-71 (Hebrew section); vol. 2 (1877) pp. 71-74.
- Oppenheim, Haim, "Ha'atqot mi-ktav yad Sefer Yosef ha-Meqanne' 'im 'eizeh he'arot" in *Beth Talmud. Monatschrift für rabbinische Literatur und Geschichte*, ed. J. H. Weiss and M. Friedmann (Wien, 1882); pp. 10-15, excerpts from chapters 1, 3, 5, 12, 15, 29,

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<sup>196</sup> Neubauer, A., *Catalogue of the Hebrew Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library* (Oxford: 1886) MS No. 2170 (according to Neubauer's numbering).

<sup>197</sup> Loewinger, D. S., Weinryb, D. B., *Catalogue of the Hebrew Manuscripts in the library of the Judisch-Theologisches Seminar in Breslau* (Wiesbaden: Publication of the Leo Baeck Institute, 1965), No. 176.2 p. 95; No. 247 p. 173; No. 364.7 p. 241.

<sup>198</sup> [http://aleph.nli.org.il/F/?func=direct&doc\\_number=000045219&local\\_base=NNLMSS](http://aleph.nli.org.il/F/?func=direct&doc_number=000045219&local_base=NNLMSS)

<sup>199</sup> Simonsen, David, "Eine Sammlung polemischer und apologetischer Literatur" in *Festschrift für Aron Freiman*, ed. A. Marx and H. Meyer (Berlin: 1935) Nos. 18a-b p. 117.

<sup>200</sup> [http://aleph.nli.org.il/F/?func=direct&doc\\_number=000150325&local\\_base=NNLMSS](http://aleph.nli.org.il/F/?func=direct&doc_number=000150325&local_base=NNLMSS)

<sup>201</sup> [http://aleph.nli.org.il/F/?func=direct&doc\\_number=000093138&local\\_base=NNLMSS](http://aleph.nli.org.il/F/?func=direct&doc_number=000093138&local_base=NNLMSS)

32, 33, 36, 43, 46, 51, 56, 60, 66, 67, 76, 83 90; pp. 45-49 excerpts from chapters 111, 113, 115, 118, 119, 120, 126, 128, 130, 132 (from MS P).

- Kahn, Zadoc, *Mi-Mizrah u-mi-Ma'arav* ed. Reuven Brainin, 4 (1898/1899) pp. 17-25 (chapters on Genesis); *id.*, *Festschrift zum siebzigsten geburtstage A. Berliner's. Gewidmet von Freunden und Schülern*, ed. A Freimann, M. Hildesheimer (Frankfurt am Main, 1903) pp. 82-90 (chapters on Exodus - Deuteronomy; both of Kahn's publications were based on MSS P and H).
- Posnanski, A., *Schiloh: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Messiaslehre* (Leipzig: 1904) pp. XII-XIII (excerpts from chapter 22 on Gn 49:10, based on the above quoted Kahn, *Mi-Mizrah u-mi-Ma'arav*).
- An attempt at a modern edition was also made by Jerusalem-based publishing house *Meqise Nirdamim* in the 1940's, but the work was never completed<sup>202</sup>.

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<sup>202</sup> So Rosenthal, *Sef. Yos.* (p. 32).



THE  
BOOK OF JOSEPH THE ZEALOT

*Translation*



## [Introduction]

After these things, I will remember some other things that I have heard and that some people say; namely, that those consolatory prophecies and those good tidings have already passed by and have been accomplished, and that they took place during the Second Temple; and not a single prophecy is left to be fulfilled. And regarding this matter, they [i.e. the Christians] have their own arguments and rickety debates, upon which they founded their reasoning and from which they deduced their proofs; and thus they said: “All the consolatory prophecies and the good tidings were stated in a conditional manner, such as: *No longer will your sun set* [Is 60:20]\* etc. or: *It shall not be rooted up or thrown down anymore, forever* [Jer 31:40]”. Also, they said that it is akin to what Moses our teacher said: *So that your days may be multiplied* [Dt 11:21], but that - since they [i.e. the Jews] sinned - they fell from grace. Thus, [the Christians say that] during the Second Temple some of these prophecies took place, but since they [i.e. Jews] transgressed, the Temple was destroyed and the prophecies abrogated.

When I heard these things, I examined their arguments and found them unstable in many aspects; one in particular I considered: that the statements that Moses announced to them [i.e. the Jews] are completely conditional, meaning that there is always a condition in them; for example *If you carefully observe this entire commandment [...] then the Lord will dispossess all the nations* [Dt 11:22-23]; he also said: *If you diligently obey his voice* [Ex 23:22], *So it will happen provided you listen* [Dt 7:12]; in those prophecies, however, there is no condition at all, they represent independent and separate announcements of good tidings. Moreover, [they say] that we infer that these prophecies of consolation are one and the same with the decrees that were proclaimed after the deluge, when He swore that He would not bring about the deluge a second time; but only if they sinned once. However, as He already swore in Shiloh regarding this decree, it is impossible that the deluge will take place a second time; rather, if men sin the way they sinned before the deluge, they will be liable to a different punishment. And thus He said among those prophecies: *This is for me as the waters of Noah* [Is 54:9] etc., so as to proclaim to us that, just as He did with all humankind, so He will act toward Israel should they - God forbid –transgress during the days of their redemption; and that their kingship will not be [permanently] removed, but they must be prepared for something else. And, when He swore that the deluge would not again come about, He swore as well that salvation will not waver, nor redemption be removed.

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\* Biblical quotes are variously reported according to the *Judaica Press Complete Tanach*, *The New American Standard Bible* and *The New American Bible*; not rarely, however, I had to devise a new, case-by-case translation of the passage which would harmonize with the theological reading which was being made of it.

Also the Holy One – blessed be He – proclaimed that everyone will be righteous and pious, and He knows every letter even before they come to be; therefore, it is not possible that sin and transgression will prevail among them. And since no sin will be found among them, should also the prophecies be said in a conditional manner, we would not be afraid of this condition, because all of us will be righteous. Furthermore, in the days of Moses, He established other decrees and fulfilled them; and there is no doubt that, since he already fulfilled those, He will also fulfill the decree He promulgated concerning the prophecies of consolation; it is a perfectly valid decree. It is written: *For I will raise my hand to the Heavens* [Dt 32:40] etc; *Praise, o nations, His people* [*ibid.* 32:43]. Now that their pretensions [i.e. of the Christians] have been made clear and the doubts they raised have been dispelled, I will reply to their words with fifteen more refutations; five from Scripture, five from tradition, and five from personal observation.

Explanation of the five [proofs] from Scripture.

The first one; thus it is written in those prophecies, that all Israel will be gathered from the four corners of the Earth so as to convene into Jerusalem; and not a single one among them will be left in a foreign land, as it is said: *I will gather them into their land, and I will no longer leave there anyone of them* [Ez 39:28] - however in the days of the Second Temple, of all Israel was gathered only - as it is written - *the entire assembly taken together, amounting to forty-two thousand three hundred and sixty* [Ne 7:66].

The second one; it is said in the prophecies that, in the days of salvation, Israel will be reunited from the islands of the sea, as it is written: *From Elam, from Shinar, from Hamath and from the isles of the sea* [Is 11:11] - but in the days of the first exile, we did not find that any man was ever exiled from Israel to the islands of the sea, let alone that he was reunited to Israel from there.

The third one; it is remembered in the prophecies of Zion: *And foreigners will build up your walls* [Is 60:10] - but during the building of the Second Temple, they [i.e. the Gentiles] did not even want that the wall be built by Israel; on the contrary, they were always waging war against them [i.e. the Jews] because of the building itself as it is said *with one hand he attends to his work, while the other one holds a weapon* [Ne 4:11].

The fourth one; it is written in the prophecies of consolation: *And your gates will be open always* [Is 60:11], whereas concerning the days of the Second Temple it is written: *The gates of Jerusalem will not be opened until the sun is hot; and as long as they stand, let them shut the doors* [Ne 7:3].

The fifth one; it is said in the prophecies of consolation: *For the nation and the kingdom that will not serve you shall perish* [Is 60:12] - and in the days of the Second Temple they were always subjugated to the rule of the nations, as it is written *Behold we are slaves today and the land that*

*you gave to our Fathers so that we might eat its fruits and its goods, lo we are slaves upon it* [Ne 9:36].

And the five proofs from the tradition.

The first one; thus said the prophets: during the days of the King Messiah they will burn the wood of the weapons [used against] Gog and Magog, and in those days they will not need to hew trees from the forests; but they will burn the wood from the weapons and the armaments, as it is said *they will make fire with the weapons* [Ez 39:10].

And the second one; it is said in the Prophets that, in the days of the King Messiah, the river Shihor in Egypt will dry out in one place; and that the river Euphrates will become arid and dry in seven spots, so that there will be a way for the redeemed ones to walk through, as it is said *And the Lord will destroy the tongue of the Sea of Egypt* [Is 11:15]; *There will be a highway for the remnant of His people* [*ibid.* 11:16].

And the third one; the Prophets said that in the days of the Messiah the Mount of Olives will be split in two from east to west, and that it will be divided in two halves; one half will be oriented northward, the other one southward; and in between them will run a great river, as it is said: *The Mount of Olives will be split in two from East to West* [Zec 14:4]; *On that day fresh water will flow from Jerusalem* [*ibid.* 14:8].

And the fourth one is clearly stated in Ezekiel; the Temple will be rebuilt in its splendor, its shape and features.

The fifth one also is explicit in Ezekiel, namely that fresh water will flow from the Temple, as [the prophet] explains: *Along each bank of the river every kind of fruit tree will grow; their leaves will not wither nor will their fruit fail [...] their fruit will be used for food* [Ez 47:12].

And five [proofs] from [personal observation].

The first one; it was said by the Prophets that every man will eventually believe in the Lord, as it is written: *And the Lord will be king over the whole Earth; in that day the Lord will be the only one, and His name the only one* [Ez 14:9] - but now the Gentiles persist in their evil deeds, and act exactly as they have done from ancient times.

And the second one; it was said by the Prophets that all Israel will live in safety and in peace, free from the rule of kingdoms and their slavery; and they will no longer suffer because of blasphemy and desecration; they will no longer feed [the foreigner] their food and the fruit of their labor, nor will their enemies drink their wine, as it is said: *The Lord swore by His right hand and by His*

*mighty arm: I will never again give your grain as food to your enemies* [Is 62:8] - but we still pay the tribute and bear the yoke.

And the third one; the Prophets said that there will be no war in the world, nor sword or spear; and one nation will no longer wage war against another nation, as it is said: *one nation shall not raise the sword against another* [Is 2:4] - however, still they fight against each other and still one man murders his neighbor; and if they mislead you by saying that the present war is not for earthly rule, but it is the war of Judgment, you have to answer: are not they [i.e. the Christians] nowadays more numerous and stronger than in the past?

And the fourth one; the Prophets announced that the wolf will graze with the lamb, and the lion will eat straw like the ox, because their mutual hatred will vanish; and the suckling child will play with the viper as it is said: *and the suckling child will play on the viper's den* [Is 11:8]; yet these animals are as dangerous today as in the beginning; and if someone says that this reward was declared for the wicked of the Earth, so that they will abandon their own violence and reconcile with each other, let us answer them: is it not true that they steal and rob even more than in the past?

And the fifth one; the Prophet said that the land of Sodom will be rebuilt the way it was in the beginning, as it is written: *I will restore their captivity, the captivity of Sodom and their daughters* [Ez 16:53]; and [the Prophet] also said: *Your sister, Sodom, and her daughters* [*ibid.* 16:55] etc. and the Torah said that in the beginning the waters of Sodom were fresh, and men drank from them and used them to irrigate the fields, as it is said: *And Lot lifted up his eyes and saw all the valley of the Jordan, that it was watered everywhere* [Gn 13:10] etc. And it is also said: *Like the garden of the Lord, like the land of Egypt* [*ibid.*]; and similarly *a river flowed out of Eden to water the garden* [Gn 2:10] - but nowadays the land of Sodom is a desolation, and its waters are salty; therefore, these matters make it clear that all the prophecies of consolation still have to be fulfilled; and every single thing we discussed with regard to certain people, it is necessary to refer them all to the uncircumcised Christians.



*[Index of Chapters and Biblical Verses discussed therein.]*

[Part 1]

[Genesis]

1. *In the beginning God Created* [1:1].
2. Why it is not said *it was good* on the second day.
3. *Let us make man* [1:26].
4. *In our image, after our likeness* [ibid.].
5. *And by the seventh day God completed* [2:2].
6. *And God saw all that He had made, and behold* [1:31].
7. *And the tree of life in the midst of the garden* [2:9].
8. *You shall not eat from it* [2:17].
9. *In the day that you eat from it you shall surely die* [ibid.].
10. By means of a woman the world was condemned; by means of a woman it was redeemed.
11. *And the Lord regretted making human beings* [6:6].
12. *As the green plant I gave all to you. Noah* [9:3].
13. *And behold, three men* [18:2].
14. *And Melchizedek king of Salem brought out bread. Lech-Lecha* [14:18].
15. *Do not lay your hand on the boy* [22:12].
16. *Sell me this day your birthright. Toledot* [25:31].
17. How Jacob deceived Laban in their agreement. *Vayetze*.
18. How the tribes deceived the sons of Shechem. *Vaiyshlach*.
19. *For I will go down to Sheol in mourning for my son* [37:35].
20. *She is more righteous than me. Vayeshev* [38:26].
21. *He crossed his hands. Vayechi* [48:14].
22. *The scepter shall not depart from Judah* [49:10].
23. *Until Shiloh comes* [ibid.]

[Exodus]

24. Why the Holy One – blessed be He – appeared in the bush. *Shemot*.
25. The lamb of Pesach. *Bo* [31].
26. *And he took off one wheel from their chariots. Beshalach* [14:25].
27. *But the sons of Israel walked on dry land* [14:29].
28. *And the Lord showed him a tree* [15:25].
29. *You shall not make for yourself an idol. Yitro* [20:4].
30. *Remember Abraham. [Ki] Tisa* [32:13].

[Leviticus]

31. *And he raised his hands toward the people and blessed them. Shemini* [9:22].
32. Eight swarming animals [11:29-30].
33. *When a woman will conceive and give birth to a boy. Tazria* [12:2].
34. *None of you [shall approach] any blood relative. Acharei [Mot]* [18:6].

[Numbers]

35. *And he looked at the serpent and lived. Chukat* [21:9].
36. *And he will drink the blood of the slain. Balak* [23:24].
37. *A star shall come forth from Jacob* [24:17].
38. How they can marry their own cousins. *Pinchas* [27].
39. *And among the people, of the women. Matot* [31:35].
40. *Whoever has killed any person* [31:19].

[Deuteronomy]

41. *You will sell me food for money. Dvarim* [2:28].
42. *Hear, O Israel! Va'etchanan* [6:4].
43. *And houses full of all good things* [6:11].
44. *Not because you are more numerous than all the people* [7:7].
45. *Carve for yourself. Eikev* [10:1].
46. *So that you may live and inherit* [8:1].

47. *And the pig. Re'eh* [14:8].
48. *I will raise up for them a prophet from among their kindred. Shoftim* [18:18].
49. *You shall not lend at interest to your brother. [Ki] Tetze* [23:20].
50. They say that our expectations have been frustrated. *Nitzavim* [29, 30].
51. *They made me jealous with a no-god. Ha'azinu* [32:21].
52. *Whom [the Lord] knew face to face.* [34:10].

Prophets

53. Three names. *Joshua* [22:21-22]
54. We marry our own cousin.
55. *Blessed among the women in the tent. Judges* [5:24].
56. The necromancer. *1 Samuel* [28].
57. The breach against Uzzah. [*2 Sm* 6:8].

Jeremiah

58. *Before I formed you in the womb I knew you* [1:5].
59. *Is Israel a slave?* [2:14].
60. *And you shall be my people* [7:23].
61. *The portion of Jacob is not like these* [51:19].
62. *It will no longer be said: "The Lord lives who brought up"* [16:14; 23:7].
63. *And this is the name by which He will be called: The Lord our justice* [23:6].
64. *How long will you go about, rebellious daughter?* [31:22].

65. *I will make with them a new covenant*  
[31:30].

66. *“Behold, I am against you, O*  
*arrogant one” - says the Lord of Hosts*  
[50:31].

#### Ezekiel

67. *They speak irreverently of the visions*  
[1:1].

68. *A figure with the appearance of a*  
*man, from up above* [1:26].

69. *He will put the stumbling block of his*  
*iniquity right before* [his face] [14:4].

70. *The soul that sins, it shall die* [18:4].

71. *Will you still say: “I am a god” in the*  
*presence of your slayer?*

72. *Uncircumcised in the heart and*  
*uncircumcised in the flesh* [44:9].

#### Isaiah

73. *Your new moons and appointed feasts*  
[my soul] *hates.* [1:14].

74. *Wash yourselves clean* [1:16].

75. *Your wine diluted with water* [1:22].

76. *Woe to those who drag iniquity* [5:18].

77. *Holy, holy, holy* [6:3].

78. *Make the heart of this people*  
*insensitive* [6:10].

79. *Behold a young woman shall conceive*  
[7:14].

80. *For a child is born to us* [9:5].

81. *And a shoot shall sprout from the stem*  
*of Jesse* [11:1].

82. *Not by appearance shall he judge*  
[11:3].

83. *Behold I am laying in Zion a stone* [28  
16].

84. *Behold, my servant will prosper*  
[52:13].

85. *I was sought out yet they did not ask*  
*for me* [65:1].

86. *Before she was in labor, she gave*  
*birth* [66:7].

#### Minor Prophets

##### [Hosea]

87. *For you are not my people* [Hos 1:9].

88. *And my people are bent on turning*  
*from Me* [11:7].

89. *For I am a God and not a man* [11:9].

90. *I will love them no more* [9:15].

91. *My people will consult their wooden*  
*idol.*

##### Amos

92. *For three transgressions of Moab*  
[2:1].

93. *Because they sell the righteous for*  
*silver* [2:6].

##### Micah

94. *But you, Bethlehem Ephrata* [5:1].

##### Zephaniah

95. *“Therefore, wait for me” – says the*  
*Lord* [3:8].

##### Habakkuk



96. *For the vision is yet for an appointed time* [2:3].

#### Zechariah

97. *Rejoice greatly, O daughter of Zion!* [9:9].

98. *As for you also, because of the blood of your covenant* [9:11].

99. *And I took for myself two staves* [11:7].

100. *And they weighed out my wages: thirty [pieces of silver]* [11:12].

101. *And I will pour out on the house of David a spirit* [12:10].

102. *What are these wounds on your hands?* [13:6].

#### Malachi

103. *And in every place incense will be offered* [1:11].

104. *So I also have made you abased* [2:9].

105. *Behold I am sending you my messenger* [3:1].

106. *Remember the law of Moses my servant* [3:22].

#### Book of Psalms

107. *Why are [the Nations] in tumult?*

108. *How long will you turn my glory into shame?* [4:3].

109. *You will put to shame the counsel of the poor* [14:3].

110. *He does not lend his money at interest* [15:5].

111. *For you will not abandon my soul to Sheol* [16:10].

112. *O Lord, [the king] will find joy in your strength* [21:2].

113. *My God, my God, why have you forsaken me?* [22:2].

114. *My sin I declared to you* [32:5].

115. *My heart is stirred by a noble thing* [45:2].

116. *The Mighty One, God, the Lord* [50:1].

117. *For you do not desire sacrifice or I would give it* [51:18].

118. *May God arise... and she who dwells in the house will divide* [68:13].

119. *And they gave me gall for my food* [69:22].

120. *Of Solomon. O God, give your judgment to the king* [72:1].

121. *A poem of Asaf... We saw no sign for us* [74:1, 9].

122. *Truth will spring from the earth* [85:12].

123. *And of Zion it will be said: "Each one was born in it"* [87:5].

124. *His throne, like the sun before me, like the moon it will stand eternal* [89:38].

125. *The Lord says to my lord: "Sit at my right hand"* [110:1].

#### Proverbs

126. *To understand a proverb and a figure* [1:6].

127. *Who has ascended into heaven and descended?* [30:4].

Song of Songs

128. *With the crown with which his mother crowned him* [3:11].

Ecclesiastes

129. *Better is a poor and wise child* [3:14].

Lamentations

130. *Waters flowed over my head. I said: "I am cut off!"* [3:54].

131. *The presence of the Lord has divided them. He will no longer [regard them]* [4:16].

Job

132. *The eating of the Leviathan.*

Daniel

133. *There is no other (man)* [2:11].

134. *Until a stone was cut out without hands* [2:34].

135. *A Messiah will be cut off and will be no more* [9:26].

136. *And the appearance of the fourth is similar to a son of God* [3:25].

137. *And behold, within the clouds of Heaven, one like a son of man* [7:13].

[Part 2]

Gospel

1. *Among those born of women, no one has arisen greater than John* [Mt 11:11].

2. *At the wedding of the headwaiter* [John 2].

3. *He said to Jerusalem: "O Jerusalem, Jerusalem"* [Mt 23:37].

4. *One who eats meat and drinks wine* [Mt 11:19].

5. *As soul and flesh are one.*

6. *My soul is in grief to the point of death* [Mt 26:38].

7. *(Moles) [Foxes] have their den* [Mt 8:20].

8. *The father is ingenerated.*

9. *He who sins against the Father, shall be forgiven to him* [cf. Mt 12:31-32].

10. *He shouted to the Father while he was crucified* [Mt 27:46].

11. *He came across the woman of Samaria walking.*

12. *Your lord was impure and a liar* [Mt 9:20-21].

13. *He praised himself saying: "The son of man sows [good seed]"* [Mt 13:37].

14. *Everything that enters the mouth (of a man)* [Mt 15:17].

15. *Can you drink the cup?* [Mt 20:22].

16. *Jacob begat Joseph, the husband of Mary* [Mt 1:16].

17. *After the angel forewarned and was gone* [Mt 1:20-21].

18. *I did not come for the pious ones* [Mt 9:13].

19. He acted like a thief when he descended to hell.
20. How can you say that he is a god?
21. *Joseph, the husband of Mary* [Mt 1:16].
22. And it came to pass that the angels returned [cf. Mt 2:13-14].
23. Then the inhabitants of Jerusalem went out [cf. Mk 1:5]
24. *And when Jesus had come down from the mountain, a multitude went [with him]* [Mt 8:1].
25. Jesus said to the owner of the field [cf. Mt 9:2].
26. And Jesus crossed the riverbank [cf. Mt 8:18].
27. *Foxes have their den* [Mt 8:20].
28. If he accomplished a sign for the owner of the field [cf. Mt 9:2].
29. About the scribe who said to him: “*I will come after you*” [Mt 8:19].
30. And they found him on a mount in Galilee [Mt 28:16].
31. And Jesus summoned his disciples [Mt 10:1, 8-10].
32. And Jesus came to his disciples [Mk 9:14-27].
33. And a man came to him, bent on his knees [Mt 19:16-21].
34. *And he said to his disciples: “Do not fear”* [Lk 12:22].
35. He came to Samaria and felt tired [John 4:6-9].
36. He celebrated a wedding in Galilee [John 2:1-5].
37. Why it was necessary for Joseph [to lay with her].
38. The Father, the Son and the Spirit; the three of them are [one and the same].
39. In the hour of his death, he forgave those [who killed him] [Lk 23:34].
40. *The hour will come when the buried ones* [Jn 5:25-30].
41. He who sins against the Father, shall be forgiven to him [cf. Mt 12:31-32].
42. The first man to whom [God] blew [a breath of life into his nostrils].
43. What the Jews did to him.

[*Inframarginal Annotation*]

5 It happened once that my lord Rabbi Nathan - may his soul rest in peace – was horse-riding next to the bishop of Sens. On their way, the bishop got off his horse to urinate on a thorn bush; my father and lord saw him and he too got off his horse and walked towards an abomination [i.e. cross] to urinate on it. The bishop saw that and got angry; he said to r. Nathan: “It is not proper to act like this, and spoil the symbol of the cross”. My father replied to him: “On the contrary! *You have done foolishly!* [Gn 31:28]. You urinated on a bush, upon which the Holy One – blessed be He – let rest his Presence for our salvation alone! And in reason of what you say - that because of it your idol was in pain, suffered tribulations and eventually perished; it would be utterly fair if you uncovered yourselves in front of the cross and found relief on it”.

10

[*Consolatory Prophecies*]

(This is the oration of r. Elijah, up to the beginning of Genesis; because from that point onwards follow the refutations of r. Joseph son of r. Nathan the Official, and of r. Nathan himself; and of the rest of the sages who are mentioned and identified by name).

Behold, and see for yourselves: I gave this composition the name of “Joseph the Zealot”.

And may the Heavens be my witnesses, not out of presumption I committed myself to arrange its structure; but for two reasons. The first one is that I am entirely devout to the God of Israel; and because I saw *the violent ones among our people* [Dn 11:14] abandon *the fountain of living waters* [Jer 2:13], deviate towards vanity and grow superb in interpreting the Prophets of truth, so as *to revive the name of the dead one* [Rut 4:10], and trust words of falsehood. But it has all been decided already: He will destroy them in the morning, and with the help of God *I will uncover their shamelessness* [Hos 2:12].

And the second reason is that I have grown old; a prince of oblivion rules over Israel, and I was not able to act properly, removing him, cutting him off and breaking free of his law. Therefore, *I searched in my heart* [Eccl 2:3] for that little wisdom of mine that allowed me to sketch a *tav*, to decline a *qaf*; and this for the sake of my proceeding according to command, so that it will be for me like the phylacteries, an ever-lasting memory; and to destroy our adversaries, oppressors and opponents.

*I present my supplication* [Jer 38:26], so long as I *still have life breath in me* [Job 27:3], to those who will see this composition; that, should they find in it mistake, impetuosity or exaggeration, may they judge favorably, and it will be attributed to them as act of righteousness. And not indulging my personal inclination I collected [these sayings], but turning to venerable men and putting all [their] words together, lest I forget what I will remember right now: be persistent in refuting the skeptic.

And should it occur to someone to refute what is written here, may he suspend his judgment; may he who will rise against me fall silent and suppress his objections, if I hit my enemies with blades of straw, and if I strike them with my word. Because scorn is indeed appropriate with scorners, whose words are fruit of deceit, *and with the perverted you can show yourself devious* [2 Sm 22:27]. It is their custom to relate fables, to stage farces; hence I myself choose these very mockeries, and will spread dung on their faces<sup>1</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. Mal 2:3.

*The God of old is a refuge* [Dt 33:27], he rendered me strong and steady; I have observed your statutes<sup>2</sup>, I have believed in your holy and pure Torah, because the word of God stands forever<sup>3</sup>; *there is nothing to add to it and nothing to take from it* [Eccl 3:14], but every man of heart should know it in clear and overt fashion, after all the hardships that have befallen us<sup>4</sup> and which the prophets had prophesized about; search in the Book and not one of them will be lacking<sup>5</sup>.

5 It is necessary to have knowledge and faith, without turning to the left and to the right<sup>6</sup>; and then the prophecies will blossom: *[many] will be purified and refined [...] and the wise ones will understand* [Dn 12:10], *in the last days you will understand fully* [Jer 23:20]. Hence let our hands be strong, let not our hearts faint<sup>7</sup> before *the sons of a sorceress* [Is 57:3], those who oppress us saying: “Where is your King and your Fortified Stronghold?” and those who distort the words of the Living God.

10 Therefore *my thoughts make me respond* [Job 20:2] and *a harsh vision has been announced to me* [Is 21:2], should I not rise and collect from the Book of Righteousness words of truth that will be our testimony.

I will draw fully from men of old; and what I have heard and learned I will report by the name of he

15 who said so, as faithfully as I can. And it was commanded to us by our Master, the holy one [i.e. Yehudah ha-Nasi]: “Be persistent in studying what you will reply to the skeptic”.

We, who are frequently with Him, have therefore set ourselves the task to study<sup>8</sup>, to investigate according to possibility, and to remove any obstacle from the path of my people and to hinder the wicked ones who say: “Is it not true that during the exile in Egypt and in Babylon you had the

20 Prophets to console you and fortify you in your faith? While now, who will you rely on? Is it not true that you no longer have any prophet, priest, guide and king?”

Therefore, I put my heart into writing first all the consolatory prophecies, so as to defend their conduct [i.e. of the Jews] before Him<sup>9</sup>.

Firstly; our teacher Moses said, after admonishing us: *But despite all this, while they are in the land of their enemies, I will not despise them nor will I reject them to annihilate them, thereby breaking My covenant with them* [Lv 26:44]; and near the end of his books, he said: *And it will come to pass, when [...] the blessing and the curse will come upon you* [Dt 30:1]; *then, the Lord, your God, will bring back your exiles, and He will have mercy upon you. He will once again gather you from all the nations, where [the Lord, your God] had dispersed you* [*ibid.* 3]; and also: *Even if your exiles*

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Ps 119:117.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Is 40:8.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Nm 20:14.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Is 34:16.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Nm 20:17.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Dt 20:3.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. T.B. Avodah Zarah 4a.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. Job 13:15.

are at the end of the heavens [ibid. 4]; And the Lord, your God, will place all these curses upon your enemies [...] who pursued you [ibid. 7]; and this all is said by the mouth of the Lord. And behold, that wicked Balaam, their prophet, said: *God is not a man, that he should lie* [Nm 23:19]; a ruler shall come out of Jacob [ibid. 24:19]; this song will bear witness against them, for it will not be forgotten from the mouth of their offspring [Dt 31:21].

5 And Samuel the prophet wrote: *And also, the Strength of Israel will neither lie nor repent, for He is not a man to repent* [1 Sam 15:29].

Jeremiah said: *Behold days are coming, says the Lord, and it shall no longer be said, "As the Lord lives, Who brought up the children of Israel from the land of Egypt"; but, "As the Lord lives, Who brought up the children of Israel from the northland and from all the lands where He had driven them"* [Jer 16:14-15]; *And I will gather the remnant of My flocks from all the lands where I have driven them [...] and they shall be fruitful and multiply; and I will set up shepherds over them and they shall pasture them, and they shall no longer fear nor shall they be dismayed* [Jer 23:3-4]. *Rejoice and be glad, O daughter of Edom, who dwells in the land of Uz; upon you also shall the cup pass, you shall become drunk and vomit* [Lam 4:21]. *Behold, days are coming, says the Lord, when I will set up of David a righteous shoot [...]; his days, Judah shall be saved and Israel shall dwell safely, and this is his name that he shall be called, The Lord is our righteousness* [Jer 23:5-6]; *And you, fear not, My servant Jacob, says the Lord, and do not be dismayed, O Israel, for behold I save you from afar and your seed from the land of their captivity, and Jacob shall again be silent and at ease, and no one will frighten them; For I am with you, says the Lord, to save you, for I will make an end of all the nations where I dispersed you, but of you I will not make an end, but I will chasten you in measure, and I will not completely destroy you* [ibid. 30:10-11]; *all who devour you shall be devoured, and all your adversaries, yea all of them, shall go into captivity; For I will bring healing to you, and of your wounds I will heal you, says the Lord, for they called you an outcast, that is Zion whom no one seeks out; So said the Lord: Behold I am returning the captivity of the tents of Jacob, and his dwellings I will pity, and the city shall be built on its mound and the palace on its proper site shall be established* [ibid. 16-18]; *And thanksgiving and the voice of those making merry shall proceed from them* [ibid. 19]; *and I will visit [evil] upon all their oppressors* [ibid. 20]; *And their prince shall be from them, and their ruler shall emerge from their midst* [ibid. 21]. *And I will be their God, and they will be my people* [ibid 31:32]. *At the end of the days you shall understand it* [ibid. 30:24]. *So says the Lord: they found favor in the desert* [ibid. 31:1]; *With everlasting love have I loved you; therefore have I drawn you to Me with loving-kindness; et again will I rebuild you, then you shall be built, O virgin of Israel; yet again shall you be adorned with your tabrets, and you shall go out with the dances of those who make merry* [ibid. 2-3]; *So said the*

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*Lord, Who gives the sun to illuminate by day, the laws of the moon and the stars to illuminate at night [ibid. 34]; If these laws depart from before Me, says the Lord, so will the seed of Israel cease being a nation [ibid. 35]; And I will rejoice over them to do good to them, and I will plant them in this land truthfully [ibid. 32:41]. To Edom: hearken to the counsel of the Lord, which He advised*  
5 *concerning Edom, and His plans that He planned concerning the dwellers of the south, if the young of the flock will not drag them [ibid. 49:20]; and Edom shall become a desolation; whoever passes by her shall be astonished and shall hiss [ibid. 17]; and the heart of the mighty men of Edom on that day shall be like the heart of a travailing woman [ibid. 22].*

*Ezekiel. So says the Lord God: When I gather in the house of Israel from the peoples among whom*  
10 *they have been scattered, and I have been sanctified through them in the eyes of the nations, then shall they dwell on their land [Ez 28:25]; and they shall build houses and plant vineyards and dwell securely when I execute judgments against all those who plunder them from [ibid. 26]. And it is written: Son of man, lament over the multitude of Egypt and bring it [...] to the nether part of the earth with those who descend to the pit [ibid. 32:18]; Descend and lie with the uncircumcised [ibid.*  
15 *19]; and also: this is Edom, its kings and all its princes [ibid. 29] - Israel, the circumcised ones are not there [ibid. 34:10]; and upon the entire face of the land [my flock] scattered, and no one searches [ibid. 6]; and I shall banish them from shepherding the flocks [...] and I shall rescue My flocks from their mouth, and they will not be to them for food [ibid. 10]; On good pasture I will pasture them, and on the mountains of the height of Israel will be their dwelling [ibid. 14]; For so*  
20 *said the Lord God: Behold I am here, and I shall search for my flocks and I shall seek them out; As a shepherd seeks out his flock [...] and I will save them from all the places where they have scattered [...]; I will take them out from among the nations, and I will gather them from the lands and bring them to their land [ibid. 11-13]; I will seek the lost and I will retrieve the one astray; I will bind the broken and I will strengthen the ill [ibid. 16] - these are the nations of the world - and*  
25 *the fat and the strong I will destroy [ibid.]; Behold I judge between one lamb and another, among the rams and among the he-goats; is it little for you? The good pasture you graze, and the rest of your pasture you tread with your feet; you drink the clear water, and the rest you tread with your feet; my flocks graze upon what you trod with your feet, and they drink what you trod with your feet [ibid. 17-19]; Therefore, so said the Lord God [...] and I will judge between a strong lamb and a*  
30 *lean lamb; [...] you push with flank and with shoulder, and with your horns you gore [...] until you have scattered them abroad; I shall save My flocks, and they will no longer become a prey, and I shall judge between one lamb and another lamb [ibid. 20-22]; And I shall put up over them one shepherd and he will shepherd them, namely my servant David; he will shepherd them [...]; And I, the Lord, shall be to them for a God, and my servant David a prince in their midst [...] And I shall*



make with them a covenant of peace, and I shall abolish the wild beasts from the land, and they will dwell securely in the desert and grow old in the forests [ibid. 23-25]. And they will know that I, the Lord their God, am with them, and they are my people, the house of Israel [...] and you are my flocks, the flocks of my pasture; you are man, I am your God I [ibid. 30-31]. Behold I am against you, O Mount Seir [...] I shall lay your cities waste, and you will be desolate [...] Because you had everlasting hatred, and you hurled the children of Israel by the sword [...] Therefore, as I live, says the Lord God, for I shall make you into blood, and blood will pursue you [...] and I shall cut off from you anyone passing through or returning [...] And I shall fill his mountains with his slain [ibid. 35:3-8]; Because you said, "The two nations and the two lands will be mine, and we shall inherit it," and the Lord was there; Therefore, as I live, says the Lord God, I shall commit [acts] like your wrath and like your [acts of] anger [that you did] of your hatred for them, and I shall be known among them when I judge you; I heard all your blasphemies that you said concerning the mountains of Israel [...] You have magnified yourselves against me with your mouth, and you have multiplied your words against me; I have heard; So said the Lord God: When the whole earth rejoices, I shall make you desolate; as you rejoiced over the inheritance of the house of Israel because it became desolate, so will I do to you; Mount Seir and all Edom will be desolate, even all of it, and they will know that I am the Lord [ibid. 10-15]. So said the Lord God: Since the enemy said about you, "Aha!" [ibid. 36:2] etc. Surely with the fire of my anger I spoke about the remnant of the nations and about Edom in its entirety, who appointed my land for themselves as an inheritance with the joy of every heart; Therefore, prophesy concerning the soil of Israel, and say to the mountains and to the hills, to the streams and to the valleys, So said the Lord God: Behold I have spoken with my anger and with my fury because you have borne the disgrace of the nations [ibid 5-6] - they will bear your disgrace. And you, the mountains of Israel, will produce your branches, and you will bear your fruit [ibid. 8]; and the cities will be settled, and the ruins [will be built up] [...] and I shall settle you as in your early days, and I shall make you better [ibid. 10-11]; and I will bring you to your land; and I will sprinkle clean water upon you [ibid. 24-25]. Son of man [...] say to every winged bird [...] gather [...] around my slaughter, which I am slaughtering for you in a great slaughter on the mountains of Israel, and you shall eat flesh and drink blood; the flesh of the mighty you shall eat and the blood of the princes of the earth you shall drink; rams, lambs, he-goats, and bulls, [...] the fatlings of Bashan [ibid. 39:17-18]; after Gog's defeat, behold I shall return to the captivity of Jacob, and I shall have compassion on the House of Israel [ibid. 25]; [when] I gather them from the lands [...] and I shall gather them to their land [...] and I shall no longer hide my face from them [ibid. 27-29]. And it is written: *the uncircumcised of heart and the*

*uncircumcised of flesh will not enter my sanctuary [ibid. 44:9]; and behold, water was trickling from the right side [ibid. 47:2].*

Isaiah. *And I will restore your judges as at first [Is 1:26]; And it shall be at the end of the days, that the mountain of the Lord's house shall be firmly established at the top of the mountains, and it shall be raised above the hills [...]; and they shall say, "Come, let us go up to the Lord's mount, to the house of the God of Jacob, and let Him teach us of His ways, and we will go in His paths" [...] and they shall beat their swords into plowshares [...] "O house of Jacob, come and let us go in the light of the Lord" [ibid. 2:2-5]. On that day, the sprout of the Lord shall be for beauty [...] and for glory for the survivors of Israel [...] and everyone who is left [ibid. 4:2-3]. And a shoot shall spring forth from the stem of Jesse, and a twig [ibid. 11:1]; And an infant shall play over the hole of an old snake [ibid. 8]; And He shall raise a banner to the nations, and He shall gather the lost of Israel [ibid. 12]; And the Lord shall dry up the tongue of the Egyptian sea [...] and He shall beat it into seven streams; And there shall be a highway for the remnant of His people [ibid. 15-16]. Shout and praise, O dwellers of Zion [ibid. 12:6]. For the Lord shall have mercy on Jacob and again choose Israel, and He shall place them on their soil, and the strangers shall accompany them [...] and they shall be captors to their captors and rule over those who dominate over them [ibid. 14:1-2]. The harsh prophecy of Dumah: To me one calls from Seir, "Watchman, what will be of the night? Watchman, what will be of the night?" Said the watchman, "Morning has come, and also night. If you will request, request. Return and come" [ibid. 21:11-12]. And the Lord God shall wipe the tears off every face, and the shame of His people He shall remove [ibid. 25:8]. And you shall be gathered one by one, O children of Israel; And it shall come to pass on that day, that a great shofar shall be sounded, and those lost in the land shall come [ibid. 27:12-13]. And the light of the moon shall be like the light of the sun, and the light of the sun shall be sevenfold as the light of the seven days, on the day the Lord shall bind the fracture of His people, and the stroke of their wound He shall heal [ibid. 30:26]. The Lord's sword has become full of blood, made fat with fatness, from the blood [...] from the fat of the kidneys of rams, for the Lord has a slaughter in Bozrah and a great slaughter in the land of Edom; and wild oxen shall go down with them, and bulls with fat bulls [...] For it is a day of vengeance for the Lord, a year of retribution for the plea of Zion; and its streams shall turn into pitch [ibid. 34:6-9]. Pelican and owl shall inherit it [ibid. 11]; there Lilith rests [...] there have the vultures gathered [...] seek out of the Book of the Lord and read; not one of them is missing [ibid. 14-16]. Desert and wasteland shall rejoice over them, and the plain shall rejoice and shall blossom like a rose [...] even to rejoice and to sing [ibid. 35:1-2]; Behold, your God, with vengeance He shall come [ibid. 4]; Then the lame shall skip like a hart and the tongue of the mute shall sing [ibid. 6]; And the redeemed of Zion shall return, and they shall come to Zion with song [ibid. 10].*

"Console, console My people" [ibid. 40:1]; raise your voice with strength, O herald of Jerusalem; raise [your voice], fear not; say to the cities of Judah, "Behold your God!" [ibid. 9]; Like a shepherd [who] tends his flock, with his arm he gathers lambs, and in his bosom he carries [them], the nursing ones he leads [ibid. 11]. But you, Israel My servant, Jacob whom I have chosen, the  
5 seed of Abraham, who loved Me [ibid. 41:8]; Do not fear for I am with you; I [...] helped you [...] all those incensed against you shall be ashamed and confounded; those who quarreled with you shall be as nought and be lost [ibid. 10-11]. Fear not, My servant Jacob, and Jeshurun whom I have chosen [...] I will pour My spirit on your seed and My blessing on your offspring [ibid. 44:2-3]; This one shall say, "I am the Lord's," and this one shall call himself by the name of Jacob, and this one  
10 shall write [with] his hand, "To the Lord," and adopt the name Israel [ibid. 5]; Sing, ye heavens, for the Lord has done [this], shout, ye lowest parts of the earth; ye mountains, burst out in song, the forest and all trees therein; for the Lord has redeemed Jacob, and with Israel shall He be glorified [ibid. 23]. Shall a woman forget her sucking child, from having mercy on the child of her womb [...] but I will not forget you [ibid. 49:15]; all of them have gathered, have come to you [...] that you  
15 shall wear all of them as jewelry [ibid. 18]; I will raise My hand to the nations [...] and they shall bring your sons in their armpits, and your daughters shall be borne on their shoulders [...] [ibid. 22]; And kings shall be your nursing fathers and their princesses your wet nurses; they shall prostrate themselves to you with their face on the ground, and they shall lick the dust of your feet [ibid. 23]; and with your contender will I contend, and your sons I will save; And those who taunt  
20 you-I will feed their flesh, and as with sweet wine they shall become drunk [from] their blood [ibid. 25-26]. Where is your mother's bill of divorce that I sent her away? Or, who is it of my creditors to whom I sold you? [ibid. 50:1]. I, yea I am He who consoles you; who are you that you fear man who will die and the son of man, who shall be made [as] grass [ibid. 51:12]; the dregs of the cup of my wrath-you shall no longer continue to drink it; and I will place it into the hand of those who cause  
25 you to wander [ibid. 22-23]. Awaken, awaken, put on your strength, O Zion; put on [...] for no longer shall the uncircumcised or the unclean continue to enter you [ibid. 52:1]; For so said the Lord, "You were sold for nought, and you shall not be redeemed for money." [ibid. 3]; turn away, get out of there [...] For not with haste shall you go forth and not in a flurry of flight shall you go, for the Lord goes before you, and your rear guard is the God of Israel [ibid. 11-12]. Sing you  
30 barren woman who has not borne; burst out into song [...] Widen the place of your tent, and let them stretch forth the curtains of your habitations [...] For right and left shall you prevail, and your seed shall inherit nations [ibid. 54:1-3]; and all your children shall be disciples of the Lord, and your children's peace shall increase [ibid. 13]. For with joy shall you go forth, and with peace shall you be brought [ibid. 55:12]. And a redeemer shall come to Zion [ibid. 59:20]. Arise, shine, for your

light has come [ibid. 60:1]; and nations shall go by your light [ibid. 3]; the isles will hope for Me [...] to bring your sons from afar, their silver and their gold with them, in the name of the Lord your God and for the Holy One of Israel, for He has glorified you; and foreigners shall build your walls [...] and their kings in procession; for the nation and the kingdom that shall not serve you shall  
5 perish, and the nations shall be destroyed [ibid. 9-12]; And the children of your oppressors shall go to you bent over, and those who despised you shall prostrate themselves at the soles of your feet, and they shall call you 'the city of the Lord, Zion of the Holy One of Israel'; instead of your being forsaken and hated without a passerby, I will make you an everlasting pride, the joy of every generation; And you shall suck the milk of nations and the breast of kings you shall suck, and you  
10 shall know that I am the Lord [...] Instead of the copper I will bring gold [...] Violence shall no longer be heard in your land, neither robbery nor destruction within your borders [...] you shall no longer have the sun for light by day, and for brightness, the moon shall not give you light, but the Lord shall be to you for an everlasting light [ibid. 14-19]; and your people, all of them righteous, shall inherit the land forever [...] The smallest shall become a thousand [ibid. 21-22]. The spirit of  
15 the Lord God was upon me, since the Lord anointed me to bring tidings to the humble [...] to declare freedom for the captives [...] To declare a year of acceptance for the Lord and a day of vengeance for our God, to console all mourners [...] for the mourners of Zion, to give them glory instead of ashes [...] and they shall be called the elms of righteousness, the planting of the Lord [...] And they shall build the ruins of old, the desolations of the first ones they shall erect; and they shall  
20 renew ruined cities [ibid. 61:1-4]; And you, the priests of the Lord [...] the possessions of the nations you shall eat and with their glory you shall succeed them; Instead of your shame, which was twofold, and your disgrace, which they would bemoan as their lot [...] they shall inherit twofold; they shall have everlasting joy -ibid. 6-7]; And their seed shall be known among the nations, and their offspring among the peoples; all who see them shall recognize them that they are  
25 seed that the Lord blessed; I will rejoice with the Lord; my soul shall exult with my God [ibid. 9-10]. And nations shall see your righteousness, and all kings your glory, and you shall be called a new name [ibid. 62:2]; No longer shall "forsaken" be said of you [...] for you shall be called "My desire is in her" [...] for the Lord desires you [...] and the rejoicing of a bridegroom over a bride shall your God rejoice over you [ibid. 4-5]. Who is this coming from Edom, with soiled garments,  
30 from Bozrah? [ibid. 63:1]; A wine press I trod alone [...] and their life blood sprinkled on my garments [...] For a day of vengeance was in my heart, and the year of my redemption has arrived [ibid. 3-4]; And I trod peoples with my wrath, and I intoxicated them with my fury, and I brought their power down to the earth; the kind acts of the Lord I will mention, the praises of the Lord, according to all that the Lord bestowed upon us, and much good to the house of Israel [ibid. 6-7];

*In all their trouble, He did not trouble [them], and the angel of His presence saved them; with His love and with His pity He redeemed them, and He bore them, and He carried them all the days of old [ibid. 9]. I allowed myself to be sought by those who did not ask; I allowed myself to be found by those who did not seek me, I said, "Here I am; here I am!" to a nation not called by my name [ibid. 5 65:1]; the people who vex me [...] those who sacrifice in gardens and burn incense on the bricks. They sit among the graves - those nations inquire of the dead<sup>10</sup> - and with corpses they lodge [ibid. 3-4] - that is, the faith in the Nazarene; and who are those who eat swine flesh, and broth of abominations is in their vessels? [ibid.]; Behold it is inscribed before me [...] and I will recompense onto their bosom [ibid. 6]; So said the Lord, "As when wine is found in the cluster, and one shall 10 say, "Destroy it not, for a blessing is in it"; so will I do for the sake of my servants, not to destroy everything; And I will extract seed from Jacob and from Judah, the heir of my mountains, and my elect shall inherit it [ibid. 8-9]. Therefore, so said the Lord God, "Behold, my servants shall eat, but you shall be hungry [ibid. 13]; but to His servants He shall call another name; for whoever on the earth shall bless himself by the true God [...] for the first troubles have been forgotten and they have 15 been hidden from my eyes [ibid. 15-16]; for behold I create Jerusalem a rejoicing and its people an exultation [ibid. 18]; the youth who is one hundred years old shall die [...] and they shall plant vineyards and eat their fruit [...] and my elect shall outlive their handiwork [...] for they are seed blessed by the Lord [...] when they have not yet called, I will respond [...] A wolf and a lamb shall graze together, and a lion, like cattle, shall eat straw, and a serpent-dust shall be his food; they 20 shall neither harm nor destroy on all My holy mount [ibid. 20-25]. For the land shall be full of knowledge of the Lord [ibid. 11:9]. So says the Lord, "The heavens are my throne" [ibid. 66:1]; Rejoice with Jerusalem and exult in her all those who love her: rejoice with her a rejoicing [ibid. 10]; Behold, I will extend peace to you like a river [...] Like a man whose mother consoles him, so will I console you [...] And you shall see, and your heart shall rejoice, and your bones shall bloom 25 like grass [ibid. 12-14]; Those who prepare themselves and purify themselves to the gardens [ibid. 17]; And they shall bring all your brethren from all the nations as a tribute to the Lord [ibid. 20]; "For, as the new heavens and the new earth that I am making, stand before  $\exists$ e," says the Lord, "so shall your seed and your name stand [ibid. 22]; And they shall go out and see the corpses of the people who rebelled against me [ibid. 24] etc.*

30 *Minor Prophets. Hosea. And the number of the children of Israel shall be as the sand of the sea, which shall neither be measured nor counted; and it shall come to pass that, instead of saying to them, "You are not my people," it shall be said to them, "The children of the living God." [Hos 2:1]; and also: Say to your brethren, "Ammi," and to your sisters, "Ruhamah" [ibid. 3]; And it shall come*

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<sup>10</sup> Cf. Dt 18:11.

to pass on that day, says the Lord, you shall call [me] Ishi, and you shall no longer call me Baali [ibid. 18]; and the bow, the sword, and war I will break off the earth [...] and I will betroth you to Me forever, and I will betroth you [ibid. 20-21]. For the children of Israel shall remain for many days [...] Afterwards shall the children of Israel return, and seek the Lord their God and David their king [ibid. 3:4-5]. Let us return to the Lord [...] He will revive us from the two days [ibid. 6:1-2]; I will not execute the kindling of My anger, I will not return to destroy Ephraim, for I am God and not a man. In your midst is the Holy One, and I will not enter a city [ibid. 11:9]. And I am the Lord your God [...] I will yet make you dwell in tents [ibid. 12:10]. They shall follow the Lord [...] and I will place them in their houses [ibid. 11:10-11]; I will remedy their backsliding; I will love them freely [ibid. 14:5].

Joel. And you shall eat, eating and being sated, and you shall praise the Name of the Lord [...] and my people shall never be ashamed [Jl 1:26]. And it shall come to pass afterwards that I will pour out My spirit upon all flesh, and your sons shall prophesy [ibid. 3:1]; and I will perform signs in the heavens and on the earth [ibid. 3]; and it shall come to pass that whoever shall call in the name of the Lord shall be delivered [ibid. 5]. In those days [...] I will return the captivity of Judah and Jerusalem; I will gather all the nations [...] to the Valley of Jehoshaphat, and I will contend with them [...] concerning my people [...] whom they scattered among the nations, and my land they divided [ibid. 4:1-2]; what are you to me, Tyre and Sidon [...] Are you paying me recompense? [...] I will swiftly return your recompense upon your head; For my silver and my gold you took, and my goodly treasures you have brought into your temples [ibid. 4-5]; and the children of Judah [...] you have sold to the children of the Jevanim, in order to distance them from their border [...] Behold I arouse them from the place where you sold them [...] And I will sell your sons and daughters into the hands of the children of Judah, and they shall sell them to the Shebaites, to a distant nation, for the Lord has spoken [ibid. 6-8]; Beat your plowshares into swords and your pruning hooks into spears; the weak one shall say: "I am mighty" [...] and come, all you nations [...] there the Lord shall break your mighty men [ibid. 10-11]; And the Lord shall roar from Zion, and from Jerusalem He shall give forth His voice, and the heavens and earth shall quake, and the Lord is a shelter to His people [ibid. 16]; on that day the mountains shall drip with wine [...] and a spring shall emanate from the house of the Lord [...] And Egypt shall become desolate, and Edom shall be a desert waste, because of the violence done to the children of Judah, because they shed innocent blood in their land; But Judah shall remain forever [...] Now should I cleanse, their blood I will not cleanse, when the Lord dwells in Zion [ibid. 18-21].

Amos. So said the Lord: For three sins of Edom, yea for four, I will not return them: For pursuing their brother with a sword, and they destroyed their mercy and grasped forever their anger and

kept their fury forever [Am 1:10]; and I will send fire into Teman [ibid. 12]. On that day, I will raise up the fallen Tabernacle of David [ibid. 9:11]; behold days are coming, says the Lord, that the plowman shall meet the reaper and the treader of the grapes, the one who carries the seed [...] And I will return the captivity of My people Israel [...] And I will plant them on their land, and they shall no longer be uprooted [...] said the Lord [ibid. 13-15].

5 Obadiah. So said the Lord God concerning Edom [...] Behold I have made you small among the nations; you are very despised [Ob 1-2]; if you go up high like an eagle, and if you place your nest among the stars, from there I will bring you down, says the Lord [ibid. 4]; Shall I not destroy wise men from Edom [ibid. 8]; and your mighty men shall be dismayed, O dwellers of the southland, in order that every man be cut off from the mountain of Esau by slaughter [ibid. 9]; because of the violence of your brother Jacob, shame shall cover you [ibid. 10]; and the house of Jacob shall be fire and the house of Joseph a flame, and the house of Esau shall become stubble, and they shall ignite them and consume them, and the house of Esau shall have no survivors [ibid. 18]; and saviors shall ascend Mt. Zion to judge the mountain of Esau [ibid. 21].

10 Micah. I will surely assemble, O Jacob, all of you; I will surely gather the remnant of Israel [Mi 2:12]; the breaker has gone up before them [...] and the Lord was at their head [ibid. 13]. And it shall be at the end of the days, that the mountain of the Lord's house shall be firmly established [ibid. 4:1]; and many nations shall go, and they shall say, "Come, let us go up to the Lord's mount and to the house of the God of Jacob, and let Him teach us of His ways" [ibid. 2]; On that day, says the Lord: I will heal the limping one, and the lost one I will gather [...] And I will make the limping one into a remnant [...] and the Lord shall reign over them on Mount Zion [ibid. 4:6-7]. And the remnant of Jacob shall be in the midst of many peoples-like dew [ibid. 5:6]. Lead Your people with Your rod, the flock of Your inheritance who dwell alone, a forest in the midst of a fruitful field; and they shall graze in Bashan and Gilead as in days of yore; as in the days of your exodus from the land of Egypt, I will show him wonders; Nations shall see and be ashamed [...] they shall place a hand upon their mouth; their ears shall become deaf [ibid. 7:14-16]; He shall return and grant us compassion; He shall hide our iniquities, and You shall cast into the depths of the sea all their sins [ibid. 19].

20 Nahum. The Lord is a jealous and vengeful God and is full of wrath; the Lord avenges Himself upon His adversaries, and He bears a grudge against His enemies [Na 1:2]. Behold on the mountains the feet of a herald announcing peace. O Judah, keep your feasts, pay your vows-for the wicked one shall no longer continue to pass through you; he has been completely cut off [ibid. 2:1]; For the Lord has restored the pride of Jacob as the pride of Israel [ibid. 3].

25

Habakkuk. *On my watch I will stand, and I will set myself upon a fortress, and I will look out to see what He will speak to me and what I will reply when I am reproved; and the Lord answered me and said: Write the vision and explain it upon the tablets, so that one may read it swiftly; For the vision is yet for an appointed time; and He shall speak of the end, and it shall not fail; though it tarry, wait*  
5 *for it, for it shall surely come; it shall not delay [Hb 2:1-3]; What did a graven image avail that its maker has graven it? A molten image and a teacher of lies, that the maker of his work trusted in it to make dumb idols? Woe to him who says to the wood: "Awaken!"; to the dumb stone: "Arise!" Shall it teach? Behold it is overlaid with gold and silver, and no spirit is within it. But the Lord is in His Holy Temple. Silence before Him, all the earth! [ibid. 18-20].*

10 *Zephaniah. Therefore, wait for Me, says the Lord, for the day that I will rise up as the accuser [...] For then I will convert the peoples to a pure language that all of them call in the name of the Lord, to worship Him of one accord [Zep 3:8-9]; The remnant of Israel shall neither commit injustice nor speak lies; neither shall deceitful speech be found in their mouth, for they shall graze and lie down, with no one to cause them to shudder; Sing, O daughter of Zion! Shout, O Israel! Rejoice and*  
15 *jubilate wholeheartedly, O daughter of Jerusalem! The Lord has removed your afflictions; He has cast out your enemy. The King of Israel, the Lord, is in your midst-you shall no longer fear evil; On that day it shall be said to Jerusalem, "Have no fear! O Zion, let your hands not be slack [ibid. 14-16]; behold, I wreak destruction upon all those who afflict you at that time. And I will save the one who limps, and I will gather the stray one, and I will make them a praise and a name throughout all*  
20 *the land where they suffered shame; At that time I will bring them, and at [that] time I will gather you, for I will make you a name and a praise among all the peoples of the earth when I restore your captivities before your eyes, said the Lord [ibid. 19-20].*

*Zechariah. And the Lord answered the angel who was speaking to me: good word, consoling words; And the angel who was speaking to me said to me, "Proclaim, saying: 'So said the Lord of Hosts, I*  
25 *am jealous for Jerusalem, and for Zion - a great jealousy; And I am very angry with the nations that are at ease, for I was wroth a little, and they helped to do harm.' Therefore - so said the Lord - 'I have returned to Jerusalem with mercy; My house shall be built there,' [...] Further, proclaim, saying: so said the Lord of Hosts, 'My cities shall yet spread out with prosperity, and the Lord shall yet console Zion and shall yet choose Jerusalem.' " [Zec 1:13-17]. And the Lord showed me four*  
30 *craftsmen; And I said, "What are these coming to do?" And he said, saying, "These are the horns that scattered Judah [...] And these came to cause them [...] to cast away the horns of the nations [...] and I lifted my eyes, and I saw; and behold! A man with a measuring line in his hand; And I said, "Where are you going?" And he said to me, "To measure Jerusalem, to see how much is its breadth and how much is its length." And behold, the angel who was speaking with me was coming*



forth, and another angel was coming forth toward him; and he said to him, "Run, speak to this young man, saying: 'Jerusalem shall be inhabited like unwalled towns'" [...] But I will be for it-says the Lord-a wall of fire around, and for glory I will be in its midst [ibid. 2:3-9]; For so said the Lord of Hosts: After glory, He sent me to the nations that plunder you, for whoever touches you touches the apple of his eye; For, behold! I raise my hand over them, and they shall be prey for those who serve them. And you shall know that the Lord of Hosts sent me; Sing and rejoice, O daughter of Zion, for, behold! I will come and dwell in your midst, says the Lord; And many nations shall join the Lord on that day [...] And the Lord shall inherit Judah as His share on the Holy Land [ibid. 12-16]. So said the Lord of Hosts: There will yet be a time that peoples and the inhabitants of many cities shall come; And the inhabitants of one shall go to another, saying: "Let us go to pray before the Lord [...] I, too, will go"; And peoples shall come [...] to entreat the Lord of Hosts in Jerusalem [...] In those days, when ten men of all the languages of the nations shall take hold of the skirt of a Jewish man, saying, "Let us go with you, for we have heard that God is with you." [ibid. 8:20-23]. Rejoice greatly, O daughter of Zion; Shout, O daughter of Jerusalem. Behold! Your king shall come to you. He is just and victorious; humble, and riding a donkey and a colt, the foal of a donkey [ibid. 9:9]; You, too-with the blood of your covenant I have freed your prisoners from a pit in which there was no water; Return to the stronghold, you prisoners of hope. Also today, I will restore to you a double promise. For I bend Judah for Me like a bow; I filled [the hand of] Ephraim, and I will arouse your children, O Zion, upon your children, O Javan [...] And the Lord shall appear over them, and his arrows shall go forth like lightning. And the Lord God shall sound the shofar, and He shall go with the whirlwinds of the south; The Lord of Hosts shall protect them [...] And the Lord their God shall save them on that day like the flocks of His people [ibid. 11-16]. My wrath is kindled against the shepherds [...] for the Lord of Hosts has remembered His flock, the house of Judah [ibid. 10:3]; and the house of Joseph I will save [ibid. 6]; I will whistle to them, and I will gather them [...] And I will sow them among the peoples, and in the distant places they shall remember Me. And they shall live with their children and return [ibid. 8-9]. So said the Lord, my God: Tend the flock of slaughter, whose buyers shall slay them and not be guilty; and whose sellers shall say, "Blessed be the Lord, for I have become wealthy"; and whose shepherds shall not have pity on them [ibid. 11:4-5]; And I tended the flock of slaughter; indeed, the poor of the flock. And I took for myself two staffs [ibid. 7]. On that day I will make the princes of Judah as a fiery stove among wood, and as a brand of fire among sheaves. And they shall consume on the right and on the left all the nations round about, and Jerusalem shall still stay in its place in Jerusalem; and the Lord shall save the tents of Judah [...] and the weakest of them shall be, on that day, like David. And the house of David shall be like angels, like the angel of the Lord before them [ibid. 12: 6-8]; and I will pour

out upon the house of David and upon the inhabitants of Jerusalem a spirit of grace and supplications. And they shall look to me because of those who have been thrust through [with swords] [ibid. 10]. On that day, a spring shall be opened for the house of David and for the inhabitants of Jerusalem, for purification and for sprinkling [...] In that day, says the Lord of Hosts,  
5 I will cut off the names of the idols from the earth, and they shall no longer be mentioned [ibid. 13:1-2]. On that day spring water shall come forth from Jerusalem [...] and the Lord shall become King over all the earth [ibid. 14:8-9]; the Lord will plague the nations who do not go up to celebrate the festival of Tabernacles [ibid. 18].

Malachi. He will not destroy your crops, And the vine in the field will not be barren [Mal 3:11];  
10 Behold I send my angel, and he will clear a way before Me. And suddenly, the Lord whom you seek will come to His temple; and the angel of the covenant, whom you desire; and then the offerings of Judah shall be pleasant to the Lord [ibid. 3-4]; I, the Lord, have not changed; and you, the sons of Jacob, have not reached the end [ibid. 6]; Then the God-fearing men spoke to one another, and the Lord hearkened and heard it. And a book of remembrance was written before Him for those who  
15 feared the Lord and for those who valued His name highly; and they shall be mine, says the Lord of Hosts, for that day when I make a treasure. And I will have compassion on them as a man has compassion on his son; and you shall return and discern between the righteous and the wicked, between him who serves God and him who has not served Him; for behold, the day is coming, burning like a furnace [ibid. 16-19]; Remember the Torah of Moses, my servant; that which I have  
20 commanded him in Horeb [ibid. 22].

Remember, O Lord, against the sons of Edom the day of Jerusalem; they said: "Raze it, raze it to its very foundation" [Ps 137:7].

[Torah]

*In the beginning Elohim created* [Gn 1:1].

5 So far, we have enunciated the prophecies of consolation and the final reward that resonate for us. From now onwards, we will talk about that *broken reed of a staff* [2 Kgs 18:21], *the sons of a sorceress* [Is 57:3] who have increased the powers to the point of grounding their deliriums on the words of the Prophets; but for every place in which the heretics spoke irreverently, their refutation is within hand's reach, and I will report it as faithfully as I can. I took into consideration all my  
10 teachers.

I will start from the books of Moses, peace be upon him: it is written: *He created* and not “they created”; hence they spoke falsehood by saying that the word *'Elohim* is twofold, because it is not so. Even admitting it is twofold, *what help are they to the powerless*<sup>11</sup>? Are not Father and God already two, while *the third is a desecrated offering and will not be accepted*<sup>12</sup>?

15 This is the opinion of the Gaonim: Why did Moses not say “the Lord created”? Because he preferred to mention one of His epithets: your God, our God, your [plural] God, my God; as it is written: *I am the Lord* (heb. *YHWH*) *your God* (heb. *'Elohim*) [Ex 20:3]; and also *as the Lord, my God, taught me* [Dt 4:5]. And who is that Lord? [*The Lord*] *is God* [1 Kgs 18:39]; *Hear, O Israel! The Lord is our God* [Dt 6:4]. Therefore, [the Scripture] starts off with *'Elohim*, which is neither a  
20 personal name nor His real Name; indeed, you do not say “my Lord, your Lord” using his real Name, as well as you do not use a personal name - like Isaac - to say “your Isaac, my Isaac, our Isaac”.

And here is what we found [in the Scripture]: the Jew (heb. *ha-yehudi*), after the name of the lineage; the Tishbite (heb. *ha-tišbi*) and the Elkhoshite (heb. *ha-'elqoši*), after the name of the place  
25 that so is called, regardless of the fact that they are nicknames. And thus also *'Elohim*, for such is His name<sup>13</sup>.

And the heretic said: “Every *-im* expresses a plurality”; but r. Meir contradicted his words by pointing to the word *Jehoiyaqim*, that such is his name; and also *'Eliyakim*. And here is what I found at the end of Ezekiel: *an unblemished* (heb. *tamimim*) *young bull* [Ez 46:6] - and this is a case  
30 of a plural adjective referred to a singular noun. And also we found expressions of lordship in plural form: *If his master* (lit. their masters) *will give him* [Ex 21:4]; *its owner* (lit. owners) *is not with him*

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<sup>11</sup> Cf. Job 26:2.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. Lv 19:7.

<sup>13</sup> If we understand correctly, it is here emphasized that the suffix *-i* in these nouns (*yehud-i*, *tishb-i*, *elqosh-i*) does not stand for possessive “of me” (also expressed via suffix *-i*), but just indicates the adjective of a noun; thus the aforementioned statement - that a proper name cannot take a suffix denoting possession - is not contradicted.

[*ibid.* 22:13]. And we found as well the word *Elohim* in singular form: *See, I have made you as an Elohim to Pharaoh* [*ibid.* 7:1], and Moses was just a single one; and similarly: *I saw divine beings rising from the earth; and [Saul] asked her: "What does he look like?" and she answered "Like an old man"* [1 Sm 28:13-14], and it was Samuel.

5 And r. Joseph son of r. Nathan replied that we can also find examples not involving expressions of lordship and divinity: *those who eat will bear his own guilt* [Lv 19:8] - *those who* is plural; *his own guilt* is singular.

And the sacred language is like any other language, it may employ plural forms for a singular name and vice versa singular forms to express a plural.

10 And r. Nathan - may his soul rest in peace - explained that it is the same as when we all use the foreign word *noix*<sup>14</sup> in plural form even for one single walnut, and so on and so forth.

## 2

15 Those destined-for-hell men asked r. Nathan: "Why is it not said *it was good* on the second day of creation?"

And he replied to them: "The Holy One - blessed be He - sees and knows what the future holds, and He saw that most people would be deviated by the waters [of baptism], and also because of them be corrupted and forever lost; hence He did not want to write concerning them: *it was good*, and waters  
20 were created on the second day".

## 3

*Let us make man* [Gn 1:26].

25 The heretics spoke impertinently and said that they are many, but the answer is right within reach: *and God created* [Gn 1:27] - and it is not written "they created".

Rashi interpreted in a different manner, namely that this is the condition of the Most High when sitting in council with His own ministries, as we have found: *Who [among us] will deceive Ahab?* [1 Kgs 22:20], and also in Isaiah *Whom shall I send? Who will go for us* [Is 6:8]; [and in Daniel:] *By  
30 decree of His watchers is this proclamation, by order of the holy ones is this sentence* [Dn 4:14].

And now I will report the very words of the holy r. Yom Tov of Joigny, as they would have been declared to me from his mouth: "Behold, in the entire Work of Creation you will not find a single *let us make* unless it is referred to Adam. And the reason is that for most of the six days of Creation

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<sup>14</sup> In French, *noix* can be both singular and plural.

you will find written *after its kind* - as for the tree bearing fruit, for green plants, for the swarming beasts of the seas, for the birds of the sky and for every creature living on the earth; but for the making of man, why is it not written *after its kind*? The explanation is that man begets, while beasts, animals and birds do not beget”.

5 Therefore the rabbi said that these were Moses’ very words, and here is the correct interpretation: *And God said* [Gn 1:26] - God ordered that we should make man ourselves, as if to say: “Man shall beget man!” This is the equivalent of *after its kind* with respect to men; and indeed we have found this “making” referred to man: *and the lives they had made in Haran* [Gn 12:5].

10 Nevertheless, our teacher Sa’adiah relies on what we said above; and indeed we have found [yet another case] of a plurality expressed via singular forms: *Perhaps I* [i.e. the nation of Moab] *may be able to defeat him* (i.e. the nation of Israel) [Nm 22:6]: it is a multitude that is rendered this way.

And the author of the refutations adds one more proof, namely that the letter *nun* may be in place of the letter *aleph*: *Draw me [after you], we will run* (heb. *naruṣah*) [Sg 1:4] -it should be read: *I will run* (heb. *aruṣah*), and the same holds true for the end of the verse: *Let us exult and rejoice* (heb. *negileh we-nismehah*) *in you; let us celebrate* (heb. *nazkirah*) [*ibid.*]

15 I also heard regarding *Let us make*: “It is the custom of great men to talk using the plural”; indeed a great man [i.e. Daniel] said: *This was the dream; now we shall tell its interpretation before the king* [Dn 2:36].

The archbishop of Sens was questioning r. Nathan, and the latter responded: “My lord, my heart is  
20 saddened; pronounce for me a sentence. I gave twenty pounds to a certain citizen who lives in your domain in Villeneuve; that was half his wages. He got into business and went to the fair in Provins to sell our goods; but the merchandise was lowered in value, he lost money, lost his temper and got angry. So he set off and sold our goods without my permission; and you know that I do not lend at interest. And now *judge my case* [Lam 3:59]”. The bishop then stood up, seething with rage; he  
25 swore that he would repay for the invested amount and the profit it would have been worth. Then r. Nathan - may his soul rest in peace - retorted: “Does the Holy One - blessed be He - corrupt integrity?” - “Surely not” replied the bishop; and r. Nathan resumed: “Yet according to your words He acted improperly; [you say] ‘He took permission to create, why wouldn’t He take permission to destroy?’ But behold, it is written: *I will wipe out the man whom I created* [Gn 6:7]. And if you say:  
30 ‘It was not necessary [to ask permission] since they had committed a deadly sin’, yet we have found that - with those of the generation of the Tower of Babel - he did not get to the point of destroying them, but only of scattering them and confusing their tongues”. Then the bishop asked again: “If so, why is it written *Let us make*?” and r. Nathan replied: “He was sitting in council with His angels, and therefore He states: ‘*By decree of His watchers is this proclamation, by order of the holy ones*

is this sentence' [Dn 4:14]; and in regard to this it is also written: *Confirming the word of His servant and performing the purpose of His messengers* [Is 44:26]”.

One apostate asked r. Joseph: “How can you say that the Holy One sits in council, is it not written: *Whom did He consult and gave Him understanding? Who taught Him justice and taught Him knowledge?* [cf. Is 40:14]”. I answered: “On the contrary, from this we have to infer that He sits in council, because it is written: *Whom did He consult and gave him understanding?* I will explain better: if it had been written: *Whom did He consult* and no more, then I would have said that He does not ask advice to any being; but considering that it is written *and gave Him understanding*, this is the meaning: ‘whom did He consult that could give him understanding, or teach Him the path of justice or proclaim to Him the way of discernment’”.

I heard yet another [explanation] of *Let us make man*. It is common habit that a king, a ruler or a prince that wants to appoint a judge over his dominion, will show up in front of his subjects and proclaim to them: “I want to appoint this judge upon you”, so that they will not be resentful. In the same way, when the Holy One decided to create man, He proclaimed to His creatures: “*Let us make man*”, because He wanted to make him judge over the whole earth. It is written: *Let them rule over the fish of the sea and over the birds of the sea, over the beasts and over all the earth, and over all the creatures that crawl on earth* [Gn 1:26]; and also: *You gave him rule over the works of Your hands, put all things at his feet* [Ps 8:7].

20

4

*In Our image, after Our likeness* [Gn 1:26].

The heretics spoke irreverently and said that this indicates a likeness to the Creator, and they adduce evidence from verses which would suggest a division of limbs in the Lord similar to that of men: *and a helmet of salvation on His head* [Is 54:17]; *for the mouth of the Lord has spoken* [*ibid.* 1:20]; *my eyes are on the faithful of the land* [Ps 101:6]; *His ears toward their cry* [*ibid.* 34:16]; *the hand of the Lord will be* [Ex 9:3]; *His feet will stand* [Zec 14:4]; *and the Lord said in His heart* [Gn 8:21].

The reckless ones said: “What lacks here that is not human?” - and behold, I will refute them based on what I have found in the name of our teachers r. Sa’adiah and r. Nissim, and also Ibn Gabirol and Ibn Ezra; indeed they all went hand in hand with each other concerning the matter of *image and likeness*: “How is it possible to say so, [since it is written]: *what likeness can you compare with Him?* [Is 40:18] And the literal interpretation must be clarified in various aspects: *in our image* - the

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image of the angels that are called 'Elohim; and they have the appearance of men, as it is written: *Behold, three men* [Gn 18:2]”.

R. Sa'adiah added: the image and the likeness are a metaphor; because just as David said: “*To the Lord belongs the world and all it contains, the earth and its inhabitants*” [Ps 24:1], so it is written concerning men: *and you have made him little less than a god* [Ps 8:6]; and also: *Behold! The man has become like one of us* [Gn 3:22].

And to the author of the refutations it seems that, if this *likeness* consisted of limbs and a face, then their idol has been compared to an androgynous, since it is written: *in the image of Elohim He created them, male and female He created them* [Gn 1:27].

10 Another interpretation of *in our image* - that is to say, in the image that is most suitable for us; so indeed *in our image* means in an upright position: *man wanders about like an image* [Ps 39:7]. *After our likeness* (heb. *ki-dmoteinu*) - that is to say, as if it was seen through our own eyes, as it is written: *as it seemed* (heb. *dimmiti*) *to me, so it will be* [Is 14:24]; and also *Do not imagine* [*'al-tedammi*] *in your mind* [Est 4:13].

15

## 5

*And on the seventh day God completed* [Gn 2:2].

Say the heretics: “If so it is, then the Holy one completed His work on Shabbat”.

20 This is the interpretation of Rashi: “A mortal man, who errs in his timing and in his moments, must add profane to what is sacred. But the Holy one, who knows His own time and His moments, made it by a hair's breadth, and it looked as though He completed [the work] on the seventh day”.

And [Ibn] Parḥon says that *On the seventh day* [must be read] “before the seventh day” as in: *From the very first day you will have removed leaven from your houses* [Ex 12:15].

25 This is the interpretation of [Joseph] Qara: *On the seventh day [God] completed* - by the seventh day everything had been accomplished. And in the vernacular language: “*a eu deployé*”; and *from the very first day you will have removed* [in the vernacular language]: “*ayez detorubé*”.

## 6

30

*And God saw all that He had made, and behold, it was very good* [Gn 1: 31].

One apostate asked r. Nathan, may his soul rest in peace: “Who created the *destroyer* [Is 54:16]?” - he replied: “The Holy One created him”; the apostate retorted: “But it is written *And God saw all*



*that He had made, and behold, it was very good!*" - said r. Nathan: "Fool, is it not written *And I have created the destroyer to work havoc* [*ibid.* 54:16]?"

And I answered myself: "*I cause peace and create evil* [Is 45:7]". And if you say: "If so, the two things are in contradiction", it is written: *He has made everything beautiful in its time* [Eccl 3:11].

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7

*The tree of life in the middle of the garden* [Gn 2:9].

10 One priest asked r. Joseph son of r. Nathan - may his soul rest in peace - dubbed "The Official": "How can you say that the Creator does not eat? If so, for whom did He create the tree of life? It is not possible to maintain that He created it for Adam, since if the latter had not sinned, there would have been no need for the tree of life and he would have lived forever: indeed only because he sinned was he punished with mortality. And in case the tree had been created to feed him after he sinned, so as to save him; even this is impossible to assert, because it is written: *lest he stretch out his hand and take also from the tree of life* [Gn 3:22]. Therefore, He created it only for Himself".

15 I replied: "Fool! You have just admitted that, if Adam had not sinned, there would have been no need for the tree of life, for he would have lived forever even without it, even without eating from it. All the more so the Lord Himself does not need the tree of life. So, why was it created? Because, as it is written, *many of those who sleep in the dust of the earth shall awake; some to everlasting life* [Dn 12:2] etc. - and those who will awake and live forever will also eat from the tree of life".

8

25 The chancellor of Paris asked r. Nathan: "There is a limit to [the validity of your] precepts, and the first precepts are not apt to last forever; indeed, concerning the precept of the fruit that was ordered to Adam, it was established for him: *In the day that you eat from it, surely you will die* [Gn 2:17]. However, he did not die".

R. Nathan answered him: "If a death sentence had been really decreed over him, how could that fruit abrogate the divine dispensation? And why would He say: '*And eats [of it] and lives forever* [*ibid.* 3:22]?' On the contrary, thus said the Holy One to Adam: '*From any tree of the garden* [*ibid.* 2:16]' etc. as if to say: 'It is my advice that you do not eat from the tree of knowledge, because a deadly poison is within it, and *in the day you eat from it, surely you will die*'; but He did not reveal to Adam the cure. When he transgressed the commandment, the Holy one said: 'He did not trust my

advice; hence I will remove from him my cure'. Therefore He said: '*Now lest he stretch out his and [ibid. 3:22]' etc.*'"

It is akin to a doctor who told his servant: "From all provisions in this room you can eat, except from what is inside this jar, because it is a deadly poison". What did the servant do? As soon as his master was gone, he took from that jar, ate and endangered himself. His master said: "Since he did not trust me, I will not be persuaded to heal him".

Thus, the tree of life was the antidote to the tree of knowledge.

9

10

They asked me: "How can you say that Adam did not go down to hell? Is it not written concerning him of two deaths, one in this world and one in the world to come? *A death you will die* [Gn 2:17]."

I replied: "If it was so, then it should apply also to: *eat, eat!* [ibid. 2:16] that is, in this world and in the world to come; and also to *raise, raise!* [Dt 22:4], to *help, help!* [Ex 23:5] and to *give, give!* [Dt 15:14]. But the Torah spoke in the tongue of men; and thus also: *let go, let go* [Dt 22:7]"

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One apostate questioned me in the presence of many priests: "You say that the Lord wounds with a knife and heals with a knife; admit that it is so". I answered: "Indeed it is so". He resumed: "Therefore, you have to admit that, just as the world was lost because of a woman, it was also saved by a woman". I replied: "But, truthfully, explain to me why would it ever occur to Him to save [the world] through a woman; if He had meant to bring correction by the hands of the sinner, then He should have brought correction by means of Adam, to whom the precept was decreed; Eve, however, was not ordered anything, since she had not yet been created when the commandment was formulated. And if you say that she transgressed more [than Adam], because she instigated her husband to eat [of the fruit] and thus she was the knife, the instigator being worse than the sin; if so, then He should have brought correction through the snake, since he was the very first instigator, and the most culpable of all. Also, how could everyone have been saved by her, if she still endures her affliction, as we all can see? Also, the visible curse still persists."

Behold, I will make a comparison to show what this matter is similar to; to a king whose servant disobeyed orders, and whom the king removed from his palace and sent into exile; and wherever he found one of his relatives, he got him arrested, thrown into prison and destroyed all of his properties. Once, a certain man found that servant, and told him: "The king regrets all the evil he

has done to you; he has taken all of your imprisoned relatives and transferred them to his scented garden, and will do the same with you. And this all is due to the fact the he married a woman among your relatives”. That servant answered him: “I do not believe any of this”; the man asked: “Why?” and the servant explained: “He still keeps me in exile, and I still see that my land is a desolation; and wherever he finds my relatives, he gets them arrested and imprisoned; and how  
5 could I possibly believe that he has repented, has become reconciled and has transferred my relatives into his scented garden?”.

In the same way, you say that evil has been corrected and that he took all souls out of hell; and who could believe this, considering that all visible curses still persist?

10 Here end the words of r. Joseph.

11

*And the Lord regretted making man on Earth [Gn 6:6].*

15 They spoke irreverently: “It is His custom to regret, violate His covenant and change His words. Thus He did with Abraham: ‘*and offer him [i.e. Isaac] there as a burnt offering [ibid. 22:2]*’, but then He sent his angel and said: ‘*do not stretch out your hand [ibid. 22:12]*’. And the same holds true for Saul, Nineveh and Balaam: ‘*do not go with them [Nm 22:12]*’; and then: ‘*rise up and go with them [ibid. 22:20]*’; and finally: *And God was angry because he went [ibid. 22:22]*. That is why  
20 they said that, when the Egyptian<sup>15</sup> one came, he overturned the words of the Living God and gave them a new Torah”.

But *He smeared [...] their hearts so that they could not understand [cf. Is 44:18]*, because they did not know what that regret was and why it was written thereof. Now, know that the Lord will never really regret, but it is the Torah which spoke in the tongue of men. [For instance, it is written:] *the  
25 eyes of the Lord*, so that the simple men know that He distinguishes light from darkness in His works; *in my hearing*, so that they comprehend that, if they pray to Him, He will listen to their vows: these words do not trouble their intellect. And here is a comparison: a man that wishes to give his animal water to drink, will not talk but will whisper to it through his mouth, as it is appropriate for the animal’s understanding; and thus, the regret of which is written with regard to  
30 the Lord is a metaphor to make it easier to understand that the Lord reconsiders and overturns His decrees by means of many prayers and repentance; as we have found with regard to Moses, to Nineveh and in many other places.

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<sup>15</sup> The original has מצרים, “Egypt”; it is a probable allusion to Jesus as performer of magical rituals, which he supposedly learnt during his stay in Egypt (see comment).

And to me - r. Joseph - it seems that the correct interpretation is the essence of the matter: *And the Lord was consoled*<sup>16</sup> [Gn 6:6] - He had a consolation for He had made man upon Earth and not in heaven; *and there was grief in his heart* [*ibid.*] - that is, in the heart of Adam, for he was evil; [but] *I regret having made Saul king* [1 Sm 15:11], here there is no difficulty, for his beginning is revealing of his end. And *that He should repent* is analogous to *that He should lie* [*cf.* Nm 23:19; i.e. it does not apply to the Lord].

And if the Holy One promised that He would do good to a certain man or kingdom, surely He will not take back his words; for a good word of His is always welcome, whereas He reconsiders and regrets the evil one.

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12

*Noah. As the green plants, I gave you all* [Gn 9:3].

One apostate asked me, the one who is writing: “Does the lord give and then takes back?” I answered him: “No”. He asked again: “So did he not give all to the sons of Noah, as it is written: *As the green plants, I gave you all?* Hence, how can you say the He forbade you [to eat] certain beasts, animals and fishes? It is nothing but a metaphor”. I retorted: “Solomon said in his wisdom: *to understand a proverb and a figure, the words of the sages and their riddles* [Prv 1:6]; therefore it is necessary to investigate all, the language and the meaning. But you must not interpret the *all* [of the verse] in such a way as to spoil the language. The Torah warned against pork meat, yet you say that it is nothing but a metaphor: you have plowed sin, reaped injustice<sup>17</sup>; for behold, we have found: ‘*those who eat swine’s flesh, abominable things, and mice shall come to an end altogether*’ - *declares the Lord* [Is 66:17]; *those who eat swine’s flesh and the broth of unclean meat is in their dishes* [Is 65:4].”

Then the apostate asked me: “Hence, what is the meaning of *As the green plants, I gave you all?*” - this is the interpretation: “I made for you a comparison with green plants: just as among plants some are suitable for consumption, so among beasts and animals some are good for eating, some are not; and thus those birds and fishes against which the Scripture warned us are not fit, while the rest is”.

30

13

*He looked and behold, three men* [Gn 18:2].

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<sup>16</sup> Here the interpretation is founded on the double meaning of the root נחם, which - in passive form - can mean both “to regret” and “to be consoled”.

<sup>17</sup> *Cf.* Hos 10:13.

The heretics speak irreverently and say that these are those three powers of theirs.

Here is the refutation: at the end of the parashah it is written: *those three men departed from there and went toward Sodom, while Abraham was still standing* [cf. *ibid.* 18:22] - therefore, it means each one was a separate entity; this is the interpretation of r. Sa'adiah.

5 And the author of the refutations replied based on what is written: *The two angels came to Sodom* [*ibid.* 19:1] - therefore they must have split up.

And r. Joseph says: "Real men, great men or angels; I reject all of this. It is written: *I will surely return to you about this time next year* [*ibid.* 18:10] - thus this was pronounced as a prophecy for Abraham; and therefore it must have been the Holy one who spoke to him. And further evidence is  
10 to be found immediately afterwards: *And the Lord said to Abraham: 'Why did Sarah laugh?'* [Gn 18:13] - hence it was the Holy One speaking all along.

14

15 I forgot about the parashah *Lekh-Lekha*.

One priest asked r. Joseph: "*And Melchizedek king of Salem brought out bread and wine* [Gn 14:18] - and why did he bring out bread and wine rather than something else?" And he added that it was so because they perform their *sacrament* from bread and wine.

I replied: "Who was priest (heb. *cohen*) and who gave the tenth part to whom?" He said:  
20 "Melchizedek was priest; and Abraham gave him a tenth of all"; I asked: "And where have we found about the priesthood of Melchizedek? We have not found about this service of his in any place; actually, Abraham was priest, as we have found in the psalm: *The Lord says to my lord: 'Sit at my right hand, until I make your enemies your footstool'*" [Ps 110:1] - and these [enemies] were Amraphael and his fellowmen; and it is also written there: *You are a priest forever according to the*  
25 *order of Melchizedek* [*ibid.* 110:4] - and indeed we found that Abraham offered up sacrifices - as he did in Moriah with the ram - and several burnt offerings, and that is why the king of Salem brought out bread and wine for him, so as to give Abraham the tenth part of the bread and of the wine. *And gave him a tenth of all* [Gn 14:20] - that is, he brought out a tenth part and made it available for every exhausted men: bread and wine to restore their spirit.

30 Also, some interpret *bread* (heb. *lehem*) [with the meaning of *banquet*] as in *he gave a great banquet (lehem)* [Dn 5:1].

A further proof that '*and gave him a tenth of all*' cannot refer to what [Abraham] had brought: is it not written *I have sworn the Lord most high [...]* [*that I will not take so much as a thread or a*

*sandal strap from anything that is yours*] [Gn 14:22-23]; hence, how could he give the tenth part of what was not his?

Joseph.

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15

The heretics continued: “The Holy One said to Abraham: ‘*Take now your son, your only son* [Gn 22:2]’ etc. but afterwards the angel ordered to Abraham: ‘*Do not stretch out your hand on the boy* [10 *ibid. 22:12*]’, and thus He let him be”.

However, according to the Midrash there is no difficulty at all: because the Lord only asked Abraham to let Isaac go up that hill.

Here is a comparison: a king was being hosted by a dear friend, who prepared a great banquet for him and honored him with all the trimmings. At the end of the banquet, the king asked his host: 15 “Why did you not offer me a share of your son?” The host then grabbed a knife and was about to cut and chop off his son; the king then intervened: “Did I ask you to kill him? I only wished that you would offer me a share of him; that you brought him in my presence for I yearned to see him”. Thus, the Holy One ordered Abraham: “*There, let him go up the hill*” [*ibid. 22:2*].

20

16

*Toledot.*

A Dominican friar found r. Joseph on his way to Paris and said to him: “Your father Jacob was a thief, and no eater on interest is worse than him, who for a bowl of soup worth half a coin bought 25 the birthright, which was worth a thousand *ziquqim*.”

And r. Joseph answered him quoting the literal interpretation of Joseph Bekhor Shor: “Jacob said: ‘*Sell me your birthright right away* (heb. *kha-yom*)’ [Gn 25:31] - what it is worth today (heb, *ha-yom*), ‘for maybe you will die before our father dies, and all that belongs to him will be lost. Thus I am giving you a mere compensation as a surplus value’; *And Esau said: ‘Behold, I am about to die’* 30 [Gn 25:32] for he was a man of the battlefield, and every day he went out and exposed himself to the danger of being killed: ‘*What use is the birthright to me* [*ibid.*]?’ *And thus he sold his birthright to Jacob*’ [*ibid. 25:33*] for a valuable compensation: *And Jacob offered him bread* [*ibid. 25:34*] - hence, it is not written: ‘And he sold his birthright to Jacob for some bread and lentil stew’ but: *And*

*Jacob offered to Esau; for Jacob gave it for free as compensation for the selling, and in recognition of the negotiation itself; just like merchants are still accustomed to do.*

R. Joseph son of r. Nathan - may the memory of the righteous be a blessing.

5

17

*Vayetze.*

They said impertinently that Jacob was deceitful in his contract with Laban.

10 Here is the refutation: [Laban] changed the contract right away; he had stipulated to remove every speckled, spotted and dark animal, but not *all those with some white on them* [Gn 30:35] - and instead he removed all those with some white on them, and also the male goats, which he had not stipulated to remove.

And r. Joseph would have added: “Jacob was an utterly reliable man, and he acted loyally towards  
15 Laban; but Laban deceived him, for Jacob had stipulated with him: ‘*I will go through your whole flock today and remove every speckled and spotted sheep and every black one among the lambs, and the spotted and speckled among the goats* - and also the he-goats in another place - *and such will be my wages* [ibid. 30:32] - it follows that also all the mottled ones who are born will be my wages’. And Laban said to him: ‘*Good, let it be as you say*’ [ibid. 30:34]. But he kept out the old  
20 ones among the he-goats so that they would beget only [unspotted goats] like them, and also removed the other he-goats so that his spotted sheeps would not be impregnated. For Jacob had told him: ‘*Every one that is not speckled and spotted [...] if found with me, will be considered stolen*’ [ibid. 30:33]. And so, how could be any mottled one be born? Therefore it was necessary to display the rods<sup>18</sup>. Now, come and see for yourself how great Jacob’s loyalty was: even though Laban had  
25 deceived him, Jacob did him a favor, for he only displayed the rods in front of the ones that got impregnated sooner (heb. *ha-qšurim*), *but with the ones that gave birth later* (heb. *u-we-ha-’atif ha-š’on*) *he did not display them* [ibid. 30:42]; and all the ones born earlier, in winter, were Jacob’s, while the ones born in summer were Laban’s.

30

18

*Vayishlach.*

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<sup>18</sup> Cf. Gn 30:38 ff.

They support an indecorous thing, namely that the sons of Jacob acted treacherously towards the sons of Shechem, for they killed them after they had been circumcised.

The answer is that the sons of Shechem were in pain, and afterwards they regretted [being circumcised].

5 And I, the one who is writing, said and subsequently heard that the sons of Shechem had sinned from the very beginning, for they changed the contract that they had stipulated with the sons of Jacob: “*Give your daughters to us and take our daughters for yourselves*” [Gn 34:9]; and Jacob said: “*then we will give our daughters to you and we will take your daughters for ourselves [ibid. 34:16]*”; [but sons of Shechem added:] “*their livestock and their property [...] will be ours*” [ibid. 34:23]; thus, only for this they let themselves be circumcised.

Hence, according to their words, the sons of Jacob would have been their servant; therefore they killed the sons of Shechem.

## 19

15

*Vayeshev. Surely I will go down to Sheol in mourning for my son* [Gn 37:35].

A Franciscan friar asked r. Joseph: “Was not Jacob a righteous man, a perfect one according to everyone? And why did he fear descending into hell, if not because everyone would go there?”

I replied: “He was in mourning because at first he was sure he would not go down there, but then he said: “Now, because of this sin, I will go down to hell; because I caused my son to die”; and *I will go down for my son* stands for *because of my son*”.

The friar replied: “But it is not written ‘because of my son’, it is written *for my son*, therefore he knew that his son was there”. I answered: “You spoke correctly: Joseph committed a mortal sin, for it is written: *Whoever secretly slanders his neighbor, I will destroy him* [Ps 101:5]; and Joseph had indeed pronounced slanders, as it is written: *And Joseph brought back a bad report about them to their father* [Gn 37:2]. Jacob thus said: “Joseph was killed in his sinfulness, for he was a slanderer; and I will go down to hell right after him, for because of me he died”.

## 20

30

One priest asked r. Nathan, may his soul rest in peace: “Why is it written: *She* [i.e. Tamar] *is more righteous than me* (i.e. Judah) [Gn 38:26]? Has she become righteous for prostituting herself to him and for getting pregnant?”



R. Nathan explained: “It is not written just “righteous”, but *more righteous than me*; as if to say, ‘I share the same sin, for she prostituted herself to me; but I transgressed even more than her, because *I did not give her to my son Shelah* [*ibid.*]. Therefore she is worthier than me, and I am not fit to judge her’; and he was a king, as it is written: *Judah prevailed over his brothers* [1 Chr 5:2]. And if  
5 he was not able to judge her, no one else was”.

Joseph.

21

10

*Vayechi.*

They spoke irreverently about the verse *He crossed his hands* [Gn 48:14].

And Qara explained that, precisely for this, Joseph said to him: “*Not so, my father* [Gn 48:18]”, because that way he believed he would spare his righteous father from evil talk; thus he said to him:  
15 “*Not so my father*”, for he believed that his father was laying his hands in such a way as to intentionally make the sign of the cross; and Jacob reassured him: “*I know, my son, I know*” [*ibid.* 48:19] - I know that it is forbidden to make the sign of the cross, but I did not intend to”.

22

20

*The scepter shall not depart from Judah [...] until Shiloh comes* [Gn 49:10].

[They say that Shiloh is] their Messiah, and relied on the Targum: *until the Messiah comes* [*ibid.*]. But they are deceived in calling Jesus the messiah, and in saying that, after he came, there was no other messiah left for Israel.

25 *They sank [...] in the mighty waters* [Ex 15:10] and brought up nothing but a potsherd in their hands. Because ever since Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon, exiled Zedekiah, king of Judah, there has not been for us a messiah anointed with anointing oil; and this happened more than two hundred years before the coming of Jesus.

This is the interpretation of Ibn Ezra: “*The scepter shall not depart from Judah* - from the day Judah  
30 was blessed, he received both a blessing and a kingdom, as it is written in the book of Chronicles: *but because he defiled his father’s bed, his birthright was given to [...] Joseph [...] and Judah prevailed over his brothers* [1 Chr 5:1-2]; he was first among the standards, in the consecration of the altar and among the judges: *who will go up first for us [...] and fight?* [...] *And the Lord said: ‘Judah shall go up’* [Jgs 1:1-2]. And even during Saul’s kingdom it was David who led out and

42

brought in [Israel]<sup>19</sup>, and afterwards he was made king; and this is the explanation of *shall not depart*: a king shall not be a ruler or prevail until he [actually] becomes king. The thing can be compared to a king who orders his servant: ‘You will not be exempted from serving me until I will make you king and powerful’.

5 And the psalm *God is compassionate* [Ps 78:38] is further evidence in support of this interpretation: *He* [i.e. God] *abandoned the tabernacle at Shiloh* [*ibid.* 78:60]; *He rejected the tent of Joseph* [*ibid.* 78:67]; *He chose David his servant* [*ibid.* 78:70]. And this is the meaning of *until Shiloh comes*: Shiloh sank and was destroyed. And as soon as Saul - who descended from Ephraim son of Joseph - was killed, behold: *and to him shall be the obedience of the peoples* [Gn 49:10] - and indeed all  
10 Israel gathered to crown David, as it is written in the book of Samuel: *David inquired of the Lord* [...]: “*Shall I go up into one of the cities of Judah?*” [...] *And [David] said: “Where shall I go up?”* [...] *Then the men of Judah came and there anointed David king over the house* [2 Sm 2:1; 4]; and after the events concerning Abner, *all the tribes of Israel came [to David] in Hebron* [*ibid.* 5:1] and crowned David; and his kingdom [and that of his descendants] lasted until the exile under Zedekiah.  
15 Another interpretation: *the scepter shall not depart from Judah* - the oppressor and the tormentor will not depart from Judah: no kingdom will ever be whole in Judah, nor will any of his kingdoms end in quietude or enemy shall rise upon it *until Shiloh comes*: that is, the King Messiah, about whom it is written: *his dwelling shall be glorious* [Is 11:10]; *and to him shall be the obedience of the peoples* [Gn 49:10] - and indeed it is written: *On that day the nations will seek the root of Jesse,*  
20 *which stands as a signal for the people* [*ibid.*].

23

One apostate said to Rabbeinu Tam: “How can you say that Shiloh is not Jesus? Is there no allusion  
25 to him in the verse: *Shiloh will come and to him?* (heb. *yav’o šilo we-lo*) [Gn 49:10]; take the first letters of every word: Yeshu”.

Rabbeinu Tam replied: “Thus you spoke, but look afterwards: *The obedience of the people* (heb. *yiqhat ‘amim*) [*ibid.*], take the first and last letters: *yit’am*, [Jesus] “will lead them astray”.

30

24

[Exodus]

*Shemot.*

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<sup>19</sup> Cf. 2 Sam 5:2; the Hebrew expression (*ha-mozi’ we-ha-mevi’*) also indicates by extension a guide, one who goes first.

One priest asked our great-uncle r. Joseph of Chartres: “Why did God manifest himself in a bush rather than in a tree?” - and he replied: “Because you cannot make an image out of it”.

25

5

The archbishop of Le Mans asked r. Joseph: “That lamb which the Lord ordered you to eat for Pesach, what is it owed to?”

And I, r. Joseph, answered him as my own grandfather and master had taught in the name of his father r. Nathan son of Rabbeinu Meshullam: “The thing is renowned: sheep were divinities for the Egyptians, as it is written: *Behold, if we sacrifice what is an abomination to the Egyptians before their eyes, will they not stone us?* [Ex 8:22]; and thus also: *for every shepherd is an abomination to the Egyptians* [Gn 46:38]. The Holy One ordered to Israel: ‘Take for yourselves, from to the tenth of the month, *a lamb for each one of you* [Ex 12:3] *and you will keep it until the fourteenth [of the month]*’ [*ibid.* 12:6], so that the Egyptians would see it; and when it wailed, the Egyptians would hear its cry and, glancing inside the house, they would see the lamb tied up; and still they would say: ‘He will deliver himself and ascend to the Heavens’. The Holy One ordered to slaughter him at dusk, at the time when the workers come back from their occupation; however, not everyone could come at the time of the slaughter. Thus the Lord ordered to spread his blood over the lintel and the doorpost [of the house]; and when the Egyptians would arrive in front of the house and not hear his cry as the day before, they would look towards the house and see the blood; one would say: ‘It has been slaughtered’, and the other would correct him: ‘No; he ascended to heaven’. But, glancing inside the house, they would see him on the fire. The Holy one ordered: *You shall not eat from it* [Ex 12:9] - that is, do not be hasty in eating it, until its cooking is over; and also do not boil it in water, so that it will be visible to everybody that it is roasted with fire, *its head and its legs along with its entrails* [*ibid.*] - so that it will be clearly visible that it is the lamb”.

26

*Beshalah.*

30 One priest was horse-riding after r. Nathan, may his soul rest in peace; he saw a horse dragging a wagon with no wheels. He said to r. Nathan: “See how the horse easily pulls this wagon! And why is it written: *And He removed one wheel from their chariots, and made them drive with difficulty* [Ex 14:25]; what difficulty is there?”

44

R. Nathan explained: "It is not written 'He removed the wheels from their chariots', but just one wheel, while he left the other one; thus the wagon slanted on one side only".

27

5

*But the sons of Israel walked on dry land [Ex 14:29].*

One priest asked r. Nathan - may his soul rest in peace: "What sign was there in that the waters split up and Israel walked through them?" And I teased him: "And you, what would you say?" He replied: "It was an omen of the baptism". I nodded: "You spoke correctly; those who reached the dry land and were not soiled by those waters were saved; but those who did not reach the dry land and were soiled in those waters perished." He retorted: "Hence, why were [the waters] divided? He should have let them walk on the water surface". I explained: "Because it was a sign of the fact that we will live among you but not will be dirtied by those waters." Then he asked me the literal interpretation and I said: "If He had not divided the waters, it would have been hard to go back up; for the sea is deep".

Joseph.

28

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*And the Lord showed him a tree [Ex 15:25] - they say that it represents the wood of the cross.*

I say: "If so, it should have said "trees"; also, the wood of the cross had not been created yet".

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25

*Yitro. You shall not make for yourself an idol [Ex 20:4].*

They speak impertinently about the question of the Cherubs: "Are they not statues?"

And r. Nathan - may his soul rest in peace - replied: "The Torah forbade only *what is in the heavens above or on the earth below or in the waters underneath [Ex 20:4]*; and the example of the cherubs is not to be found either in the heavens or on earth, for they only possessed a face and a pair of wings".

And I add that cherubs are allowed, because it is written: *You shall not make for yourself* - that is, in a place that you can see; but the Cherubs were concealed from sight, for they were left in a place

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nobody could enter except the High Priest once a year. I also heard that [images] are not forbidden unless they are created to be worshipped; otherwise, how could Solomon have made the lions?

[From the margins]: And I add: The Torah only forbade [images] with their real features, as they were created. It is said: *sculpture*, that is to say *any image* [*ibid.*] that represents every limb, whereas the Cherubs only had face and wings. This is also the answer to those who are irreverent about the bronze serpent made by Moses: he did not make it the way it was created, with legs.

[From the margins]: The abbot of Cluny asked r. Nathan - may his soul rest in peace - in Moulins: “How can you circumcise on Shabbat? It is written: *You shall not do any work* [Ex 20:10]”.

R. Nathan answered him: “It is written: *On the eighth day the flesh of his foreskin shall be circumcised* [Ex 12:3], that is to say, any day that is the eighth [from the child’s birth]; also on Shabbat”.

The abbot continued: “Which words shall we trust, the king’s or the servant’s?” “The king’s” - answered r. Nathan. “If so” - resumed the abbot - “the Lord ordered: ‘*You shall not do any work*’ and Moses, His servant, said: ‘*On the eighth day*’. How can you give heed to the words of the servant and ignore the words of the master?” R. Nathan explained: “Behold what is written: *And the Lord said to Moses: ‘I shall come to you in a thick cloud, in order that the people may hear when I speak with you and may also believe in you forever* [Ex 19:9]; and should Moses even abrogate one thing that is found in the Torah, we would have to give heed to his words”.

[From the margins]: It was asked: “... cursed since forever<sup>20</sup>. Why was he/it<sup>21</sup> called “cursed” more than any other man?”

... He answered: “It was called “cursed” by each one of the sides, both yours and ours. For your part, it is considered cursed because your god was hanged; for our part it is regarded as cursed, because of the exile that fell upon us for hanging him; for this is what you say”.

[Ki] *Tissa. Remember Abraham* [Ex 32:13].

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<sup>20</sup> This marginal addition has been partially deleted; see comment and critical apparatus.

<sup>21</sup> There is a good chance that the subject of this discussion is Good Friday, the Friday before Pesach, when Jesus was crucified; today it is celebrated on the Friday before Easter.

The bishop of Meaux asked r. Nathan - may his soul rest in peace - in the presence of the bishop of Sens and nine others: “Why do you not believe in *Hariya*<sup>22</sup>?” R. Nathan replied: “And what about you? Do you believe in her [like she was God]?” He answered: “Surely not. I am asking you why you do not supplicate to her so as to help you against the hanged one<sup>23</sup>” R. Nathan then explained:

5 “This is not possible. On the one hand it would be admissible: among those who supplicate there was Moses, our teacher; however, in times of great need he did not say to Abraham, Isaac and Jacob: ‘Have mercy on us’ but he said [to God]: *Remember Abraham, Isaac* [Ex 32:13] etc.”

The bishop continued: “Hence, do you not believe that he is her son and was born from her?” He replied: “God forbid! I will not call him “son”, for those who did so in the past have been punished;

10 it is written in Isaiah: *Utter fools are the princes of Zoan! The wisest of Pharaoh’s advisers [...] how can you say to Pharaoh: ‘I am a son of the wise, a son of ancient kings’?* [Is 19:11]. It is the same as when you say that he came from David’s family line”.

The bishop resumed: “And do you not believe that he entered her womb to save the sinners from hell?” R. Nathan replied: “So far, you have questioned me. Now be quiet for a while and let me

15 question you; I will ask and you will answer”. The bishop accepted: “Speak”. R. Nathan started: “What did the people of Israel say about the golden calf? *This is your God, O Israel, who brought you up from the land of Egypt* [Ex 32:4]; behold, three months had already passed since they had left Egypt, and was their spirit so dumb as to let them say *who brought you up?*” The bishop answered: “The Satan had led them astray”. R. Nathan continued: “It is impossible that six hundred

20 thousand men on foot were able to calculate a time superior to twenty years and inferior to sixty; and that all of them were mistaken and not a single one of them said: ‘You are wrong, for the calf was built only now, and we left Egypt already three months ago’”. The bishops fell immediately silent and did not reply. R. Nathan said: “Listen to me and I will explain it to you. You do not have to be astonished if all Israel went astray; for *they saw that Moses delayed* [Ex 32:1] and they

25 thought he was dead; thus they went to Aaron and said to him: ‘*Come make us a god who will go before us; because that Moses*’ [*ibid.*] etc. as if to say: ‘Make us a leader and a guide that will go before us in place of Moses, for he perished’. Aaron then tried to delay them, saying: ‘*Tear off the golden rings which are in the ears of your wives*’ [*ibid.* 32:2]; he took the gold and sought to melt it: the moment he threw it into the fire, the calf came out of it, fully formed; and they did not even

30 touch it with hand, as it is written: *And I threw it into the fire and out came this calf* [*ibid.* 32:24]. This was a great prodigy, behold its greatness: the calf immediately went and ate grass, for it is written: *They exchanged their glory for the image of an ox that eats grass* [Ps 106:20]; it is not

<sup>22</sup> A derogatory nickname for Mary, Jesus’s Mother (lat. *Maria*).

<sup>23</sup> From here onwards, the “hanged one” always designates Jesus.

accounted as a grave guilt, they did not erroneously say that it was God; they only said *this is your God [...] who brought you up* [Ex 32:4], that is to say, this was the divinity that emanated from Moses, the holy spirit that resided inside him and then entered that calf; behold, miracles like this one were performed by means of it. If they thus deviated, it is no wonder: no man can rule until he is decorated with gold and wreathed with a crown of fine gold; and behold: also the *menorah*, the table and the utensils for the service that were used in the Temple were made of gold. Therefore, they could not say that the Holy Spirit entered something purer than gold, and yet behold what happened to them: *and about three thousand men of the people fell that day* [*ibid.* 32:28]; and it is written: *In the day when I punish, I will punish them* [*ibid.* 32:34]; and also: *And he said that he would destroy them had not Moses his chosen one [...]* [Ps 106:23]. Therefore I will not say that it entered a woman, for Moses warned us: ‘Do not touch a woman until the third day<sup>24</sup>’, on that occasion when he desired to speak to us all”.

Immediately the bishop of Sens mocked the ones who were present and told them: “If this man is not fit to answer you, we will look for one greater than him”.

15

31

[Leviticus]

*Shemini. And [Aaron] raised his hands toward the people and blessed them* [Lv 9:22].

20 They speak disrespectfully and say that this is a proof of the sign of the cross.

But it is written: *raised his hands*; and here is the refutation I heard: he should have said “his hand”, and it would have meant just one single hand.

32

25

They speak irreverently: “How can you say that the Torah is to be interpreted according to its literal meaning? Did the Scripture not forbid you [to eat] the swarming animals: the lizard, the skink, the mouse and the others<sup>25</sup>?”

They speak falsehood, for it is not written: “this you will not eat among the swarming animals”, but it is written: *these ones are impure for you* [Lv 11:29] - that is to say, they make you impure.

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<sup>24</sup> Cf. Ex 19:15.

<sup>25</sup> Cf. Lv 11:29-31.

*Tazria.*

I heard one heretic speak irreverently and say: “*When a woman conceives and gives birth to a male child* [Lv 12:2] - who was that woman who conceived and gave birth to a male child? Also, no man is mentioned here”. One who wished to refute him asked: “And who is she supposed to be?” Replied the heretic: “It was *ḥarbah* [i.e. Mary, lit. “desolation”]”. He answered: “But is written: *If she gives birth to a female child* [*ibid.* 12:5]; therefore, the hanged one had a sister”.

34

10

*Aḥarei [mot]. None of you shall approach any blood relative* [Lv 18:6].

Friar Garin - may his name be erased - asked r. Nathan - may his soul rest in peace: “How can you marry your female relatives? Is it not true that any blood relative has been forbidden to you?” R. Nathan replied: “Read to us what exactly is forbidden in the matter of nakedness”. Friar Garin answered: “It is written: *None of you shall approach any blood relative so as to uncover nakedness* [*ibid.*]”. R. Nathan explained: “If it had been written firstly about nakedness and afterwards: *none of you shall approach any blood relative*, then it would be as you said, for the part would imply the whole; but in this case it is written *any blood relative* and then follows the specification of nakedness: [the approaching] is not for us a prohibition superior [to the uncovering of nakedness]. And the daughters of Zelophehad constitute proof, for they were given to their cousins as wives”.

35

[Numbers]

25 *Huqqat. And he looked at the bronze serpent [and lived]* [Nm 21:9].

One Franciscan friar asked: “What did the bronze serpent represent, if not the hanged one? It also was hanged, and from it came the healing for everybody”.

R. Nathan replied: “It is indeed true that it was a symbol of the hanged one! For all those who saw him like that - in that ruinous condition of his - surely received healing!”

30 They further speak disrespectfully and say: “How could Moses make the serpent bronze? Is it not an image in the likeness of what is on earth?”

And I heard r. Nathan - may his soul rest in peace - explain that Moses did not make it but that it was his staff which had turned into a serpent. Know that from that moment onwards, you will not find any other mention of that staff.

49



*Balaq. And drinks the blood of the slain* [Nm 23:24].

R. Abigdor son of r. Isaac told me that the chancellor of Paris once said to r. Yehiel and r. Isaac (he was there himself): “You are the ones who drink the blood of the uncircumcised, for thus prophesized Balaam: *And drinks the blood of the slain*”. And they stood still and did not answer.

But regarding them [and their silence] I read this verse: *I turn back the wise* [Is 44:25]; they should have replied that *blood of the slain* is referred to the beginning of the verse: *Here is a people that rises up like a lioness, and gets up like a lion; it will not rest until it devours its prey and drinks the blood of the stain* [Nm 23:24]. Thus, that lion or lioness is metaphorically compared to it [i.e. the Jewish people].

Joseph.

15

*A star shall come forth from Jacob* [Nm 24:17].

The pope asked r. Nathan, may his soul rest in peace: “Who was that star?”

R. Nathan replied: “That star was an omen of misfortune, for it is written: *it will crush the forehead of Moab and tear down all the sons of Seth* [*ibid.*]; therefore it will destroy the whole world, for everybody descended from Seth. And look at what is written afterwards: *And Edom shall be a possession; Seir, its enemies, also shall be a possession* [*ibid.* 18] - during his days, Edom will be in exile. *And shall destroy the remnant of the city* [*ibid.* 19] - it is Seir that the Scripture is referring to. Now see for yourself, it is written: *woe to he who will live appointing himself to God* [*ibid.* 23] - and what does this mean? When he makes himself into a god. *And ships shall come from the coast of Kittim, and they shall afflict Assur and shall afflict Eber* [*ibid.* 24]”.

The Pope fell silent, a hand on his grim face; r. Nathan asked him: “Why are you silent? Keep reading”; the Pope replied: “What shall I read?” “It is written: *They too shall perish forever* [*ibid.*] - it refers to Rome”. “And what is your interpretation [of *A star shall come forth from Jacob*]?” - the Pope asked me in a friendly manner; I answered: “It refers to David”. “And what is the meaning of *it will tear down* (heb. *qarqar*) *all the sons of Seth* (also: ‘tumult’)?” I explained: “It is the city of

Moab, which is called ‘tumult’ (heb. *sha'on*); and this is what is written in Jeremiah: ‘It will tear down<sup>26</sup> all the sons of tumult (*sha'on*)’”.

38

5

*Pinhas.*

The Bishop [and Chaplain] of king Louis mockingly asked r. Nathan - may his soul rest in peace - who his wife was. He answered: “She is my cousin”. Friar Garin - may his name be erased - intervened: “They mate with each other like dogs and cats”; r. Nathan retorted: “We act according to the Law; for we already mentioned the case of the daughters of Zelophehad, who were given to their cousins as wives, as per decree. And thus also Achsah, daughter of Caleb, of whom it is written: She was given [as wife] to *Othniel [the son of Kenaz], Caleb's younger brother [Jgs 3:9]*”.

39

15

*Matot. And among the people* (heb. *nefesh 'adam*), *of the women* [Nm 31:35].

The bishop of Sens asked r. Nathan: “What is the meaning of *adam*?” He answered: “*Adam* can mean both man and woman; and where do you know this from?” The bishop replied: “It is written: *And makes it like the form of a man* (heb. *'ish*), *like the beauty of a person* (heb. *'adam*), *so that it may sit in a house* [Is 44:13], and in this way must also be understood the verse: *And among the people, of the women*”.

R. Nathan then said: “I already grasped the loftiness of your spirit! You interpret irreverently what is written: *and upon the likeness of a throne, a figure; like the vision of a man, high up above* [Ez 1:26]. This is the correct interpretation: *and upon the likeness of a throne* - there is indeed one figure, but it is not specified who he may be; *like the vision of a man* - the image [of the throne] was too high, like a man who could look upwards in his height but who would not understand what image that was. And the accent constitutes further evidence, for *appearance* (heb. *damut*) is accented with a *revi'a*, and this means that it is in pause.

30

40

*Whoever has killed any person and whoever has touched any slain person* [Nm 31:19].

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<sup>26</sup> The author reads וקרקר instead of וקרר (“and the scalps”), see Jer 48:45: *And it has devoured the forehead of Moab and the scalps of the sons of tumult.*

The chancellor of Paris - may his name and memory be erased - asked: “Why is Scripture so restrictive on the impurity of the dead and on *every open (clay) vessel with no lid tied down on it* [Nm 19:15]? If there was an open clay vessel here, in one corner of this house; and a corpse lying in another corner, what repulsion and what obscenity could there ever be?”

5 The holy r. Elijah, brother of r. Joseph, answered him: “The Holy One - blessed be He - *declares the end from the beginning* [Is 46:10], that which shall be in the future; and it was clear before His eyes that in the future one nation would have risen which would have declared that He accepted death for Himself; therefore He has been restrictive on impurity, so as to proclaim to all that He abhors [the dead] more than anything else; to the point that even one clay vessel that has become  
10 impure inside a dwelling-place must be shattered, and everything else must be aspersed on the third and on the seventh day”.

41

[Deuteronomy]

15 *Dvarim. You will sell me food for money* [Dt 2:28].

The priest [and confessor] of the queen said to r. Nathan - may his soul rest in peace - that the hanged one descended from David.

R. Nathan replied: “If so, then he would not be fit to enter the assembly, for it is written: *No Ammonite or Moabite shall enter the assembly of the Lord* [Dt 24:4] - and David descended from

20 Rut the Moabite”.

The priest, then, went and asked a certain Jew how David could rule as a king, and then wrote down the whole matter as it appears in tractate *Yevamot*: “*Because they would not come to meet [you] with food and water* [Dt 23:5], and it is customary for a man to go and meet people, while it is not customary for women to do so; therefore only [Moabite] men were disqualified [from entering the  
25 assembly]”.

But r. Nathan retorted: “It is not possible to say so, for behold, it is written: *You will sell me food for money so that I may eat and water [...] so that I may drink [...] just like the sons of Esau who live in Seir and the Moabites who live in Ar [did for me]*[*ibid.* 2:28-29], and thus they came to meet them with food and water, and the reason is not dependent on this [alone]: according to this verse,  
30 all would be disqualified, both men and women, and not one of them would be fit to enter the assembly”.

Hence they begged r. Nathan to explain the reason. He said: “He disqualified them from entering the assembly for two reasons; *because they would not come to meet you with food and water [...]*

and because they hired against you Balaam son of Beor [Dt 23:5]. And for these two reasons only men transgressed, while women did not; therefore women were not disqualified”.

42

5  
Vaethanan. *Hear, O Israel: the Lord, our God, the Lord is one* [Dt 6:4].

One skeptic spoke irreverently: “Behold, these are the three figures [i.e. the Trinity]. And thus also: *The Mighty One, God, the Lord* [Jos 22:22]”.

They answered: “If it were so, then you should say that the figures are six, because *The Mighty One, God, The Lord* is written twice”.

And r. Nathan - may his soul rest in peace - added: “If it were so, then *A ruin, a ruin, a ruin!* [Ez 21:32] would correspond to those three figures”.

Also, it is necessary to add that this is customary of certain verses: *O land, land, land* [Je 22:29]; *This is the temple of the Lord, the temple of the Lord, the temple of the Lord* [Je 7:4]. However, these verses are unlike the first one we quoted, namely: *Hear, O Israel* - this is how Moses used to address Israel, as in *Hear, O Israel, you are about to cross the Jordan today* [Dt 9:1]. Hence he said: “Listen to me, people of Israel, the Lord is our God; and this Lord our God is one, it does not consist of three figures”.

Thus [Zechariah] spoke: “*The Lord will be king over the whole earth; on that day the Lord will be the only one and His name the only one*” [Zec 14:9] - He will be only one and it will not be said that He encompasses three entities within himself; and His name will be the only one, for He will not be called the way they nickname Him now.

43

25  
*And houses full of all good things* [Dt 6:11].

One heretic asked me: “You say: *houses full of all good things*, and thus also bacon; and did He not warn you against the flesh of swine?”

I answered: “It was obviously permitted during the war of the seven nations; and if you say that it is not so, why then did the Lord wait to proclaim the laws of *hagalah* until the war against Midian? And the wars against Sihon and Og had already predated it. Thus He had not yet warned us about *hagalah*, for it originated from [the wars] of the seven people”.

53

*It was not because you were more numerous [...] that [the Lord] set his love [on you] [Dt 7:7].*

One priest from Étampes asked me: “Are you of the opinion that all humankind will perish from  
5 this world and that you alone, a minority among the people, will attain life in the world to come?”

I replied: “Behold, it has already been said: *It was not because you were more numerous [...] that the Lord set his love on you, for you are the fewest [of all peoples] [ibid.]*”.

10

*‘Egev. At that time the Lord said to me: “Cut out for yourselves two stone tablets” [Dt 10:1].*

They speak irreverently and say that those tablets were broken, and that we do not find that the Torah was ever given again to Israel.

They speak falsehood, for the Torah was never lost; even if the tablets of the Ten Commandments  
15 were indeed broken, Israel did not lose a thing; for when the Torah was given to them, it was given not in written form: Moses had been made emissary, in order to deliver to them the writing on the tablets by reading it out loud. Thus, even if the tablets had not been delivered to them, the Torah would have been their possession; but since the tablets had been written by God’s finger and Israel was still defiled with the sin of the calf, Moses shattered them, for Israel was not worthy of them.

20 However, when the Holy One forgave them, He ordered Moses to cut out two more tablets and write exactly what was written on the first ones; in any case, it was not really necessary for the Torah to be delivered again to them. Also, the [first] tablets were broken not by the Holy One but by Moses himself; therefore it is written: *which you shattered [ibid. 10:2]*, for Moses had not been ordered to do so.

25

Joseph.

30 *So that you may live [...] and inherit [the land] [Dt 8:1]; so that your days may be prolonged [ibid. 5:16].*

They speak irreverently and say that the Holy One did not promise that he would grant us the good reward in the world to come by fulfilling the precepts; but that, on the contrary *so that your days*

*may be prolonged* and *so that you shall prosper and have a long life* [*ibid.* 22:7] represent the reward in this world, and nothing He promised regarding the goods of the world to come.

I answered him: “Therefore, according to your own words, we do not even have an evil dispensation making its way to the world to come; for he only decreed the exile as our punishment,  
5 as it is written: *and you will soon perish from the good land* [Dt 11:17] etc.”

And one priest had already asked me in Trye: “What did your God promise you for observing the Torah?” And I replied: “The Torah is a contract: when [Israel] arrived before Mount Sinai, the Holy One - blessed be He - stipulated with us that he would give us His love, as it is written: *and you shall be my own possession among all peoples* [Ex 19:5]; and with this belongs all good in the  
10 world, as it is written: *No eye has ever seen any God besides You, who acts in favor of those who wait for him* [Is 64:3]”.

The priest retorted: “If it were so, why then is it written *so that he may bless you, so that your days may be prolonged* [Dt 5:16] etc.?” I replied: “The thing can be compared to an emperor who possessed a valuable servant; he always ate at the king’s table, he was nurtured and provided for at  
15 the expense of the king, and also rode his horses. Once it was necessary to send him far off, and the king told him: ‘Leave right away and I will give you a magnificent horse’. And even though the servant was perfectly satisfied with everything he had, the king promised him a horse so as to motivate him. Thus, although He already granted us His love, when respecting even one single precept, He vows to grant grace and long days; and in any case He already reserved all kind of  
20 goods for us”.

47

*Re’eh. And the pig, because it divides the hoof* [Dt 14:8].

25 One priest asked me while observing a piece of roasted pork in front of him: “What injury will it ever cause to your God, if you ate pork?”

I replied: “It once happened that a certain Jew bet his friend that his own wife would obey all his commands; they went to her. Her husband told her: ‘Take off your shawl!’, and she did; ‘Call the cat and put it on your knees!’, and she did; ‘Wrap the cat in your shawl!’, and she did. If he had told  
30 her: ‘Go and buy us some food, so as to feed the family’, it would have been a reasonable order; and if she had obeyed, still her devotion would not have been so distinguishable. But when he gave her futile and bizarre orders, and she obeyed, it became perfectly clear that she loved him. Thus, when our God, our Lord and Beloved One ordered us: ‘You shall not kill’; ‘You shall not commit adultery’; ‘You shall not steal’ etc. and we obey, it is right; yet our love for the Lord does not

55

become clear. But when He ordered us not to eat pork and other precepts like this one, at which people marvel and wonder what benefit derives from them; when we fulfill them, then our love for the Lord becomes known; and about this it is written: *The Lord tests the righteous* [Ps 11:5]”.

5 [From the margins]: And when I was young, I refuted one priest from Montchauvet: “I will now make for you a comparison and tell you what this thing is similar to; to a king who had a son, whom he loved like his own life. What did he do? He ordered the cook to feed him only his own dish. Thus the Lord said to Israel: ‘You shall eat nothing except what you offer in sacrifice before it dies [a natural death]’; and this is what the Scripture said: *an ox, or a lamb or a goat* [Lv 17:3] etc.”

10 And the priest retorted: “If so it is, then you can also eat *the deer, the gazelle and the roebuck* [Dt 14:5]; yet you do not sacrifice any of these”. I replied: “There is a good reason for this: the Holy One - blessed be He - did not want to weary his own sons, and thus He did not order them to sacrifice any game; and this is what the Scripture says in the book of Micah the Morasthite: *My people what have I done to you? And how have I wearied you? Answer me* [Mi 6:3], - ‘for I did not

15 order you to weary yourself by chasing after a deer, or after a gazelle; but an ox, a lamb or a goat of your herds, those you shall sacrifice to me”.

48

20 *Shoftim. I will raise up for them a prophet like you from among their kindred* [Dt 18:18]. They speak impertinently and say that it was Jesus, and that Moses prophesized about him. Woe to them, for they have brought evil on themselves<sup>27</sup>! The verse says: *like you*, therefore he was not God.

And the author of the refutations adds: they spoke irreverently also about the verse: *A prophet like me will [the Lord your God] raise up [for you] from among your own kindred* [*ibid.* 15], and this is their interpretation: “He eluded death and came back to life, and in the vernacular language: *ressusciter*; he is Jesus. And this is the reason why you are now subjugated, for it is written: *I myself will hold him accountable [for it]* [*ibid.* 19]”.

Behold, their mouth spoke falsehood in several ways: firstly, was Jesus a prophet? Do you not say

30 that he was God? Also, is it not written *like me*? Hence, he was born from a man and a woman; and Moses was greater than him, for it is written: *Never again a prophet like Moses has arisen* [*cf.* Dt 34:10]. And if you say: “That was true until Jesus’s birth”, behold it is written: *Never again*.

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<sup>27</sup> Cf. Is 3:9.

[Ki-]tetze. *You shall not charge interest to your kindred* [Dt 23:20].

They reproach us because of usury; for David said in Psalm fifteen: “*He lends no money at interest*  
5 [...] *He who does these things will never be shaken*” [Ps 15:5].

Refutation: King David was Moses’s disciple, and he had no authority to oppose his teacher, to add or take away from his words; and Moses our teacher said: “*You may charge interest on a foreigner, but you shall not charge interest on your kindred* [Dt 23:21]”.

And if the rebellious ones say that they are our brothers, because it is written: *You shall not abhor*  
10 *the Edomite, for he is your brother* [ibid. 23:8], here is what r. Moses from Paris answered: “Did not Obadiah remove this brotherhood? For he said: ‘*And foreigners entered his gates [...] You too were as one of them*’ [Ob 1:11], and the prophet was referring to Edom, because it is written at the beginning of his book: *We have heard concerning Edom* [cf. ibid. 1:1]. And at the end of the book of Judges, in the chapter on the concubine of Gibeah, it is written: *We will not turn aside to a city of*  
15 *foreigners, who are not of [the sons of] Israel* [Jgs 19:12]. And even after they converted, they will not enter the assembly until the third generation; surely they will not enter it from the first generation”.

In any case, it is you who lend on an increased interest, one *chor* every two *chor*; and to those who purchase your goods, you prolong the time for payment, and take profit from postponing  
20 repayment.

*Nitzavim.*

25 They assert that there will be no hope left for us, if we do not believe their fooleries.

R. Nathan answered them: “It is written after the last punishments: *So it shall be when all of these thing have come upon you, the blessing and the curse which I have set before you, and you call them to mind in all nations where the Lord, your God, has banished you; and you return to the Lord your God and obey His voice, according to all that I am commanding you today* [Dt 30:1-2]; it is  
30 not written ‘according to all that I will command’, but *that I am commanding you today*; that is to say, we are in exile solely because we did not follow the Torah that was given on mount Sinai, the one He commanded us back then; and this excludes what you say, namely that He gave a new Torah. And when we start again to abide by it properly, behold what is written: *Then the Lord your God will restore you from captivity and have compassion on you* [ibid. 30:3]”.



*Ha'azinu. They have made me jealous with a 'no-god', and provoked me [Dt 32:21] etc.*

5 Friar Garin - may his name and memory be erased - had a disputation with r. Nathan. He said to the latter: "Because of your impiety and defectiveness you are enslaved to us, and we are more powerful than you".

10 R. Nathan replied: "Such is the attitude of the Holy One: He repays measure for measure; we have provoked Him with what is lower than Him, and thus He did to us, as it is written: *They have made me jealous with a 'no-god', and provoked me with their empty idols; so I will make them jealous with a 'no-people', with a foolish nation I will provoke them [ibid.]*. And if there was a nation more foolish than you, then He would have us enslaved under its rule".

15 [Ve-zot ha-]berakhah. And no prophet has risen again in Israel like Moses, whom the Lord knew face to face [Dt 34:10].

And one skeptic asked r. Nathan: "Is it not written: *For no man can see me and live [Ex 33:20]?*"

R. Nathan explained: "God knew Moses face to face, but Moses did not know Him face to face".

20 ***The refutations of the heretics on the Pentateuch are terminated.***

***I will now begin the refutations on the Prophets.***

25

30

## [Prophets]

## Joshua

5 *Then the sons of Reuben, the sons of Gad and half the tribe of Manasseh answered and spoke to the heads of the clans of Israel: the Mighty One, God, the Lord [...] He knows [...] if it was in rebellion or in treachery [Jos 22:21-22].*

Thus say the priests: “These three appellations correspond with the Father, the Son and the spirit of uncleanness”.

10 However, was he not born from a clod of earth, from that Mary? And yet according to your own words, he cannot be the son: are not the three of them a [single] deity?

## Judges

15 The heretics taunt us because we marry our own cousins.

R. Nathan replied that thus we found concerning Othniel son of Kenaz, to whom Caleb - Kenaz's brother - gave his daughter Achsah as wife<sup>28</sup>.

20

*Of the women in the tent, may [Yael] be blessed [Jgs 5:24].*

The bishop of Vannes asked me: “How could [the angel of the Lord] bless Yael? She committed a despicable act by illicitly killing Sisera, who had run to her and whom she had welcomed peacefully”.

25 I answered: “She acted legitimately in killing him; for there was indeed peace between Yavin and Heber the Kenite<sup>29</sup>, and that foolish Sisera ran to her and she welcomed him peacefully; however it was him who committed a despicable act, because he raped her afterwards; for he surely lay with her eventually, as it is written: *Between her feet he bowed down [ibid. 5:27]* etc.; therefore the angel blessed her”.

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\*This chapter is absent from both ms. Paris and ms. Hamburg, though in ms. Paris it is present in the index of the chapters under the heading: “53. Three names. Joshua”; this is the translation of the text found in ms. Rome, while the original has been omitted from the critical apparatus. It can be found *infra* in the commentary to chap. 53.

<sup>28</sup> Cf. Jos 15:16-17; Jgs 1:13.

<sup>29</sup> Cf. Jgs 4:17.

## Samuel

5 They speak irreverently about the medium who brought up Samuel: “How could she bring him up, had he not been in hell?”

And r. Joseph of Chartres, my father and lord’s uncle - may his soul rest in peace - replied: “If it were so, how could he say to Saul: ‘*Why have you disturbed me by bringing me up?*’ [1 Sm 28:15]. Wouldn’t it have been pleasant for him to get out of hell and enjoy some placidity?”

10 And this is how in Düren I refuted a Franciscan friar who had spoken irreverently, saying: “Does a demon have the power to enter the Garden of Eden, bear a righteous one away from there and remove him from his bliss?” I answered him: “What got into your head? Does a demon have the power to raise a dead and grant speech to his mouth?” He said to me: “No”. I resumed: “Hence, how could the medium do all of this? Must you not, rather, say that with the help of the Lord these  
15 things are done? Hence she brought up Samuel - who was in the Garden of Eden - with the help of the Lord, who rules over all”. He retorted: “Is it not written: *By tomorrow you and your sons will be with me* [i.e. in hell] [*ibid.* 28:19]? Thus Samuel said to Saul. And Saul was impious, for he had sinned many times”. I said to him: “God forbid, God forbid! Saul was a perfect righteous, as it is written: *And he had a son whose name was Saul, a young and handsome man; and no other man  
20 among the sons of Israel was more handsome than him* [1 Sm 9:2]; yet he sinned, because all men will transgress sooner or later. Hence the divine justice smote him and took him and his sons; and after they had been taken, he atoned for his sins and became a righteous one; and that is the reason why Samuel said to him: ‘*Tomorrow you and your sons will be with me*’ - after being purged, you’ll be with me in the Garden of Eden”.

25

Therefore *he called that place Perez-uzzah* [2 Sm 6:8].

30 One priest asked me: “Why did [the Lord] kill Uzzah?” I replied: “What would you say?” He answered me: “Because the Ark of the Covenant was in the house of Obed-Edom the Gittite<sup>30</sup>, his father; that night Uzzah had intercourse with his wife, and therefore he was punished; and that is why women are forbidden to us”.

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<sup>30</sup> Cf. 2 Sam 6:10-11.

I retorted: “If it were as you say, how could he be on the battlefield? Is it not true that he who has a seminal emission is impure? And how could he be in the assembly? Thus, it was not for that; the thing is that he was supposed to carry the ark on his shoulders, as it is written: *But he gave nothing to the sons of Kohath, because the service [of the holy objects was their responsibility], to carry them on their shoulders* [Nm 7:9]; however, the cattle had carried the ark all day long, not Uzzah; therefore he was punished. And that which is written: *And God struck him there for his irreverence* [2 Sm 6:7] - this refers to the fact that he had erred”.

58

Jeremiah

*Before I formed you in the womb [I knew you]* [Jer 1:5].

The bishop of Vannes asked me: “Why is it written: *Blessed is the man* [Ps 1:1]? The Scripture should have said: ‘The man is blessed’, for he was man before the blessing came to him”.

I answered: “The blessing came to him before he was born, as it is written: *Before I formed you in the womb, I knew you*”.

59

*Is Israel a slave? A house-born servant?* [Jer 2:14].

One priest said to Rabbeinu Yeḥiel from Paris: “You are disqualified from bearing witness, because you are subjugated to us; and a slave is unfit to bear witness”.

I replied: “*Is Israel a slave? A house-born servant? Why has he become plunder?* [ibid.]

60

*And you shall be my people* [Jer 7:23].

One apostate asked r. Nathan, may his soul rest in peace: “Has this prophecy been fulfilled? Or is it yet to be fulfilled?” R. Nathan answered: “It is yet to be fulfilled”; the apostate then said: “Thus, now you are not the people of the Lord”. I replied: “*The Lord will be king over all the earth* [Zec 14:9] - why, is He not king now? This is the explanation: nowadays, not all recognize that He is the King, but in the future they all will; thus, presently not everybody acknowledges that we are the people of the Lord, but in the future all will recognize that we are His people”.

62

*Not like them is He who is Jacob's portion* [Jer 10:16].

One skeptic asked my father and lord - may his soul rest in peace: "What is the meaning of: *For the Lord's portion is His people, Jacob is the portion of His inheritance* [Dt 32:9]?" My father and lord  
 5 replied: "What is there here to object?" He answered: "Jacob was likened to a portion, and this is a sign of the three entities". My father explained: "It is indeed true that Jacob was likened to a portion, for three are the servants of the Most High: Priests, Levites and Israelites. However, it is not written so concerning the Holy One; it is written: *Not like them is He who is Jacob's portion, for He is the maker of all, and Israel is the tribe of His inheritance; the Lord of Hosts is His name*  
 10 [Jer 10:16] - hence it is written: *the tribe of His inheritance*, so as to proclaim that He is but one".

15 *It will no [longer] be said: "As the Lord lives, who brought up [the Israelites out of the land of Egypt]"* [Jer 16:14].

One apostate asked r. Nathan, may his soul rest in peace: "Was your Torah given for a certain time or for all eternity?" I replied: "For all eternity". He then said: "If so it is, why then is it written: *It will no [longer] be said: 'As the Lord lives, who brought up'* etc.? Is it not written: *so that you may*  
 20 *remember the day when you came out of Israel [all the days of your life]* [Dt 16:3]?"

I answered him: "I will now illustrate what this matter is similar to; to a king who gave his servant a magnificent horse, which the servant started riding in town; the townspeople asked him: 'Who gave you such a beautiful horse?'; the servant answered: 'The king did', and the townspeople were astounded; he told them: "Are you bemused because of this? In the future, he will also give me  
 25 another, very valuable gift; of such value that this horse will no longer be taken into account, and no man will remember it'. Thus, the final redemption will be valuable to the point that the deliverance from Egypt will not appear as valuable".

30 *"Behold, the days are coming - says the Lord - when I shall raise up for David a righteous branch; and he will reign as king and act wisely and do justice and righteousness in the land. In his days Judah will be saved and Israel will dwell securely; and this is His name by which He will be called, 'The Lord our righteousness'"* [Jer 23:5-6].

The heretics speak irreverently about these verses and say that they have been pronounced with regard to that perjurer [i.e. Jesus].

However, it is not possible to maintain this, because it is written: *In his days Judah will be saved* etc. and we have not been saved yet; hence, these verses are about the King Messiah, for it is written soon afterwards: *It will no [longer] be said: "As the Lord lives, who brought up the [sons of] Israel out of the land of Egypt; but rather: "As the Lord lives, who brought up and led back [...] Israel from the land of the north and from all the countries [ibid. 23:7-8]"*.

And this is the correct interpretation of the verse *and this is his name by which he will be called, 'The Lord our righteousness'* - his name shall be the one which I said: *'righteous branch'*; by this name the Lord will call him [the King Messiah].

Joseph.

64

*How long will you go here and there, O rebellious daughter? For the Lord has created a new thing on earth: a woman will encompass a man [Jer 31:22].*

They say that this has been said about the Nazarene; and so I was told also by a Franciscan friar. I answered him: "If it were so, then the Scripture calls his mother a *rebellious daughter*; but you maintain that she was a virgin".

And Rashi interprets *will encompass* (heb. *tsovev*) as in the verse: *I shall go about* (heb. *wa-asoveva*) *in the city* [Sg 3:2] - an expression of request, as if wooing someone who will marry her; it is akin to the verse: *You will call me "My husband" and will no longer call me "My Lord"* [Hos 2:18].

And r. Abraham son of r. Isaac said to me: "A *woman will encompass a man*, it is akin to that which is written in Isaiah: *Seven women will take hold of one man [...] and say: 'We will eat our own bread and wear our own clothes; only let us be called by your name, take away our disgrace'* [Is 4:1]". This I was told in Moulins.

Joseph.

64

*“Behold, the days are coming - says the Lord - when I will make a new covenant with the house of Israel and the house of Judah” [Jer 31:31].*

5 And from this verse, the heretics conclude that He will renovate the Torah and give a new one. *But they inherited mere frauds [ibid. 16:19], because it is written soon afterwards: “But this is the covenant which I will make with the house of Israel: after those days - says the Lord - I will place my law within them and on their heart I will write it; and I will be their God and they shall be my people. And they shall not teach again, each man his neighbor, saying: ‘Know the Lord’, for they shall all know me, from the least to the greatest of them - says the Lord - for I will forgive their iniquity, and their sin I will remember no more [Jer 31:34]” - and if it is as they say, how exactly do they know the Lord? Do not we see that every day those dogs [i.e. the Christian preachers] bark at them and give them a penance that they call *pénitence*?*

15

*“Behold I am against you, O arrogant One - says the Lord God of hosts - for your day has come, the time when I shall punish you. And the arrogant one will stumble with no one to raise him up” [Jer 50:31-32].*

20 This verse refers to the prophecy of Babylon, and thus established the members of the Great Assembly: “And the kingdom of the arrogant one you will soon eradicate” - that is, Babylon who had exiled them [i.e. the Jews].

25

They speak irreverently about the visions of which it is written in this book, but they are mistaken; behold, it is written at the beginning of the book: *The heavens were open and I saw visions of God [Ez 1:11]* - thus, he did not see in a direct manner, but as someone who glimpses something in a dream or in a night vision; and this is what is written: *And through the prophets I told parables [Hos 12:11]* - when He revealed Himself to the prophets, He took on several aspects; and the same holds true for he who sees a vision: what he sees changes and takes on several appearances.

And it is written: *If there is a prophet among you, I, the Lord, shall make myself known to him in a vision; I shall speak to him in a dream. Not so with my servant Moses, he is faithful in all my*



household. *Face to face I speak to him, plainly and not in riddles* [Nm 12:6-8] - and on Moses it is written: *Never again a prophet has risen [in Israel] like Moses, whom the Lord knew face to face* [Dt 34:10], - but He did not know the other prophets face to face; all the more so they did not know Him face to face, but He revealed Himself to them in vision.

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68

*Like the appearance of a man from above* [Ez 1:26].

I wrote about this in *Matot*.

10

69

*And puts the stumbling block of his fault right before [his face]* [Ez 14:4].

A bishop asked r. Nathan: "Why do you not make the sign of the cross?" And he was yawning.

15 R. Nathan answered: "The Scripture already warned us against it: *And puts the stumbling block of his fault right before his face*".

70

20 *The soul who sins will die* [Ez 18:4].

The bishop of Anjou asked r. Nathan: "Why was the soul punished more harshly than the body?"

R. Nathan replied: "I will show you through a comparison what this matter can be likened to; to a king who took part in a morning hunt, and this is what came to pass: when he came back, he was exceedingly hungry and ordered his domestic to hasten the preparation of his meal. The domestic went and obeyed; while he was carrying the first course to the king, a countryman came, grabbed the meal and set it on fire. The domestic then went and prepared another meal, and brought it to the king; the king got angry at him and said: 'Why did you delay in bringing me this meal? And you knew that I am hungry and exhausted'. The domestic told him what had happened, and the king asked: 'Where is this countryman?' The domestic replied: 'I got him imprisoned, and now decree what shall be done with him' The king ordered: 'Set him free and may he go his way!'

30 On another occasion, it happened that the king took part in a hunt, came back, got hungry and ordered to hasten the preparation of his meal; while the food was being brought to the king, a man of the court came and took it. They went and prepared another course, then told the king what had happened; the king asked: 'Where is this man of my court?' They answered: 'We set him free and

66

he went his way'. The king ordered: 'Hang him'; and they asked: 'Our lord and king, how is it that you set the countryman free and put to death a man of your own court?' The king replied: 'The countryman acted according to his law, the way he is used to behave among his fellow countrymen; however, this man of my own household, who grew up in my palace and learned the royal etiquette, he surely is a transgressor, a dangerous person and worthy of death'.

5

Similarly, as for the soul - which proceeds from heaven and grows in sacredness and purity - when it sins, it is appropriate that it should be sentenced; on the contrary, the body - which comes from a reeking water drop and from the earth, from a place of abominable and swarming things - it is appropriate that it should get soiled".

10

71

*Will you still say: "I am god" in the presence of your slayer?* [Ez 28:9]

The nations of the earth say that this was said concerning the Nazarene, who was slain because he would say that he was God.

15

If it were so, why would [the Lord] say to Hiram king of Tyre: "*Will you still say: 'I am god' in the presence of your slayer? You are a man, not a god, in the hands of those wound you [ibid.]*" - if it were as they say, does this not prove that [Hiram] was not a god, since he was killed? And the same happened to Jesus himself.

20

72

*Uncircumcised in heart and uncircumcised in flesh* [Ez 44:9].

They speak disrespectfully and say that circumcision is only a metaphor, and [always] stands for a circumcision of the heart.

25

They smeared their own eyes and cannot see<sup>31</sup>. Firstly, it is said: *Every male among you shall be circumcised* [Gn 17:10] - and must men circumcise their heart, while women do not have to? Furthermore, you shall object that it is written at the end of [the book of] Ezekiel: *The uncircumcised of heart and the uncircumcised of flesh shall not enter my sanctuary* [Ez 44:9]; and the Scripture bears witness to them and to the fact that they are the uncircumcised, for it is written: *All the nations are uncircumcised, and the house of Israel is uncircumcised of heart* [Jer 9:25].

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<sup>31</sup> Cf. Is 44:18.

## Isaiah

5 *Your new moons and your festivals my soul abhors* [Is 1:14].

They speak irreverently, the same way Turnus Rufus had spoken with R. Akiva saying: “Your God hates appointed festivals, as it is written: *Your new moons and festivals my soul abhors*”.

R. Akiva had replied: “Does He really hate them? Did He not establish them Himself? For it is written: *These are the festivals of the Lord* [Lv 23:4] - thus He does not hate our festivals, but the  
 10 ones they had arbitrarily devised for themselves, as it is written: *And Jeroboam instituted a feast in the eighth month, on the fifteenth day of the month, like the feast which is in Judah [...] in the month he arbitrarily devised for himself* [1 Kgs 12:32-33]. Also, he hated their sacrifices, as it is written: *What is the multitude of your sacrifices to me?* [Is 1:11], because they were [sacrifices of] wicked people, as it is written shortly before: *Hear the word of the Lord, you rulers of Sodom [ibid. 1:10]; the sacrifice of the wicked is an abomination* [Prv 21:27]. And Samuel said: “*Has the Lord  
 15 delight in burnt offerings and sacrifices? Behold, to obey is better [than sacrifice]*” [1 Sm 15:22].

20 They also speak irreverently about the verse: *Wash yourselves, make yourselves clean!* [Is 1:16], and say that the Scripture referred to that defilement of theirs [i.e. the baptism].

*They have eyes but do not see* [Ps 115:5], for it is written shortly before: *Your hands are full of blood!* [Is 1:15] and therefore He said: “*Wash yourselves, make yourselves clean!*”

And indeed we have found a case of washing away of blood, as it is written: *When the Lord washes  
 25 away the filth of the daughters of Zion, and cleans the blood of Jerusalem from her midst* [Is 4:4].

*Your wine is diluted with water* [Is 1:22].

30 R. Nathan said: “Come and see for yourselves how loathsome forced conversion is in the eyes of the Lord; for He has reproached men with forced conversion more than with murder and theft, as it is written: *How the faithful city has become a harlot [...] and now murderers [lodge in her]; your silver has turned into dross [ibid. 1:21-22], but your wine is diluted with water* - as if to say:

what you have swallowed and drunk is that which has been diluted with the water of forced baptism, mixed with it; and in the vernacular language: *ta glotonie*.

*Your wine* (heb. *sov'eakh*) - is akin to *a glutton and a drunkard* (heb. *sove'*) [Dt 21:20]".

5

76

*Woe to those who drag iniquity [with cords of falsehood] [Is 5:18].*

One priest asked r. Joseph ben Qara: "Why do you not have bells?" - and he answered: "Come with me". They both went to the market and heard the fishmongers who sell herrings declaim over their  
10 goods; afterwards, they went to the city gate where choice fish was sold, and [here the fishmongers] did not declaim on their fine goods. The priest asked r. Joseph ben Qara: "Why do they do so?" - and he answered: "Refined goods speak for themselves, and do not need anybody to declaim over them; and that is the reason why we do not have bells". This is what I was told by my teacher and grandfather, r. Joseph son of r. Nathan son of Rabbeinu Meshullam.

15 Another answer: from here one can deduce that with regard to them [i.e. Christians] it is written: *Woe to those who drag iniquity with cords of falsehood.*

77

20 *Holy, holy, holy!* [Is 6:3].

They speak irreverently about this verse and say that there are three entities.

The Qara answered: "Well said; therefore Isaiah said soon afterwards: "*Woe is me, I am ruined! For I am a man of impure lips [ibid. 6:5], and I should have kept quiet among a people of unclean lips [ibid.], for they had spoken so*".

25 It is however necessary to refute them, as for: *O land, land, land* [Jer 22:29]; and also with the commentary on the thirteen attributes.

And here is the explanation of the verse: *And one called out to another and said: "Holy"* [Is 6:3] - one of the angels is called 'holy', for this is how angels are called, 'holy ones', as it is written: *And I heard a holy one [speak] [...] to that particular one who was speaking* [Dn 8:13] - thus that angel  
30 called and addressed his companion through the appellation "holy"; and in order to align their voices in unison, the two of them said: "*Holy is the Lord of Hosts*" [Is 6:3] etc.

And others interpret according to the Targum: *Holy in the Highest Heaven, the House of his Divine Presence; Holy on the earth; Holy for all eternity.*

69

*Render the heart of this people insensitive* [Is 6:10].

One apostate said to my father and lord - may his soul rest in peace: “The Holy One does not  
5 delight in your repentance and in the fact that you do what is right in His eyes; for it is written:  
*Render the heart of this people insensitive, their ears dull, and their eyes dim; lest they see with  
their eyes, hear with their ears, understand with their hearts and return and be healed* [Is 6:10]”.

My father and lord: “And how long is this supposed to last?” Said the apostate: “For all eternity”.  
My father - may his soul rest in peace - retorted: “You are deceived; look at what is written soon  
10 afterwards: *Then I said: ‘Lord, how long?’ And he answered: ‘Until cities are devastated, without  
inhabitants; and houses are without people, and the land is a desolate waste’* [ibid. 6:11] - and this  
has already happened”.

15

*Behold, a young woman will conceive* [Is 7:14].

This is the cornerstone of their blasphemy, for they say that this verse refers to the Nazarene.

*Woe to them* [Is 3:9], for they have inherited folly<sup>32</sup>! *If they were wise, they would understand this*  
[Dt 32:29]: this prophecy was a sign for Aḥaz, so that he would not fear the war against the two  
20 kings [i.e. Pekah and Rezin].

And if that son was the Nazarene, this sign would not make sense; for this war was on the verge of  
taking place shortly afterwards, while the Nazarene’s birth happened more than five hundred years  
later. Therefore, this surely was a sign [for Aḥaz], as it is written: *And the Lord spoke again to  
Aḥaz, saying: “Ask for yourself a sign from the Lord your God: make it deep as Sheol or high as  
25 heaven!” Ahaz answered: “I will not ask, I will not tempt the Lord”. Then he said [...]: “Is it too  
slight a thing for you to try the patience of men, that you will try the patience of my God as well?  
Therefore the Lord Himself will give you a sign: behold, a young woman will conceive and bear a  
son, and she will name him Emmanuel. Curds and honey he will eat, so that he may reject evil and  
choose good. For before the boy learns to reject evil and choose good, the lands whose two kings  
30 you dread will be forsaken”* [Is 7:10-16].

Therefore, that son was a sign for Aḥaz; and he was a fool at the beginning, as it is written: *For  
before the boy learns to reject evil and choose good...* [ibid.].

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<sup>32</sup> Cf. Prv 14:18.

*For a child is born to us, a son is given to us [...] his name will be called Wonderful Counselor, Mighty God, Eternal Father, Prince of Peace [Is 9:5].*

5 One priest asked me in Tyre: “Who was that child?” And I replied: “And who would you say he is?” He answered me: “He is the Nazarene”.

I retorted: “Thus you say; but please, lift your eyes and behold what is written above: *You have multiplied the Gentiles and increased their gladness; they have rejoiced in your presence as with the gladness of harvest, as they exult when dividing the spoils [ibid. 2]* - indeed you are prosperous  
10 more than any other nation, and this is undeniable; and why? *For the yoke that burdened him, the pole on his shoulder, the rod of his oppressor you have smashed, as on the day of Madian [ibid. 3]* - no nation’s yoke burdens you, no rod oppresses you; rather, you are the rod that smites everyone!  
And why? *For every boot that tramps in tumult, and every cloak rolled in blood, will be burned as fuel for the fire [ibid. 4]* - when you march in battalions, you stomp in great tumult and haughtiness;  
15 *and every cloak rolled in blood* - you are sword-consumers and have mastered swordsmanship; and no other nation in the world besides you strikes with the sword to the point of rendering *every cloak rolled with blood*. And what will be your end? *They will be burned as fuel for the fire* - they all will descend to hell; and why? *For a child is born to us* - Isaiah said that this one would be a Jew, a son who was destined to be born for us from a Jewish woman; *a son is given to us and the rule will be*  
20 *on his shoulders [ibid. 5]* - but they read “he will be made a ruler”, implying that they will bestow the rule upon him; *his name will be called Wonderful Counselor [ibid.]* - it is not written “his name will be”, but *will be called*: this is how you will [merely] call him. Therefore it is written: *they will be burned as fuel for the fire*.

But [it is also written afterwards]: *To the increase of his rule [ibid. 6]* - that is, of he who will own a  
25 multitude of dominions - *and to peace, there will be no end [ibid.]* - in his days, there will be abundance of peace, as it is written in another place: *One nation will not raise the sword against another, and never again will they learn war [ibid. 2:4]. Upon David’s throne and over his kingdom [ibid. 6]* - David will have but one throne, as it was in the beginning; you, however, have several kings’ thrones: in Italy, in France, in Spain, in Germany and in many places. And where will the  
30 rule of his kingdom rest? In Jerusalem. *To establish it and to uphold it with justice and righteousness, from then on and forevermore [ibid.]* - it will last for eternity; *the zeal of the Lord of Hosts will do this [ibid.]* - that dominion of peace will proceed from the Lord; not like in the present, where the rule brings about sword abuse and wars between Gentiles and Ishmaelites; during that rule, on the contrary, a great peace will reign”.

*A shoot will spring from the stem of Jesse [Is 11:1].*

Those who stray after falsehood<sup>33</sup> say that this was prophesized about the Nazarene.

5 But they spoke falsehood, for it is written: *And the Spirit of the Lord shall rest on him [ibid. 11:2]* - and do not they say that he himself is a deity? And it is also written: *[a spirit] of wisdom and understanding, a spirit of counsel and of strength, a spirit of knowledge and fear of the Lord [ibid.]* - for he will know the fear of the Lord; but whom is he supposed to fear? Is he not a god himself? *And the wolf will dwell with the lamb [ibid. 11:6]* etc. *and the cow and the wolf shall graze [ibid. 11:7]* etc. - and even admitting that it is a metaphor, as they say, in any case it is necessary to reply that it is written: *For the earth will be full of the knowledge of the Lord, as the waters cover the sea [ibid. 11:9]* - but nowadays it is not so: not everyone knows the Lord and they cannot help practicing and preaching.

15

Adan the apostate - may his name and memory be erased - asked r. Nathan - may his soul rest in peace: "How can you say that this is not a prophecy about the Nazarene? Is it not written: *not by appearance shall he judge, nor by hearsay shall he decide [Is 11:3]*? Who does so besides the Lord, as it is written: *For a man sees the appearance, while the Lord looks into the heart [1 Sam 16:7]*?"

20

R. Nathan answered him: "And what advantage is there in seeing with the heart rather than in seeing with one's eyes?" Adan replied: "He who sees with the eyes is mistaken, while the Lord who looks into the heart cannot be mistaken". "Precisely for this reason I say that this *shoot*<sup>34</sup> is not a god, because he fears to judge by appearance and by hearsay lest he is mistaken; if he had been a god, then he would have had no need to worry about being mistaken".

25

*Behold, I am laying in Zion a stone [Is 28:16].*

30 They speak irreverently and say that this stone is a metaphor of the Nazarene.

And here is their confutation; it is written: *Therefore thus says the Lord God: "Behold, I am laying in Zion a stone, a tested stone, a precious cornerstone, a firmly placed foundation: he who believes*

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<sup>33</sup> Cf. Ps 40:5.

<sup>34</sup> Cf. *infra* chap. 81.

*will not hurry*” [Is 28:16] - therefore, those who hurry do not believe, and they [i.e. Christians] should have not rushed [to worship a false messiah].

[*From the margins*]: The bishop of Sens asked r. Nathan - may his soul rest in peace: “Is the Holy One - blessed be He - suspect of punishing without justice?” R. Nathan answered: “No”. The bishop resumed: “But is it not written: *For she has received from the hands of the Lord double for all her sins* [Is 40:2]? Why the double? It was enough [to punish her once] for her sins”.

R. Nathan explained: “I will illustrate with a parable what this thing can be likened to; to a king who had a beloved friend to whom he gave fields, vineyards, silver, gold and properties. However, this man transgressed against the king; what did the king do? He took away from him everything he had given him, imprisoned him and got him tortured in jail. Afterwards, his relatives went to the king and asked him to forgive the man’s transgressions; the king said to them: ‘I will fulfill this request of yours’. He gave order to get him out of prison, and not to torture him any longer; however, he did not return what had taken away from him. When his relatives saw this, they went to the presence of the king and said to him: ‘Did you not forgive his transgression? Then why did you not return what you had taken away from him?’ The king answered: ‘It is indeed true that I forgave his transgression, but I do not have to give him of what is mine until he receives upon himself the second punishment’.

Thus said the prophet: ‘*She has received from the hands of the Lord double for all her sins*’ - one punishment for the sins and one punishment as payment of the good reward that He will bestow on us”.

84

25 *Behold, my servant shall prosper, he will be raised high and lifted up and greatly exalted* [Is 52:13]. The heretics refer this parashah to the Nazarene; and a particularly zealous apostate had already come to the presence of r. Joseph Bekhor Shor and had asked him: “What can you reply concerning this parashah?”

And r. Bekhor Shor had answered: “You fool, may your ears hearken to what you let out of your mouth. *Behold, my servant shall prosper* - and if he was a god, why would he be called a servant?” The apostate promptly ripped off his clothes, rolled himself in dust and repented.

Furthermore: *For what had not been told them, they will see* [*ibid.* 52:16] - that is to say, great wonders; why, have not the accomplishments of the Lord been told them? Is it not written about the work of creation? And also about the generation of the flood and of the tower of Babel? About

73



Pharaoh, the kings of Canaan, the opening of the Red Sea? And about many others miracles that were accomplished before the Nazarene's birth?

*For the transgression of my people he was struck* [Is 53:8] - and does this verse really apply to him?

Did he not accept death merely to cleanse [humankind] from the sin of eating from the tree of knowledge, following which everyone would descend to hell? Then, the Scripture should have said:  
5 "For the transgression of Adam and Eve he was struck".

*Because he had done no violence, nor was deceit found in his mouth* [Is 53:9] - and if he had been a god, to whom could he have done violence? Would not everything belong to him? For God decides who must be humbled and who must be elevated.

10 And this is the complete interpretation: *Behold, my servant shall prosper* [*ibid.* 52:13] - it refers to Israel, who is called the servant of the Lord, as it is written: "*You are my witnesses - says the Lord - my servant whom I have chosen*" [*ibid.* 43:10]; *listen, Jacob, my servant* [*ibid.* 44:1], and also: *You are my servant, Israel, in whom I will show my glory* [Is 49:3] - that servant, namely Israel, will prosper, as in: *And David was prospering in all his ways* [1 Sm 18:14], and also: *in order that you*  
15 *may prosper in all that you do* [Dt 29:8] - thus Israel, my servant, will succeed.

*He will be raised high and lifted up and greatly exalted* [Is 52:13] - his horn will be exalted in honor<sup>35</sup>.

*Just as many were astonished at you* [*ibid.* 14] - because of the humiliation of Israel, as it is written: *He has broken the covenant, despised the cities, and has no regard for men* [Is 33:8].

20 *Rightly* (heb. *ken*) *his appearance was marred more than any men* [Is 52:14] - this *ken* is like in the verse: *Rightly* (heb. *ken*) *the daughters of Zelophehad spoke* [Nm 27:7], that is to say: it was indeed legitimate that *his appearance was marred more than any other men*. And also: *Rightly* (heb. *ken*) *he will cast down many nations* [Is 52:15] - he will triumph [over them].

*Kings will shut their mouth on account of him* [*ibid.*] - it is akin to *and iniquity shuts its mouth* [Job  
25 5:16] - they will shut their mouth; they will be left speechless and will not know what to answer.

*For what had not been told them, they will see* [*ibid.*] - they will see but the humiliation of Israel, and not his magnificence.

*Who would believe our message?* [*ibid.* 53:1] - who would believe this prophecy? He who has believed, *the arm of the Lord has been revealed to him; it grew like a sapling before him* [*ibid.* 1-2] -  
30 like a young shrub which pokes out of the soil and grows more and more, thus Israel was born and grew like a root out of parched ground [*ibid.*], as it is written: *Can a land be born in one day, or a nation brought forth in a single moment?* [Is 66:8].

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<sup>35</sup> Cf. Ps 112:9.

*He had neither beauty or splendor* [Is 53:2] - his presence was repellent; *such that we would have looked at it, nor appearance* [*ibid.*] - what was visible in him had no good looks; *such that we would desire him* (heb. *we-neḥmedeḥu*) [*ibid.*] - Rashi interprets: “Now, shall we desire him?”; but if it were so, it should have said: “*we-naḥmedeḥu*”, whereas it is written: *we-neḥmedeḥu*, that is to say, what is desirable in him has no splendor, like a man saying that a male organ of pleasure is something unattractive.

*Despised and forsaken of men* [...] *and we did not esteem him* [*ibid.* 53:3] - thus say the kings about Israel, that he is *a man of sorrows and broken* (heb. *wi-yidu'a*) *with grief* [*ibid.*] - this verse is akin to *and broke* (heb. *wa-yoda'*) *with them* [*the men of*] *Sukkot* [Jgs 8:16]; *and as one who hides his face from us* [Is 53:3] - he said that he was ashamed because of his seething humiliation.

*We thought of him as a stricken, one smitten by God* [*ibid.*4] - for we believed that all the tribulations had struck him because of the gravity of his own sins; *yet it was our griefs that he bore* [*ibid.*] - however, now we know that not because of his own sins the tribulations struck him, but that the griefs that were supposed to come upon us, came upon him instead; and now we atone for them.

*And he was pained because of our transgressions, crushed because of our iniquities* [*ibid.* 5] - now we see that, because of our iniquities, he had to suffer the tribulations; *the chastening for our well-being fell upon him* [*ibid.*] - the chastening that fell upon him brought about our well-being, for the Lord did not destroy the world because of our sins; *and by his wounds we are healed* [*ibid.*] - they were wounded as martyrs and killed, as it is written: *For You we are killed day long, considered as sheep to be slaughtered* [Ps 44:23].

*All of us like sheep have gone astray* [Is 53:6] - now we are aware that we have gone astray like sheep; *The Lord laid upon him the guilt of us all* [*ibid.*] - He accepted his prayers and was appeased concerning the guilt of us all. And I say: *He laid upon him* (heb. *hifgiy'a*) stands for: “He caused to happen on him the guilt of us all”.

*He was oppressed and was afflicted* [*ibid.*7] - they exerted pressure on him, as in the verse *you may press a foreigner* [Dt 15:3] - pressed with verbal taunts, in the vernacular language: *sorparleiz*. (*At the gate*<sup>36</sup>) *he did not open his mouth* [Is 53:7] - the place where the most important men convene, as in: *Boaz went up to the gate* [Rut 4:1]; and he was *like a lamb that is led to slaughter, or a sheep that is silent before its shearers* [Is 53:7] - thus was Israel among the nations.

*From oppression and judgment, he was taken away* [*ibid.* 8] - from the place in which he was arrested and delivered into their hands, and from the judgment of torments that he has suffered until now; *and his generation who shall tell* [*ibid.*] - the years of tribulation that befell him. And I add:

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<sup>36</sup> Erroneously taken from Prv 24:7, *In the assembly they do not open their mouth*; the interpretation that follows also refers to that verse.

From rule (heb. *me-‘oşer*) and judgment [*he was taken away*] - from the kingdom and the dominion, as it is written: *This one shall rule* (heb. *ya’şor*) *over my people* [1 Sm 9:17]; and his generation, who shall tell - who could say how many generations have passed since the kingdom was taken away from him. *For he was cut off* [Is 53:8] - he was exiled; *from the land of the living* [ibid.] - from the land of Israel; *the stroke caused by the transgression of my people, whom did it benefit?* [ibid.] - that stroke was for the sake of the righteous ones among them.

5 *And he gave his grave to the wicked* [ibid. 53:9] - he delivered himself to be buried according to the decree of the wicked ones, and the most insignificant ones of the people put him to death as a martyr; *and to the wealthy with his kind of death* [ibid.] - for it was the chiefs ruling over them who

10 dragged Israel and put him to death; *because he had done no violence* [ibid.] - towards the Gentiles who lived among them. And I add: *no violence* (heb. *ḥamas*) - he did not sin, as in the verse: *he who sins against me commits violence* (heb. *ḥomes*) *against himself* [Prv 8:36]; *nor was deceit found in his mouth* [ibid.] - he was killed because he refused to deny the Holy One.

15 *And the Lord wished to crush him, He made him sick* [ibid. 53:10] - it was the Lord’s will to torment him, therefore He made him sick; *if his soul will turn itself into restitution* [ibid.] - the Holy One said: “If his soul will be given to me for the sanctification of my name...”; *restitution* indicates a fine, as in the verse: *a reparation offering you shall put in the box* [1 Sm 6:8]; hence I will give him his reward, for *he will see his offspring, he will prolong his days, and the delight of the Lord will prosper in his hand* [Is 53:10] - he will receive the right compensation for his labor, for

20 accomplishing the will of the Lord.

*From the toil of his soul, he would see, he would be satisfied* [ibid. 53:11] - he would eat and be satisfied, he would not rob and plunder; *with his knowledge he would do justice for the just* [ibid.] - he would judge a judgment of truth for all those who would come before him, and he would suffer their sins, as it is written: *You and your sons [...] will bear any sin concerning the sanctuary* [Nm

25 18:1].

*Therefore I will allot him a portion with the great* [Is 53:12] - his inheritance and his fate are with the great ones, with the Patriarchs; *because he poured out* (heb. *he’erah*) *his soul to death* [ibid.] - this is akin to *she poured out* (heb. *wa-te’ar*) *her jug* [Gn 24:20]; *among the transgressors he was counted* [Is 53:12] - he suffered torments as if it was him who had sinned; *and interceded for the*

30 *transgressors* [ibid.] - through his sufferings: good came to the world through him.

*I allowed myself to be sought by those who did not ask* [Is 65:1].

Regarding the affair in Pons, some Gentiles came and declared to the bishops of Poitiers and Angouleme that the abominable one [i.e. Jesus] would perform miracles: he would heal the blind, straighten up the crippled, give speech to the dumb.

R. Nathan said to them: “I believe all of this, because the Holy One is accustomed to perform miracles for those who are poor in faith. It is written: *I allowed myself to be sought by those who did not ask, I allowed myself to be found by those who did not seek me; I said: ‘Here I am, Here I am!’ to a nation that would not invoke my name; I spread out my hands all day to a rebellious people, who walk in a way that is no good, following their own thoughts [...] Who sit among graves, and spend the night in secret places* [ibid. 65:1-2; 4]. This is the interpretation: those who walk among burial pits, just like the Gentiles who go and revere Jacob and John, and stay awake all night; *those who eat swine’s flesh, and the broth of unclean things is in their dishes; those who say: ‘Keep to yourself, for I am holier than you’* [ibid. 65:4-5] - thus they speak to Israel; and see for yourself what is written: *Behold it is written before me: I will not keep silent, but I will repay [...] They have scorned me and I will measure the recompense for their deed first in their bosom* [ibid. 65:6-7].

20

*Before she is in labor, she gives birth* [Is 66:7].

One apostate asked r. Nathan - may his soul rest in peace: “To whom does this verse refer: *Before she is in labor, she gives birth; before pain comes upon her, she delivers a boy* [ibid.]? Despite yourself, [you must admit] that it is said with regard to *Ḥariya* [i.e. Mary, cf. lat. *Maria*], who gave birth with no pain”.

R. Nathan answered him: “These are words of impudence; and the Holy One will have His due exacted from all those who hold on to them; it is written: *A voice of uproar from the city* [ibid. 66:6] - a thunderous voice invaded the city, and it is written about it: *the voice of the Lord rendering recompense to his enemies* [ibid.]. And this is the explanation: the Scripture refers to the final salvation, for it is written shortly afterwards: *Who has heard such a thing? Who has seen such things? Can a land be born in one day? Can a nation be brought forth in a single moment, that Zion both travailed and bore her children?* [ibid. 66:8] - to this must be referred what is written soon before: *Before she is in labor, she gives birth* [ibid. 66:7].

*For you are not my people* [Hos 1:9].

5 A Franciscan friar said: “The Lord has nothing to share with you, for it is written: *For you are not my people and I will not be yours* [ibid.]”.

I answered: “Is it not written: *Instead of being told: ‘You are not my people’, they will be told: ‘You are the sons of the Living God’* [ibid. 2:1]?” The friar retorted: “It is merely written: *they will be told*, but it will not be so”. I then replied (See page three<sup>37</sup>): “*And I will sow for myself in the land and I will have compassion on her who had not been pitied. I will say to those who were not my*  
10 *people: ‘You are my people’, and they will answer: ‘My God!’* [ibid. 2:25]”.

15 *And my people are like in suspension* (heb. *tlu’iym*) *about turning back from me* [Hos 11:7].

R. Joseph of Chartres - r. Nathan’s uncle - was asked: “Why did you do that to the hanged one?”

He answered: “Because he threatened to hang us all upon his return, as it is written: *And my people will be hung* (heb. *tlu’iym*) *upon my return* (heb. *li-mešuvati*) [ibid.]”. He was making fun of them. But this is the explanation according to Rashi’s interpretation: *tlu’iym* - they were in doubt whether  
20 to return or not to return.

Another interpretation: *taluiym*, “dependent”; their salvation depended wholly on repentance.

25 *For I am a God and not a man* [Hos 11:9].

The smith and the destroyer<sup>38</sup>.

They told me that the Nazarene came from Bethlehem and went to Jerusalem.

I answered them: “It is not possible to say so; for it is written in Hosea: *I will not give vent to my fierce anger, I will not destroy Ephraim again; for I am a God and not a man, the Holy One in your*  
30 *midst, and I will not enter a city* [ibid.] - therefore, how can you say that he was in Jerusalem and in Bethlehem?

<sup>37</sup> This might have been an internal reference for those who consulted the original manuscript; at page three of the MS were maybe reported the consolatory prophecies from the book of Hosea.

<sup>38</sup> Cf. Is 54:16.

Friar Garin said to r. Nathan: “The Lord hates you, for it is written: *I will love them no more* [Hos 9:15].

5 He answered: “He then repented and healed [us], as it is written: *I will heal their apostasy, I will love them freely; for my anger is turned away from them* [Hos 14:5].

10 *My people consult their wooden idol* [Hos 4:12].

They speak impudently and say that this is the piece of wood on which the Nazarene was hanged.

And I reply: “It is indeed so; it is written: *Prostitution, wine and must take away the understanding* [*ibid.* 4:11] - prostitution and wine instigate the heart towards transgression. *My people consult their wooden idol* - when they were inebriated by wine they would deviate and practice foreign cults; and  
15 why? *For a spirit of harlotry has led them astray, they prostitute themselves, forsaking their God* [*ibid.* 4:12]”.

[*From the margins*<sup>39</sup>]: *Those who plow iniquity* [Job 4:8] ask: “Why do you not believe in the sacrament? And why do you not believe that the bread which we eat is for the absolution of our  
20 souls?” We shall reply to them by quoting that which Hosea prophesized: *They will not pour libations of wine to the Lord, their sacrifices will not please Him* [Hos 9:4] - and this refers to the sacrament that they perform with wine. See for yourself what is written afterwards: *their bread will be like mourners’ bread, all those who eat it will be defiled* [*ibid.*] - this is *polluted bread* [Mal 1:7].  
And behold, they say that the bread which they call *pain* is for the absolution of their souls;  
25 however it is said: *their bread is for themselves only; it will not enter the house of the Lord* [Hos 9:4] - thus, all this worship is vain.

30

Amos

*For three sins of Edom, and for four, I will not revoke my punishment* [Am 1:11].

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<sup>39</sup> In the critical apparatus, these lines are located after chapter 85 - in respect of the manuscript’s original arrangement.

The archbishop of Sens asked r. Nathan: "What do you have to say about the *confession*?" R. Nathan replied: "It is a good thing". The archbishop remarked: "You say this halfheartedly". R. Nathan asked: "And what about you? How do you say it?" The other answered: "If a certain man spent his life committing a particular transgression, and he finally confessed it, he would be rendered clean of that iniquity". R. Nathan retorted: "If so, what is the meaning of: *For three sins of Edom, and for four, I will not revoke my punishment*? How did the Lord speak? If he confessed, why then [is it written]: *for four I will not revoke my punishment*? And even if he did not confess: why would the Lord revoke His punishment for three sins?" And the Archbishop fell silent. R. Nathan explained to him: "There are three fields [of increasing sacredness] before the field of the Shekinah, which is the fourth: Wind, Earthquake, Fire; and the fourth is in *the sound of a gentle whispering* [1 Kgs 19:12]. When a man commits sin for the first time, it is still trivial: he merely crosses over to the first field; when he sins the second time, it is more serious: he enters the second field. The third time, he crosses over to the third field. And so far, it is still possible to atone, as it is written: *Behold, all these things God does twice, even three times, with men* [Job 33:29]. But when the sin is committed the fourth time, he enters the fourth field, in the presence of the *Shekinah*; and it is no longer possible to atone, as it is written: *They are before my face* [Hos 7:2] - and that is the reason why it is written: *for four I will not revoke my punishment*. This is what is written in the Torah: *Forgive iniquity, transgression and sin* [Ex 34:7] - behold, they are three. From here onwards: *He will no longer completely clear* [of sin] [*ibid.*]"

20 And thus taught our teachers.

[*From the margins*]: On the fact that once r. Nathan - may his soul rest in peace - met Pope Gregory - may his soul decay - to debate about forgiveness.

The pope asked him: "Do you not believe that it is my faculty to tighten and loosen, to forgive and to absolve?" R. Nathan answered: "You most certainly can tighten and loosen the laces on your sash, but you cannot forgive and absolve". The Pope asked: "Am I not the vicar of St. Peter?" R. Nathan replied: "Indeed you are: what was his power, such is yours: it is all vain. Your power is not superior to that of an angel of the Lord; behold what is written about it: *See, I am sending an angel before you, to guard you on the way and bring you to the place I have prepared. Be on your guard before him and obey his voice: do not rebel against him, for he will not forgive your sin* [Ex 23:20-21] - this is the interpretation: if he does not have the faculty to forgive your sin, may this not be a defect in your eyes, *for my name is within him* [*ibid.*]. However, an angel does not have the power to forgive; and this is what David said: *But with You is forgiveness, that You may be feared* [Ps 130:4] - for there is no one that can forgive but You. You shall fear [only] Him."

*Because they sell the righteous for money and the poor for a pair of sandals* [Am 2:6].

They say that this has been prophesized about the hanged one, because Israel sold him.

5 But their mouths spoke falsehood; and behold, all that was written - *For three sins* etc. - concerns them [i.e. the Jews]; that is to say, the Scripture proclaims the major sins for which a sentence has been decreed. Therefore, how could [the Scripture] absolve them of this selling and neglect to mention the murder [supposedly] perpetrated by all Israel, who delivered him to certain death? However, it only mentions the selling carried out by Judah Iscariot, who - according to their words -  
10 sold him to the Jews.

Furthermore, it must be answered that they tell a lie: because Sennacherib exiled ten of the tribes, and only the tribes of Judah and Benjamin remained at the end of the First Temple; however, the events concerning the Nazarene took place at the end of the Second Temple. Therefore, there was no involvement of the ten tribes, but of Judah alone; and it should have said: *For three sins of*  
15 *Judah* [Am 2:4] - but of course it does not refer to the Nazarene.

This is the explanation: *Because they sell the righteous for money* - they would convict the innocent one for money, as it is written: *Those who acquit the guilty for a bribe, and deprive the righteous ones of justice* [Is 5:23].

*And the poor in order to lock* [the fields<sup>40</sup>] [Am 2:6] - they would lock the fields to the detriment of  
20 the poor ones, up to the point of robbing them of their place. How? One poor man had a house or a field between [the fields of] two rich men; the one expanded his border on one side, the other on the other side. They reduced the space of the poor man until there was none left, as it is written: *Woe to those who add house to house and join field to field, until there is no space left; and you dwell alone in the midst of the land* [Is 5:8].

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[*From the margins*] On Obadiah.

The archbishop of Sens asked r. Nathan - may his soul rest in peace: “Why did the Holy One - blessed be He - said that He would judge Esau on Mount Zion<sup>41</sup> rather than from another place?”

He replied: “I will illustrate the matter with a parable: a king is visited by an important acquaintance  
30 of his, who stretches out his hand on the king’s son; the king says: ‘I will not be appeased until I

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<sup>40</sup> This translation takes into account Rashi’s commentary, which follows shortly afterwards.

<sup>41</sup> Cf. Ob 1:21.



judge him in his homeland' - and this owing to the fact that it is written: *the exiles of this host who are in Tzarfat and in Sfarad*<sup>42</sup> [will inherit cities of the southland].

And the entire parashah refers to the persecutions and the tribulations that you inflict on us generation after generation; but it is written: *and deliverers will ascend Mount Zion to judge the mountain of Esau* [Ob 1:21] - for his violence. Since you assert that your idol was born there, then he was sentenced in his native city”.

94

### Micah

10

*But as for you, Bethlehem Ephrata, too little to be among the clans of Judah, from you will come forth for Me one who will be ruler over Israel, and whose origins are from old, from ancient times* [Mi 5:1].

And they say that it was prophesized with regard to the Nazarene; *therefore, He will give them up until the time when she who must bear a child* [*ibid.* 5:2] - they say it is *ḥariba* [i.e. Mary].

You shall object to them that it is written: *And he will arise and shepherd His flock with the strength of the Lord, in the majesty of the name of [the Lord] his God* [*ibid.* 5:3] - therefore, he has a god. *And he will be our peace, should the Assyrian enter our land* [*ibid.* 5:4] - but is it not true that since he came, there has been no peace in the world, but wars?

20 This is the explanation: *But as for you, Bethlehem Ephrata, too little to be among the clans of Judah* - this was David, who descended from Ruth; *and whose origins are from old, from ancient times* - from old: *as long as the sun, may his name endure* [Ps 72:17]; from ancient times: from primeval times, as it is written: *Then the offering of Judah and Jerusalem will please the Lord, as in the days of old* [Mal 3:4] - that is to say, as in the most ancient times, when the Temple still existed.

25 *He will give them up until the time when she who must bear a child has borne* [Mi 5:2] - this is akin to: *Zion both travailed and brought forth her children* [Is 66:8]; *then the remainder of his brethren will return to the sons of Israel* [Mi 5:2] - as it is written: *In that day, seven people of any language will take hold of the garment of a Jew and say: “Let us go with you, for we have heard [that God is with you]*<sup>43</sup>”.

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<sup>42</sup> Cf. Ob 1:20.

<sup>43</sup> Cf. Zec 8:23.

## Zephaniah

5 “Therefore, wait for me - says the lord - until the day when I rise up as witness” [Zep 3:8].

Our oppressors declare that this was prophesized concerning the Nazarene, and say that the expression “*the day when I rise up*” is equivalent to: *mon resuscitment*.

However, it is not possible to say so, because it is written: *For then I will make pure the speech of the peoples, that they all may call on the name of the Lord, to serve Him with one accord [ibid. 3:9]*

10 - and this has not yet happened.

## Habakkuk (the prophet)

15

*For the vision is yet for an appointed time [Hb 2:3].*

Here is the refutation of those who say that [this time] has already come: *For the vision is yet for an appointed time, it hastens toward the end and will not disappoint [ibid.]* - what end is Habakkuk referring to? Concerning us [Jews], *toward the end* indicates the end of the exile; however, with respect to you [Christians], what end could be meant? Furthermore: *if it delays, wait for it; for it will certainly come, it will not be late [ibid.]* - therefore, this means that [the vision] will tarry; according to them, however, it came about very quickly.

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[*From the margins:*] Another [refutation] on Habakkuk.

25

One priest asked r. Nathan - may his soul rest in peace: “Why are you still waiting for the messiah? Is it not written: *he will certainly come, he will not be late [Hb 2:3]*? Therefore he already came, and he was the Nazarene, about whom the prophet foretold: *he will not be late*”.

I replied: “You [Christians] twist the meaning of the Scripture, and this is the correct interpretation: *if it delays, wait for it [ibid.]* - do not give up hope on him, and know that *he will certainly come* and *he will not be late*. See for yourself, it is written: *Behold, as for the proud one [ibid. 2:4]* - that is, he who will come [i.e. Jesus] - *his soul is not right within him [ibid.]* - because he will die, but as for the righteous messiah, *his radiance will be like the sunlight, he will have rays shining from his hand [ibid. 3:4]* - the accursed ones speak impudently saying that these rays represent the abomination of the cross; but I refute them and say: “It is true, indeed; behold what is written afterwards: *before*

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*him went pestilence, and plague [heb. reshef] came after him [ibid. 3:5] - as if to say, this sign represents nothing but demons”.*

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*Rejoice greatly, O daughter of Zion! Shout in triumph, O daughter of Jerusalem! Behold, your king is coming to you; he is a righteous and a savior; he is humble, and rides a donkey; a colt, the foal of the donkey [Zec 9:9].*

10 Those liars say that the prophet spoke of the Nazarene, but it is a falsehood; for it is written: *And the bow of war will be cut off; and he will speak peace to the nations [ibid. 9:10]* - and as for that Nazarene, from the day he has come, wars have not ceased.

Furthermore you must object that, if that was the Nazarene, then there would be a mutual contradiction; for it is written: *he is humble, and rides a donkey* - therefore he came in humbleness, whereas in Isaiah it is written: *Go up on a high mountain, Zion, herald of good news! Lift up [your voice] mightily [...] Behold the Lord, God, will come with power; and His arm will rule for Him [Is 40:10]* - however, Zechariah is referring to the King Messiah, while Isaiah is speaking of the Holy One - blessed be He.

20 *[From the margins]* My Lord and brother r. Asher ben Nathan - may he prosper - said: “If it had been the Nazarene, then it would have been prophesized correctly: *And he will speak peace to the nations [Zec 9:10]* - for they believe that he did. And if you say that the prophet vaticinated on us, however we are not called *nations*, for it is written about Israel: *Behold, a people who dwells apart, and shall not be reckoned among the nations [Nm 23:9]*. Furthermore, how can you say that the Scripture refers to the Lord? It is written: *His dominion will be from sea to sea [Zec 9:10]* - and if it was the Lord, would there be any limit to His rule? Does He not rule over everything? Also, He does not rule over the earth exclusively; it is written: *For He is the Lord, God in the heavens above [Dt 23:9]* etc. and also it is written that to God belong *the heavens, the highest of heavens [...] the earth and all that is on it, the seas and all that is in them [Ne 9:6]* - hence, there is no measure to His rule; it would be like a limitation for Him”.

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*As for you also, because of the blood of your covenant, I have freed your prisoners from a pit without water [Zec 9:11].*

5 One apostate says to me that this verse refers to the Nazarene, for it was his blood that was shed, and it was him who freed the souls from hell. And it is written: *This very day I declare that a second promise I will restore to you [ibid. 9:12]* - and they interpret and say that it is a second Torah.

10 Come and see for yourself how they added one lie to another! This is how I replied to the apostate who was talking to me: “What is the meaning of *from a pit without water*? Where did we ever find a pit filled with water? In a well you can find water, but a pit is more akin to a hole in the ground. And also: *I declare that a second promise* - it means that He declares for the second time what He had declared the first time. Furthermore: *For I have bent Judah as my bow, I have filled Ephraim [ibid. 9:13]* - is Ephraim not still *in Hala and on the Habor, the river of Gozan, and in the cities of the Medes* [2 Kgs 18:11] Also: *I will arouse your sons, O Zion, against your sons, O Yavan [Zec 9:13]* - is Zion not ruined and desolated? *Then the Lord will appear over them, and His arrow will go forth like lightning; And the Lord God will blow the shofar, and He shall go with the whirlwinds of the south [ibid. 9:14]* - And when did He ever march against Edom through the whirlwinds? Is Edom not whole and dominant?

20 Hence, this is the correct interpretation: *As for you also, for the blood of your covenant* - it indicates the circumcision - as it is written: *Behold, my covenant is with you [Gn 17:4]* - and the covenant of the Torah, as it is written: *And he sprinkled half the blood on the people and half...*<sup>44</sup> etc. *I have freed your prisoners from a pit without water* - in that covenant, there is no water involved; that is to say, no forced baptism. Therefore, I have saved you.

25 *Return to the stronghold, O prisoners of hope; this very day I declare that a second promise I will restore to you [Zec 9:12]* - it is akin to: *The Lord will stretch out his hand for a second time to reclaim the remnant of His people [Is 11:11]*; because, the first time, all those living in the time of Ezra had been redeemed; however, in the future, everyone will be redeemed; and to this refer the verses *for a second time* and *I declare that a second promise*: He proclaims a second redemption.

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*And I took for myself two rods [Zec 11:7].*

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<sup>44</sup> Cf. Ex 24:6; 8.

They want to assert that these are [the rods] of the cross.

Woe to them! For those rods were broken; and consequently, also the cross will be cut off from the earth.

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*And they weighed out my wages: thirty pieces of silver* [Zec 11:12].

They say that this money represents the thirty silver coins he was sold for.

10 However, even if we agree to their words, how can the verse call it *his wages*? This money did not get into his hands, but he was sold for it and then delivered to slaughter; and yet the Scripture clearly says: *Give me my wages* [*ibid.*].

15 This is the explanation of the parashah, with which you shall refute them: *Pasture the flock to be slaughtered, whose buyers will slay them* [*ibid.* 11:4-5] - it refers to Israel, whom one buys and the other sells, and on whom they enforce cruel decrees; *and go unpunished* [*ibid.*] - they believe not to commit any sin; *and whose sellers will say: "Blessed is the Lord, for I have become rich!"* [*ibid.*] - they do not bother to sell them to certain death. *And their own shepherds have no pity on them* [*ibid.*] - the officers in charge of supervising them.

20 *For I shall no longer have pity on the inhabitants of the land [...]* *And I pastured the flock doomed to slaughter* [*ibid.* 6-7] - 'That same flock that was just now called *a flock to be slaughtered* [*ibid.* 11:4], I have pastured it', thus says the Lord. *Hence the afflicted of the flock* [*ibid.*] - now they are the afflicted ones among the flock.

25 *And I took for myself two rods* [*ibid.* 7] - following Rashi's interpretation, these are Rehoboam and Jeroboam; Jeroboam is called *Pleasantness*, because he spoke gently with Israel; while Rehoboam is called *Destroyers*, for he spoke harshly to them: *My father disciplined you with whips; I will discipline you with scorpions* [1 Kgs 12:14].

*Then I took my staff, Pleasantness, and broke it* [Zec 11:10] - these are the kings of Israel who were exiled; *breaking my covenant which I had made with all the peoples* [*ibid.*] - since I have exiled my own sons and stretched out my hands on them, all the more so I will punish the other peoples.

30 *And they understood [...]* *that it was the word of the Lord* [*ibid.* 11] - for it is written: *Then the Lord will exile you and your king* [Dt 28:36] - as per Rashi's interpretation.

*Then I said to them: "If it is good in your sight, give me my wages"* [Zec 11:12] - do my will and fulfill the precepts so that the Temple will endure. *And if not, forbear* (heb. *hadalu*) [*ibid.*] - that is, separate yourselves (heb. *hibbadlu*) from me. *And they weighed out my wages: thirty pieces of silver* [*ibid.*] - until they reached their thirtieth generation, they were so committed to my precepts

that the Temple endured all along. These are the generations: Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Judah, Perez, Hezron, Ram, Amminadab, Nahshon, Solomon, Boaz, Obed, Jesse, David, Rehoboam, Abijah, Asa, Jehoshaphat, Yoram, Ahaziah, Joash, Amaziah, Uzziah, Jotham, Ahaz, Hezekiah, Manasseh, Amon, Josiah; behold, they are thirty. And the temple had not yet been destroyed, and each one of them died in the Land of Israel and concluded his kingdom in the Land of Israel. And even though Manasseh was exiled, behold it is written: [*the Lord*] *restored him to his kingdom* [2 Chr 33:13]; but the sons of Josiah did not conclude their kingdom in the Land, and were even crowned by the king of Egypt and the king of Babel, to whom they had been subjugated; and in their days, the Temple was destroyed.

10 And that which is written: *Cast it to the keeper of the treasury, that stronghold of glory* - it indicates the Temple - *which I took away* (heb. *yaqarti*) *from them* [Zec 11:13] - it is akin to: *Take away* (heb. *hoqar*) *your foot from the neighbor's house* [Prv 25:17]. *So I took the thirty pieces of silver and cast it into the house [of the Lord], to the keeper of the treasury* [Zec 11:13] - that is to say, the Temple will endure until the end of the thirty [generations].

15 *Then I cut my second staff [...] in pieces, to break the brotherhood between Judah and Israel* [*ibid.* 14] - the brotherhood between me and Israel is represented by the Temple. *Then the Lord said: "Take for yourself again the equipment of a foolish shepherd"* [*ibid.* 11:15] - this is Jeconiah, for the temple was destroyed in his days; but it will soon be rebuilt.

20

101

*And I will pour out on the House of David [...] a spirit of grace and supplication, so that they will look at me whom they have stabbed; and will mourn for him as one mourns for an only child* [Zec 12:10].

25 The rebellious ones say that this has been said about the Nazarene. Retort to them: "Why does every family mourn by itself? The house of Nathan by itself, all the families of the house of Levi by themselves; the family of the house of Shimei by itself<sup>45</sup>; *all the families that remain, every family by itself, and their wives by themselves* [*ibid.* 14]. Also, it is written: *I will cut off the names of the idols from the land* [*ibid.* 13:2].

30 However, it is written above: *All the nations of the earth will be gathered against it* [i.e. Jerusalem] [*ibid.* 12:3] - for the peoples will fight over Jerusalem, as it is written in Ezekiel, in the [chapter on the] wars of Gog; and the families will mourn - each one by itself - their own relatives who will be killed.

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<sup>45</sup> Cf. Zec 12: 12-13.

“*What are those wounds on your hands?*” [Zec 13:6].

Retort to their words: “Why did he not mention the wounds on his legs and chest? Furthermore:  
 5 “*Those with which I was wounded in the house of my friends [ibid.]* - why, was Israel friends with  
 the Nazarene? No, it refers to what is written above: *his father and mother who bore him will stab  
 him when he prophesies [ibid. 13:3]*.”

10 Malachi

*For from the rising of the sun to its setting, my name will be great among the nations, and in any  
 place incense will be offered in my name [Mal 1:11].*

15 *Those who plow iniquity [Job 4:8]* say that this verse has been pronounced with regard to their  
 offering.

However, it is not possible to say so, because *from the rising of the sun to its setting* means “from  
 one end of the world to another”; and according to their own words, the sons of Ishmael, the sons of  
 Keturah and the rest of the nations do not pay tribute to the Lord and do not make a pure oblation.  
 Furthermore, we cannot refer this verse to them [i.e. Christians]; is it not written: *But the man who  
 20 is impure and does not purify himself from impurity, that person shall be cut off from the midst of  
 the assembly, because he has defiled the sanctuary of the Lord [Nm 19:20]*? And above, impurity is  
 defined: *Anyone who touches a corpse of a human being [...] when a man dies in a tent, everyone  
 who comes into the tent and everyone who is in the tent shall be unclean for seven days [ibid.  
 19:13-14]; and shall sprinkle on the tent, and on all the vessels and persons who were in it, and on  
 25 the one who touched the bone or the slain person or the corpse or the grave [ibid. 19:18]* - and they  
 present their offerings on the graves, and how can that oblation be pure? *They erred in their visions  
 [Is 28:7]*.

This is the correct interpretation: *my name will be great among the nations* - that is, among all those  
 nations who will hold my Name in high regard, because [presently] each and every one of them  
 30 proclaims his own mistake in my Name; *in any place incense will be offered in my name* - for they  
 say that they burn incense for God; *a pure offering [Mal 1:11]* - uncontaminated, as in: *the pure  
 menorah [Ex 31:8]*, and also: *pure gold [ibid. 25:11]* - that is to say, clean: everyone praises his own  
 offering and declares that it is a pure oblation. However, *you profane [Mal 1:12]* my name - when  
 you present my offering, you say: “*The table of the Lord is defiled*” [ibid.].

*So, I also have made you despised and abased before all the people [Mal 2:9].*

One apostate said to r. Nathan: “You are uglier than any other people on the face of the earth, while  
5 the sons of our people are very beautiful”.

R. Nathan answered him: “Those *zwetschken* that are also called *prunels*<sup>46</sup> and which grow on trees, which kind of flower do they come from?” He replied: “From a white one”; “And what color is the flower of an apple tree?” The apostate answered: “Red”. R. Nathan then explained: “Similarly, we  
10 [Jews] come from a pure and white seed; therefore our face is dark. You [Christians], however, come from a red seed, from menstruant women; therefore your complexion is fair and rubicund. But the real reason is that we are in exile, as it is written in the Song of Songs: *Do not stare at me because I am swarthy, for the sun has burned me. My mother’s sons were angry with me, they made me caretaker of the vineyard; my own vineyard I did not take care of [Sg 1:6]* - however, when I was caretaker of my own vineyard, I was very beautiful, as it is written: *Then your fame went forth*  
15 *among the nations because of your beauty [Ez 16:14].*

*Behold, I am sending my angel, he will prepare the way before me; and the Lord - whom you seek -  
20 will suddenly come to His temple; the angel of the covenant, in whom you delight [Mal 3:1].*

They say that this has been said about the Nazarene.

However, it is not possible to say so; for it is written: *But who can endure the day of his coming? And who can stand when he appears? For he is like a refiner’s fire, like fullers’ lye [ibid. 3:2]* - and even according to their own words, Israel endured the day of his coming and stood when he  
25 appeared: they got him arrested and sentenced.

*Remember the law of Moses my servant, that which I commanded him on Mount Horeb for all  
30 Israel: statutes and ordinances. Behold, I am sending you Elijah the prophet, before the coming of the great and terrible day of the Lord. He will restore the hearts of the fathers to their children, and the hearts of the children to their fathers [Mal 3:22-24].*

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<sup>46</sup> Respectively, the German and French words for “plums”.



How can you say that he gave a new Torah? It is written: *that which I commanded him on Mount Horeb*, and then He will send Elijah. It is not written: “Observe the new Torah that I will give you in the future, and I will send Elijah”.

In the opening and at the close of the books of the Prophets, He warned us about the old Torah; at the beginning it is written: *This book of the law shall not depart from your mouth* [Jos 1:8]; and [at the end] it is written: *Remember the law of Moses* - so as to proclaim to you, that this law is the first and the last one, and that there is no other besides it.

### ***The refutations on the Torah and on the Prophets have been concluded***

10

This is the speech of r. Joseph son of r. Nathan - foremost among the orators - son of r. Joseph, son of r. Nathan of Étampes, son of Rabbeinu Meshullam, son of r. Nathan, son of r. Todros, who completed the building of a synagogue in Narbonne and who destroyed the barren house of the wicked through his prayer.

15 And behold, a voice came to him at night saying: “Endure, O Todros! *They may build, but I will tear down* [Mal 1:4]; *I dug wells and drank [...] drying up all the rivers of the siege with the sole of my feet* [2 Kgs 19:24]”

And I gathered herbs and flower buds in the field<sup>47</sup> of r. Nathan - may his soul rest in peace - and I will plant them here; and I [drew] from the honey of my brother, the holy r. Elijah; and also from what I have heard and a little of what I found in the commentaries by r. Elijah of Troyes; and a few other things that the Lord mercifully granted me. And I wrote them down in honor of Samuel son of r. David - may his memory live in the world to come - to whom the Lord granted a wise mind, and whom He endowed with the knowledge and the understanding to accomplish any enterprise; to break the jawbone of the unrighteous ones *who turn justice into wormwood and cast righteousness down to earth* [Am 5:7], *who call evil good and good evil* [Is 5:20]. And even without my contribution, the spirit of his understanding would have made them [i.e. the Christians] aware of his wisdom, for he is one who has investigated thoroughly; this notwithstanding, I wrote; so as to fulfill that which is written: *give to a wise man, and he will become still wiser* [Prv 9:9].

And surely, there are a few things that I inadvertently overlooked; I will return on them and wield the staff of the scribe against them<sup>48</sup>; and since the Lord has found me worthy of writing up to here, may He allow me to complete the refutations on the whole Scripture; and also a commentary on the Pentateuch which I have begun.

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<sup>47</sup> Cf. 2 Kgs 4:39.

<sup>48</sup> Cf. Jgs 5:14.

*I will begin [with the refutations] on the book of Psalms*

[Writings]

## Psalms

*Blessed is the man* [Ps 1:1].

The bishop of Vannes asked me: “Why is it written *Blessed is the man*? Is it not true that the  
5 blessing did not come to him until he was born?”

I answered him: “No; rather, the blessing came to him before he was born, when he still was inside  
his mother’s womb; for thus we have found in Jeremiah, when the Holy One said to him: ‘*Before I  
formed you in the womb I knew you, and before you were born I consecrated you, a prophet to the  
nations* [Jer 1:5]’. Therefore, he took [the attribute of] *blessed* at the very beginning”.

10

107

*Why are the nations in tumult and the peoples ponder vain things?* [Ps 2:1]

Those who ponder vain things say that this verse speaks of the Nazarene; but it is not possible to  
15 say so: *against the Lord and against his anointed* [*ibid.* 2] - only he who is smeared with anointing  
oil can be called *his anointed*, and that is the messiah; furthermore, when [David] says: *against the  
Lord and against his anointed*, it means that they are two distinct beings, and God cannot [also] be  
the messiah.

And still they speak irreverently: “*He said to me: ‘You are my son, today I have begotten you’* [*ibid.*  
20 2:7] - and whom would the Lord say that He beget, besides the Nazarene? *Ask it of me and I will  
surely give the nations as your inheritance, and the very ends of the earth as your possession [...]  
You shall break them with an iron rod [...]* *Now, O kings, show discernment [...]* *Kiss the son, lest  
he become angry [...]* *Blessed are all those who seek refuge in him* [Ps 2:8-10; 12]”. They interpret:  
25 *kiss the son* (heb. *našqu-bar*) - as if to say, attach yourselves to the son. But they hold on to nothing,  
and this difficulty that they argue against us, you shall argue against them: did the Lord beget him?  
Do they not say that he is ingenerated? Also, why would he say: *You shall break them with an iron  
rod*? What would he be referring to? To the body? If so, did he not accept death? And it was his  
enemies who broke him, and not vice versa. And if he was referring to the spirit - that is, the deity -  
how could He call [him] “*My son*” and say: “*Today I have begotten you*”? Is it not true that He was  
30 not born on that day, for He existed even before the world was created? *Kiss the son lest he become  
angry [...]* *for his wrath may soon be kindled* [Ps 2:12] - so his anger blazed up, and what has ever  
happened? They surely did not release him because of his wrath, but they stood up against him and  
killed him.

Thus interpreted r. Joseph Bekhor Shor: *why are the nations in tumult?* - it can be inferred from: *When the Philistines heard that they had anointed David king over Israel, all the Philistines went up to seek out David* [2 Sam 5:17]; *and the peoples ponder vain things* - for they already had their own five princes, and that is why he says: *He who sits in the heavens [laughs]* [Ps 2:4] - the Holy One derides them.

5 *Then He speaks to them in his anger* [*ibid.* 5] - and indeed it is written: *Then David inquired of the Lord* [2 Sam 5:19], and also: *And it shall come to pass, when you hear the sound of marching in the tops of the balsam trees, then you shall act promptly, for then the Lord will have gone out before you strike the army of the Philistines* [*ibid.* 5:24].

10 *I myself have installed my king on Zion, my holy mountain* [Ps 2:6] - these are the words of the Holy One - blessed be He - who said above: *then He speaks to them in his anger* - “I have installed David, and he is my king, the king that I have for myself”; as you would say of a prince: “my prince”; and of a slave: “my slave”. Thus, from “king” comes “my king”.

*I will proclaim the statute of the Lord; He said to me* [*ibid.* 7] - *statute* is akin to: *a permanent statute* [Ex 12:14] - a thing that does not cease.

15 *You are my son, today I have begotten* (heb. *yaldatikha*) *you* [Ps 2:7] - I have made you great, as in *Before the mountains were increased* (heb. *yulladu*) [*ibid.* 90:2], and also: *Can a nation be increased* (heb. *yiwwaled*) *in a single moment* [Is 66:8]; and indeed it is written [on David]: *And I will make your name as great as the name of the greatest on the earth* [1 Chr 17:8].

20 *Ask it of me* [Ps 2:8] - whenever you want to go to war, for the king is with me, as it is written: *Then David inquired of the Lord, saying: “Shall I go up against the Philistines? Will you deliver them into my hands”* [2 Sam 5:19].

*And now, O kings, show discernment; take warning, O judges of the earth* [Ps 2:10] - act wisely and be disciplined, you all judges; for the servant of the Lord is righteous.

25 Therefore I said: *“Worship the Lord with reverence [...] Kiss the son* (heb. *našqu bar*) *lest he become angry”* [*ibid.* 11-12] - here, however, that Jerome who translated the Scripture for them was mistaken; for *bar* means indeed *son*, but it also means cleanness and pureness; furthermore, it means grain: it has several nuances. And [Jerome] was wrong in saying that here *bar* means son; it means nothing but “pureness”, for David would warn them to worship the Lord with reverence, as indicated by the verse soon before, when he says: *našqu bar* [*ibid.* 12] - *Arm yourselves with purity, lest the Lord become angry*; in the vernacular language: *garnissez*.

30 Another interpretation: *I myself have installed my king* [*ibid.* 2:6] - David said: “The Lord did to me yet another great favor, for I myself have installed my king: Solomon, my son, was made king and anointed during my own life”.

*I will proclaim the statute [ibid. 7] - thus far, David prophesized about himself; from here onwards, he refers to Solomon: my son, today I have begotten you [ibid.]*

*Ask it of me [ibid. 8] - it is akin to what is said: Ask what I shall give to you [1 Kgs 3:5].*

5 *Kiss the son [Ps 2:12] - David would say: “Be serviceable toward my son, and kiss him [out of homage]; for it is customary for all those dealing with their lords to kiss them”. Lest He become angry [ibid.] - this refers to the Holy One, for it is said above: Worship the Lord with reverence [ibid. 11]. Blessed are all those who seek refuge in Him [ibid. 12] - thus would say David, after recounting all the acts of grace that the Lord had granted him: “Blessed are those who seek refuge in Him” - in the Holy One, because it is of Him that [David] speaks shortly before, in this same verse.*

10

108

*When I call, answer me [...] How long will my honor [be put to shame]? [Ps 4:2-3].*

15 They say that it refers to the Nazarene, who has been put to shame: *and know that the Lord has set the pious man apart for Himself [ibid. 4].*

The confutation is within hand's reach: *Offer sacrifices of righteousness [ibid. 6] - that is to say, slaughter him and it will be accounted to you as sacrifices of righteousness; and trust in the Lord [ibid.] - but do not trust this one, for there is no benefit in him.*

20

109

*The fool said [...] You would put to shame the counsel of the poor [Ps 14:1, 6]*

They say that it refers to the Nazarene, *for the Lord is his refuge [ibid. 14:6].*

25 But even so, what of *when the Lord restores his captive people, Jacob will rejoice, Israel will be glad [Ps 14:7]? And this event has not yet occurred: since the day they were exiled, they have not returned.*

110

30 *Who shall dwell in your tent? [Ps 15:1] Who shall go up to the mountain of the Lord? [ibid. 24:3] Who shall dwell on you holy hill? [ibid. 15:1]. And it is written afterwards: he [who] does not lend his money on interest [ibid. 15:5]. They say that, consequently, whoever lends his money on interest will not dwell in the Lord's tent, and will not go up His holy hill. And there is no distinction between [lending to] a stranger or to anyone else.*

I answered: “It is only from this moment that you have wished to say things the way they are written. Behold, it is written above: *he does not do evil to his fellowman* [*ibid.* 3] - then, is it allowed to do evil to someone else? And the same holds true for: *he does not take a bribe against the innocent* [*ibid.* 5].

5 Therefore, you have to interpret properly: *he does not do evil to his fellowman* - as the Scripture commanded: *you shall not hate your brother in your heart* [Lv 19:17] - that is, he who is defined as *your brother* according to the Torah. Because if you do not say so, but you say: ‘*Your brother* is he who comes from your own family’ - why then is it said: *You shall not abhor an Edomite, for he is your brother* [Dt 23:8]? [Because you shall not abhor him] to the point of not accepting him if he  
10 converts. The Scripture should have said: ‘You shall not hate an Edomite, for he is your brother’, and thereby we would have recognized the obligation to accept him; however, as long as he obeys a different law, he is not our brother, and he does not fall under: *you shall not hate your brother*, but must be included in the category: *you shall not abhor* even in this case. *He does not do evil to his fellowman - his fellowman* in following the same Torah; *he who does not lend his money on interest*  
15 - in so far as the Scripture forbade him”.

111

*Preserve me, O God, for I took refuge in You* [Ps 16:1]. *For you will not abandon my soul to Sheol*  
20 [*ibid.* 10].

They say that every soul ends up in hell.

This you must reply to them: not even to glimpse hell, the Lord allowed David.

And a certain priest babbled against me, saying that David was grateful to the Lord for He would not leave him down there for eternity; and that David was prophesizing that the Lord would bring  
25 him out of there in the future.

I said to him: “If it were so, why then is it written: *You will not let your devout* [*see the pit*] [Ps 16:10]? It means that it did not happen to David because of his devotion. And concerning the fact that he was spared from hell; what is so noteworthy about it? Did the Lord not do the same with others? Furthermore, it is written: *You will not let your devout see the pit* - and this is hell, for it is  
30 written: *Then David rested with his fathers and was buried in the city of David* [1 Kgs 2:10] - therefore, this pit represents nothing but hell.”

This is the complete interpretation: *Preserve me, O God, for I took refuge in you* [Ps 16:1] - David was praying that he would not descend to hell.

*You should say to the Lord: 'You are my Lord, my good is not incumbent upon You [ibid. 2] - David would say to the nations of the world: "This you shall say: 'My good is not incumbent upon You - any good deed that You do for me must not be incumbent on You.*

5 *As for the saints who are on earth [ibid. 3] - this is what they say, that they go and seek for the saints, and pray to them, and make them the essence [of their faith]; and the mighty ones in whom is all my delight [ibid.] - this all is according to their words.*

10 *May their sorrows be multiplied [ibid. 4] - David would curse them; and why? Because they hastened toward another [deity] - they hastened in making someone else a deity; and for every prophecy prophesied about the future, they hasten the fulfillment of the prediction, and say that it must be referred to the Nazarene; I shall not pour out their libations of blood [ibid.] - each and every libation of blood is such that they are worthy of death for it; nor I shall take their names - the names of their saints - on my lips [ibid.].*

But as for me, *the Lord is my allotted portion and my cup [ibid. 16:5] - thus would speak David: "Therefore, you support my lot [ibid.].*

15 *Portions have fallen to me in pleasant places [ibid. 16:6] - the portion that I have, that is to say the Holy One, as it is written above: the Lord is my allotted portion; even the inheritance pleases me [ibid. 5] - that inheritance is precious in my eyes.*

*I will bless the Lord who has counseled me [ibid. 16:7] - to choose for myself this portion.*

20 *I have set the Lord perpetually before me [ibid. 16:8] - I would remember Him and fear Him as if He had been constantly in front of me; and indeed He was always at my right hand, so that I would not be shaken [ibid.]*

*Therefore my heart is glad, my glory rejoices; even my flesh will dwell securely; for you will not abandon my soul to Sheol - that is, hell - and you will not let your devout see [the pit] [ibid. 16:9-10] - not even a mere glimpse; David used to call himself devout, as it is written: Preserve my soul, for I am devoted [ibid. 86:2].*

25 *You will proclaim to me the path of life [ibid. 16:11] - I knew that You would proclaim to me the path to the Garden of Eden; life here indicates the Garden of Eden, and this is the proof: But my lord's soul shall be bound in the bundle of life [1 Sam 25:29]; In your presence is fullness of joy [Ps 16:11] - this [joy] refers to the future.*

30

*O Lord, in Your strength the king will delight, and in Your salvation how greatly he will rejoice [Ps 21:2].*



The irreverent ones interpret this verse with reference to the Nazarene.

*They denied the Lord* [Jer 5:12], for it is written: *He asked life of you, you gave it to him, length of days forever and ever* [Ps 21:5] - who would the Scripture refer to? If to the deity, would God necessitate to ask for life, He who is without beginning and ending? And if the Scripture referred to

5 the body, surely [Jesus] did not enjoy *length of days forever and ever*, for he was killed.

Furthermore, it is written: *Your hand will find all your enemies* [*ibid.* 9] - on the contrary, it was his enemies' hands that found him. And also: *Though they intended evil to you, devising plots, they will not succeed* [*ibid.* 21:12] - as a matter of fact, they put into practice all of their schemes.

And Rashi interpreted [the whole psalm] with regard to David, and he interpreted *length of days*

10 with reference to David's kingdom.

### 113

*My God, my God, why have you abandoned me?* [Ps 22:2].

15 They refer this verse to the Nazarene, who cried out because of his tribulations.

*They were snared and captured* [Is 8:15]: therefore, it appears that it happened against his will, while they maintain that he voluntarily suffered everything. Furthermore it is written: *In you our fathers trusted, they trusted and you rescued them* [Ps 22:5] - did he have any father? Do they not say that he entered her through the center of her head? And maybe you will say that the verse refers

20 to the body; behold, it is written: *Deliver my soul from the sword, my life from the grip of the dog* [*ibid.* 21].

Rashi interprets [this Psalm] with reference to the Nation of Israel; r. Joseph Bekhor Shor interprets it with reference to David, who went back to Ziklag; and indeed it is written: *Because the people spoke of stoning him* [1 Sam 30:6].

25 *For the kingship is the Lord's, while one rules over the nations; they shall eat and prostrate themselves, all the best of the earth; before him all those who descend to the dust shall kneel: even he does not keep his soul alive* [Ps 22:29-30].

One apostate was questioning me in the presence of the bishop of St. Malo, saying: "R. Joseph Bekohr Shor interprets: 'Each and every one of them *does not keep his soul alive*'; and so does also

30 Rashbam".

I, then, explained to that apostate: "*For the kingship is the Lord's, while one rules over the nations* - the kingship and he who exerts it belong to the Holy One; *while one rules over the nations* - that man who rules over the nations, like an emperor or a king whatsoever; *they shall eat all the best of the earth, and prostrate themselves* - at a king's court, people can taste every delicacy in the world;

*before him all those who descend to the dust shall kneel* - all bow down and prostrate themselves in the presence of the king, but even he himself cannot keep his own soul alive; *even he does not keep his soul alive; it shall be told of the Lord to the coming generation* [ibid. 31] - this praise is worth being told concerning the Lord.

5

114

*Of David, a maskil. Blessed is he whose transgression is forgiven, whose sin is covered* [Ps 32:2].

One priest asked me: “To whom do you confess?” I replied: “To the Holy One”; he said: “And do you not confess to some superintendent of yours?” I replied: “No”. Then he objected: “And what about the verse: *He who conceals his sins shall not prosper* [Prv 28:13]?” I rebutted: “If so it were, there would be a mutual contradiction, for the other verse recited: *Blessed is he whose transgression is forgiven, whose sin is covered*”. Then I explained: “*He who conceals his sins* - he who does not confess to the Holy One shall not prosper, for it is written: *he shall confess that he sinned* [Lv 5:5].  
10 And in this same psalm it is written: *I will confess my transgression to the Lord, and You will take away the guilt of my sin. Selah* [Ps 32:5]; for nobody has the power to forgive except the Lord. It is written: *But with You is forgiveness, that You may be feared* [Ps 130:4]. A mortal king is outraged by one of his servant; if the latter has a friend within the king’s court, or some important acquaintance, then he can try to conciliate the king through that influence. However, it is not so  
15 with the Holy One; for no man can have his guilt forgiven unless it is the Lord’s will. Therefore, I myself shall fear Him”.

And this replied r. Nathan to the Pope: “It is concerning the possibility of revealing one’s sin to a man whatsoever that it is written: *Blessed is he whose transgression is forgiven, whose sin is covered*”.

25

115

*For the choir director; according to “Lilies” [...] My heart is stirred by a noble theme; my ode is for the king* [Ps 45:2].

30 They interpret this verse with reference the Nazarene, because it is written: *Your throne, O God, is forever and ever* [ibid. 45:7]; and also: *Daughters of kings will visit you; at your right hand stands the queen* [ibid. 45:10]; *Listen my daughter, and understand* [ibid. 45:11]; *The king’s daughter is all glorious within; her clothing is interwoven with gold* [ibid. 45:14].

This is the correct interpretation: *Maskil. A song of loves* [*ibid.* 45:1] - this was a song expressing love.

*My heart is stirred by a noble theme; my ode is for the king* [*ibid.* 2] - this psalm was about King Solomon.

5 *You are the most handsome of men, grace is poured [on your lips]* [*ibid.* 3] - as it is written: *and the Lord loved him* [i.e. Solomon] [2 Sam 12:24]; one more thing on *grace is poured on your lips*: because of the wisdom that comes forth from his lips, as it is written: *And all the earth sought the presence of Solomon, to hear his wisdom* [1 Kgs 10:24].

10 *Gird your sword upon your hip, O warrior, your splendor [and your majesty]* [Ps 45:4] - and that sword is your splendor and majesty.

*And in your majesty ride on victoriously* [*ibid.* 5] - your majesty will be your chariot. *Ride on victoriously* - what for? *For the sake of truth and meekness and justice; let your right hand teach you awesome things* [*ibid.*] - when you approach the matter [of truth], it will instruct you and you will see great wisdom in it. And thus taught our teachers: “If he comes to purify himself, the doors  
15 are opened to him”.

*Your arrows are sharp* [*ibid.*45:6] - they are good deeds, these arrows that bring help to him; *the peoples under you* [*ibid.*] - the peoples will be under your control and *they will fall* [*ibid.*]; here there is a median pause, therefore it appears that *in the heart of the King’s enemies* [*ibid.*] must not follow *peoples under you will fall*, but this verse must be transposed: *Your arrows are sharp in the  
20 heart of the King’s enemies, people under you will fall*. The heretics, however, read: *Your arrows are sharp* [pause]; *the peoples under you* shall be; and why? Because these arrows *will fall in the heart of the King’s enemies*.

*Your throne, O God, is forever and ever* [*ibid.* 45:7], as it is written: *Then Solomon sat on the throne of the Lord as king* [1 Chr 29:23]; *a scepter of uprightness is the scepter of your kingdom* [Ps  
25 45:7] - as it is written: *and his kingdom was firmly established* [1 Kgs 2:12].

*You have loved justice* [Ps 45:8] - when the Holy One appeared to him and said to him: *Ask what I shall give you* [1 Kgs 3:5], he asked nothing but a heart to understand, to judge Israel, to express a righteous judgment<sup>49</sup>. *Therefore God, your God, has anointed you with the oil of joy above your  
fellows* [Ps 45:8] - because, among all kings, no one was as great as him.

30 *With myrrh, aloe and cassia* [*ibid.* 9] - as it is written: *She* [i.e. the queen of Sheba] *came to Jerusalem with a very numerous retinue, with camels carrying spices* [1 Kgs 10:2].

*Daughters of kings will visit you* [Ps 45:10] - as in: *I will give them to you as if they were daughters* [Ez 16:61]; it means that great cities of kings will visit you to hear your wisdom; *at your right hand*

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<sup>49</sup> Cf. 1 Kgs 3:9, 11.

*stands the queen* [Ps 45:10] - this is the queen of Sheba, who had given the king one hundred and twenty talents of gold<sup>50</sup>. And some interpret this with reference to Pharaoh's daughter, who also was a queen. *Daughter of kings will visit you* - the women of the ruling house, as in: *Sixty are the queens* [Sg 6:8]; *stands the queen* [Ps 45:10] - this was Pharaoh's daughter, whom Solomon favored  
5 above all<sup>51</sup>. One more thing: [it may be] Bathsheba, as it is written: *and he had a throne set for the king's mother [who sat at his right]* [1 Kgs 2:19].

*Listen, my daughter, and understand* [Ps 45:11] - some say that this is Pharaoh's daughter, while other maintain that it is Jerusalem, which is called *daughter*, as in the expressions: "daughter of Zion", "daughter of a man", "daughter of Tyre" - that is, the people who served him and in whom  
10 he will be glorified, as it is written: *Then the king will desire your beauty* [*ibid.* 45:12].

*And the daughter of Tyre with a gift* [*ibid.* 13] - this is Hiram king of Tyre; *the richest of the people will entreat your favor* [*ibid.*] - these are the men of Tyre, as it is written: *Who has planned this against Tyre, the bestower of crowns, whose merchants are princes, whose traders are the honored of the earth?* [Is 23:8].

*The king's daughter is all honor within* [Ps 45:14] - because of her importance, she has been attired with settings of gold; that honorable girl *with embroidered garments will be led to the king; virgins of her train [...] will be led* [*ibid.* 15] - those girls who are worthy of chaperoning her, as it is customary for kings' daughters; and they are called *dameiseles*.

*In place of your fathers* (heb. 'avoteikha) *will be your sons* [*ibid.* 17] - is to be interpreted literally; however, I heard from r. Avraham son of r. Isaac: "Avoteikha-ta'avteikha, as in: *I was [not] willing* (heb. 'aviti) [Jos 24:10] or: *He was not willing* (heb. 'avah) [2 Kgs 13:23]; and this would be the meaning: 'as you wish that your sons will be'".

*I will cause Your name to be remembered in all generations* [Ps 45:18] - it was customary of David to speak in the name of the Holy One - blessed be He - in the last verse.

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116

*Of Asaf. The Mighty One, God, the Lord* [Ps 50:1].

They speak irreverently and say that these are the three entities.

30 Although the interpretation according to the thirteen attributes has been already expounded, there are some who refuse it and say that, because of these very these words, David was enraged and exclaimed: *Our God comes and shall not be silent!* [Ps 50:3].

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<sup>50</sup> Cf. *ibid.* 10:10.

<sup>51</sup> Cf. *ibid.* 3:1.

*For the choir director, a psalm [Ps 51:1]; O God, according to Your kindness [ibid. 51:3]; For You do not desire sacrifice, or I would give it [ibid. 51:18].*

5 One apostate said to r. Nathan: “Your Torah is for an established time only; for when He ordered you to sacrifice, He did not mean forever, as it is written: *For You do not desire sacrifice, or I would give it; a burnt offering You would not accept [ibid.]*”.

I answered him: “Why did you suddenly stop reading? You did not wait, and two lines afterwards you would have known better, for it is written there: *By Your will, do good to Zion; build the walls of Jerusalem. Then You will desire righteous sacrifices, burnt offering and whole offering; then they will offer young bulls on Your altar [Ps 51:21]* - but not before that time.

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15 *For the choir director. Of David [...] May God arise, may his enemies be scattered [P6 68:1-2]; The kings of the armies flee, and she who dwells in the house will share the spoil [ibid. 68:13].*

The idolatrous ones say that *she who dwells in the house* was the Nazarene’s mother. And also: *the wings of a dove covered in silver [ibid. 68:14]; You have ascended on high, you have taken captives, received gifts among men, even among the rebellious, to dwell [ibid. 68:19]* - and he [i.e. Jesus] was called “God”: *Our God is [a God] of salvation; escapes from death [belong to the Lord God] [ibid. 68:21]* - and behold, he escaped death. *That your foot may wade through blood, the tongue of your dogs [...] [ibid. 68:24].*

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*They will die, and with no wisdom [Job 4:21]; because if they were wise, they would understand [Dt 32:29]* that which is written above: *O God, when You went out before Your people, when You marched through the wilderness. Forever [Ps 68:8]* - that is to say: when He went out before His people; when they were delivered from Egypt and walked into the desert.

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*The earth quaked; the heavens also poured [ibid. 9]* - as it is written: *when you stretched out your right hand, the earth swallowed them [Ex 15:12]; and also: from the heavens [the stars] fought [Jgs 5:20].* And this is the interpretation of r. Joseph Bekhor Shor: in that spot of the desert where He marched<sup>52</sup>, the heavens and the earth feared Him. And also: *Then the earth shook and quaked [Ps 18:8], the foundations of the heavens were trembling and were shaken [2 Sam 22:8].*

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<sup>52</sup> Cf. Ps 68:8.

*You poured abundant rains, O God; Your inheritance, which was weary* [Ps 68:10] - in the Land of Israel there used to be a desert upon which God poured abundant rains; *You have repaired [ibid.] - [Your inheritance] for [Your] people, who was weary.*

*Your creatures* [heb. *ḥaiyatka*] *dwelt in it [ibid. 11] - that is, Your tribe; as in: and the clan* (heb. *we-ḥaiyat*) *of the Philistines was camping in the valley of Rephaim* [2 Sam 23:13]; *You provide in Your goodness for the poor* [Ps 68:11] - just like You restored it then, so may You be willing to provide for the impoverished people of Israel, when You set them free.

And this was prophesized concerning the exile: *The Lord will give out a word: the good tidings are a great host* [ibid. 12] - in the exile, You will do so; and since it is written: *Go up onto a high mountain, O Zion, bearer of good tidings* [Is 40:9], therefore it is here explained what the good tidings are: *The kings of the armies flee* [Ps 68:13] - for all the kings will come and bring war to Jerusalem, as it is written in Zechariah: *For I will gather all the nations against Jerusalem to battle* [Zec 14:2]; *and she who dwells in the house will share the spoil* [Ps 68:13] - this is Israel, as it is written: *the wealth of all the [surrounding] nations will be gathered* [Zec 14:14].

15 *Though you may lie down among the sheepfolds* [Ps 68:14] - though now you are in exile, and you may lie down among sheepfolds, and be restless and confounded; still *the wings of the dove - shall be - covered with silver, her feathers bright as fine gold* [ibid.] - as it is written: *the wealth of all the surrounding nations will be gathered: gold, silver and garments in great abundance* [Zec 14:14].

*When the Almighty distinguishes* [Ps 68:15] - when the Almighty will state those deeds plainly - *for the kings who are there, it will snow in darkness* [ibid.] - following those deeds, the kings will descend into darkness, as it is written: *Now this will be the plague with which the Lord will strike [all] the people who fought against Jerusalem; their flesh will rot while they stand on their feet, and their eyes will rot in their sockets* [Zec 14:12].

*The mountain of Bashan* [Ps 68:16] etc. *Why do you lurk* (heb. *traṣḏun*), *you lofty mountains?* [ibid. 17] - as it is written: *The mountains skipped like rams* [ibid. 114:4]. And according to r. Joseph Bekhor Shor, the *daleth* is redundant, and it should be read: *irusun*, they will run<sup>53</sup>; and the meaning would be: *Why will you run toward the mountain which God desired for his abode* [ibid. 68:17] - this is mount Zion, on which the Lord desired to dwell rather than any other mount; *the Lord will dwell there forever* [ibid.] - on that mount, from then onwards.

30 *God's chariots are myriads* [ibid. 18] - that is to say, the Holy One descended to the mount with His chariots, which were *myriads, thousands upon thousands; the Lord is within them* [ibid.] - the Lord is always on those chariots; *at Sinai in His holiness* [ibid.] - He also came to Mount Sinai, He descended in holiness to the Sinai.

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<sup>53</sup> Cf. Ps 59:5: *Without fault they will run.*

*You have ascended on high [ibid. 19] - you dwell on high; you took captives, received gifts among men [ibid.] - all will be restored to your service, as it is written: then it will come about that anyone left among the nations that went against Jerusalem, will go up from year to year to bow down to the King, the Lord of Hosts [Zec 14:16]; even among the rebellious ones for the Lord God to dwell [Ps 68:19] - those who were rebellious in the beginning will go up to the Lord's dwelling place.*

*Our God is a God of salvation [ibid. 21] - such is He in our regards; He has enough power to save us, for he accomplishes many acts of deliverance; and also: many escapes from death belong to God the Lord [ibid.]; but regarding those escapes [i.e. of Jesus from hell or death] [it is written]: He will shatter the head of His enemies, the hairy crown of him who walks in guilt [ibid. 22] - the crown of the head of that enemy who walks in his guilt.*

*The Lord said: "From Basan I will bring them back" [ibid. 23]; thus he promised, that he would bring them back from Basan.*

*That your foot may wade through blood, the tongue of your dogs [will have its portions from the enemies] [ibid. 24] - for they [i.e. the dogs] drink the blood of the enemies.*

*They saw your procession - and where? - the procession of my God, my King, into the sanctuary [ibid. 25] - on mount Sinai, as it was said above: the Lord is within them; at Sinai in His holiness [ibid. 18].*

*The singers went first [ibid. 26] - when You were revealed to me, as it is written: Then Moses and the sons of Israel sang [Ex 15:1]; in the midst of the maidens beating tambourines [Ps 68:26] - And Miriam the prophetess, Aaron's sister, took a tambourine in her hand, and all the women went out after her with tambourines, dancing [Ex 15:20].*

*Bless God in the congregations, from the womb of Israel [Ps 68:27] - you who came forth from the womb of Israel.*

*There is Benjamin [ibid. 28] - he led them for a while, for Saul only reigned two years<sup>54</sup>; there were also the princes of Judah in their crowd [ibid.] - as it is written: the king's crowd and his men [Zec 7:2]; and also: the princes of Zebulon, the princes of Naphtali [Ps 68:28].*

*Your God has commanded your strength; be strong [ibid. 29] - your strength was great; O God, who have acted on our behalf [ibid.] - you did this all for us.*

*From Your temple, over Jerusalem [ibid. 30] - from Your temple which is located over Jerusalem; to You shall kings bring tribute [ibid.] - The kings of Sheba [...] a gift will offer [ibid. 72:10].*

*Rebuke the beast of the reeds [ibid. 68:31] - the nation of wickedness; he who submits himself for pieces of silver [ibid.] - they deserve being rebuked, because from their hands only comes forth lust for silver, and they indeed steal money. He has scattered the people who delight in war [ibid.] -*

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<sup>54</sup> Cf. 1 Sam 13:1.

because [that nation] always longs for fighting; and therefore it is called *beast of the reeds*, because it lies on the sea; as it is written: *who is like Tyre, like her who is silent in the midst of the sea?* [Ez 27:32].

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119

*For the choir director, on "Lilies".* [Ps 69:1]; *I have sunk into the mire* [ibid. 3]; *[They put] gall into my food and for my thirst they gave me vinegar to drink* [ibid. 22].

Those who speak falsehood refer this to Jesus.

10 *May their eyes become dark so that they cannot see* [ibid. 24]; behold it is written: *For they have persecuted him whom You Yourself have smitten* [ibid. 27] - therefore this would imply that the Holy One smote him; *But I am afflicted and in pain; may Your salvation, O God, exalt me* [ibid. 30] - to whom would [David] refer? To the deity within the mortal body? Why then would he define himself *in pain*? Does a deity suffer any affliction at all? And if he was talking according to the  
15 flesh, what is the meaning of: *may your Salvation exalt me*? Was he not put to death, hanged and buried? Furthermore, it is written above, at the beginning of the psalm: *What I did not steal, I will then return* [ibid. 5] - what did he return? And also: *You know my folly, and my acts of guilt are not hidden from You* [ibid. 6] - why, is it appropriate for a deity to be foolish and guilty? Furthermore:  
20 *Because the zeal for Your house has consumed me* [ibid. 10] - what does this have to do with the Nazarene? *Do not hide Your face from Your servant* [ibid. 18] - how can he call himself *servant* if he is God? It is all nonsensical.

This is the explanation: *On Lilies* [ibid. 1] - these represent Israel, of which it is written: *Like a lily among the thorns* [Sg 2:2]; and David would prophesize concerning them and pray: *Save me, O God, for water has come up to my soul* [Ps 69:2] - these are the nations, as it is written: *Alas, the  
25 uproar of [many] peoples, a roar like the roar of the seas! And the thundering of nations, a thundering like the thundering of mighty waters!* [Is 17:12].

*I have sunk into the mire* [Ps 69:3] - this is the exile; *and the current swept me away* [ibid.] - these are [Israel's] hardships.

*What I did not steal, I will then return* [ibid. 5] - for they unlawfully take money from me.

30 *You know my folly* [ibid. 6] - thus [David] confessed in his prayer for the sake of Israel; *and my acts of guilt are not hidden from you* [ibid.] - I will not conceal them from You.

*Do not let those who hope for You be shamed through me* [ibid. 7] - accept my repentance and *do not let those who hope for You be shamed through me*.

*For I have born humiliation because of You* [ibid. 8] - for You.



*I have become estranged from my brothers [ibid. 9] - the sons of Ishmael; and an alien to my mother's sons [ibid.] - these are the sons of Esau.*

*Because the zeal for Your house has consumed me [ibid. 10] - for they destroyed Your house.*

5 *Those who sit in the gate talk about me [ibid. 13] - even the worthless, miserable men sitting by the gates of the rich ones and waiting for leftovers of food talk about me and ridicule me; and I am the song of the drunkards [ibid.] - those who sit in the taverns mock me.*

*But I will pray to You, Lord [ibid. 14] - saying: Rescue me from the mire [ibid. 15], Do not let [the current of the water] sweep me away [ibid. 16].*

10 *I hoped for sympathy but there was none; and for comforters, but I found none [ibid. 21] - for the prophecies of consolation tarried.*

*They put gall into my food [ibid. 22] - as it is written: He has sated me with bitterness, made me drunk with wormwood [Lam 3:15].*

15 *For they have persecuted him whom You Yourself have smitten [Ps 69:27] - as it is written: I was only a little angry, than they furthered the disaster [Zec 1:15]; and they tell of the pain of those whom You wounded [Ps 69:27] - they gather to multiply those whom You wounded.*

*But I am afflicted and in pain [ibid. 30] - thus David would speak in the name of Israel: may Your salvation, O God, exalt me [ibid.].*

120

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*Of Solomon. O God, give Your judgments to a king and your righteousness to a king's son [Ps 72:1].*

25 *Those who err in spirit [Is 29:24] say that it refers to the Nazarene, for he was a king and a king's son; In his days may a righteous flourish; and much peace until there is no moon [Ps 72:7] - that is, until the end of the world; Before him may nobles kneel, and his enemies lick the dust [ibid. 9]; May all kings bow [...] [all nations] serve him [ibid. 11]; may his name be forever; before the sun, may his name be magnified [ibid. 17].*

*They are foolish, for they do not know the way of the Lord [Jer 5:4]; because at the beginning of the psalm it is written: On Solomon, and this is the proof that it does not refer to the Nazarene.*

30 *And also: May the mountains bring peace [Ps 72: 3] - where is this peace? May he save the children of the needy and crush the oppressor [ibid. 4] - but we still witness that the violent overwhelms the weak, and were it not for the fear of the government, one man would swallow up alive his fellow-man. Moreover: And may he reign from sea to sea [ibid. 8] - what would be so noteworthy? Does He not rule over the whole world? May he give him the gold of Sheba, and pray for him [ibid. 15] -*

106

does He need to pray for him [i.e. Jesus]? Or will He pray for others at all? Is he not God, who does He need to pray to?

This is the explanation: David was praying for his son Solomon when he was crowned; and Solomon was a king and a king's son.

5 *May the mountains bring peace [ibid. 3] - to the people, for satiety brings about peace, as it is written: He brings peace to your borders, and satiates you with the finest wheat [ibid. 147:14].*

*May they fear you with the sun [ibid. 5] - be it God's will that they will fear as long as the sun [endures].*

10 *And much peace until there is no moon [ibid. 7] - for thus [the Lord] had stipulated with David: His throne like the sun before Me; Like the moon it will stand eternal [Ps 89:37-38]. And David would pray for this to be accomplished for Solomon and his offspring, saying: In his days may a righteous flourish [ibid.] - in the days of Israel, may they do the Lord's will, for thus He had stipulated with David: "If your sons observe my covenant" [ibid. 132:12] - however, since in his old age Solomon's wives perverted his heart<sup>55</sup>, this prayer was not fulfilled.*

15 *And may he give him the gold of Sheba [ibid. 72:15] - may he give to the poor the gold coming from Sheba; and pray for him [ibid.].*

*May there be plenty (heb. pissat) of grain [ibid. 16] - [it means] abundance, as in: it will spread completely (heb. pasah tifseh) [Lv 13:7]; and in the vernacular language: foison.*

20 *May his name be forever [Ps 72:17] - may his name, his kingdom and his wisdom be remembered forever; but some interpret forever as in the verse: and shall serve him forever [Ex 21:6] - all the days of his life.*

*Before the sun may his name be magnified [Ps 72:17] - as long as the sun is before him - that is to say, as long as he lives - his name will be magnified.*

25 *The prayers of David the son of Jesse are ended [ibid. 20] - however, did he not pronounce many other psalms after this one? However, there is no before and after; or rather, David no longer prayed for Solomon.*

121

30 *A maskil of Asaf [Ps 74:1]; We give thanks to You, o God [ibid. 75:2].*

One bishop asked r. Nathan: "How long will you harbor this obstinate hope?"

R. Nathan answered: "I do not blame you if you marvel at this; because David himself would already wonder at this, as it is written: *We have not seen our signs, there is no longer any prophet,*

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<sup>55</sup> Cf. 1 Kgs 11:4 ff.

no one among us who knows how long; how long, O God, will the adversary revile, and the enemy spurn Your name forever? [ibid. 74:9-10].

122

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For the choir director. [A psalm] of the sons of Korah [Ps 85:1]; Truth will spring from the earth [ibid. 12].

The chancellor [of Paris] asked: “Which truth will spring from the earth?”

[R. Nathan] answered him: “The one you cast to the ground, as it is written: *The host will be given over together with the daily sacrifice on account of transgression; and it will cast truth to the ground, and it will do and prosper* [Dn 8:12].

123

15 *Of the sons of Korah [...] His foundation is in the holy mountains* [Ps 87:1]; *And of Zion it shall be said: “This man and that man were born in it”*; and he will establish her, the Most High [ibid. 5].

And the rebellious ones maintain that this has been said concerning the Nazarene, for he was born in Zion, and he founded and established her, as well as the Most High did.

Object to this interpretation; for he was born near Bethlehem, in Nazareth; and also it is written:

20 *This one and that one were born in it* - therefore there would be two of them.

They are fools, because the psalm refers to Mount Temple, and the Scripture praises it and tells that the Holy One loves Zion: *Glorious things are spoken of you* [ibid. 3] - of Zion, which is *the city of God* [ibid.].

*I shall mention Rahab and Babylon* [ibid. 4] - and concludes: *This one was born there* [ibid.]; *And of Zion it shall be said: “This man and that man were born in it”* [ibid. 5] - each and every one will say that they were born there: they all desire her, because *glorious things are spoken* of her.

*And he will establish her, the Most High* [ibid.] - [with] whom will the Most high establish her?

And r. Joseph Bekhor Shor interprets the whole psalm as if David had been giving orders to Solomon, saying: “Make a building of which everybody will say that it looks appropriate to the splendor of the service that originated there”.

30 And [r. Joseph Behor Shor] interprets: *The Lord shall count* [ibid. 6] - he shall recount your praise to all the people who will say: “*This one was born there*” [ibid.].

And with regard to the first interpretation, he says: “Each and every one will utter his own praise, however the Holy One will bless those who were [actually] born there and set them apart from

108

those who [merely] spread thither”. And r. Joseph Bekhor Shor interprets *was born* (heb. *yullad*) along the lines of: *You do not know what a day may bring forth* (heb. *yeled*) [Prv 27:1] - as if to say: *bonne aventure li été avenue*.

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124

*A maskil of Ethan* [Ps 89:1]; *I placed help on a mighty man, I lifted up a chosen one from the people; I found David my servant, I anointed him with my holy oil* [*ibid.* 20-21]; *His throne like the sun before Me; Like the moon it will stand eternal, and the witness in the sky is faithful* [*ibid.* 37-38].

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They refer this psalm to the Nazarene; but how many refutations of this assumption!

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Firstly, it is explicitly written: *I found David, my servant*. Furthermore: *I will establish his descendants forever* [*ibid.* 30]; also: *If his sons forsake my Torah* [*ibid.* 31]; *he was a disgrace to his neighbors* [*ibid.* 42]; *You raised the right hand of his adversaries, You caused all his enemies to rejoice* [*ibid.* 43]; *You have brought an ending to his shining, and his throne You have cast down to earth; You have shortened the days of his youth, You have enwrapped him with shame forever* [*ibid.* 45-46]. Therefore, his disgrace will last forever.

Thus answered rabbeinu Menahem of Joigny to the Hospitaller of Jerusalem, as reported by r. Aaron son of r. Joseph ha-Cohen.

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125

*A Psalm of David. The Lord says to my lord: “Sit at my right hand”* [Ps 110:1].

The simpletons interpret this verse with reference to the Nazarene.

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They have denied the Lord, for it is written: *The Lord says to my lord*, therefore the latter *lord* is not the same as *the Lord*. And if you say that he was speaking according to the flesh, where did we find that his [i.e. Jesus’s] enemies became the footstool for his feet<sup>56</sup>? And how exactly did he have dominion over his enemies<sup>57</sup>? Rather, did they not have dominion over his flesh, since he was put to death and buried? Also: *At your right hand is the Lord, who crushes kings on the day of His wrath* [*ibid.* 5] - who were those kings? Furthermore: *From the stream on the way he would drink, therefore he raised his head* [*ibid.* 7] - had there been no water, he would have died of thirst; therefore, he was not a god.

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<sup>56</sup> Cf. Ps 101:1.

<sup>57</sup> *Ibid.* 2.

Rashi interpreted it as referring to Abraham, or to David as well according to another interpretation of his; I also heard that this was a prophecy about Hezekiah, and this is the interpretation: *The Lord says to my lord* - that is, to Hezekiah.

5 “*Sit* (heb. *šev*) *at my right hand*” - as in: *So you remained* (heb. *wa-tašvu*) *in Kadesh many days* [Dt 1:46], and in: [*And Moses*] *was willing to remain* (heb. *la-ševet*) [Ex 2:21]; as if to say: “Wait for the salvation of my right hand”.

*Until I make your enemies a footstool for your feet* [*ibid.* 1] - [his enemies were] Sennacherib and his sons.

10 *The staff of your might the Lord will send from Zion* [*ibid.* 2] - from mount Zion, where Hezekiah had gone to pray, as it is written: *Then Hezekiah took the letter from the hand of the messengers and read it, and he went up to the House of the Lord and spread it out before the Lord* [2 Kgs 19:14]; and it is also written: *For out of Jerusalem shall come a remnant, and survivors out of Mount Zion* [*ibid.* 19:31]

15 *Your people will volunteer on the day of your host* [Ps 110:3] - they will volunteer to be Your people and will not support Sennacherib; (*In mountains* [heb. *be-hararei*]) *of holiness*) [*Because of the beauty* (heb. *be-hadarei*) *of holiness*] [*ibid.*] - this is mount Zion<sup>58</sup>; *from the womb of dawn, your youth is like dew for you* [*ibid.*] - from before you were born; and behold, Isaiah prophesized concerning you: *to the increase of government and peace there will be no end* [...] *The zeal of the Lord of host will accomplish this* [Is 9:6]; and it refers to this salvation.

20 *The Lord has sworn* [Ps 110:4] - as it is written: *The Lord of hosts has sworn, saying: “As I have intended, so it has happened; and as I have planned, so it shall stand; to break Assur in my land”* [Is 14:24-25] - therefore, you shall be fortified in your kingship; *you are a Cohen* [Ps 110:4] - that is, an important man, as in: *and David’s sons were chief ministers* (heb. *cohanim*) [2 Sam 8:18], and also: *and you shall be to me a kingdom of princes* (heb. *cohanim*) [Ex 19:6]; *according to the order*  
25 (heb. *‘al-divrati*) *of Melchizedek* [Ps 110:4] - in reason of what I spoke (heb. *‘al ma še-dibbarti*), you will be *my king of justice* (heb. *melki-šedeq*).

*At your right hand is the Lord, who crushes kings* [*ibid.* 5] - the ones who came with Sennacherib to wage war against Jerusalem; *at your right hand* - for your salvation.

30 *He will judge among the nations, He will fill them with corpses* [*ibid.* 6] - when the angel went forth, he killed one hundred and eighty thousand people among them; *He crushed the head of the wide earth* [*ibid.*] - the Land of Israel was a most important land; and there he killed them, crushing their heads.

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<sup>58</sup> The scribe erroneously reads בהררי in the place of בהדרי, consequently providing a wrong interpretation.

*From the stream on the way he would drink, therefore he raised his head [ibid. 7] - this refers to Sennacherib, for it is said: I dug wells and drank foreign waters; and with the sole of my feet I dried up all the rivers of Egypt [2 Kgs 19:24].*

5 ***The refutations on the Psalms have been concluded.  
I will now start with the Proverbs.***

126

[Proverbs]

10

*To understand a metaphor and a figure, the words of the sages and their riddles [Prv 1:6].*

Regarding pork flesh, circumcision and several other precepts, they affirm that they are nothing but a metaphor; they interpret in a defective way, saying: “If it is not written down plainly, then it must not be interpreted”.

15 I answered them: “And yet, you do interpret: and in so doing, you remove the essence of what is written, and it is not possible to say so; because Solomon said: *to understand a metaphor and a figure, the word of the sages* etc. Therefor it is necessary to interpret everything”.

127

20

*The words of Agur, son of Jakeh [Prv 30:1]. Who has ascended into heaven and descended [...] What is his name and his son’s name? [ibid. 4]*

The rebellious ones say that it refers to the Nazarene.

25 And r. Nathan said: “It is not possible to say so; for it is written: *Who ascended into heaven and descended* - it should have said: ‘Who descended from heaven and then ascended?’ Because in heaven he already was in the very beginning; then he descended downwards and consequently ascended; so they say”.

And I also add: “It is written: *What is his name and his son’s name?* - it should have said: ‘What is his name and his father’s name’, for the Nazarene had no son. And if you say that it refers to the  
30 Father, where did we ever find that He descended?”

The Franciscan friars then asked r. Nathan for an explanation, and he replied: “Who said this?” They answered: “Agur, son of Jakeh”. R. Nathan then said: “He was a villager, one who worked the land”.

And I add: “What was Solomon saying? Did he really not know who the Holy one is? Was he a heretic? Surely not, yet he would say: *‘I am more boorish than any man’* [*ibid.* 2], for I have no understanding of the customs of men; *‘Neither have I learned wisdom’* [*ibid.* 3] - where it comes from; *‘Nor do I have the knowledge of the Holy One’* [*ibid.*] - whence that holiness came to Him; therefore, *he* [i.e. Solomon] *made himself greater than all* [Dn 11:37]”.

This is Rashi’s interpretation: *The words of the man concerning “God is with me”* [Prv 30:1] - Solomon said: “Since God is with me, surely I will be able to indulge my lusts”.

*For I am more boorish than any other man* [*ibid.* 2] - I have risen and relied on my own wisdom so as to transgress the words of the Holy One - blessed be He; He had told him: *He shall not multiply wives for himself* [Dt 17:17]; and he said: “I will multiply them, and I will not turn away”; and also: *He shall not multiply horses for himself* [Dt 17:16]. “And I should have known *who ascended into heaven and descended* [Prv 30:4] - Moses did”.

*Who gathered wind in his fists?* [*ibid.*] - the soot of the furnace; *who wrapped the water in a garment?* [*ibid.*] - *the depths were congealed* [Ex 15:8]; *who established all the ends of the earth?* [Prv 30:4] - [it refers to] the Tabernacle, because through his construction all the ends of the world were firmly established; in this way it is expounded in the *Pesikta*; and according to the literal meaning: *Who established etc.* - it is written: *Today I will begin to put the dread of you [...] upon the nations that are under the entire heaven* [Dt 2:25]; *what is his name and [his son’s] name* [Prv 30:4] - what family came forth from him?; *that you know* [*ibid.*] - if you know it; has he no fear to transgress His words?

*Every word of God is refined* [*ibid.* 5] - He did not write anything unnecessary.

*Do not add to His words* [*ibid.* 6] - because if you add to His words, you will end up transgressing; *lest he reprimand you* [*ibid.*] - for what you did, and you be found a liar.

25 128

[Song of Songs]

*The Song of Songs, which is Solomon’s* [Sg 1:1]; *Go out, O daughters of Zion, and gaze [...] upon the crown with which his mother crowned him* [*ibid.* 3:11].

30 One apostate asked: “Who do you say this *mother* is? For you assert that every *Solomon* mentioned in the Song of Songs is sacred, except this one: *the thousand pieces are for you, Solomon* [*ibid.* 8:12]”.

[R. Nathan] answered him: “This *mother* (heb. *’em*) is Solomon’s wisdom, as it is written: *For if* (heb. *’im*) *you call for discernment* [*ibid.* 2:3]”.

And I added: “Because this *mother* is his loftiness, as it is written: *For the king of Babylon stands at the parting* (heb. *’em*, lit. ‘mother’) of *the way*, [*at the head of the two ways*]; *he shakes the arrows, he consults the teraphim* [Ez 21:26] - and does a road have a mother? No, but he was sitting in the high part of the road, drawing lots. Therefore, *mother* here stands for his loftiness”.

5

129

#### Ecclesiastes

*Better is a poor but wise child than an old and foolish king* [Eccl 4:13].

10 One priest asked r. Nathan: “Who was that wise child?”

He answered: “Woe to that child! Behold what is written afterwards: *I saw all the living who walk under the sun, with the second child who will rise in his stead; there is no end to all the people, to all that were before them; also the last ones will not rejoice with him* [*ibid.* 15-16].

15

130

#### Lamentations

R. Nathan went to a bishop to plead the cause of one who had been forcibly converted. The bishop said: “Where did we find that a convert is not acceptable?” R. Nathan answered: “It is not even possible to be forcibly converted; for this is what Jeremiah said: *My enemies hunted me like a bird, without a cause* [Lam 3:52] - so as to force me to transgress against my religion; *They have confined my life in a well* [*ibid.* 53] - pushing me into it; *waters flowed over my head* [*ibid.* 54] - they asperse me with water against my will; *I said: ‘I am cut off!’* [*ibid.* 54] - I have been cut off already, that is to say: I have been circumcised, it is impossible for me to convert since I have been circumcised”.

25

131

One Franciscan friar said to r. Nathan: “The Holy One - blessed be He - does not delight in you, therefore He scattered you among the nations, as it is written: *The presence of the Lord scattered them, he will no longer look upon them* [Lam 4:16]; hence, He will no longer take care of you”.

30

R. Nathan replied: “The scripture merely says that it is you who say so, as it is written: *‘Go away, unclean!’ they cried to them; ‘Away, Away, do not touch!’ it was said among the nations while they*



*fled and wandered [ibid. 15]; The presence of the Lord scattered them [ibid. 16] - all of this is according to your words”.*

132

5

[Job]

*There was a man in the land of Uz [Job 1:1].*

One friar from Paris said to his students: “Come and witness for yourselves the heresy of those Jews who say that the Leviathan is a magnificent thing, and that they are destined to eat it in the future”.

10 I asked him: “And what do you say? What is the Leviathan?” He replied: “A demon”; I retorted: “So, who is more heretical? One who says that he wants to make evil out of good or good out of evil? We say that the Leviathan is a remarkable thing, while you say that it is a demon; therefore, according to your own words, you maintain that a demon is a remarkable thing, for it is written: *His sneezes flash forth light, and his eyes are like the eyelids of the morning [ibid. 41:10]; In his neck*  
15 *abides strength, and dismay leaps before him [ibid. 14].*

133

Daniel

20 *And there is no other who can tell it before the king but the gods, whose dwelling place is not with mortal people [Dn 2:11].*

One lady from Loches asked a priest: “Is it really written so?” He answered her: “Yes, it is”; the lady then said: “They speak falsehood; because you say that he [i.e. Jesus] came down [from the heavens] and took a mortal body through Mary; and that he walked among men and drank with  
25 them<sup>59</sup>”.

134

*You continued looking until a stone was cut out without hands, and it struck [Dn 2:34].*

30 One priest from Saint-Prix asked me who that stone was; I became aware that he wanted to interpret it with reference to the hanged one, and I said: “Woe to that stone who destroyed everything, for it is written: *Then in one moment iron, clay and bronze crumbled together [ibid. 35].*

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<sup>59</sup> Cf. Mk 2:16.

5 *Seventy weeks have been decreed for your people and your holy city, to terminate the transgression and to end sin, and to expiate iniquity, and to bring eternal righteousness, and to seal up vision and prophet, and to anoint the Holy of Holies. And you shall know and understand that from the emergence of the word [Dn 9:24-25] etc.; And after the sixty-two weeks, the anointed one will be cut off, and he will be no more [ibid. 26].*

Those combiners of lies have combined together two different verses: *to anoint the Holy of Holies* - they have joined it with: *the anointed one will be cut off, and he will be no more*; and they say: 10 “When the Holy of Holies comes, your lineage of anointed ones will come to an end”.

They spoke deceit, because already in the days of Zedekiah the anointed kings had come to an end; and even during the Second Temple we found no use of the oil of anointing”.

15 *And the appearance of the fourth is like that of an angel [Dn 3:25].*

And from this verse they infer that He has a son, and they want to maintain that it is the Nazarene.

You shall object: “It is written: *Blessed be the God of Shadrach, Meshach [...] who sent His angel and rescued His servants [ibid. 3:28]*; and we have also found that the angels are called: ‘sons of 20 God’, as it is written: *When the morning stars sang together, and all the sons of God shouted for joy [Job 38:7]*; and also: *When the sons of God came to present themselves before the Lord [ibid. 1:6]*”.

25 *And behold with the clouds of the heaven, one like a son of a man was coming, and he came up to the Ancient of Days and was brought before Him; And He gave him dominion and glory and a kingdom, and all peoples, nations, and tongues shall serve him [Dn 7:13-14].*

They interpret this with reference to the Nazarene.

But they have held onto falsehood and fraud; for that *son of a man* will not come until the end of the 30 four kingdoms, as it is written: *I kept looking [...] until the beast was slain, and its body was destroyed and given to a flame of fire; But as for the other beasts, their dominion was removed, and they were given an extension of life until a set time [ibid. 11-12]*; and the four kingdoms have not yet come to an end.

Furthermore, this event has not yet taken place: *and all peoples, nations, and tongues shall serve him* [*ibid.* 14] - because the Ishmaelites, the Qedarites and the rest of the kingdoms do not serve him; only the Gentiles do.

[Gospel]

It is written in their book, in that sin of blank paper<sup>60</sup>: a song on tribulation and *Passion*.  
*They will be incapable of innocence* [Ho 8:5].

5 *Inter nato mulier non surreshit maior de Iohan Bastistel*<sup>61</sup> - “No man born from a woman was exalted more than John the Baptist”.

According to their own words, then, Jesus was born from a woman, because *mulier* means “a married woman”; however, they maintain that Jesus’s mother had no intercourse.

10

Behold what is written in the Gospel concerning the wedding and the headwaiter<sup>62</sup>; that Mary came and said to the Nazarene: “*Vinum non habent* [Jn 2:3], *panem non habent*” - which means: “They have no wine, they have no bread”. And [Jesus] answered her: “*Mulier, non[dum] venit hora mea*  
 15 *[ibid. 2:4]*” - “Woman, my hour has not yet come”. Hence, he calls his own mother “*mulier*”; and if John [the Baptist’s] mother was a woman who had consummated marriage, then also this “*mulier*” referring to Mary designated a woman who had had intercourse.

Also, according to this verse, he lacked the ability to provide them with food.

Moreover, you shall object to: “*Par puissance, non par nature, Createur fut fait creature*” - which  
 20 means: “Through power, not through midwifery, the Creator was made into a creature”. Now, every wise man must admit that that which has been formed, cannot form a living thing; therefore, your deity has no power to create a creature: what profit is there in him?

25

He said to Jerusalem: “O Jerusalem, Jerusalem; I said I would gather you under my legs like a hen with her chicks<sup>63</sup>”.

It is written: *For he spoke and it came to be* [Ps 33:9]; *Whatever the Lord pleases, he does in heaven and on earth* [*ibid.* 135:6].

30

<sup>60</sup> Heb. ‘*awon gilyon*, cfr. French: *évangile*, “gospel”.

<sup>61</sup> Cf. Vulg.: *Non surrexit inter natos mulierum maior Ioanne Baptista* [Mt 11:11].

<sup>62</sup> Cf. Jn 2:8-9.

<sup>63</sup> Cf. Mt 23:37.

Furthermore, it is written there: *Qui manducat carnem et vinum bibit luxuriosus est* - which means: “He who eats meat and drinks wine is a glutton and a transgressor”; yet he ate meat and drank wine during the wedding [with] the headwaiter.

5

5

*Sicut anima et caro unus est homo, ita deus et homo unus est Christus* - the meaning is: “Just like soul and body together form a man, a deity and a man together constitute a messiah, that is to say: *Christus*”. Therefore, when the body was killed, so was the deity.

10

6

When he was crucified, he said: *Tristem anima mea usque mortem et caro promntus est* [Mt 26:38, 41<sup>64</sup>] - which means: “My soul is grieved to the point of death; while my body is furious and enraged”. And they say that the soul represents the godly part, as it is written: *Man’s soul is the Lord’s lamp* [Prv 20:27] - therefore, the Nazarene’s divine part got enraged.

15

7

20

*Vulpes faveas habent, volucres caeli nido; fili[us] homini non habet [ubi] reclinet caput suum* [cf. Lk 9:58<sup>65</sup>] - which means: “The moles have a shaded place, the birds have their nests close to the sky; the son of man had nowhere to lay his head”.

He was poor to the point that he had nowhere to lay his head and nowhere to dwell.

25

8

In the *Quicumque vult* it is written: *Pater ingenitus, Filius genitus, Spiritus Sanctus ab utroque procedens* - which means: “The Father is not generated, the Son is generated; the Spirit proceeded from both”.

30

Therefore, the Father preceded the Son; and since the Spirit proceeded from both, there was a time when the Father existed without the Spirit.

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<sup>64</sup> Mt 26:38: *tristis est anima mea usque ad mortem; ibid. 26:41: spiritus quidem promptus est caro autem infirma.*

<sup>65</sup> *Vulpes foveas habent et volucres caeli nidos; Filius autem homini non habet ubi caput reclinet.*

Furthermore, it is written there: *He who sins against the Father and the Son, it shall be forgiven him; but he who sins against the Holy Spirit, it shall not be forgiven him* [cf. Mk 3:29; Mt 12:32; Lk 12:10]. Therefore, the holiness of the one is not like the holiness of the other; nor is their power, if they are not one and the same.

Furthermore, it is written there that he cried out to the Father while being crucified: *Pater mi, si possibile est transeat a me calix* [cf. Mt 26:39] - which means: "My Father, if it is possible, let my distress cease".

Therefore, he was not able to remove his own pain from himself; [only] his father was. Hence, they are not one and the same thing.

15

It is also written: "While leaving Jerusalem, Jesus met a Samaritan woman walking towards the spring, a pitcher on her shoulder. She said to him: 'Do you want to drink?' He answered: 'Is it up to you to give me a drink? Rather, I should give you one, for I have the power to'. She asked: 'Is the pitcher not in my hands? And am I not close to the spring?' He replied: 'Why, do you really believe that I am speaking of the waters of this spring? I am speaking of spring waters which revive the dead. For the time is coming, here in Jerusalem, when you will no longer invoke the Father alone [cf. Jn 4:7-21]".

Why did he not say: "[When you will no longer invoke] me alone"? This implies that he and his father were not one and the same.

Furthermore, he said: "Keep my commandments, and my father will satisfy all your requests" [cf. Jn 14:13-16], and he did not say: "I will satisfy"; therefore he was a mere emissary; he did not ascend nor did he descend.

30

Your lord was impure, and a liar also.

A woman who had been unclean for twelve years came before him: he touched her dress and cured her [cf. Mt 9:20-22] according to their words. Therefore, he rendered himself impure and transgressed the words of the Torah.

5

13

He praised himself, saying: “The son of man will sow a seed of goodness [cf. Mt 13:37]” while in another place he asserts: “I will not glorify myself, for my glory would be vain [cf. Jn 8:54]”.

10

14

Furthermore, he said: “Did you not know that everything that enters the mouth of a man goes into the stomach and from the stomach falls to the ground [cf. Mk 7:18-19]?” Therefore, what they eat at Easter falls to the ground.

15

15

It is also written: *Potestis bibere calicem quem ego [bibiturus sum]* [Mt 20:22] - which means: “Can you drink the way I will drink?” And they answered: “Yes, we can”. He said: “You can indeed drink my drink; but I could not let you sit neither at my right nor at my left; because this is for he to whom my Father commanded so [cf. Mt 20:23]”.

20

Therefore, he could not do his own will; moreover, it appears that the son and the father are not one and the same thing.

16

25

*Jacob begat Joseph, Mary’s husband* [Mt 1:16]; *when his mother Mary was betrothed to Joseph, before they became one flesh, she was found pregnant [ibid. 1:18]; the angel [of the Lord] said to him: “He will save Israel from their sins”* [cf. *ibid.* 1:20-21]. And in another place [Jesus] says: “*If I had not come [...] they would have not sinned*” [Jn 15:22]. Behold, he contradicted the angel’s words.

30

He also acted deceitfully, for he did not save [Israel]; and even considering the very few [he saved], behold: Moses saved everyone; and so will the King Messiah.



After the angel made his announcement and was gone, Joseph took his wife; *et non cognoscebat eam* [Mt 1:25] - which means: “He did not know her [intimately]”; *donec peperit filium suum* [*ibid.*] - “until she gave birth to her son”; *primogenitum* [*ibid.*] - “the firstborn”.  
 5 Therefore, after she gave birth, Joseph had intercourse with her.

10 Jesus also said: “I did not come for the pious ones, but for the sinners [*cf.* Mt 9:13]” - therefore, he did not come for the sake of Abraham and his descendants.  
 Furthermore, according to his own words, there were pious men in the world; yet, in another place, he said that he had come to deliver everybody from hell.

15

Answer, O fool: If God decreed that the sinners would go to hell and gave Satan the power to segregate them down there, hence when Jesus descended to hell, he stole from Satan what had been granted him; and yet it is not appropriate to call him a thief, because when he went down to hell and  
 20 rescued the souls, there he remained, as it is written: *a soul for a soul* [Lv 24:18]; and Job indeed supports my words: *so he who goes down to Sheol does not come up* [Job 7:9].

25 Ask them: “How can you say that Jesus was a god? Did you not see him talk to you? And is it not written in the parashah *Shoftim* that Israel said: ‘*Let me not hear again the voice of the Lord [...] or I will die*’; and the Lord said [...]: ‘*What they have said is good*’ [Dt 18:16-17]? And it is also written: *I will raise up for them a prophet like you from among their kindred* [*ibid.* 18] - this implies a man of flesh and blood born from a woman”.

30

This is written in their book, at the beginning of that sin of blank paper which they call *Évangile*: they recount the genealogy of Jesus, who came forth from a royal family. They say: “So-and-so

begat so-and-so” until they say: *Jacob begat Joseph, Mary’s husband, by whom was born Jesus, who is called Christ* [Mt 1:6].

You must reply: “She was not yet married to her husband; why then is [Joseph] called *her husband*? It should have said: ‘Mary’s betrothed’. And how can they speak such falsehood in their prayer?

5 For they say that he never had intercourse with her”.

22

10 Furthermore, it is written in their book: “And it came to pass, when the angels returned to look for Jesus; *behold an angel appeared [to Joseph] in a dream, saying: “[...] take the child and his mother and flee to Egypt, and stay there until I tell you ‘Rise!’* [Mt 2:13]; those accursed Jews *are going to search for the child to make him perish; and Joseph [...] fled to Egypt [ibid. 2:13-14].*

15 And why all of this? If he was a god, why then did he fear an ordinary man? What about the angels of God? Did they fear anyone when they came to fulfill their mission openly? And no man had the power to damage them, as it is written concerning Lot’s episode: *And they struck the men who were at the entrance of the house with blindness* [Gn 19:11]; and concerning Elisha it is written: *Elisha prayed to the Lord and said: ‘Strike this people with blindness, I pray you’; so He struck them with blindness according to Elisha’s word* [2 Kgs 6:18]; *And Jeroboam stretched out his hand [...] saying: ‘Seize him’, but his hand which he had stretched out [...] dried up and he could not draw it*  
20 *back to himself* [1 Kgs 13:4].

23

25 Moreover, it is written in their book: “Then all the inhabitants of Jerusalem, all Judah and the kingdom went out to river Jordan, to John the Baptist; and he would immerse them in the Jordan [cf. Mk 1:5]” - and they call this immersion *baptême*.

But, really, what a merit must be acknowledged to that John for doing this! In which Torah is this immersion found? This precept is neither in the old one, nor in the new one.

30 Also, when John immersed them, he did so in fresh waters; where then did they learn to immerse people in waters drawn through a vessel?

It is written: *When Jesus came down from the mountain, a great crowd followed him. And behold a leper came to him and bowed to him, saying: "My Lord and king, if you wish, you can cure me of my leprosy"*. He stretched out his hand, touched him [...] and he was cured. And Jesus said to him: "See that you do not tell [anyone], but show yourself to the priest and bring him the offering for your purity, as Moses prescribed in his Torah [Mt 8:1-4].

Why did he order that leper to bring his offering? Since he had already been cured, what need was there to bring the offering?

Furthermore, we do not see that any other precept of the Torah has been observed as per His words; not even a single one ever since he was born from that woman; such as the circumcision, [the prohibition of] pork, and many others that Jesus loosened after his coming.

And even the precept above has no longer been observed, as per His words, from that day onwards.

15

Also, it is written in their book that *Jesus said to the owner of the field lying on a bed: "Rise and walk! So that you know that the son of man rules over the earth and forgives sins"*; then Jesus said to the owner of the field: "*Pick up your bed and go home*" [Mt 9:1; 5-6].

Behold, he called himself *the son of man*.

And Jesus crossed the river Euphrates; *a scribe arrived and said to him: "Teacher, I will follow you wherever you go"*. Jesus answered: "*Foxes have dens and birds of the sky have nests; but I am the son of man, I do not [even] have a little ground to lay my head*" [Mt 8:18-20].

And if he was a god, why did he call himself *son of man*?

30

Also, if he performed this sign for the owner of the field in order to proclaim his strength and might, why then did he say to him: "*So that you know that the son of man rules*" [Mt 9:6]? Why did he tell a lie [beforehand], saying: "*I do not [even] have a little ground to lay my head*" [Mt 8:20]?

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\*In manuscript Paris 712, chapter 27 begins with "*Jesus answered*".

Furthermore, it is written in the same place where the scribe had told him: *“I will follow you”* [Mt 8:19]: *One of his disciples said to him: “[Lord], let me go and bury my father”*; *Jesus answered him: “Desist from burying the dead and follow me”*. He got into a boat [...] *And behold, there arose a great storm in the sea, and the boat was on the point of breaking. But Jesus was asleep. His disciples came and woke him* [Mt 8:21-25].

Is there not a great impiety in that which he said to his disciple: *“Desist from burying your father”*? Is it not true that there is no commandment greater than the one of burying notable people, and all the more so your own father?

Moreover, it is said that he was asleep; but it is written: *The guardian of Israel will neither slumber nor sleep* [Ps 121:4].

*And his disciples went and found him on a mount in Galilee, and some of them bowed to him; however, some other did not believe in him. He said to them: “The dominion over heaven and earth has been given to me. Go and teach all the nations the baptism in the name of the father, the son and the spirit of impurity”* [Mt 28:16-19].

Who gave him that dominion? If you say that it was the father, are not the two of them equal in power? Hence, the one should not be superior to the other in any respect.

Also, he said: *“I am with you until the end of this world”* [*ibid.* 28:20] - but not in the world to come.

25

*And he called his disciples and gave them the authority to cast the unclean spirits out of the land* [Mt 10:1]. And he ordered them to hold in their hands nothing but a walking stick while on their way; and not to bring with them any bread, nor to put on sandals or to wear tunics.

30

And in another place, we have found that the disciples were not able to drive a spirit away from a young boy.

It is written: Jesus came to his disciples and saw a great crowd talking to them. He asked them: “What are you saying to my disciples?” They answered: “An evil spirit is tormenting a young boy”; then he told his disciples to chase it away, but they were unable to do so. He said: “O stubborn generation, how long shall I be with you and put up with your disobedience? Bring me the boy”;  
5 and they did so. Jesus then asked the boy’s father: “How long has it been with him?” And the spirit was expelled from him [cf. Mk 9:13-26].

Now, if he was a god, why then did he ask: “How long has it been with him”? Is not everything known [to him]? Also, is it appropriate for a god to dwell with men?

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33

Also, it is written in their books: *One man went to him and bent down on his knees, saying: “Good [teacher], what shall I do to gain eternal life?” Jesus answered: “Why would you call me good? No one is good besides God. Do you not know the commandments? You shall not kill; you shall not*  
15 *commit adultery etc. [...]” He answered: “All of these I have observed [...]”. Jesus [...] loved him greatly and said: “You have to do even more: give all that you have to the poor, and your treasure will be in heaven; then follow me [cf. Mk 10:17-21; Mt 19:16-21; Lk 18:18-23]”.*

Now, why did he mind being called “good”, if he is god?

Also, why did Jesus not command the man to immerse himself, since this is their main  
20 commandment? Instead, Jesus promised him that through charity he would gain life in the world to come.

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Furthermore, it is written in their book that Jesus told his disciples: “*Do not worry [...] about what*  
25 *you shall eat [...] and what you shall wear; life is not only for food, nor is the body only for clothing. Observe the crows; they do not sow or reap [...] and the Rock feeds them. Are you not worth more [than them]?” [Mt 6:25-26; Lk 12:22-24]*

And I also heard: “He judges, and his judgment is righteous; *for I do not seek my own will, but the will of the one who sent me [Jn 5:30]*” - behold, this implies that the will of the two of them is not  
30 the same.

35

It is also written there: *So he came to [a city of] Samaria [...] there he felt tired and sat at the well. A woman [of Samaria] came to draw water, and Jesus said to her: “Give me a drink, for I got*

thirsty”. *His disciples had gone [into the town] to buy bread. The Samaritan woman answered him:* “You cannot drink with me, for it is not legitimate for Samaritans to drink with Jews” [cf. Jn 4:5-9]. Now, if he was a god, why did he get weary and thirsty for water? And will you say that [the Scripture] was speaking according to the flesh? Even so, as long as the spirit of holiness was within  
5 him, he should have never got tired and weary.

36

Furthermore, it is written in their book: “He celebrated a wedding in Galilee; *and his mother said to*  
10 *him: ‘The wine is terminated’; he answered: ‘What do I have to do with you, woman? My hour has not yet come. And what do I have to fear if the wine is terminated?’* [cf. Jn 2:1; 3-4]”

Now, he could not call her *woman* unless she was married to a man.

Also, regarding that which he said: “And what do I have to fear if the wine is lacking?” - Who should care if not the one who made the feast?

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Why was it necessary for Joseph to sleep with Mary as if he was her husband? Because it is written in their books that a fornicating woman was [about to be] stoned, therefore Joseph had to be with  
20 her; so that when the Jews would see her, they would not stone her.

This is a lie, because stoning is not provided for in case of fornication, but it is in the case of a betrothed girl [who lies with another man].

Also: is it the honor of a god<sup>66</sup> to have his mother suspected by everyone, for having a husband?

Furthermore: they say that Isaiah prophesized about him, saying: *Behold, a young woman will*  
25 *conceive* [Is 7:14] - and if it had been said about him, why would have [God] also made a father for him? Also, we have not found in your law that he was ever called Emmanuel, but only Jesus; and he is not mentioned by that name.

It is perplexing that everything that is proper of a mortal man can also be found in Jesus; for example, he said: “*Let this cup pass from me*, for it is *not as my will* [cf. Mt 26:39] when he was  
30 among his enemies and they were torturing him; but if he had been a god, who could have nullified his will?

Moreover, he said that he only came to undergo the tribulations *and to give his life as a ransom for many* [Mt 20:28], whereas afterwards he said: “*Let this cup pass from me*” - behold, the two verses

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<sup>66</sup> Cf. Prv 25:2.

contradict each other. And it is written: *God is not a man, that he should lie; nor a son of a man, that he should repent* [Nm 23:19].

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They say about the father, the son and the spirit, that the three of them are one and the same. Father and spirit can be one single thing, for they neither eat or drink, nor they sleep, get tired or scared; the son, however, eats, drinks, sleeps, gets tired and gets scared. Behold, he ate and drank and slept when he was in the boat; and he was tired when he asked the Samaritan woman a drink by the well; and he was scared while pleading: *God, god, why have you forsaken me?* [Mt 27:46]

39

Furthermore, it is written in their book that in the hour of his death, he forgave those who were killing him, saying: “*My father who art in heaven, forgive them, for they do not know what they do*” [Lk 23:34] - if so it is, why do you still accuse us of his death?

Also, they say that our exile is long because of the guilt of his death; but were we not already in exile many years before [his death]?

In any case, he forgave all, as it is written above.

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Moreover, it is written in their book: *The hour is coming in which all who are in the tombs shall hear Jesus’s voice and shall rise; the good ones for resurrection, while the wicked ones will stand trial. I cannot do anything on my own, but as I hear, I judge; and my judgment is right, for I do not seek my own will but the will of the one who sent me* [Jn 5:28-30] - why, does he have two different wills, so that one’s will is not like the other’s? Are not the three of them like one?

Also, he maintains the he is the messiah; therefore, why does he say: “*As I hear, I judge*”? Is it not written concerning the Messiah: *nor by hearsay shall he decide* [Is 11:3]? And if [this messiah] was a god, why would it be necessary to specify that *the spirit of the Lord shall rest on him* [ibid. 11:2]? What spirit should rest on a god, if not his own spirit?

Moreover, all the signs of the [messianic] era have not yet taken place.

Furthermore, it is written in their books that he who sins against the father will be forgiven, and also he who sins against the son; but he who sins against the Holy Spirit will not be forgiven [*cf.* Mt 5 12:31-32]; therefore, this means that there are two distinct powers. Consequently, one who curses the father, the son and the spirit and then repents will be forgiven only for the first two; but one who curses the spirit will not be forgiven at all. Therefore, what shall be the judgment and the sentence of one who is forgiven concerning the first two and not forgiven concerning the third? And where shall go one who is forgiven by one part of the deity, and not forgiven by the other part? From this, 10 we can infer that the father, the son and the spirit are not one and the same.

Ask them: “The first man into whose nostrils the Holy One blew a breath of life, why is he not 15 called a god? If you say: ‘Because he did not do any sign like Jesus’ - behold: Moses, Aaron, Elijah, Elisha and many other prophets who worked wonders were never called ‘gods’.

Also, when the spirit flew out of him, the body immediately died; and they themselves admit that, following the body’s death, he could do neither good nor evil; therefore, how can the three of them be one?

20 Furthermore, of all things that it is not customary of a god to accomplish, they say that they are according to the flesh; while of all things that are appropriate for a god to do, they say that they are according to the Holy Spirit; therefore, they are not one and the same.

Also, if the body sins with no [culpability of] the Holy Spirit, why is the soul punished? Is the latter held responsible? Anyway, it is a principle of [their] faith”.

25

Ask them further: “What the Jews did to him, was it with or without his consent? If they say that it was according to his will, is it not true that he who abhors Jesus’s will is a sinner? It follows that 30 they [i.e. the Christians] are guiltier than us. And if they say that it all happened against his will, is there a god who cannot deliver himself from his enemies’ hands? Is it not written of Moses: *They were afraid to come near him* [Ex 34:30]? Then, how can you say that some men seized him and injured him, if he was a god?”



In the days of Josiah, the flask of the anointing oil disappeared; and from that day onwards, we have not had a King Messiah. After Josiah, Jehoahaz ruled for three months<sup>67</sup>; after him, Jehoiakim ruled  
 5 for eleven years<sup>68</sup>; after him, Jeconiah ruled for three months<sup>69</sup>; after him, Zedekiah ruled for eleven years<sup>70</sup>. And in the ninth year of his kingdom, on the tenth day of the month, Nebuchadnezzar came and destroyed the temple<sup>71</sup>. All of the above were kings, yet none of them was anointed.

And in the year [3]532 - hence, before the destruction of the temple - in the year [3]532 an omen:  
 10 Jesus was crucified, while the Temple was still standing. Now, calculate for yourself according to this reckoning and you will find that he was crucified 104 years before the destruction of the temple; namely, one year before [the beginning] of the kingdom of Herod's household, which ruled 103 years during temple times. This is all.

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<sup>67</sup> Cf. 2 Kgs 23:31.

<sup>68</sup> Cf. *ibid.* 23:36.

<sup>69</sup> Cf. *ibid.* 24:8.

<sup>70</sup> Cf. *ibid.* 24:18.

<sup>71</sup> Cf. *ibid.* 25:1 ff.



## COMMENTARY

6-7 **That broken reed of a staff** [2 Kgs 18:21], **the sons of a sorceress** [Is 57:3] These and other biblical quotations refer to pagan peoples in their original context, but here clearly designate the Christians.

7 **Who have increased the powers** Increasing the powers (heb. *rašuiyot*) is a probable allusion to the Trinity, whose multiplicity is obviously at odds with the strictness of Jewish monotheism; see here chapters 13, 27 and 41[g]\*, where the *rašuiyot* are explicitly referred to as the three entities worshipped by Christians: Father, Son and Holy Ghost (the last one often called “spirit of impurity”). The Hebrew word for Trinity - *šilluš* - never appears in the whole *SYM.*, unlike other, related polemical works (see for example *N.V.*, p.13 [Hebrew section]; *Mil. Ha-Shem*, p. 40).

8-9 **Their refutation is within hand’s reach** Cf. *T.Y. Berakhot* 9a; *T.B. Sanhedrin* 38b.

11 **He created and not “they created”** A long-standing argument, dating back to the early stages of rabbinic literature; see *Bereshit Rabba* 8:9, where the *minim* ask R. Simlai how many deities created the world, to which the rabbi answers by pointing out the singular form of the verb (*He created*) both in Gn 1:1 and in Dt 4:32. The polemical literature of the middle ages was quite receptive to this basic, foundational argument; see for example *Mil. Ha-Shem* p.40, where the “denier” (heb. *ha-mekhaḥed*) states that the combined usage of a singular verbal form (*bara’*) and a plural-dual noun (*’Elohim*) sums up to three, which is a clear reference to the Trinity; Petrus Alphonsi (11<sup>th</sup> - 12<sup>th</sup> century) emphasizes that *’Elohim* is always plural, which must imply a plurality of the Godhead; and if Jesus invoked God using the singular form *Eli* (Mt 27:46), it is due to the fact that he, who conceived himself as the second person of the Trinity, was addressing the first; see Lukyn-Williams, *Adversus Judaeos* (Cambridge University Press, 1935) p. 235.

15-16 **Because he preferred to mention one of His epithets** This passage seems to owe a lot to Ibn Ezra’s commentary on Exodus 3:16, where the rabbi illustrates the difference between proper names and adjectives when it comes to declension and suffixes; while proper names (such as Abraham and Isaac) can only stand alone, adjectives and nicknames are more apt to variation: they can take suffixes (indicating both number and possession) and can be used as the first member of a construct state (e.g. *wise in heart* [Jb 9:4]). Therefore, the fact that the book of Genesis opens with the plural *’Elohim* rather than with God’s Name is merely due to Moses’s preference, and does not imply a multiplicity of the Godhead.

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\* The mark [g] after the number of a chapter indicates that the reference is to the gospels’ section.

23 **The Jew (heb. ha-yehudi), after the name...** If we understand correctly, it is here emphasized that the suffix *-i* in these nouns (*yehud-i*, *tišb-i*, *'elqoš-i*) does not stand for possessive “of me” (also expressed via suffix *-i*), but just indicates the adjective deriving from a noun; thus the afore-mentioned statement - that a proper name cannot take a suffix denoting possession - is not contradicted.

27 **But R. Meir...** Urbach E. E. (*REJ* 100 [1935] p. 54) and Judah Rosenthal (*Sef. Yos.* p. 29, note 11) suggest an identification with R. Meir ben Ezekiel, who had a disputation with an apostate concerning the correct interpretation of Gn 49:10 (reported in Berliner, A., *Pleitat-Soferim* [Mainz: 1872] p.29); Zadoc Kahn very cautiously suggests the name of R. Meir ben Samuel of Ramerupt (c. 1060- c. 1135), Rashi’s son-in-law and father to Rashbam, Ribam (Isaac ben Meir) and Rabbeinu Tam; see *REJ* 3 (1881), p. 7.

30 **And also we found expressions of lordship in plural form** Jonah ibn Janah (c. 990 - c. 1050) in his *Sefer ha-riqmah* adduces some of the verses here quoted, explaining that this often happens in the Bible when it is necessary to emphasize someone’s importance, so as “to increase and elevate them”; see *Sefer ha-Riqmah*, ed. Goldberg (Frankfurt: 1856) p. 169.

*Page 30*

6 **And R. Joseph son of R. Nathan** This is Joseph the Official’s grandfather, also known as R. Joseph of Étampes.

9 **And the sacred language is like any other language** Thus argued also Sa’adiah Gaon in his *Sefer ha-'Egron* (“Glossary”); the author is quite familiar with Sa’adiah’s exegesis, whose name recurs several times in the course of the work (not to mention that all the consolatory prophecies at the opening of the book are taken from Sa’adiah’s *'Emunot we-De'ot*). Sa’adiah writes: “When I decided to write the book to give knowledge to all who have chosen the language of the holy angels: I thought about the speech of man and all the pronunciation of their lips and uttering of their mouths found in all the languages of the nations”; “the rules and fundamentals of this part are not relevant just to the language of the Hebrews, but to all the languages known to us... As to this part, it is devoted entirely to facilitating the study of any known language, and only very little of it applies to Hebrew alone” (quoted in Dotan, Aron, “Particularism and universalism in the linguistic theory of Saadia Gaon”, *Sefarad* 55 No.1 [1995] p. 61-78; here pp. 64, 65.).

19 **He saw that most people would be deviated by the waters** The view that the waters of baptism are repulsive and must be avoided at all costs - lest one’s soul be lost forever - recurs quite often in *SYM*; see for example *infra* chapters 27, 75, 98, 130.

Jerome, as a matter of fact, sees in the waters of creation a clear prefiguration of the baptism: “Videte ergo quid dicitur in principio Geneseo, hoc est secundum intelligentiam spiritualem: *Super aquas ferebatur spiritus* [Gn 1:2] - iam eo tempore baptismum significabatur (*Breviarium in Psalmos*, PL 026.1042).

**28-29 This is the condition of the Most High when sitting in council with His own ministries** Berger in *NV*'s commentary *ad loc.* (p. 235) has already extensively dealt with this issue, therefore we will only say that Jewish exegetes were aware of the danger of a possible Trinitarian exegesis (see *T.B. Sanhedrin* 38b, *T.Y. Berakhot* 9:1, *Bereshit Rabbah* 8:8), to which they opposed the opinion that God would often speak with his angels and ministries (*T.B. Sanhedrin* 38b, *Targum Jonathan ad loc.*, Rashi *ad loc.*); or even that the expression *Let us make man* is to be understood as a majestic plural (*Mil. ha-Shem*, p. 45).

Patristic literature, on the other side, is unsurprisingly replete with the contrasting view, namely that God used a plural so as to imply the involvement of His two other persons - the Son and the Holy Spirit - in the making of man; *cf.* Peter of Blois (c. 1130 - c. 1211), *Contra Perfidiam Judaeorum*, PL 207 830-831; Walter of Châtillon (1135 - 1201), *Tractatus Contra Judaeos*, PL 209.450-451; Alan of Lille (c. 1128 - 1202/3), *Contra Haereticos*, PL 210.403.

**32 The holy R. Yom Tov of Joigny** R. Yom Tov son of R. Isaac of Joigny, who died as a martyr in the York massacre of 1191; he was a student of Rabbeinu Tam, and wrote both poems and *tosafot*; (*cf.* Urbach E. E., *Ba'alei ha-tosafot* [Jerusalem: Mosad Bialik, 1968] pp. 125-126; Gross, Henri, *Gallia Judaica* [Paris: 1897] p. 252). Urbach (*REJ* 100 [1935] p.64) argues against Heinrich Graetz (*Geschichte der Juden* vol. 6 [Leipzig: 1861] p. 438) that this sentence, though apt to sound ambiguous, is not indicative of a real meeting between R. Joseph and R. Yom Tov of Joigny, an eventuality which would force us to anticipate the composition of the work of at least half a century; rather - argues Urbach - it must be taken to imply an indirect transmission, otherwise the text would have an active *אשר פיו יקרא* (“which his mouth would recite to me”), instead of *אשר מפיו יקרא* (“from whose mouth it was said to me” through an intermediary).

**32-33 As they would have been declared to me from his mouth** The author seems to somehow distance himself from what follows, which is indeed an original, not to say bold, interpretation of the verse: Moses would be reporting God's commandment that man must make man, and that is why a plural is used; he is inciting Israel and using the second plural person to do so.

10 **Nevertheless, our teacher Sa'adiah** Cf. *'Emunot we-De'ot*, ed. Slutzky (Leipzig: 1864) p. 47.

13 **The author of the refutations** This expression designates in all probability Joseph's father, Nathan the Official; it is unlikely that it indicates Joseph himself, because in chapter 13 the words of the "author of the refutations" are followed by Joseph's own remark: "I reject them".

This is consistent with the fact that the vast majority of the interpretations in *SYM* are attributed to Nathan, who is described as "foremost among the orators" (see *infra* marginal annotation to chap. 106) and therefore regarded as the veritable author of the work; while Joseph sees himself mainly as the modest collector of his father's sayings, to which he may occasionally add something based on other commentaries, on what he learns by hearsay as well as on his own personal interpretation (see *infra loc. cit.*: "And I gathered herbs and flower buds in the field of R. Nathan - may his soul rest in peace - and I will plant them here [...]and I [drew] from [...]what I have heard [...] and a few other things that the Lord mercifully granted me"). Furthermore, *Sefer Yosef ha-Meqanne'* - which is but a title created by R. Eliyahu, who copied the work from another manuscript, see *infra* my consideration on the text and its authors pp. LIII-LVI ) - is not to be considered an *unicum* in Joseph's career as a composer; he is also the compiler of the so-called *Disputation of Paris* or *Wikkuah rabbeinu Yeḥiel mi-Paris*; R. Yeḥiel, who was Joseph's teacher (cf. *infra* chap. 36 and 59), is probably also the personality to whom *SYM* was originally dedicated (see *infra* p. LVII and notes 129, 130).

13-14 **That the letter nun may be in place of the letter aleph** For this interpretation, cf. *Midrash Lekah Tov* on Gn 1:26.

20 **The archbishop of Sens** We do not precisely know which bishop or archbishop *SYM* refers to, because - unlike other personalities mentioned in the text -the archbishop of Sens is never called by name; what we know is that during the period of our concern (ca 1220 - 1260), the episcopal see in Sens was dominated by scions of the Cornu (or Cornut) family: Gautier (1221 - 1241); Gilles or Gilon (1241 - 1254); Henri (1254 - 1258). See P. Quesvers, "Notes sur les Cornu Seigneurs de Villeneuve-la-Cornue, La Chapelle Rablais et de Fontenailles en Brie", *Bulletin de la société d'archéologie, sciences, lettres et arts du département de Seine et Marne* 10 (1894), p. 37 ff.

He is also the one whom Joseph and his father Nathan served in quality of *officiali*, a title from which came their nickname "the Officials"; details of this office are not known to us, though the late Latin word *officialis* can designate an administrator or a functionary who specifically served an

archbishop; cf. entry “officialis” in *Mediae Latinitatis Lexicon Minus*, ed. Niemeyer (Leiden: Brill, 2002).

21 **I gave twenty pounds to a certain citizen who lives in your domain...** R. Nathan was thus allegedly in charge of distributing the wages to the archbishop’s subordinates, which must have constituted part of his duties as *officialis*. What is surprising is that Nathan refers to the merchandise later bought by the citizen as “our goods”, which would imply - albeit only speculatively - the existence of somewhat shared assets between Nathan and the archbishop; as well as a preminent and prestigious social role for the Officials.

At all events, one must consider that tales such as this one often have, in the course of the work, an illustrative and edifying purpose; and that Joseph might have meant to magnify his father’s importance and role in the eyes of the readers. This notwithstanding, the account is quite precise both in providing name of places (Provins, Villeneuve) and in using a specific business terminology, whereas most of the other the parables and allegories present in the work follow the renown Talmudic pattern in which a king and his servant represent God and his devotee.

24-25 **You know that I do not lend at interest** One of the most common and feared charges raised against the Jews in the Middle Ages; we will discuss it further on in the chapters which are specifically centered on this issue (49, 110). Nathan’s explicit remark - he wants to preemptively avert any possibility of being seen as an usurer - is already quite telling of the general feelings towards this infamous accusation; on Christian persecution against Jewish loaners in the 13<sup>th</sup> century, see also *infra* my Introduction pp. XXX-XXXI.

Page 32

24 **The heretics spoke irreverently and said that this indicates a likeness to the Creator** There is general agreement among church fathers that the plurality implied by the verse *In Our image, after Our likeness* is due to God referring to a human or at least corporeal part of Himself, commonly associated with the person of the Son, philosophically conceived as the Logos (after John’s terminology); thus it is *on the image* of the pre-existing archetype of human Jesus that all mankind was created, while perfect *likeness* will be attained only by the righteous at the end of days. See for example: Clement of Alexandria, *Protrepticus* (SC 2; 10:98,4); Origen, *De principiis* (GCS 22; 3:6,1); Augustine of Hippo, *De Trinitate* (7:6,12; 11:5,8 12:6,6; Engl. transl. in *Nicene and Post Nicene Fathers* vol. 3, pp. 113-4; 149; 157); Irenaeus, *Adversus haereses* (SC 153; 5:16,2); Gregory of Nyssa (c. 365 - c. 395), *On the Making of Man* (*Gregory Nysseni opera, suppl.*,



H. Hoerner [Leiden: 1972] 1:28-29; 32-33); Potamius of Lisbon, *Letter on the Substance* (CCL 69a; 356-364).

31 **R. Sa'adiah and R. Nissim** Both are mentioned in the composition 'Arugat ha-bosem ("The scented flower-bed") by Bohemian Talmudist and grammarian Abraham ben Azriel (c. 1250), respectively in relation with the view that God sits on His throne, surrounded on both sides by legions of His own angels; and that He has no image whatsoever; cf. 'Arugat ha-bosem ed. Urbach vol. 1 (Jerusalem: 1939) pp. 199-200.

31 **Ibn Gabirol** Cf. the second stanza of his poem *Keter Malkhut*: "Thou art One - and not like what is owned and counted is one / for plurality and change do not pertain to Thee / nor description or by-name".

32 **Ibn Ezra** Cf. his commentary on Gn 1:26, where the rabbi rejects the view that God used a majestic plural (*Let us make*), asserting instead that He was speaking to His angels and that, in any case, it is absolutely forbidden to attribute to Him any physical image whatsoever.

*Page 33*

1 **And they have the appearance of men** Cf. Ibn Ezra *ad loc.*: the angels are created after God's image, and men in turn are created after the angels' appearance; however, this does not mean that God possess physical attributes that have come down to human beings, but only that the imperishable part of men - their souls - has preserved something of their Creator's divinity.

8 **Their idol has been compared to an androgynous** If the verse really implied a physical resemblance, then the god of the Christians would have both male and female features, since it is written: *male and female He created them* [Gn 1:27].

10 **The image that is most suitable for us** Cf. *Hadar Zeqenim* (ca. 13<sup>th</sup> century; ed. Livorno: 1840) *ad loc.*: "after the image that is designated for Him among us".

11 **In an upright position** Cf. *Hullin* 60a: "All the animals of the creation were created in their full-grown stature" (ed. Soncino).

13-14 **Do not imagine [al-tedammi] in your mind [Est 4:13]** Cf. Rashi *ad loc.*

19 **Then the Holy one completed His work on Shabbat** Cf. PL 213.756 (author unknown, c. 1150-1250): "Si cuncta opera sua complevit in Sabbato, iam non erant perfecta in die sexto [...] Non itaque perfecta Dei requies fuit in die Sabbati, quia ex parte legitur opera sua complevisse, et ex parte requievise".

20 **This is the interpretation of Rashi** Cf. Rashi *ad loc.* = *Bereshit Rabba* 10:9.

23 **And [Ibn] Parḥon says** Cf. his *Maḥberet ha-‘arukh* (Pressburg: 1844) on the entry *beth*: “It can stand in the place of ‘before’”; so also Ibn Ezra *ad loc.*: “Some say that *beth* can mean ‘before’”.

25 **This is the interpretation of [Joseph] Qara** Joseph ben Simeon Qara (c. 1065 – c. 1135), a biblical exegete - hence his nickname, bearing the same root as *miqra*’ - who was born and resided in Troyes; despite being fellow citizen of Rashi, there is no evidence that Qara ever studied under him, though it is clear from their writings that they knew each other (Rashi was 25 years older than Qara). He composed commentaries on virtually all books of the Bible, their main feature being an almost exclusive focus on the *peshat* (though occasional resort to *derash* is also present); exegetical works such as Qara’s - and also Rashbam’s, his contemporary and fellow citizen as well as Rashi’s grandson - would easily lend themselves, due to their dwelling on literal biblical interpretations, to anti-Christian stances, which would in turn favour their absorption into Jewish polemical literature; see Avraham Grossman, Moshe-Max Arend and David Devoran, “Kara, Joseph” in *Encyclopedia Judaica* vol. 11 (Thomson Gale, 2007) pp. 783-784.

32 **Who created the *destroyer*?** The debate seems to revolve around the ontology of evil and the issue of theodicy; cf. Jerome, *Commentariorum in Isaiam*, PL 024.527: “*Ego qui creavi fabrum sufflantem in igne prunas [Is 54:16] - hoc est, diabolum omnium malorum arteficiem, non necessitate naturae, sed mentis arbitrio*”, which implies that the creation of evil depends entirely on God’s will, and it is not an independent and necessary power out of God’s control; this latter view is probably closer to the doctrines of Marcionism, and it is no surprise to read what Jerome has to say on Is 45:7: “*Confundetur Marcion, duos deos intelligens: unum bonum et alium iustum; alterum invisibilium, alterum visibilium conditorem. E quibus prior lucem faciat, secundus tenebras; ille pacem, hic malum; cum utrumque pro diversitate meritorum unus Deus idemque condiderit*” (*ibid.* PL 26.442).

*Page 34*

3 **And I answered myself** It is reasonable to assume that it is R. Joseph who speaks in the first person; this is also supported by the fact that, when P uses the first person, H often uses the third: “R. Joseph said”, “R. Joseph answered” etc.

4 **He has made everything beautiful in its time [Eccl 3:11]** Cf. Rashi *ad loc.*: “At the time of good, it is beautiful that the reward be given for good deeds, and at the time of evil, it is fitting for the recompense for evil deeds”.

21 **And those who will awake and live forever will also eat from the tree of life** Cf. *Targum Yerushalmi* on Gn 3:24: “He prepared the garden of Eden for the righteous, that they should eat, and

delight themselves with the fruit of the tree; For the law is the tree of life; whoever keepeth it in this life liveth and subsisteth as the tree of life. The law is good to keep in this world, as the fruit of the tree of life in the world that cometh” (transl. Jay Palmer, consulted on *BibleWorks* 9.0).

25 **The chancellor of Paris** Already identified with Odo of Châteauroux (c. 1190 - 1273) by Zadoc Kahn in *REJ* 3 (1881), p.12; see also Rosenthal, J., “The Talmud on Trial: The Disputation at Paris in 1240”, *The Jewish Quarterly Review* 47 (1956-7) pp 71, 75. Chancellor at the University of Paris from 1238 to 1244, he was one of the personalities involved in the Talmud trial of 1240 and its subsequent condemnation and burning (along with Guillaume d’Auvergne, bishop of Paris and the inquisitor Henri de Cologne); he was also responsible for a second condemnation of the Talmud in 1248, following the request by Pope Innocent IV - moved by the complaints of the Jews, who could not fully interpret the Bible without the Talmud - to examine the Talmud anew. See also Charles H. Haskins, “The University of Paris in the Sermons of the Thirteenth Century”, *The American Historical Review*, 10 (1904), pp. 1-27.

25 **There is a limit to [the validity of your] precepts** This statement refers to the Christian belief that Jesus’s coming would have abrogated the Torah and all of its precepts in favor of a new covenant. Actually this issue is more nuanced in the gospels, with Jesus clearly declaring that he did not come to change a single letter of the Torah and condemning those who do not respect its commandments (*cf.* Mt 5:17-20), while at the same time mitigating some of the founding precepts (such as Shabbat, *cf.* Mk 2:23-28) and the laws of *kasherut* (Mk 7:18-19). Even’s Paul letters are not so unambiguous with reference to this matter: the Law on the one side is responsible for sin itself, for the mere prohibition of something (*Do not covet*) induces in men the desire to transgress and causes the death of the soul; yet at the same time, the Law and the commandments are good and holy, because, by means of their authority, they keep men from yielding to their intrinsically sinful nature and from transgressing. Is man therefore condemned to be eternally divided between his lust to sin and the awareness of God’s holy Law? This contradiction can only be solved in Jesus: a mortal man whom God’s Spirit brought back to life, thus allowing him to overcome the limits of the flesh; a destiny which will be shared by all those who welcome the Christ within themselves (*cf.* Rom 7:7-25; 8:1-12).

Thomas Aquinas’s *Summa Theologica* (written between 1265 and 1274) explicitly defines three categories of biblical precepts: moral, ceremonial and judicial; and states that the moral precepts given by Noah before the Torah itself are the only ones meant to last forever, inasmuch as they correspond to the natural law (*cf.* *Summa Theologica*, Prima Secundae Partis, Quaestio 100, Articulus 1). The ceremonial and the judicial precepts, on the contrary, have come to an end with Christ’s Passion and with his announcement: “*It is consummated*” (Jn 19:30); while during Jesus’s

own life, mosaic Law and the gospels were still concurrent, which explains why Jesus occasionally ordered his followers to observe the legal ceremonies, as in the case of the leper (*ibid.* Quaestio 103, Articulus 3).

28 **However, he did not die** Judah Rosenthal emphasizes the affinity between this argument and the polemical work by exegete and Biblical critic Hiwi al-Balkhi (9<sup>th</sup> century), whom Rosenthal believed to have embraced some gnostic doctrines. For the view that God was not omnipotent and could not kill Adam, or that he subsequently changed his mind, *cf.* in particular Rosenthal, J., “Hiwi al-Balkhi: A Comparative Study”, *JQR* 38 No. 3 (1948), p. 328 note 52; *ibid.* 38 No. 4 (1948), p. 424 note 133; *ibid.* 39 No. 1 (1948), p. 80 note 176.

Page 35

7 **The tree of life was the antidote to the tree of knowledge** Here - as well as in the case of other interpretations whose source is not to be easily identified - it can be assumed, albeit cautiously, that we are in front of one of the Officials’ original contribution to biblical exegesis; the most “canonical” explanation of Gn 3:22 (*cf.* *Genesis Rabba* 9:5 = Rashi *ad loc.*) has God willingly forbidding man to eat from the tree of life lest he mislead people into following him and believing he is a god; *NV* (ed. Berger p. 7 [Hebrew section]) adopts this view while at the same time explicitly referring it to Jesus, and therefore arguing that it is better for men to have been punished with mortality rather than for Jesus to have gained eternal life by eating from the tree of life.

12 **One in this world and one in the world to come** This interpretation of Gn 2:17 can be found in a few late exegetical works such as *Midrash ha-Gadol on Genesis* (14<sup>th</sup> century; ed. Schechter [1902] column 78); *Tikkunei Zohar* (*tikkuna*’ 24; ed. Jerusalem: 1986); ‘*Aqedat Yishaq on Leviticus*, section 68, *parashat* ‘*Emor* (15<sup>th</sup> century; ed. Pressburg: 1669). From the viewpoint of the Christian, this is the proof that all men who died since the times of Adam went down to hell, regardless of their being good or wicked; it was Jesus who, after voluntarily dying for the sake of all humankind, went down to hell and rescued every imprisoned souls; *cf. infra* chapters 10, 98, 18(g).

15 **But the Torah spoke in the tongue of men** *Cf.* *T.B. Nedarim* 3a; also here, chapter 1.

19 **One apostate questioned me** What follows is a quotation from *Leviticus Rabbah* (see below); on the phenomenon of converts from Judaism using Talmudic and midrashic sources in a polemical way, see *infra* my Introduction on the Jewish-Christian debate and especially paragraphs V, VI and VIII (pp. XIX-XXV, XXXIV-XXXVII).

19-20 **You say that the Lord wounds with a knife and heals with a knife** *Cf.* *Leviticus Rabbah*, *parashah* 18 (ed. Margalioth): “R. Berachiyah said in the name of R. Levi: ‘A mortal man wounds

with a knife and heals with a plaster, but as for the Holy One - blessed be He - what He wounds with, He also heals with” (translation is mine).

21-22 **It was also saved by a woman** If this dialogues reflects in any degree a real debate between R. Joseph and a group of catholic priests, it would be more logical to identify the woman here mentioned with Mary , Jesus’s mother, rather than with Eve; as a matter of fact, Christian tradition did not hold in high regard the latter, who had become synonymic with the ideas of temptation and deception already in very early times; so for example 2 Cor 11:3; 1 Tm 2:13-14; Tertullian, *De cultu Feminarum*, PL 001.1303-1305.

*Page 36*

8 **He took all souls out of hell** This refers to the belief that Jesus, after his death, descended to hell and brought back the souls of those who had been righteous since the creation of humankind, and then resurrected on the third day (a doctrine often referred to as Harrowing of Hell). This view has its foundations in a few scattered verses from the New Testament, like Mt 12:40: *Just as Jonah was in the belly of the whale three days and three nights, so will the Son of Man be in the heart of the earth three days and three nights*; or 1 Pt 4:6: *For this is why the gospel was preached even to the dead*; Tertullian (*De Anima*, PL 002.742), Origen (*Contra Celsum* 2:43; in *Ante-Nicene Fathers* vol. 4, p. 448) and other early Church Fathers seem to consider the doctrine wholly orthodox; the apocryphal Gospel of Nicodemus deals with it extensively and even dedicates to Jesus’s descent into hell the chapters from 17 to 27 (*New Testament Apocrypha*, ed. Wilhelm Schneemelcher, trad. R.McL. Wilson [Louisville-Kentucky: Westminster John Knox Press, 2003] pp. 521-30). The belief also constitutes integral part of the Apostles’ Creed.

One of the earliest Jewish polemical works, *Sefer Nestor ha-Komer* (“The book of Nestor the priest”, 9<sup>th</sup> century) already knows and refutes the doctrine of Jesus’s Harrowing of Hell, explaining that he could save neither the good souls nor the damned ones; and also points out that Job 7:9 - *So he who goes down to Sheol does not come up* - excludes any possibility of ever coming back from hell (*El libro de Néstor el sacerdote*, ed. Lasker-Stroumsa [Madrid: Aben Ezra Ediciones, 1998] pp. 55, 98-99). *Sefer ha-berit* (“Book of the covenant”, ca. 1170; from here onward: *Sef. ha-ber.*) by R. Joseph Kimhi (c. 1105 - c. 1170) has the Christian say that, as a consequence of Adam’s sin, all humankind descended into hell, and that Jesus in turn went down to hell to deliver the souls of the righteous ones (ed. Talmage, *Sefer ha-Berit* [Jerusalem: 1974] pp. 23-4); this very belief can also be found in the words pronounced by infamous Pablo Christiani in the presence of Ramban at the Barcelona disputation of 1263 (see the account of the disputation by Ramban itself, or *Wikkuah ha-*

*Ramban*; ed. Chavel, *Kitvei Rabbeinu Mosheh ben Nahman*, vol.1 [Jerusalem: 1971] p. 310; from here onward: *Wik. ha-Ram.*). The so called *Wikkuah ha-RaDaQ* attributed to David Kimḥi (son of the above-mentioned Joseph Kimḥi) is aware that Christians read Ps 24:7 - *Lift up your heads, O gates, And be lifted up, O ancient doors, That the King of glory may come in!* - as a prophecy of Jesus breaking the gates of *gehinnom*, but warns that - even if that had been true - nobody could possibly return from hell (Engl. transl. by Frank Talmage, “An Hebrew Polemical Tractate: Anti-Cathar and Anti-Orthodox” , *Harvard Theological Review* 60 (1967) pp. 342-3; from here onward: *Wik. ha-Rad.*); *NV* (ed. Berger, p.202) is aware of Matthew’s verse (12:40) which likens Jesus’s staying in the heart of the earth to Jonas remaining in the stomach of the whale for three days and three nights; however, the polemicist specifies that Jesus was crucified on Friday afternoon and resurrected on Sunday morning, which indeed amounts to three whole days but to two nights only. Finally, the refutation of Jesus’s descent into hell can also be found in a short, anonymous polemical compilation appearing in Rome (Vittorio Emanuele Library) MS Or. 53, folia 21a-25b; see Judah Rosenthal, “Wikkuah dati ben ḥakham be-shem Menaḥem u-ven ha-mumar ve-ha-nazir ha-dominiani Pablo Christiani”, in M. Zohori, A. Tartakover, H. Ormian, *Hagut ‘Ivrit ba-Ameriqah* vol. 3 (Tel-Aviv: Brit ‘Ivrit ‘Olamit ‘al yede Yavneh, 1974) pp. 61-74 (here pp. 68-69; henceforth: *Rome MS Wik. Dati*).

9 **Considering that all visible curses still persist** Cf. parallel arguments in *Sef. ha-ber* p. 31; *Wik ha-Ram.* vol. 1, p. 310; *Rome MS Wik. Dati* p. 69.

15 **It is His custom to regret** Rosenthal (*Sef. Yos.* p. 37 note 2 to chapter 11) once again emphasizes the similarity between this view and some allegedly gnostic doctrines exposed by Hiwi al-Balkhi; see *JQR* 38 No. 3 (1948), p. 327 note 50; *ibid.* 38 No. 4 (1948), p. 424, note 136.

17-18 **And the same holds true for Saul, Nineveh** Cf. respectively 1 Sam 15:11 and Jon 3:10.

20 **The Egyptian one** The original has מצרים, “Egypt”, a probable allusion to Jesus as performer of magical rituals and expert of witchcraft, which he supposedly learnt during his stay in Egypt; cf. *T.B. Sotah* 47a and *T.B. Sanhedrin* 107b. For extension, Egypt and the Egyptian one can simply be understood as synonym of pagan (a category which also comprises Christians; see *infra* chap. 25 for an overlapping between the sheep sacrificed by the Egyptians on the one side, and Jesus as the lamb worshipped by Christians on the other).

23-24 **The Lord will never really regret, but it is the Torah which spoke in the tongue of men** Cf. Ibn Ezra on Gn 6:6; Ibn Parḥon, *Mahberet ha-‘arukh* (ed. Pressburg: 1844) on the entry “*naḥam*” (נחם) p. 40a.

27 **These words do not trouble their intellect** Also *Sef. ha-ber.* explains that the attribution to God of physical features is to be understood as a mere metaphor (p. 34).

31 **As we have found with regard to Moses** Cf. Ex 32:14: *So the Lord changed his mind about the punishment he had threatened to inflict on his people.*

Page 37

2-3 **He had a consolation for He had made man upon Earth and not in heaven** Cf. Rashi *ad loc.*: “It was a consolation to Him that He had created him [man] of the earthly beings, for had he been one of the heavenly beings, he would have caused them to rebel” (= *Genesis Rabba* 27:40).

3 **That is, in the heart of Adam** Cf. Bible commentary *Pa'neah Raza* by R. Isaac ben Judah ha-Levi (14<sup>th</sup> century; ed. Warsaw: 1932) on *parashat Bereshit*.

3-4 **I regret having made Saul king [1 Sm 15:11], here there is no difficulty...** Saul indeed had already lost God's favor early in his life, cf. 1 Sam 16:14: *Now the Spirit of the Lord departed from Saul, and an evil spirit from the Lord terrorized him.*

7 **And if the Holy One promised that He would do good to a certain man...** Cf. *T.B. Berakhot* 7a: “R. Johanan further said in the name of R. Jose: ‘No word of blessing that issued from the mouth of the Holy One, blessed be He, even if based upon a condition, was ever withdrawn by Him’” (ed. Soncino).

17 **It is nothing but a metaphor** Cf. parallel argument in *Mil. ha-Shem* (ed. Rosenthal, pp. 26-27) where the Christian opponent explains that Jerome had already illustrated the merely metaphorical value of God's prescription concerning food and pork especially; the latter is considered impure only inasmuch as it loves to wallow in the dirt and in the mud, while remaining completely edible; cf. also Jerome, *Commentariorum in Evangelium Matthaei* PL 26.110 ff.

22 **Those who eat swine's flesh** An accusation often levelled by Jewish polemicists against Christians; see *Mil. Ha-Shem* ed. Rosenthal, p. 114; *NV* ed. Berger, p. 69, 144, 148 (Hebrew section).

26-27 **Just as among plants some are suitable for consumption** Cf. Hezekiah ben Manoah's *Hizkuni* (c. 1240) on Gn 9:3; ed. R. Moshe M. Aron (Jerusalem: 1992).

Page 38

1 **These are those three powers of theirs** See parallel argument in *Mil. ha-Shem* (ed. Rosenthal p. 46): here the Christian opponent, in commenting God's epiphany of Gn 18:1-10, points to the recurrent switches between singular and plural, a clear hint of the Trinity; also cf. Ibn Ezra *ad loc.*

4 **This is the interpretation of R. Sa'adiah** Cf. *Ha-'Emunot we-ha-De'ot* by Sa'adiah Gaon, ed. David Slutzky (Leipzig: 1864) p. 46; Sa'adiah explains that, even though Abraham addressed the three men saying “my lord”, it does not imply that he was speaking to God; on the contrary, he was merely using an elliptical and secretive expression which stood for “Angels of the Lord”.

6 **Therefore they must have split up** Ibn Ezra on Gn 18:1 reports the opinion of some interpreters who believe that God first appeared to Abraham in “prophetic disguise” (במראות נבואה), then Abraham lifted his eyes and saw three men; one went to inform Sarah about Isaac’s birth, while the other two went to Sodom to save Lot.

7 **Great men** Radaq *ad loc.* explains that Abraham bowed to them, because they looked to him like great men.

18 **They perform their sacrament from bread and wine** Cf. parallel argument in *NV* (ed. Berger, p. 46): “The heretics say that this refers to Jesus; the bread refers to his body and the wine to his spilled blood”; the view that this verse prefigures Christian Eucharist was already expressed by Clement of Alexandria in his *Stromata* 4:25 (*Ante-Nicene Fathers*, ed. Roberts-Donaldson, vol. 2, p. 439) and by Cyprian (c. 200 - 258) in one of his *Epistolae* (*Epistola* 64, PL 004.375-377). See Peter of Blois, *Contra Perfidiam Iudaeorum*, PL 207.859: “Huius sacramenti quasi sacramenta fuerunt panis et vinum a Melchisedech rege et sacerdote oblate, atque in pane et vino hoc sacrificium celebratur, Christo instituyente, qui est *sacerdos in aeternum secundum ordinem Melchisedech* [Ps 110:4]”.

20 **“Melchizedek was priest; and Abraham gave him a tenth of all”** Cf. Heb 7:1-3, where Melchizedek is seen as Jesus’s archetype, being *without father, mother, or ancestry, without beginning of days or end of life; thus made to resemble the Son of God, he remains a priest forever* (Heb 7:3); the giving of the tenth to Melchizedek/Jesus by Abraham represents the abrogation of levitical priesthood in favor of a new priest *who has become so, not by a law expressed in a commandment concerning physical descent but by the power of a life that cannot be destroyed* (Heb 7:16); therefore, the direct consequence of this renewed service appears quite clear: *On the one hand, a former commandment is annulled because of its weakness and uselessness, for the law brought nothing to perfection; on the other hand, a better hope is introduced, through which we draw near to God* (Heb 7:18-19).

22 **Actually, Abraham was priest** Cf. *T.B. Nedarim* 32b for the view that Abraham was made priest instead of Melchizedek because the latter had given precedence in his blessing to Abraham over God, as it is written: *You are a priest forever, according to the order of Melchizedek* (Ps 110:4) - meaning, because of the words of Melchizedek; cf. also Rashi and Ibn Ezra on Ps 110:4.

23-24 **And these [enemies] were Amraphael and his fellowmen** See Gn 14:1 ff.



26-27 **And that is why the king of Salem brought out bread and wine for him, so as to give Abraham the tenth part of the bread and of the wine** Actually most commentaries hold the view that it was Abraham who gave Melchizedek the tenth part of all (*cf.* Rashi *ad loc.* = *Genesis Rabba* 44:7); an exception is represented by Radaq *ad loc.*, who points out that Abraham did not even want to *take so much as thread or a sandal strap* (Gn 14:23) from the King of Sodom after defeating him; and if he did not want to take anything for himself, how could he give to others?

Page 39

10 **And thus He let him be** Again, for the view that this defense of God's omniscience and omnipotence may actually reflect a polemic against gnostic doctrines, see Rosenthal, *JQR* 38 No. 3 1948, p. 327 note 51; Rosenthal *loc. cit.* points out that the idea of a God who needs to test Abraham in order to be sure of his loyalty suggested Marcion and Simon Magus the possibility that He was not omniscient.

11-12 **The Lord only asked Abraham to let Isaac go up that hill** *Cf.* Rashi on Gn 22:2: "He did not say to him: 'Slaughter him', because the Holy One, blessed be He, did not wish him to slaughter him but to bring him up to the mountain, to prepare him for a burnt offering, and as soon as he brought him up [to the mountain], He said to him: 'Take him down'". *Cf.* also *Genesis Rabba* 56:8.

23-24 **Your father Jacob was a thief** This is quite a strong accusation towards Jacob's morality, especially considering the inclination of Christian exegesis to see Jacob as the archetype of the whole Christian people for his having received the birthright formerly belonging to the older Esau - who had in turn become the symbol of the Jewish people losing their primacy and God's favor; *cf.* Rabanus Maurus, *Commentariorum in Genesim*, PL 107.583.

26 **The literal interpretation of Joseph Bekhor Shor** This must be a mistake on the part of the author, as already suggested by S. J. Halberstam, "Le livre de Joseph le Zélateur. Notes et Mélanges" in *REJ* 4 (1882) p. 148. See Joseph Bekhor Shor *ad loc.*; his interpretation does not actually linger on any moral issue, being quite practical: by asking Esau to sell him his birthright, Jacob both allows his brother to live on and not starve to death - according to Bekhor Shor, they both were in a cave, distant from the city; and Esau had no other means to feed himself - and makes sure that he will be the one inheriting Abraham's rule and possessions; for after all he does not love his brother more than he loves himself. See Joseph Bekhor Shor, *Perush 'al ha-Torah. Heleq 'aleph, Ber'eshit - Shemot* (Jerusalem: 1956) p. 28.

28-29 **Thus I am giving you a mere compensation** Rashbam on Gn 25:33 seems to be the actual source of this interpretation, and not Joseph Bekhor Shor; *cf.* also *Da'at Zeqenim* on Gn 25:31-32; *Pa'neah Raza ad loc.*

Page 40

2 **Just like merchants are still accustomed to do** This can indeed be found in Bekhor Shor's commentary on Gn 25:31 (Jerusalem: 1956; p. 28) but quoted as an interpretation that he personally rejects, though supported by other commentators; like for example Rashbam on Gn 25:33 and *Pa'neah Raza ad loc.*

9 **Jacob was deceitful in his contract with Laban** The Talmud itself already defends Jacob's conduct, with this dialogue between Rachel and Jacob: "He said to her: 'Will you marry me? She replied: 'Yes, but my father is a trickster, and he will outwit you'. He replied: 'I am his brother in trickery'. She said to him: 'Is it permitted to the righteous to indulge in trickery?' He replied: 'Yes: *with the pure thou dost show thyself pure and with the crooked thou dost show thyself subtle* [2 Sam 22:27]" (*T.B. Megillah* 13b, ed. Soncino); after all, it was Laban who had first deceived Jacob into lying with Leah instead of Rachel.

Also, it is interesting to notice that the Targum Onqelos on Gn 27:35 - *When Isaac said, "Your brother came here by deceit and carried off your blessing"* - replaces deceit (*mirmeh*) with "wisdom" (*hokhmata*).

*Cf.* also Judah he-Hasid's *Sefer Hasidim*, ed. Wistinetzki (Berlin: 1891) p. 446, where, in defense of Jacob's behavior, it is stated that: "One who despises a precept - such as the binding of a *sefer Torah*, or the blowing of the shofar, or the chanting and the public lecture - and no assembly can reject him, for he is a powerful man or has powerful allies; [in this case] a righteous man can deceive him [...] so that a given precept will not be detrimental to another one" (translation is mine). For a Christian apology of the patriarchs' general conduct in the narrative of Genesis, see John Chrysostom, *De Sacerdotio*, PG 48.629-630: "Neque solum in bellis sed etiam pacis tempore, magnum necessariumque fraudis usum esse comperias, nec tantum ad civitatis negotia, sed et ad domestica: viro adversus uxorem, uxori adversus virum, patri in filium, amico in amicum, imo etiam filio in patrem".

Also, Jacob's appeal to Laban to let him leave even without a reward makes of him the perfect model of meekness, according to John Chrysostom: "Considera quantum valeat mansuetudo: ne perfunctorie dictum transeamus, sed attende quomodo iustus neque cogitaverit, neque mentionem fecerit, neque requisierit mercedem laborum"; *Homiliae in Genesim (continuatio)* PG 054.495.

27-28 **And all the ones born earlier, in winter, were Jacob's...** These verses are usually translated in a different manner: *but with the weaker animals he would not put the shoots there. So the feeble animals would go to Laban, but the hardy ones to Jacob* (Gn 30:42); my translation takes into consideration both the author's apologetic intent towards Jacob and - as pointed out by Rosenthal in his *Sefer Yosef* - Sa'adiah Gaon's commentary on the Torah. Sa'adiah explains that *the ones born earlier* (heb. *ha-qšurim*) refers to the animals who were born in the month of Tishrei (September-October); while *the ones that gave birth later* (heb. *u-we-ha-'atif*) indicates the month of Nisan (March-April; see *Sef. Yos.* ed. Rosenthal, p. 42 note 4 to chap. 17; see also *ibid.* for a list of sources which - in contrast with Sa'adiah's interpretation - report that the Hebrew expression *u-we-ha-'atif* refers to the winter months, while *ha-mequsharot* indicates the months of summer).

*Page 41*

2 **They killed them after they had been circumcised** The Torah is quite clear about the reason lying behind this episode: *Then the other sons of Jacob followed up the slaughter and sacked the city because their sister had been defiled* (Gen 34:27); Simeon and Levi's daring revenge of their sister Dinah, however, causes their father to curse them both on his deathbed: *Cursed be their fury so fierce, and their rage so cruel! I will scatter them in Jacob, disperse them throughout Israel* (Gen 49:7).

Targum Pseudo-Jonathan already feels the need to justify Simeon and Levi's behavior: "And Shimeon and Levi answered that it would not have been fit to be said in the congregations of Israel that the uncircumcised polluted the virgin, and the worshippers of idols debased the daughter of Jacob: but it is fit that it should be said: 'The uncircumcised were slain on account of the virgin, and the worshippers of idols on account of the daughter of Jacob. Shechem son of Hamor will not (now) deride us with his words'" (Gen 34:31).

'*Arugat ha-bosem* ed. Urbach, vol. 1 (Jerusalem: 1939) pp. 215-216 quotes an unknown midrash in which Simeon and Levi's actions are justified in the eyes of the Lord, because the Israelites are circumcised in God's name and in respect of His precept; while the sons of Shechem accepted circumcision only for the sake of prostitution, as it is written about Dinah: *Should our sister be treated like a prostitute?* (Gn 34:31).

The Church Fathers seem to have dedicated little attention to the massacre committed by Simeon and Levi, the narrative probably not being fit for moral edification; Cyril of Alexandria (c. 376 - 444) reproaches the two brothers for giving up to intemperance and anger, and counters their conduct with the saying by Jesus concerning the sword: "*Put your sword back into its sheath, for all*

who take the sword will perish by the sword” (Mat 26:52); patience, rather than violence, is befits the pious ones (*Glaphyrorum in Genesim*, PG 69.280-281).

3 **The sons of Shechem were in pain** See Gn 34:25

3-4 **They regretted [being circumcised]** Cf. *Hadar Zeqenim* on Gn 34:25: the Shechemites regretted accepting circumcision, and resorted to their old ways and to idolatry.

18 **And why did he fear descending into hell, if not because everyone would go there?** Yet another reference to the Christian belief that Jesus saved all the souls trapped in hell in the time period elapsed between his death and his resurrection; see here chapter 10 and comment. Cf. also parallel arguments in *Mil. Ha-Shem* (ed. Rosenthal, pp. 49, 51-52); *Rome MS Wik. Dati* (pp. 68-69) and *NV* (ed. Berger, pp. 57-60), which report the interpretation given by Rashi *ad loc.* that *she'ol* in this case means grave and quote Job 14:3 as proof text. Also biblical commentaries such as *Pa'neah Raza' ad loc.* and *Hadar Zeqenim ad loc.* (the latter not in the printed version, but according to MS Bodleian OR. 604, fol. 17b; quoted in Israel Lévi, “Manuscripts du Hadar Zeqenim” *REJ* 49 [1904] p. 35) are aware of the Christian interpretation of this verse.

Augustine wonders what can actually be inferred from this verse concerning hell, and if really everybody was condemned to descend into it; or if, on the contrary, Jacob was just using a rhetoric hyperbole to describe his grief: “Solet esse magna quaestio, quomodo intellegatur infernus; utrum illuc mali tantum, an etiam boni mortui descendere soleant. Si ergo tantum mali, quomodo iste ad filium suum se dicit lugentem velle descendere? Non enim in poenis inferni eum esse credit. An perturbati et dolentis verba sunt, mala sua etiam hinc exaggerantis?” *Quaestiones in Heptateuchum*, PL 34.582.

24-25 **And Joseph had indeed pronounced slanders** Cf. Rashi on Gn 37:2.

32 **Has she become righteous for prostituting herself to him and for getting pregnant?** Cf. Gn 38:24.

Page 42

8 **Therefore she is worthier than me** Cf. Rashbam and Joseph Bekhor Shor on Gn 38:26.

12 **They spoke irreverently about the verse He crossed his hands** Cf. parallel arguments in *Mil. Ha-Shem* (ed. Rosenthal, p. 50) and *NV* (pp. 59-60).

Novatian (c. 220 - 258) explains that not only the sign of the cross in Gn 48:14, but also Jacob's blessing *ibid.* 48:15-16 - which gives God the attribute of an angel, as if associating Him a human counterpart - are a clear prefiguration of Jesus's ministry and passion (*Treatise concerning the Trinity*, chapter XIX; in *Ante-Nicene Fathers* ed. A. Cleveland Coxe, vol. 5 [1886] p. 631).

Augustine makes no mention of either the sign of the cross or of Jesus's passion, but he sees in Ephraim, the younger son, a symbol of the Christians, receiving Jacob's blessing in the place of the older brother Manasseh (who in turn represents the Jewish people; *De Civitate Dei* PL 41.520-521). See also Isidore, *Quaestiones in Vetus Testamentum*, PL 83.277; and Pseudo-Bede, *In Pentateuchum Commentari*, PL 91.273.

22 **[They say that Shiloh is] their Messiah** A veritable cornerstone in the domain of Jewish-Christian polemics of the Middle-Ages; for a summary of the reception of Gn 49:10 among Christian exegetes, see Posnanski, A., *Schiloh: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Messiaslehre*, (Leipzig: 1904) pp. 288-449; see also Blumenkranz, B., *Juifs et Chrétiens dans le Monde Occidental 430-1096* (Paris: Mouton & Co., 1960) pp. 227-237; *NV* (ed. Beger, pp. 249-251).

25-26 **And brought up nothing but a potsherd in their hands** Cf. *T.B. Bava Kamma* 91a.

26-27 **Because ever since Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon, exiled Zedekiah, king of Judah, there has not been for us a messiah anointed with anointing oil** This is probably the most widespread and effective refutation of the Christian interpretation of Gn 49:10: Judah's last kings had been crowned many years prior to Jesus's birth, therefore the verse cannot refer to him; cf. parallel arguments in *Wik. ha-Ram.* (ed. Chavel, vol. 1, p. 304); *Mil. Ha-Shem* (ed. Rosenthal, p. 50-51, 54); *NV* (ed. Berger, p. 60); Moses ben Solomon of Salerno (quoted in Posnanski, *Schiloh*, appendix p. XXI).

One of the first Christian attempts to argue against this pretension - namely, that Judah's and generally Israel's political supremacy had already come to an end by Jesus's times - dates back to Justin Martyr (c. 100 - c. 165) and can be found in his famous *Dialogue with Trypho*, chap. 52: "Moreover, that in your nation there never failed either prophet or ruler, from the time when they began until the time when this Jesus Christ appeared and suffered, you will not venture shamelessly to assert, nor can you prove it. For though you affirm that Herod, after whose [reign] He suffered, was an Ashkelonite, nevertheless you admit that there was a high priest in your nation; so that you then had one who presented offerings according to the law of Moses, and observed the other legal ceremonies; also [you had] prophets in succession until John, (even then, too, when your nation was carried captive to Babylon, when your land was ravaged by war, and the sacred vessels carried off); there never failed to be a prophet among you, who was lord, and leader, and ruler of your nation For the Spirit which was in the prophets anointed your kings, and established them. But after the manifestation and death of our Jesus Christ in your nation, there was and is nowhere any prophet: nay, further, you ceased to exist under your own king, your land was laid waste, and forsaken like a lodge in a vineyard" (*Ante-Nicene Fathers* vol. 1; p. 221).

The view that Gn 49:10 can imply any sort of leadership, not necessarily a monarchic one, can be found in the Talmud itself; see *T.B. Sanhedrin 5a*, where the *scepter* of Gn 49:10 (heb. *ševet*) is interpreted as “the Babylonian exilarchs who rule Israel with their staff”; Joseph Kimḥi (cf. *Sef. haber.* ed. Talmage p. 36) supports the idea that *ševet* (and *meḥoqeq*, “ruler”, cf. Gn 49:10) imply a form of power inferior to a kingdom, which is also proved by the Latin rendition of *meḥoqeq* as *Dux* in the Vulgate.

An attempt at harmonizing the verse with the actual history of the Jews - so as to support its validity as a prophecy about Jesus and its coming - is also made by several other theologians and clergymen who lived in times closer to the period of our disputations; see in particular the exhaustive treatment of this issue by Fulbert of Chartres, *Tractatus contra Judaeos* PL 141.308-318; according to Fulbert, Judah’s kingship has endured in various forms until Herod, who was the first non-Jew to hold Judah’s scepter: “Cum ergo videritis, o Judaei, sceptrum Juda in manus regis alienigenae transmutatum, hoc certo signo Christum venisse cognoscite [...] non fuit in sorte tribus Juda rector nisi de genere legitimo usque ad tempus Herodis alienigenae qui post Hircanum regnavit Hyerosolimis sub Cesare Augusto. Quo tempore natus est Dominus Jesus in Bethlehem Judae”, PL 141.309. So also Peter of Blois, *Contra Perfidiam Judaeorum*, PL 207.842; Alan of Lille, *Contra Haereticos*, PL 210.412; Peter the Venerable (c. 1092 - 1156), *Tractatus adversus Iudaeorum Inveteratam Duritiem*, PL 189.562.

32 **He was first among the standards** Cf. Nm 10:14 and Ibn Ezra *ad loc.*

34 **It was David who led out...** David in quality of descendent of Judah’s tribe.

*Page 43*

1 **And afterwards he was made king** Cf. 1 Chr 11:2.

2 **A king shall not be a ruler or prevail until he [actually] becomes king** This exegesis and the following metaphor seems to imply an underlying kingship which can manifest itself either by official appointment (e.g. David’s crowning) or by acts of value and heroism (i.e. David’s accomplishment during Saul’s kingdom); in any case serving God is a permanent duty: a temporary removal of kingship is not equivalent to the passing of God’s favor to another people.

8 **Shiloh sank and was destroyed** Cf. Ibn Ezra *ad loc.*: “And some interpret it with reference to the city of Shiloh, and infer the meaning of [*until Shiloh*] *comes* (heb. *yavo*) from the verse *When the sun sets* (heb. *u-va*) [Lv 22:7], and say that *until Shiloh comes* is equivalent to [until] the end of Shiloh, as it is written: *He abandoned the dwelling place at Shiloh*” (translation and italics are mine).

8-9 **And as soon as Saul - who descended from Ephraim son of Joseph - was killed** Cf. Ibn Ezra on Gn 49:10 in Friedlander, M., *Essays on the Writings of Abraham ibn Ezra*, vol. 4, Hebrew Appendix (London: 1877) p. 68, note 1: “Saul was a Benjamite; neither Ibn Ezra nor his pupil could therefore have said that the word שבט אפרים referred to Saul. It is more probable that one of the copyists made a mistake, and wrote זה היה אחר שנהרג שאול instead of זה היה שנהרג, “This (i.e. the rejection of the tribe of Ephraim) took place after the death of Saul and his sons”.

17 **That is, the King Messiah** Cf. *Targumim, T.B. Sanhedrin* 98b and Rashi *ad loc.*

28 **[Jesus] “will lead them astray”** Cf. the longer version of MS R (see critical apparatus): “Furthermore, you shall reply: take the first letters of every word from the beginning of the verse: *lo yesh mum ra' ka-yeshu* [i.e there is no blemish worse than Jesus]”. This interpretation is attributed to R. Joseph Qara by the uncensored version of *Hadar zeqenim*; cf. Lévi, I. “Manuscripts...” in *REJ* 49 (1904), p. 36; see also parallel argument in *NV* (ed. Berger, p. 60).

*Page 44*

1 **Our great-uncle R. Joseph of Chartres** He was Nathan the Official's uncle, also presented in chapter 56 as brother of the wife of Joseph of Étampes (Joseph the Official's grandfather); he is further presented as such in chapter 88; see on R. Joseph ben Asher of Chartres: *Gallia Judaica* pp. 603-604 and Kahn Z. in *REJ* 1 (1880), pp. 238-239, 246. Kahn *loc. cit.* assumes that he flourished around the years 1200-1210, and Gross consequently hypothesizes that he was probably born within the decade 1160-1170; his elegy on the York massacre of 1190 must then have been composed in his young age; cf. Haberman, A. M., *Gezirot 'Ashkenaz we-Tzarfat* (Jerusalem: 1946) p. 152.

In R instead of Joseph we find the name Matatiah of Chartres; see *Gallia Judaica*, p. 603; also cf. the excerpt from the Munich Talmud Manuscript (Cod hebr. 95) quoted in Berliner, *Pleiṭat Soferim* p. 29, where the same debate as the one found in chapter 24 is attributed to R. Nathan and R. Matatiah of Chartres.

6 **The archbishop of Le Mans** On Le Mans - once the capital of the province of Maine, now capital of the Sarthe department - cf. *Gallia Judaica* pp. 362-363.

It is hard to identify which archbishop *SYM* is referring to; considering that the Officials had their *floruit* around the years 1240-1260, it is not perhaps completely unreasonable to suggest an identification with “Geoffroi de Loudon (1234-55) whom Gregory IX made papal legate for the entire Kingdom of France, and who, in 1254, consecrated the cathedral of Le Mans and founded the superb monastery of Notre-Dame du Pare d'Orques, where he was interred and where miracles were wrought at his tomb” (Goyau, G. “Le Mans” in *The Catholic Encyclopedia*. New York: Robert

Appleton Company. Retrieved May 5, 2015 from New Advent: <http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/09143b.htm>).

6-7 **That lamb which the Lord ordered you to eat for Pesach** Christ as the Paschal lamb who redeemed all humankind by atoning for their sins through his own sacrifice, is a concept that makes its appearance already in early Christian literature; see for example 1 Cor 5:7; 1 Pt 1:19 and especially Jn 1:29 and 1:36; see also Justin Martyr, *Dialogue with Trypho* chapter 111: “For the passover was Christ, who was afterwards sacrificed, as also Isaiah said, ‘He was led as a sheep to the slaughter.’ And it is written, that on the day of the passover you seized Him, and that also during the passover you crucified Him. And as the blood of the passover saved those who were in Egypt, so also the blood of Christ will deliver from death those who have believed” (*Ante-Nicene Fathers* vol. 1; p. 254).

9 **R. Nathan son of Rabbeinu Meshullam** As stated here, he is Joseph’s own great-grandfather; around the years 1160s, he signed - together with his father R. Meshullam ben Nathan of Narbonne - a response addressed to R. Eliezer ben Nathan of Mainz (c. 1090 - 1170); cf. Urbach, *Ba’alei ha-Tosafot*, p. 111. He was also active in raising money for the Jews of Blois who in 1171 were accused of murdering Christians whose blood they would reportedly use for their own rituals, such as the preparation of matzah bread (Chazan, R., “The Blois Incident of 1171: a Study in Jewish Intercommunal Organization”, *Proceedings of the American Academy for Jewish Research* 36 [1968] p. 23).

9-10 **The thing is renowned: sheep were divinities for the Egyptians** This must be read as a mockery of the naïve Christian audience; also Rosenthal suggests that these lines should be seen as a sharp parody of Jesus as the paschal lamb and his sacrifice (see his edition, *Sef. Yos.* p. 46 note 6). The remarkable thing is that this parody is based on Exodus 12, where it is recounted of the first Passover ever instituted. Thus, in this reading of the episode, the lamb is the idol worshipped by the Egyptians, just like Jesus is the idol of the Christians; the lamb is slaughtered at dusk, while Jesus’s death brings about darkness all over the earth; finally, just like the Egyptians see the lamb roasted on the fire and say that he ascended to heaven, so also the Christians see Jesus’s lifeless body on the cross and declare that he delivered himself and ascended to heaven. See also the resemblance between this reading and the interpretation by Ibn Ezra as reported in *Da’at Zeqenim* on Ex 12:9.



1 **Thus the wagon slanted on one side only** Cf. *Hadar Zeqenim* on Ex 14:25: “Some interpret and say that the angel removed one wheel only, therefore he drove it [i.e. the wagon] with a difficulty greater than if he had removed both wheels” (translation is mine).

6 **What sign was there in that the waters** Justin Martyr (*Dialogue with Trypho* 86; *Ante-Nicene Fathers* vol. 1; p. 242) seems to see in the stories of Genesis and Exodus an enduring, symbolical relationship between water on the one side and trees or wooden rods on the other, signifying that the waters of purification (such as baptismal water) and Jesus’s cross are prefigured as intertwined elements.

21 **They say that it represents the wood of the cross** Cf. Justin Martyr, *loc. cit.*; Augustine, *Quaestiones*, PL 034.615-616: “et per lignum aquas dulces fecit, praefigurans gloriam et gratiam crucis”; Rabanus Maurus, *Commentariorum in Exodum*, PL 108.76: “Mittit lignum Moyses in aquas: et factae sunt dulces. Intellige amaras aquas occidentis litterae et legis habere figuram: quibus si immittitur confessio crucis, et passionis Dominicae sacramentum jungatur, tunc efficitur aqua amara suavis”.

Cf. also parallel argument in *NV* (ed. Berger p. 65), where the wood (i.e. the cross) is what actually rendered the waters bitter; by getting rid of it and throwing it deeper into the sea, Moses then renders the waters sweet again.

27 **They speak impertinently about the question of the Cherubs** See ‘*Eikhah Rabbah, ptihta*’ 9 (ed. Buber [Vilna: 1899]) where it is recounted that, when the Ammonites and the Moabites entered the Temple (see Lam 1:10), they found two Cherubs, brought them around the city like idols and reported that even the Israelites practiced idolatry. Several Christian writers saw in the Cherubs the proof that Jews were adorers of images: see for example Stephen of Bostra (7<sup>th</sup> century; quoted in John of Damascus, *Pro Sacris Imaginibus*, PG 94.1275 B-D); Anastasius of Sinai (7<sup>th</sup> century; *Disputatio adversus Iudaeos*, PG 89.1234 C-D); Gilbert Crispin (c. 1055 - 1117; *Disputatio Iudaei cum Christiano*, PL 159.1034).

29-30 **And the example of the cherubs is not to be found either in the heavens or on earth** According to Maimonides (*Moreh ha-Nevukhim*, book 3. chap. 45; ed. Joseph Kapach) the physical image of the two cherubs carved on the Ark was necessary to inculcate in the masses belief in the angels, and consequently in God, the ultimate source of the prophecy and of Torah itself; on the other hand, *T.B. ‘Avodah Zarah* 43b is quite clear about the prohibition to imitate higher entities and heavenly ministries.

See also parallel argument in *NV* (ed. Berger p. 73), where the Christian remark that the bronze serpent made by Moses is at all effect an image is countered with *Mishnah Ketubot* 2:2 - “The mouth which prohibited is the same mouth that permitted” - and is followed by a general invitation

not to “scrutinize the commandments of the Creator, blessed be he, on the basis of human reason” (*ibid.*).

33 **But the Cherubs were concealed from sight** Menachem Mendel Kasher’s commentary on Ex 20:4 (*Torah Shlemah*; vol. 16 [Jerusalem: 1992] p. 34) quotes this interpretation by R. Joseph and later (*ibid.* pp. 325-6) opposes it by pointing out that the Cherubs were not hidden inside the temple, and that on the contrary the priests used to roll up the veil of the ark and allow the pilgrims to see the them (*cf. T.B. Yoma 54a*); Kasher (*ibid.*) also reminds that the Torah warned against hidden idols: *Cursed is the man who makes an idol or a molten image, an abomination to the Lord, the work of the hands of the craftsman, and sets it up in secret* (Deu 27:15).

Page 46

7 **The way it was created, with legs** *Cf. Genesis Rabba 20:5* and Rashi on Gn 3:14.

9 **Cluny** *Cf. REJ 3* (1881) p. 13 and *Gallia Judaica* p. 594; in the year 1245, in Cluny, a veritable disputation took place between a rabbi and a royal knight in front of the highest-ranking personalities of the time: pope Innocent IV, king Louis IX and emperor Baldwin II of Constantinople (the account is found in *The life of St. Louis* by chronicler John de Joinville [1224 - 1317]; transl. by Rene Hague [London & New York: Sheed & Ward; 1955] pp. 35-6). The rabbi’s remark that Mary (Jesus’s Mother) has neither sacredness nor a relevant theological role, is followed by a violent reaction on the part of the knight, who injures his opponent and causes the other Jews to run away out of fear of being hurt in turn. It must however be pointed out that the encounter here described took place in Moulins, and not in Cluny; it is nonetheless curious that the next chapter of *SYM* (30) deals precisely with the issue of worshipping Mary.

9 **Moulins** *Cf. Gallia Judaica* p. 316.

12-13 **Also on Shabbat** *So Sifra’* (ed. Weiss; *tazriy’a, parashah 1, chap. 1:2*) and *Pitron Torah*, ed. Urbach (Jerusalem: 1978) p. 39.

16-17 **How can you give heed to the words of the servant...** *Cf. T.B. Qiddushin 42b* and *T.B. Baba Kama 56a*.

19-20 **And should Moses even abrogate one thing that is found in the Torah...** *Cf. T.B. Yevamot 90:2*: “Come and hear: Unto him ye shall hearken, even if he tells you: ‘Transgress any of all the commandments of the Torah’” (ed. Soncino).

22 **It was asked: “... cursed since forever”...** As Rosenthal suggests (*Sef. Yos.* p. 48 note 3), the partial erasing and corruption of this marginal annotation was maybe due to the fear of censorship. This is the version of the passage as it appears in R folio 18b (see also here the critical

apparatus): “The bishop of Sens asked: ‘Why do you call the Friday before Pesach cursed Friday?’ [R. Nathan] answered: ‘It is indeed true that this is a cursed day for us, as you say; but if he [i.e. Jesus] had been a deity and you had believed in him for having [actually] become your god, why then would he have said to you things that were not true? Therefore, [this day] is cursed for you, for believing in a man that was hanged and for saying that he was a god. And your prophet Balaam said: *God is not a man, that he should lie* [Nm 23:19] - that is to say, a man is such that he would lie’. And the bishop fell silent”.

25 **Because your god was hanged** The view that Jesus was hanged on a tree - in contrast with the explicit crucifixion described by the gospels - is quite ancient; *cf.* the harsh words used by Peter in addressing the Sanhedrin in Acts 5:30: “The God of our fathers raised up Jesus, whom you had put to death by hanging Him on a tree (gr. ὃν ὑμεῖς διεχειρίσασθε κρεμάσαντες ἐπὶ ξύλου)”.

*Page 47*

1 **Meaux** *Cf. Gallia Judaica* p. 340-341; Berliner, *Pleitat Soferim* p. 31 (9).

3 **Do you believe in her [like she was God]?** The case of Jews marveling at the Christian worship of Mary is attested at least twice in eastern patristic literature; in the so-called *Teaching of Jacob* (written in Palestine between 634 and 640; French translation consulted in *Patrologia Orientalis* 8 [1912] pp. 778-779; *cf.* also Lukyn-Williams, *Adversus Judaeos*, p. 155-6) a certain Jew of Tiberias - introduced as a very learned rabbi and expert of the Law - wonder why Christians magnify Mary and asks how they can say that she descended from David and Judah; after all she is just a woman, the daughter of Joachim and Anna; she is not *Theotokos* (i.e. “God-Bearer”), and Christians must be discouraged from believing that she came from heaven.

The other occurrence is in the *Dialogus contra Judaeos* by Andronicus Comnenus (14<sup>th</sup> century), where the doubts and the remarks raised by the Jew concerning Mary, her lineage and her role as God-Bearer (*deipara*) are quite similar to the arguments of the *Teaching of Jacob*: “Quid tantopere Mariam extollunt Christiani, Cherubinis augustiorem, Seraphinis sine comparatione digniorem, coelis sublimiorem, solaribus radiis puriorem appellantes? Siquidem femina est Davidicae gentis, Anna matre, Joachimo parante nata, qui Pantheri fuit filius” (PG 133.860).

3-4 **I am asking you why you do not supplicate to her so as to help you against the hanged one** If we understand correctly, the bishop is suggesting R. Nathan to address a prayer to Mary, so that she will intercede for him before Jesus (and God); this request is paralleled by Nathan’s remark that it is indeed admissible to plead one’s own cause, but only before God, as Abraham did; no intermediary whatsoever must be involved in the process.

20 **A time superior to twenty years and inferior to sixty** That is to say, the Jews in the desert were perfectly able to keep the count of the forty years spent wandering; therefore, how could they not realize that the golden calf had no connection whatsoever with the flight from Egypt, which had taken place three months before? Cf. Ramban on Ex 32:4: “*These are your gods, O Israel, who brought you up from the land of Egypt* - this verse also teaches us; for not even the stupidest man in the world would ever think that this gold, which was attached to their ears, was that which brought them out of Egypt; still they said that the power of that shape brought them up from there. And behold, in no place [of the Scripture] you will find that it is said concerning the lamb that it brought us out of Egypt, for they are aware of Him who said: *I am the Lord your God who brought you out of the Land of Egypt* [Ex 20:2] - for it was His magnificent Name who brought them out of there” (translation and italics are mine).

26-27 **Make us a leader and a guide that will go before us in place of Moses** The view that the molten calf had replaced Moses into guiding the Israelites to the promised land can be found already in the commentaries by Ramban and Ibn Ezra on Ex 32:1.

31 **This was a great prodigy** According to Rashi *ad. loc.* this was certainly an act of witchcraft: “As soon as they had cast it into the fire of the crucible, the sorcerers of the mixed multitude [cf. Rashi on Ex 12:38] who had gone up with them from Egypt came and made it with sorcery”.

Page 48

2-3 **This was the divinity that emanated from Moses** This important specification is absent in the parallel argument of *NV* (ed. Berger, p. 67), where the debate is between R. Nathan himself and a group of priests; it is only said: “perhaps the spirit of God has entered it and it possesses the holy spirit”; so also *Rome MS Wik. Dati* (ed. Rosenthal, pp. 69-70). *Rome MS Wik. Dati*, however, adds a further interpretation: the calf is to be put in relation with the vision experienced by Aaron, Nadab, Abihu and seventy of the elders of Israel on top of the mountain in Ex 24:10, where they saw God’s throne carried by the four beasts described in Ez 1 (so also Ibn Ezra on Ex 24:10). The calf reminded the Israelites of the bull (one of the four beasts), and therefore they worshipped it. See also the interpretation given by the *Zohar* (*parashat Hayyei Sarah* folio 126a), according to which “an earthly side (סטרא תתאה) - coming forth from the spirit of impurity which is above - it’s a spirit of impurity which rules over the desert; when the sons of Israel built the calf, it was so as to become impure through it, for it is an earthly thing; he did his magic so that h could destroy Israel, but he failed” (translation is mine).

22 **And it would have meant just one single hand** This probably means that it only takes one hand to make the sign of the cross, while the verse explicitly mentions both hands. On the patriarchs allegedly making the sign of the cross, see also *infra* chap. 22.

29 **For it is not written: “this you will not eat among the swarming animals”** One could even venture into saying that this might imply a defense on the eventuality of eating the mentioned animals - surely not by choice, but out of material necessity; further evidence is, however, lacking.

Page 49

6 **It was *ḥarbah* [i.e. Mary]** Cf. Ibn Ezra in his introduction to the Torah: “This is the way of the sages of the uncircumcised ones, who say that all the Torah is made of riddles and parables; this holds true for all the things that are said in the book of Genesis, and also for the precepts and the statutes [...] *When a woman conceives* - in their view, it alludes to their house of prayer and to the number of the days of her [i.e. Mary’s] impurity” (translation and italics are mine).

The polemical debate on Lv 12:2 outside of *SYM* has focused more on the issue of impurity than on Jesus’s alleged brothers and sisters; cf. *Wik. ha-Rad.* p. 345, *Rome MS Wik. Dati* p. 70 and *NV* (ed. Berger p. 44) where it is emphasized that it is not true that Jesus’s birth was not accompanied by defilement, since Christians themselves admit that Mary brought to the Temple the customary sacrifice (two turtle-doves or two pigeons) of a woman who had had an impurity issue (see Lk 2:22-24). Augustine (*Quaestionum in Heptateuchum*, PL 034.696) says that this was done out of habit, so as to respect the Law; and not out of a real necessity of expiating any sin whatsoever.

12 **Friar Garin** The manuscript tradition of *SYM* has preserved several variants to his name: גירין (H); גורין (R); גרא (*Pleitaṭ Soferim* p. 32). An attempt at a precise identification is, probably, quite desperate; Zadok Kahn (*REJ* 3 [1881] p. 13 note 6) and Rosenthal in his edition (p. 52 note 1 to chap. 34) suggest, as alternate reading to Garin, a possible Geronimus/Hieronimus. A certain Franciscan friar by the name of Roger Guerin is reported as buying buying around the year 1333 “the Cenacle on Mount Zion and some land to build a monastery nearby for the friars” (Michele Piccirillo, “Franciscans” in *Encyclopedia Judaica* vol. 7 p. 173), therefore a further rendering “Guerin” is not to be excluded.

20 **And the daughters of Zelophehad constitute proof** Cf. *infra* chap. 38 and 54.

26 **What did the bronze serpent represent, if not the hanged one?** See Jn 3:14: *And just as Moses lifted up the serpent in the desert, so must the Son of Man be lifted up.*

Cf. also Ginzberg, *Legend of the Jews*, vol. 4 (Philadelphia: The Jewish Publications Society of America, 1913) p. 115, note 658: “In the patristic literature the serpent of brass ‘put upon a pole’ is

symbolic of the crucified Jesus; comp. e.g. Justin *Dialogue* 91, 94, 112 and 1 *Apologia*, 60; Tertullian, *De Idol.* 5; *Adversus Marcion* 3.8 and *Adversus Judaeos* 10” - and with regard to this very passage of *SYM*, Ginzberg writes: “The statement of R. Nathan that this serpent was nothing else but Moses’ rod which was turned into a serpent (comp. Exod 4.3) is found in no other source” (*ibid.* p. 116).

See also parallel argument in *Mil. ha-Shem* (ed. Rosenthal, p. 56) where the comparison between Jesus and the serpent is described in detail: Jesus is the healing serpent, who cures the original bite of the snake (i.e. original sin); just like those who looked at Moses’s serpent were healed, so also those who believe in him will receive eternal life and will not descend into hell, as they did before his coming.

*Page 50*

4        **R. Abigdor son of R. Isaac** Cf. *REJ* 3 (1881), p. 3 and Louis Ginzberg, “Abigdor ben Isaac” in *Jewish Encyclopedia* vol. 1, p. 59; cf. also Rosenthal, *Sef. Yos.* p. 53 note 1 to chapter 36; he may be identical with “Abigdor the Frenchman” mentioned in MS Munich 92, from which it would seem that our Abigdor was an adherent of Cabala. He is probably son of R. Isaac ben Abigdor, who composed the *selihah* prayer for Yom Kippur known as *yarse som 'amkha*, “may Your people long for fasting”. Ramban, writing to the Jewish community of Béziers, mentions the rabbis Isaac and Abigdor, who are probably to be identified with our R. Abigdor and his father, the composer of the above-mentioned *selihah*. Finally, Abba Mari in his *Minhat Qena'ot*, mentions one R. Isaac ben Abigdor, living in Lunel around 1305; it is reasonable to suppose that he was R. Abigdor’s son.

4        **The chancellor of Paris** Cf. *infra* chap. 8 and commentary.

4        **R. Yehiel** R. Joseph’s teacher and the protagonist of the Paris disputation of 1240; cf. *infra* chap. 59 and my Introduction.

4        **And R. Isaac** No rabbi by the name of Isaac appears in the Jewish account of the Paris disputation (English paraphrase consulted in Maccoby, Hyam, *Judaism on Trial. Jewish-Christian disputations in the Middle Age* [Rutherford: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press; London: Associatd University Press, 1992] pp. 153- 162); nor is the blood libel discussed in Paris; therefore this account must refer to a different episode.

5        **You are the ones who drink the blood of the uncircumcised** A fairly recent accusation; Israel Jacob Yuval argues that the so called blood-libel (the one explicitly involving Christian blood and its consumption and/or use for ritual purposes) appears in the 12<sup>th</sup> century, and is to be viewed as consequence of Christian masses directly witnessing Jewish behavior and communal life

beginning with the Crusades period; what probably impressed Christian knights the most was the Jews' willingness to commit martyrdom (*qiddush ha-shem*) rather than face conversion, with the head of the family killing his own children (and wife); according to Yuval, Christian reports of the event were distorted so as to imply that, if Jews could kill with such ease their own children, surely they could even murder their enemies' children; cf. Yuval, I. J., *Two Nations in Your Womb: Perceptions of Jews and Christians in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages* (University of California Press, 2006) pp. 143-154.

In his *Bonum universale de Apibus*, Thomas of Cantimpré (1201 - 1272) provides quite a destabilizing account of what he believed was an established system devised by the Jews in order to collect Christian blood: "Hinc igitur videndum est, cur Iudaei secundum consuetudinem, in omni provincia, quam inhabitant, Christianum sanguinem fundant. Certissime enim compertum est, quod omni anno in qualibet provincia fortes mittunt, quae civitas vel oppidum, Christianum sanguinem aliis civitatibus tradat"; as promised, Thomas illustrates the reason why the Jews need Christian blood on an annual basis: it is because when Pontius Pilate declared himself innocent of Jesus's execution, the Jews answered: "*His blood is on us and on our children*" (Mt 27:25) thus cursing themselves to the point that "[...] videtur quod ex maleditione parentum currat adhuc in filios vena facinoris, per maculam sanguinis: ut per hanc importune fluidam proles impia inexpiabiliter crucietur". What follows is of a certain interest: a very learned ex-Jew who had converted to Christianity in recent times ("litteratissimum Iudaeorum nostris temporibus conversum ad fidem") warned against an individual who was nearly held in account of a prophet among the Jews, and who had predicted that no cure could heal the skin sores that affected them "nisi solo sanguine Christiano. Quod verbum caeci semper Iudaei e impii rapientes, induxerunt omni anno in omni provincia fundendum sanguinem Christianum, ut tali sanguine convalescant". But they did not understand correctly, because the quasi-prophet surely did not mean the blood of any Christian, but Christ's blood (i.e. conversion and presumably the taking of Holy Communion): "[...] illum sanguinem, qui in salutem peccaminum quotidie funditur in altari: quem, quicumque nostrum conversus ad fidem Christi, sumpserit ut decuerit, mox fanatur ab illa maledictione paterna"; Liber secundus, caput 29, § 23, (Duaci: ex Typographia Baltazariis Belleri, 1627) pp. 304-305.

What is of interest with regard to our disputations, is that around 1240 Thomas was given the title of "Pracher General", and the scope of his missionizing activities encompassed Germany, Belgium and France (see O'Connor, John Bonaventure. "Thomas of Cantimpré" in *The Catholic Encyclopedia*. Vol. 14); and in particular, it has been suggested that Thomas's work and activities may have influenced Nicholas Donin - a convert from Judaism who denounced the blasphemy of the Talmud before pope Gregory IX in 1238 and later represented the Christian front in the Paris

disputation of 1240 - into promulgating blood libel charges in Paris (see Shatzmiller, Joseph, "Did Nicholas Donin promulgate the blood libel?" [Heb.] in *Mehqarim be-toldot 'am Israel ve-'eres Yisrael mugashim le 'Azriel Shoe*, vol. 4 [Haifa: 1978] 175-82; not seen, quoted in Roth, Norman, "Blood libel" in *Medieval Jewish Civilization: An Encyclopedia* [New York: Routledge, 2003] pp 119 ff.).

6 **And they stood still and did not answer** The silence of R. Abigdor and R. Isaac is probably due to the relative novelty of the accusation, which clearly falls outside of the long-established apologetic repertoire; R. Joseph therefore defends them by quoting Is 44:25 on God being able to confound even the wise ones.

10-11 **That lion or lioness is metaphorically compared to it** And consequently, even the image of blood being drunk by Israel/the lion is to be understood metaphorically; this passage is taken from the oracle of the Lord proclaiming Israel's victory over his enemies, and is referred to Balak, king of Moab, by the diviner Balaam (*cf.* Nm 23:16 ff.).

Also *NV* (ed. Berger, p. 229-230) reports the blood libel charge in its explicit form (i.e. actual blood consumption): "The heretics anger us by charging that we murder their children and consume the blood". The refutation is here based on a series of scriptural passages, first and foremost the commandment *Do not murder*; and also on the specification that even the most unmistakable precepts apparently encouraging indiscriminate murder (such as *Do not leave a soul alive* [Dt 20:16]), had in fact a very circumscribed validity; moreover, it is argued that no nation fears contact with blood more than Jews, as it is testified by the laws of kashrut. It is finally maintained that Christians are merely trying to justify their use of violence against the Jews, thus implying that Christian themselves were aware of their accusation actually being nothing but groundless pretexts.

18 **The pope** The pope's name - Gregory (heb. גריגוריא [P] or גריגוייא [H]) - is mentioned only in chapter 92 (in the marginal addition); his identification has been object of debate, mainly in connection with the dating of the work: Gregory IX was pope from 1227 to 1241, which would be consistent with the activity of R. Nathan the Official spanning from the years 1220s to the years 1240s; on the other hand, Gregory X was pope from 1271 to 1276, which would oblige us to postpone Nathan's debate with the Pope - if not the Officials' activity as a whole - by several years, and to assume that the meeting took place when Nathan - who was probably born around the year 1200 - was already more than 70 years old. For the view - supported by Zadok Kahn and others - that R. Nathan debated with Gregory X around 1273-1274, see *REJ* 1 (1880), p. 230 and *ibid.* 3 (1881), p. 11; for the assumption that pope Gregory mentioned in *SYM* is actually Gregory IX, *cf.* Rosenthal, *Sef. Yos.*, Introduction, pp. 17-18. For a general attempt at dating the work, see *infra* my considerations on *SYM*'s text and composition pp. LVI - LXI.



18 **“Who was that star?”** The Christian exegesis of the verse was inclined to see in the star a prefiguration of Jesus; *cf.* Cyprian, *Testimonia*, PL 004.704; or, for a record much closer to the times of *SYM*, *cf.* Peter the Venerable, *Adversus Iudaeorum inveteratam duritiem*, PL 189.586: “Non enim cometes, qui regna mutare dicitur, vel quodlibet praefulgidum sidus, Christo nostro secundum carnem de Israel exurgente ortum est, sed stella sideribus cunctis splendidior, ipsiusque solaris fulgoris aemula non cuiuslibet, sed ipsius tantum nativitatem praesagans eluxit”.

*Cf.* parallel argument in *NV* (ed. Berger, p. 73).

20-21 **Therefore it will destroy the whole world, for everybody descended from Seth** So Rashi *ad loc.*

22-23 **During his days, Edom will be in exile** Presumably, during the days of Israel’s triumph, as stated in the continuation of the verse: - *While Israel will act valiantly* - and as explicitly said in *NV* p. 73; the verb for “will be in exile” is here conjugated in the feminine form (תגלה), thus referring to a feminine subject; Jastrow’s dictionary on “Edom” explains that the term, when used as a feminine, refers mainly to Rome and, by extensions, to the Christians in general. For Esau as representing Christianity in the Jewish exegesis of this verse see Cohen, G., “Esau as a Symbol in Medieval Jewish Thought”, *Jewish Medieval and Renaissance Studies*, ed. A. Altmann (Cambridge - Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1967) p. 22.

25 **When he makes himself into a god** *Cf.* *T.B. Sanhedrin* 106a: “R. Simeon b. Lakish said: ‘Woe unto him who maketh himself alive by the name of God’” (ed. Soncino); see also on this Talmudic passage: Herford, R. Travers, *Christianity in Talmud and Midrash* (London: 1903) p. 76: “And it is hard to see what purpose there could be, in the present example, other than that of making a covert allusion to Jesus, who had declared - according to the Gospels - that he should rise from the dead, of course by the power of God”. See especially *ibid.* pp. 63-64, where a passage of Yalqut Shim’oni (§ 766) is reported according to the Salonica edition of 1527 (later expunged for fear of censorship): “God gave strength to his [Balaam’s] voice, so that it went from one end of the world to the other [...] that there was a man, son of a woman, who should rise up and seek to make himself God [...] Balaam said: ‘Alas, who shall live, of that nation which heareth that man who hath made himself God’”.

29 **It refers to Rome** The ethnonym *Kittim* has designated the Roman enemy at least since the time of the Qumran scrolls, *cf.* *Roma e la Bibbia*, ed. Piero Capelli (Brescia: Morcelliana, 2011) pp. 240-243; *cf.* also *Targum Yerushalmi* and Rashi *ad loc.*

This identification must have further consolidated thanks to the impact on medieval imagery of *Sefer Yosippon* (10<sup>th</sup> century), where the Kittim - together with the Edomites or Iduemans - are presented as the Romans’ forefathers (see Joshua Holo, “Byzantine-Jewish Ethnography: a

consideration of the Sefer Yosippon in Light of Gerson Cohen's 'Esau as Symbol in Early Medieval Thought'", in *Jews in Byzantium: Dialectics of Minority and Majority Cultures* [Leiden: Brill, 2011] pp. 924-925). See also the Vulgate translation *ad loc.*: *venient in trieribus de Italia superabunt Assyrios vastabuntque Hebraeos et ad extremum etiam ipsi peribunt* (Num 24:24).

No place is left for doubt regarding the Romans' final destiny, and - on reading here about the Pope's dramatic reaction - one even wonders if this verse would not sound like an ill-fated omen hovering over the outcome of both the Crusades and the Christians' preaching activity in general.

30 **"It refers to David"** So Rashi *ad loc.* and NV (ed. Berger, p. 73, lines 28-31).

*Page 51*

1-2 **It will tear down all the sons of tumult (*sha'on*)** An alternative reading to Rashi *ad loc.*, which identified the *Sheth* of Nm 24:17 with the antediluvian patriarch; in Joseph's words, the *shet* here mentioned is to be read as "tumult" - such is, for example, the rendering of the word in the Revised Version of the Bible - with a meaning similar to the *sha'on* of Jer 48:45; and in both cases these terms represent a reference the city of Moab.

R adds: "Further, you shall answer based on the verse: 'And it will tear down all the sons of tumult' - this implies that [the Messiah] will rule over the whole world, while the yoke of abomination [i.e. Rome] has so far extended his kingdom to eleven nations only; this verse does not refer to him [i.e. Jesus]".

7 **The Bishop [and Chaplain]** My addition to the translation - Chaplain - emphasizes the service he specifically performed for the king, whereas "Bishop of the king" would probably sound awkward, at best.

Rosenthal (*Sef. Yos.*, p. 55 note 1) interestingly suggests a possible identification with Godefridus de Blanello (Gaufridus de Blevello, or Geoffrey of Bellevelle), whom Solomon Grayzel (quoted *ibid.*; *The Church and the Jews in the XIIIth century* [Philadelphia: 1933] p. 31) precisely defines as Chaplain to the king and indicates as one of the judges in the Paris disputation of 1240; he is also quoted in a letter dated 1239 sent by pope Gregory IX to "the bishop, and to the Prior of the Dominicans, and the Minister of the Franciscan Friars in Paris" where he appears to have taken part in the committee appointed to investigate the Talmud and its alleged errors (see *ibid.* p. 277).

7 **King Louis** Both P and H have לו, which appears to be an abbreviation of Ludovicus, the Latin name of Louis IX; *cf.* also *REJ* 1 (1880), p. 231, n. 3.

8 **He answered: "She is my cousin"** *Cf.* *REJ* 1 (1880), pp. 241-242: "Notre ms. fournit encore un détail de famille concernant R. Nathan. Il avait épousé sa cousine germaine, peut-être la

fille de son oncle R. Joseph de Chartres. Ce mariage lui attira plus d'une fois les observations et les railleries de ses amis du clergé, ce qui ce comprend aisément au point de vue du moyen âge chrétien, où l'Eglise interdit d'une façon si rigoureuse les mariages consanguins, même à un degré de parenté plus éloigné que celui de cousins germains”.

Roman civil law recognized four degrees of prohibited kinship: 1) parent with child; 2) siblings; 3) uncle or aunt with nephew or niece; 4) cousins. However, starting from the early 9<sup>th</sup> century, the Western Church increased the degrees from four to seven, thus forbidding marriage to anyone up to and including a sixth cousin; finally, the Fourth Lateran Council of 1215 restored the old regulation of civil law and its four degrees of prohibition; see Bouchard, Constance B., “Consanguinity and Noble Marriages in the Tenth and Eleventh Centuries”, *Speculum* 56 No. 2 (1981), pp. 269-271; also: *The History of Medieval Canon Law in the Classical Period. 1140-1234*, ed. Hartmann W., Pennington K. (The Catholic University of America Press, 2008) p. 377.

8 **Friar Garin** Cf. *infra* chap. 34.

10 **We already mentioned the case of the daughters of Zelophehad** Cf. *infra* chap. 34.

18 **And where do you know this from?** H here corrects P and has the bishop ask Nathan this question, so that what follows - the quotation from Isaiah further proving that 'adam can refer to both men and women - is Nathan's answer; it seems however more likely that Nathan was teasing the bishop into pronouncing the scriptural passage he already expected to hear from him, and therefore he compliantly asks him: “And where do you know this from?”. As it becomes clear shortly afterwards - “I already grasped the loftiness of your spirit” - Nathan already knew what interest the bishop had in proving that 'adam can refer to both men and women.

22-23 **You interpret irreverently what is written: and upon the likeness of a throne...** The bishop's emphasizing of the ambiguous nature of the term 'adam applied to Ez 1:26 can maybe understood in the light of Gregory Thaumaturgus's (c. 213 - c. 270) interpretation of the verse, which sees in the *likeness of a throne* and in the *appearance of a man* respectively a prefiguration of Mary's womb and an embryonic Jesus (*Homiliae Quatuor* PG 010.1158-9).

It must be said, however, that Nathan's refutation is quite generic; it does not necessarily proves that the bishop was referring to the above-mentioned exegesis nor that Nathan himself was actually aware of it.

27 **And the accent constitutes further evidence** As already noted by Rosenthal in his edition (p. 56 note 3 to chap. 39), the accent in question is actually a *gershayim* (◌◌), a disjunctive cantillation accent.

In any case, the observation made by the author is not invalidated: the last *damut* mentioned - the one I translated as *the vision of a man*; the term recurs three different times in this verse only - bears

an accent that indicates a pause, and must therefore be part of the following narrative unit. The reason why I translated it *the vision of a man* (in place of the more common *appearance* or *figure of a man*) is to try and preserve the ambiguity between subjective and objective genitive, on which Nathan is relying; according to Nathan, it is the *man* (subject) who sees: “like a man who could look upwards in his height...” - therefore the expression would describe a generic, human way to look upwards; on the contrary, according to the common understanding of the verse, the *man* is what others see above the throne, thus making of him the object of this vision.

Page 52

1 **The chancellor of Paris** Cf. *infra* chap. 8 and commentary.

4 **What repulsion and what obscenity could there ever be?** Unsurprisingly, the strictness of Jewish regulations on contact with the dead appears exaggerated and unjustified to the eyes of the Christians; Jerome (*Epistula 109* consulted in *Nicene and post-Nicene Fathers*, second series, vol. 6, p. 212.) ,writing in the year 404 to Riparius (presbyter of Aquitanie) concerning Vigilantius - who had preached against the worship of holy relics - warns against behaving like the Jews, who see pollution and defilement not only in corpses, but also in any vessel found in the same house.

5 **The holy R. Elijah, brother of R. Joseph** Mentioned only here and in the genealogy located after chapter 106, where Joseph says that he drew “from the honey” of his brother; which, as Kahn already pointed (*REJ* 1 [1880], p. 245), would lead one to expect to see his name quoted more often in the manuscript. More importantly, from his appellation “the holy” (heb. *ha-qadosh*) it appears that he died as martyr, or more correctly for “the sanctification of the name” (heb. *qiddush ha-Shem*), though the circumstances are unknown. Steinschneider published an excerpt from a 14<sup>th</sup> century manuscript of Berlin’s University library (M. Steinschneider, *Die Handschriften-Verzeichnisse der Königlichen Bibliothek zu Berlin*, vol. II [Berlin: 1897] p. 73; MS n° 223, 14<sup>th</sup> century) where “Elijah son of Nathan” is mentioned as teacher of R. Samuel ben Solomon of Falaise, who also took part in the Paris disputation of 1240 (cf. *Gallia Judaica*, p. 478 ff.)

10-11 **And everything else must be aspersed on the third and on the seventh day** Cf. *Mishnah Kelim* 2, 1; *Avodah Zarah* 75b.

16 **The priest [and confessor] of the queen** As Rosenthal suggests in his edition *ad loc.*, he is probably to be identified with William of Auvergne, bishop of Paris from 1228 until his death in 1249; cf. Grayzel, *The Church and the Jews*, p. 30 and especially note 55 p. 31; he also took part in the Paris disputation of 1240 in quality of judge.

18 **If so, then he would not be fit to enter the assembly** Cf. parallel arguments in *Rome MS Wik. Dati* p. 66, where Nathan's remark that *the sons of Esau who lives in Seir and the Moabites* (Dt 2:28-29) actually came and sold food and water to the Jews is pronounced by a cardinal, and Nathan consequently is left speechless; also cf. a shorter version in *NV* pp. 77-78 and see especially *ibid.* p. 230, where it is explicitly stated that the Talmud is necessary for the Christians too: how could they otherwise explain how Jesus - whom they believe to be David's descendent - could have entered the assembly? The question of Jesus's ancestry and its linkage to Rut the Moabite was already raised by Jerome and Isidore, cf. *NV* p. 343.

22 **The whole matter as it appears in tractate Yevamot** Cf. *T.B. Yevamot* 69a, 76b.

Page 53

7 **Behold, these are the three figures** Cf. parallel argument in *NV* (ed. Berger p. 78), where it is argued that the following verse - *You shall love the Lord your God with all your heart* - intentionally reduces the names from three to two, so as not to encourage belief in the Trinity.

So Isidore, *De Fide Catholica* PL 083.457 on Dt 6:4: "Patet Veteris Testamenti apicibus, Patrem, et Filium, et Spiritum sanctum esse Deum. Sed hinc isti Filium, et Spiritum sanctum non reputant esse Deum, eo quod in monte Sina vocem Dei intonantis audierunt: *Audi, Israel, Domimus Deus tuus, Deus unus est* (*Deut.* VI, 4); ignorantes in Trinitate unum esse Deum, Patrem, Filium, et Spiritum sanctum, nec tres deos, sed in tribus personis unum nomen individuae majestatis".

7-8 **And thus also: The Mighty One, God, the Lord** Cf. *infra* chap. 53 and commentary.

19 **Thus [Zechariah] spoke** Cf. parallel argument in *NV* (ed. Berger p. 97): "In that day, the Lord shall be one and his name one' [Zech. 14:9]; i.e., no name of a foreign god shall be mentioned, not that of Jesus nor that of Muhammad but only that of the Lord, blessed be he"; see also *ibid.* p. 135. See also Rashi on Dt 6:4.

27 **Houses full of all good things, and thus also bacon** Cf. *T.B. Hullin* 17a, where R. Jeremiah argues that, if during the seven years of conquest even bacon was allowed (as stated by R. Jeremiah ben Abba in the name of Rab) all the more so the flesh of a stabbed animal was also fit for consumption.

29 **The war of the seven nations** The war mentioned in *T.B. Hullin* 17a, however, is defined as seven years of conquest (בשבע שכתשו), which Rashi *ad loc.* further defines - based on *T.B. Arachin* 12b - as "the seven years of the conquest and the seven during which the land was distributed"; the "war of the seven nations" commonly refers to the conflict against the seven peoples - six of which are mentioned in Dt 20:16: *the Hittites, Amorites, Canaanites, Perizzites, Hivites, and Jebusites,*

plus the Girgashites - the annihilation thereof constituted a *milhemet mitzvah* (“compulsory war”) according to Maimonides’ *Mishneh Torah (Hilkhoh Melakhim, chap. 6, halakha 4; ed. Jerusalem: 1974).*

30 **Why then did the Lord wait to proclaim the laws of *hagalah*...** I.e., the practice of immersing kitchen utensils into boiling water so as to make them suitable for the preparation of kosher food. Since this precept is proclaimed already in Nm 31:22-23 - and Midian is precisely the last war which took place before its enunciation - it would seem that with the expression “the war of the seven nations” the author is referring to the various conflicts that Israel faced in the wilderness as they are expounded in the book of Numbers (starting from chap. 14) and up to the war against Midian (chap. 31).

*Page 54*

4 **Étampes** Nathan ben Meshullam - Nathan the Official’s grandfather - lived in Étampes; *cf. infra* chap. 25 and commentary.

5 **And that you alone, a minority among the people...** The argument of Christian numerical majority versus Jewish minority enjoyed high popularity among Church Fathers; for an exhaustive analysis of this doctrine and the Jewish counterarguments to it, see *NV* (Berger’s edition, commentary pp. 269-271).

12 **They speak irreverently and say that those tablets were broken** *Cf. Tractatus contra Judaeos*, PL 057.794, attributed to Maximinus, the Arian bishop of Hippo (5<sup>th</sup> century); see on him Lukyn-Williams, *Adversus Judaeos*, pp. 306-311. Lukyn-Williams also quite interestingly suggested (*ibid.* p. 307 note 1) that an anti-Jewish exegesis may have been inspired by some midrash, such as *Exodus Rabba (parashah 46, chap. 1 on Ex 34:1)*: “[Moses] started regretting the shattering of the tablets, and the Holy one - blessed be He - said to him: ‘Do not feel sorry about the first tablets, which bore nothing but the Ten Commandments alone; in the second tablets that I am giving to you there will be also halakhot, midrash and aggadot, as it is written: *May [God] tell you the mysteries of wisdom! For sound wisdom has two sides [Jb 11:6]* - and you only have to rejoice, for I forgave you your turning away, as it is said: *Know that God overlooks some of your iniquity [ibid.]*’” (translation and italics are mine).

19 **For Israel was not worthy of them** *Cf. T.B. Shabbat 87a*: “‘He broke the Tables’: how did he learn [this]? He argued: If the Passover sacrifice, which is but one of the six hundred and thirteen precepts, yet the Torah said, there shall no alien eat thereof: here is the whole Torah, and the Israelites are apostates, how much more so!” (ed. Soncino); so also Rashi on Ex 32:19.

23-24 **For Moses had not been ordered to do so** *T.B. loc. cit.* expresses precisely the opposite view: “And how do we know that the Holy One, blessed be He, gave His approval? Because it is said, which thou brakest [Dy 10:2], and Resh Lakish interpreted this: All strength to thee that thou brakest it” (ed. Soncino).

Page 55

2 **And nothing He promised regarding the goods of the world to come** As already pointed out for the arguments in chapters 8 and 11, also here Rosenthal emphasizes the similarity between this view and some heretic and gnostic doctrines such as those expressed by Marcion and Hiwi al-Balkhi; *cf. JQR* 38 No. 3 (1948), p. 339 and *ibid.* note 99; also, *cf. ibid.* for the suggestion that question n° 12 of the third chapter of *'Emunot we-De'ot* by Sa'adiah Gaon - “Neither reward nor punishment in the world to come is to be found in the Torah” - may be either of Christian origin or attributed to Hiwi himself. See also Marcion (quoted *ibid.*): *coeleste regnum non predicatum est apud creatorem (Adversus Marcionem, III, 24)*. *Cf.* also parallel argument in *NV* pp. 79-80 and the commentary *ibid.* p. 266.

4 **For he only decreed the exile as our punishment** Rewards and punishment as expounded in Dt 11 are as a matter of fact entirely mundane: they consist in either inheriting the land and live in abundance and richness - if Israel follows God's precepts - or in being exiled from it - should they practice idolatry.

6 **Trye** The original has a problematic טריט, of difficult identification, *cf. Gallia Judaica* p. 243 and *REJ* 3 (1881) p. 16 note 1; H reads Troyes (טרוייש)

19 **He vows to grant grace and long days** Contrary to one's expectations, the Christian pretension that the Bible says nothing regarding the world to come is cautiously overlooked; the promise of long days and grace is metaphorically compared to the promise a king makes to his servant for the mere purpose of motivating him, while nothing is said concerning the substantiality of the oath itself. This is probably symptomatic of a lesser importance attributed to eschatological concerns within the circle of the Officials; or at least by Joseph himself, who here speaks in the first person.

Page 56

5 **And when I was young** In H, this conversation is attributed to “Asher, son of Nathan”, allegedly yet another son of R. Nathan Official, together with Joseph and “the holy R. Elijah”. He is

never mentioned either in P or in R, and in H he appears in what are originally marginal annotations to P, in the place of the first singular or plural person (which usually designates R. Joseph himself): see in the critical apparatus the marginal annotations to chapters 91 (located after chapter 85) and 96.

D. Simonsen had already quite convincingly argued (*REJ* 4 [1882] pp. 146-147) that the suppression of R. Asher's name in the earlier P might be due to modesty, and his identity - as well as Joseph's - is actually concealed in the poem that closes the *Wikkuah Yehi'el* in the later H.

5 **Montchauvet** Cf. *Gallia Judaica* pp. 337-338.

8-9 **Nothing except what you offer in sacrifice before it dies [a natural death]** Cf. Dt 14:21: *You shall not eat the carcass of any animal that has died of itself.*

12-13 **He did not order them to sacrifice any game** Cf. *T.B. Zevahim* 34a, where a distinction is made between animals or cattle (*behemah*) and beasts of chase (*hayyah*); sacrificing the latter is not "regarded as having flouted his orders, but as having added thereto" (ed. Soncino) and therefore it is considered valid, though not necessary.

21 **They speak impertinently and say that it was Jesus** The Christological interpretation of Dt 18:15 and 18:18 dates back to early Christian literature, see Acts 3:22-23 and 7:37; see also Cyprian, *Testimonia* PL 004.688. For a record much closer to the times of our disputations, see Peter of Blois, *Contra Perfidia Judaeorum*, PL 207.83: "Hoc Judaei de Josue, et non de Christo intellexerunt. Ut autem hoc de Christo et non de Josue dictum scias, vide historiae seriem, nec in aliquo dubitabis".

See also parallel argument in *NV* p. 74 and Berger's commentary *ad loc.* for a more exhaustive list of patristic works interpreting Dt 18:15, 18 in a Christological sense.

22-23 **The verse says: like you, therefore he was not God** That is to say, *like you* refers to Moses, to whom the Lord is speaking; a human prophet, not a god. This counterargument already appears with some slight variations in *Sef. ha-ber.* (ed. Talmage, p. 37) and *Mil. ha-Shem* (ed. Rosenthal p. 60; here it is also postulated that, if the Scripture really refers to Jesus, then it means either that he is like Moses in every respect, a human being born of a man and a woman; or that *A prophet like me will the Lord your God* [Dt 18:15] refers to another god, who created Jesus and to whom Jesus himself is inferior and subjected. At all events, the Lord will be the one *raising him up*, and He will be superior to the other entity).

*NV* (ed Berger, pp. 74) points out that what is said in Dt 18:18-19 clearly applies to a human prophet: "[...] this prophet has the power to speak only what his Creator commands him and puts in his mouth; he himself cannot speak or command anything on his own authority [...] This clearly describes a prophet and not a god".



27 **Ressusciter** French for “to revive”; the Vulgate uses the verb *suscitare*, which can also mean “to revive”.

32 **And if you say: “That was true until Jesus’s birth”, behold it is written: *Never again*** *Sef. ha-ber* p. 37 explains that prophecies are nearly always formulated to be pronounced in the future, therefore it is said: *Never again a prophet like Moses has arisen* using the past (*has arisen*) instead of the future (*will arise*), so that this prophecy may be repeated generation after generation and find permanent fulfillment.

*Page 57*

6 **King David was Moses’s disciple** The view that David’s words must be understood in the light of Moses’s teachings is present also in *Sef. ha-ber* (ed. Talmage p. 27) and in *NV* (ed. Berger, p. 133); it is also expressed by Radaq’s commentary on Ps 15:5, where it is argued that, when it comes to Christians, it is completely legitimate to take interest from them, as long as they are aware of it and consenting - while stealing is of course prohibited; to Jews, on the other hand, it is admissible to lend money without interest, for a loan is even better than a gift, which many would be too ashamed to accept. With a goy, however, both a gift and a loan without interest would be inappropriate, for most goyim hate Israel; if however a goy acts favorably towards a Jew and oblige him, then Israel is compelled to return the favor. Thus concludes Radaq: “I went into detail on this topic for your sake, so that you may find an answer to those Christians (heb. *nošrim*) who argue that David did not differentiate between Israel and a goy, and that all kinds of interest are forbidden. However this is not possible, for David did not forbid what Moses our teacher had allowed in the name of God; and behold, the Torah said: *you will neither add nor take away from it* [Dt 13:1]” (ed. Jerusalem: 1959; translation and italics are mine).

As Berger points out in his commentary to the passage (p. 291), polemicists probably counted on Christian exegetes not becoming aware of *T.B. Makkot* 24a, where Ps 15:5 is interpreted in the most restrictive sense, thus forbidding Jews from taking interest from Gentiles as well.

10 **R. Moses from Paris** Cf. *Gallia Judaica* pp. 513-4, for the view that this Moses is to be identified with R. Moses son of R. Yeḥiel son of R. Matatia of Paris; he probably lived around the half of the 12<sup>th</sup> century. He seems to have been an adherent of the *peshat* exegetical method, and his additions to the commentaries of Rashi and Rashbam on the Torah are reported by his alleged pupil Gabriel in MS 103 of the Breslau Seminary Library; the latter, moreover, seems to have personally met R. Abraham ibn Ezra around the year 1158.

10-11 **Did not Obadiah remove this brotherhood?** The same argument - and the same quotations - can be found in *NV* (ed. Berger, p. 133); *Rome MS Wik. Dati* p. 72 reports an unusual exegesis of Dt 23:21, which we may regard as ethical: “But when [the Scripture] says: ‘*You may charge interest on a foreigner*’ [Dt 23:21] this implies a commandment to charge interest on him whose actions have become alien to his Father in the heavens; and after all, you yourselves call us ‘dogs’ and not ‘brothers’”. Now, the interesting fact is that this interpretation seems to derive from *T.B. Zevahim* 22b where, in discussing Ez 44:9 - *No alien, uncircumcised in heart and uncircumcised in flesh, shall enter into My sanctuary* - the periphrasis “he whose actions have become alien to his Father in the heavens” is used precisely to explain why also a Jew might be called “an alien” and be on the same level as an *uncircumcised in flesh* (i.e. a non-Jew).

16 **Until the third generation** *Cf.* Dt 23:9: *Children who were born to them* [i.e. the Edomites] *may come into the assembly in the third generation.*

18 **It is you who lend on an increased interest** In *Sef. ha-ber* (ed. Talmage p. 27) it is pointed out that Christians not only charge interest on both their coreligionists and the Jews, but that - during times of penury - they even sell goods to other Christians for twice the usual price; also *Rome MS Wik. Dati* (Rosenthal, p. 68) remarks that goyim lend on interest to both Jews and goyim alike.

For an exhaustive overview of Christian thought on usury and its legitimacy in the Middle-Ages with a special emphasis on polemical literature, see Rosenthal, J., *Meḥqarim u-meqorot* vol. 1 (Jerusalem: 1967) pp. 275-280; Rosenthal points out that only starting from the very first years of the 13<sup>th</sup> century - and precisely from the 1209 synod of Avignon - the Church officially began treating the issue of Jewish usury, with the word “*judaeus*” and the verb “*judaizare*” becoming synonyms of “*usurer*” and “*to lend on interest*” respectively (*ibid.*, 275-6).

32-33 **And this excludes what you say, namely that He gave a new Torah** *Cf.* parallel argument in *NV* p. 127.

Page 58

5 **You are enslaved to us** As Rosenthal suggests in his edition (note 2 to chapter 51) this may be an allusion to the status of *servi camerae* that befell the Jews of Germany starting from the 13<sup>th</sup> century and especially under the rule of Frederick II (reigned 1220 - 1250); that which had originally started mainly as an offer of protection made by the king against the threat of papal *Plenitudo Potestatis* (“fullness of power”), gradually became a form of economic exploitation, and

the expression came to describe a general condition of serfdom; see *NV* (ed. Berger, introduction pp. 19-20).

7 **Such is the attitude of the Holy One: He repays measure for measure** The exegesis of Dt 32:21 and in particular of what constitutes a *no-people* or a *foolish nation* is expounded by Rosenthal in his edition of *SYM* (*Sef. Yos.* p. 62 note 3 to chap. 51), where he quotes from a series of anonymous compilations from 14<sup>th</sup> century France; the epithet was basically assumed to designate four distinct forms of Christian monasticism: 1) the Franciscans (or *Cordeliers* in French, “those who wear a rope”); 2) the Dominicans (or *Jacobins*, from the name of their convent in Rue Saint-Jacques); 3) the מנועגים, lit. “infected with the plague”, a term probably indicating a retired and solitary type of life and at the same time suggesting an assonance with *monachus* (so REJ, 49 [1904] p. 38); 4) the מגדים, lit. “the banned ones”, probably to be understood in relation with *mendicantes*, mendicant friars.

*Cf.* also *Da'at Zeqenim* and *Hadar Zeqenim* on Dt 32:21; the first refers the verse to both *Cordeliers* and *Jacobins*, while the latter attributes to an unidentified Rivash (ריב"ש) the view that it designates the מגדים - a probable misspelling of מגנים, which, as seen above, stands for *mendicants*.

18 **But Moses did not know Him face to face** H here adds: “And that which is written: *And beholds the image of the Lord* [Dt 12:8] - it is a vision of the back” (*cf. Midrash Tanhuma, parashat Tzav*; ed. Jerusalem: 1958 = Rashi *ad loc.*).

R reports the following: “*No man knows the place of his burial* [Dt 34:6] - therefore, you see that our teacher Moses was greater than Jesus, because all the world knows where Jesus was buried, while concerning Moses nobody knows the place. I have concluded; I found nothing more - neither refutation nor interpretation - in the name of the Great and the Faithful. I will now start writing the refutations [on the rest of] the Scripture”.

#### Page 60

4 **Then the sons of Reuben** As pointed out in the footnote to chap. 53, this whole paragraph does not appear either in P or in H, though P records it in his index under the title: “Three names. Joshua”. Here follows the original Hebrew text of the chapter as it appears in R and as it is reported by Rosenthal (*Sef. Yos.* p. 65):

ויענו בני ראובן ובני גד וחצי שבט המנשה וידברו את ראשי אלפי ישראל : אל אלהים י"י... הוא יודע... אם במרד [ו]אם במעל [יהושע כב-כא]. כאן אומרים הגלחים: ג' שמות כנגד אב ובן ורוח הטומאה. [וי"ל] הלא הוא נולד מגוש עפר מחריא, ולפי דבריכם אין הוא הבן; הלא שלשתן אלהות?

Cf. R. Simlai's words in *T.Y. Berakhot* 9:1, fol. 12d: "The unbelievers asked again: How is it that, according to your doctrines, it is written (Joshua xiii.22): *The Lord God of gods, He knoweth* (does not this indicate that there are several divinities)? In spite of that, replied he, the verb is employed in the singular number (because it treats of a single God). Master, said his disciples, that reply is a forced one: what would you answer to us? These three expressions, replied he, are the attributes of a single name, as people say indifferently, Caesar, Augustus, or Emperor, βασιλεύς" (transl. Schwab, *The Talmuud of Jerusalem*, vol. 1. *Berakhoth* [London: 1886] p. 151).

Cf. also parallel argument in *NV* (ed. Berger p. 81).

15 **Because we marry our own cousins** Cf. *infra* chapters 34, 38 and commentary.

The text in P does not actually read "cousins" but בַּת אָח and בֶּן אָח, "nieces"; so does H, while R reads בֶּן אָח and בַּת אָח, "nephews". I did not emendate the text in the light of this threefold documentary evidence; however, considering the biblical stories reported here and in chapters 34 and 38, I took for granted that the correct reading should be "the daughter of our [father's] brother or sister"; that is to say, our cousin.

For the view that this passage refers to the practice of so-called avunculate marriage (i.e. a marriage between an uncle and his niece), see the works quoted by Rosenthal in his edition: p. 64, note 1 to chapter 54.

22 **Vannes** Cf. *Gallia Judaica* p. 204.

28 **Between her feet he bowed down** *T.B. Yevamot* 103a explains that the expressions *foot* or *feet* (heb. *regel*, *raglaim*) are often to be understood as euphemisms for the genital area, as in the case of *Jgs* 5:27; *T.B. Nazir* 23b says that, based on the recurrence of expressions like "he sunk", "he fell" etc, Sisera had a sevenfold intercourse with Yael; but at the same time, it rules out the possibility that Yael herself derived any pleasure, because "all the favours of the wicked are evil to the righteous" (ed. Soncino). See also *Midrash ha-gadol on Genesis* (ed. Shechter; column 336).

## Page 61

6 **...had he not been in hell?** This statement aims once again to prove that all souls - good and evil ones alike - descended to hell before Jesus's coming; cf. *infra* chap. 10 and commentary. See also Origen, *Selecta in Librum Primum Regnorum* PG 012.1023-1026: "Illud probare nobis in animo est; si omnes qui antem Christum in infernum descenderunt, praecursores Christi, atque prophetae fuere; pari ratione et Samuelem eo descendisse, non simpliciter, sed ut sanctum [...] Eodem pacto et prophetae, et Samuel, quamvis eo descendant, ubi sunt animae quae in infernis,

loco quidem inferius sunt; at non inferius sunt voluntate”. The last sentence seems to imply that every prophet who descended to hell, Samuel included, preserved both his own identity and moral integrity; this way, they are probably set apart from the souls of the damned ones who also were in hell with them.

7 **Joseph of Chartres** Cf. *infra* chap. 24 and commentary.

7 **My father and lord** This reverential epithet - *abba mari* (אבא מרי) in the original - recurs only three times in the whole work: in chapters 56, 61 and 78. It is interesting to notice that in all three cases both H and R replace the unusual appellation with Joseph’s father’s name, “R. Nathan”; this choice is in line both with their using the third person instead of the first (though R often switches from the third person to the first) and is probably aimed at avoiding confusion with the Provençal rabbi Abba Mari (born towards the second half of the 13<sup>th</sup> century), author of the *Minḥat Qen’aot* (“Offering of Zeal”).

10 **Düren** Cf. *Germania Judaica* pp. 91-92.

10-11 **Does a demon have the power** Cf. Basil of Caesarea (c. 330 - 379), *Commentarius in Isaiam Prophetam*, PG 030.498: “Sic et ventriloqua illa ope daemonum nuntiavit Sauli futuram stragem”.

12-13 **Hence, how could the medium do all of this?** On the issue of the witch of En-dor and its problematic nature from a theological point of view, see Rosenthal “Ḥiwi al-Balkhi” in *JQR* 39 (1948) p. 86, where this question is part of a series of heretical statements on the Old Testament expounded and discussed by Anastasius of Sinai (PG 089.314 ff.).

The critical reception of the witch of En-dor by both Church Fathers and rabbinic authorities has been divided between acceptance of a factual apparition on the one hand, and its denial as mere fraud or deception on the other; cf. Rosenthal *loc. cit.* note 197.

23-24 **You’ll be with me in the Garden of Eden** See *T.B. Berakhot* 12b: “And Samuel said to Saul, Why hast thou disquieted me to bring me up? And Saul answered, I am sore distressed; for the Philistines make war against me, and God is departed from me, and answereth me no more, neither by prophets nor by dreams; therefore I called thee that thou mayest make known unto me what I shall do [...] And how do we know that Heaven had forgiven him? - Because it says, And Samuel said... Tomorrow shalt thou and thy sons be with me, and R. Johanan said: ‘With me means, in my compartment [in Paradise]’” (ed. Soncino).

31 **Because the Ark of the Covenant was in the house of Obed-Edom the Gittite** The account of the priest is not consistent with the biblical tale: the Ark was moved into the house of Obed-Edom by David after the Lord had killed Uzzah, and because he was unwilling to proceed any further (cf. 2 Sam 6:10-11).

32 **Uzzah had intercourse with his wife** This detail is not provided by the biblical text, according to which Uzzah's fault consists in merely reaching out for the ark of God. For a moral evaluation of Uzzah from a Christian point of view, cf. Gregory of Nazianzus (c. 329 - 390), *Oratio II:93* in PG 35.495; here Uzzah is numbered among the impious priests together with Nadab, Abihu (Aaron's sons, cf. Lv 10:1-2) and the sons of Eli (cf. 1 Sam 2:12-14; 22-24).

Page 62

1-2 **Is it not true that he who has seminal emission is impure?** On the rules of purification following ejaculation, cf. *T.B. Niddah* 13a.

7 **This refers to the fact that he had erred** Cf. Rashi *ad loc.*: "For his mistake; for he should have concluded 'a fortiori': If it lifted its bearers over the Jordan certainly it was able to lift itself". See also *T.B. Sotah* 35a: "And the anger of the Lord was kindled against Uzzah; and God smote him there for his error [shal] etc. R. Johanan and R. Eleazar [differ on the interpretation of the word 'shal']. One said [that it means] on account of the act of error [shalu]; the other said [that it means] he relieved himself in its presence" (ed. Soncino).

12 **Before I formed you in the womb [I knew you]** Cf. parallel argument in *NV* (ed. Berger p. 82) where the debate about Jer 1:5 ff. is much more articulated and the polemicist refuses to admit that God is talking to Jesus; rather, this is to be understood as a dialogue between God and Jeremiah, as proved by the verse 1:11: *The word of the Lord came to me: "What do you see, Jeremiah?"*.

Cf. Cyprian, *Testimonia* PL 004.691 for the view that God's words are referred to Jesus, who was divine and blessed even before he was born, and who became the beneficiary of God's sanctification.

The association of this verse with Ps 1:1 is however absent in *N.V.*, and it must be an echo of the Gregorian antiphon - a verse or song to be chanted in response during the liturgy - that can be found in Gregory the Great's *Antiphonarius* (PL 078.786) and which was allegedly performed during the Feast of the Nativity of St. John the Baptist:

*"In vigilia sancti Joannis Baptistae, ad Vesperas. [...]"*

*In primo nocturno.*

*Antiph.* Priusquam te formarem in utero, novi te, et

antequam progredieris sanctificavi te.

*Psal.* Beatus vir qui non [...]"

13 **Vannes** *Cf. infra* chap. 55.

21 **Rabbeinu Yehiel** *Cf. infra* chap. 36 and my Introduction.

22 **You are subjugated to us; and a slave is unfit...** *Cf. infra* chap. 51 and commentary.

23 **I replied...** R reads: "And you shall answer: 'This is the interpretation: A *house-born servant? Why has he become plunder?* [Jer 2:14] - [it must be read] with surprise".

Page 63

3 **Not like them** The *them* in the verse refers to the vain and idolatrous people of the preceding verses; however, *cf.* Jerome *ad loc.*: "*Non est similis his pars Jacob: eorum qui supplantavere Iudaeos, et quotidie destruunt haereticos*" (*Commentariorum in Jeremiam*, PL 024.746).

4-5 **What is the meaning of: For the Lord's portion is His people...** The only Christian interpretation of Jer 10:16 in the light of Dt 32:9 that I managed to find is by Hugh of St. Cher, though - as customary among the Victorines - it is quite respectful of the literal meaning of the Scripture and does not incline to a Christological reading: "Et Israel virga haereditatis eius, id est haereditatis eius, id est Dei populus Israel, populus eius, quae haereditas solet virga mensurari, & ideo dicit virga. *Deut. 32 a.* Pars Domini populus eius, Iacob funiculus haereditatis eius"; *Hugonis cardinalis Opera omnia in uniuersum Vetus et Nouum Testamentum, Tomus quartus*, (Lugduni: 1669) fol. 206 b.

6-7 **A sign of the three entities** R adds: "which are a unified whole" (שהם הכל אחד); the Christian clearly aims to argue that Jacob (or the Lord) is likened to the Trinity.

8 **Priests, Levites and Israelites** This refers to the three-fold division of ancient Israel; the Levites were the only tribe which was not allowed to possess and inherit the land, the Lord Himself being their inheritance (*cf.* Dt 18:1-2); among the Levites, those of direct patrilineal descent from Aaron were the *Kohanim*, "priests"; during the existence of the temple, their responsibility was to carry out the duties of sacrificial offerings (*cf.* Ex 28-29).

8-9 **It is not written so concerning the Holy One** That is to say, the three-fold division cannot be an allusion to the Trinity, for it is referred to Jacob and not to God. Also, it is written *tribe of His inheritance*, and not "of their inheritance" - which leaves no doubt concerning God's unity.

17-18 **Was your Torah given for a certain time or for all eternity?** *Cf.* Jerome *ad loc.* in *Commentariorum in Jeremiam*, PL 024.783: "Manifeste futura populi Israel restitutio praedicitur

[...] quae [...] juxta intelligentiam spiritualem verius atque perfectius in Christo complenda describitur”.

26-27 **...to the point that the deliverance from Egypt will not appear as valuable** Cf. *T.B. Berakhot* 12b: “This does not mean that the mention of the exodus from Egypt shall be obliterated, but that the [deliverance from] subjection to the other kingdoms shall take the first place and the exodus from Egypt shall become secondary” (ed. Soncino).

Page 64

1-2 **With regard to that perjurer [i.e. Jesus]** These verses by Jeremiah - and particularly the expression *the Lord our righteousness* (heb. *’adonai šidqenu*) - were assumed by Church Fathers to refer to Jesus and to his coming as the messiah; cf. Isidore, *De Fide Catholica*, PL 083.466: “Ecce apparuerunt promissiones praedictae [...] in Christo Domino nostro, qui ex Davide genere ortus est, fuisse completae. De quo per Jeremiam ipse Dominus dicit: [follows the quotation from Jer 23:5-6]”. So also Peter Damian (c. 1007 - 1072 or 1073), *Antilogus contra Judaeos*, PL 145.48. Cf. also parallel argument in *NV* (ed. Berger, p. 90).

R adds the following: “Also, where is it to be found that Jesus is called *The Lord our Righteousness*? Therefore, this verse does not refer to him”.

4 **And we have not been saved yet** So also *Mil. Ha-Shem*, where the Jew points out that Israel still lives in the exile.

4 **These verses are about the King Messiah** Cf. *inter alios* Radaq on Jer 23:6.

17 **A woman will encompass a man** The idea of a woman encompassing a man and its being declared a new thing was of course apt to be interpreted in a Christological sense as a reference to the virgin Mary giving birth to Jesus; so Jerome, *Commentariorum in Jeremiam*, PL 024.880: “Absque viri semine, absque ullu coito atque conceptu, femina circumdabit virum gremio uteri sui”; Peter the Venerable, *Tractatus*, PL 189.530: “Quo enim modo potest mulier circumdare virum, ut novum sit? [...] Oportet te, inquam, ad divina confugere, et eum quem Virgo de Solo Spiritu Dei concipiens Emmanuel, quem Latinus Nobiscum Deus vocat – id est Deum factum nomine – virgineo utero circumdans portavit, mecum pariter confiteri”. Cf. also the Christian’s statement in *Mil. Ha-Shem* (ed. Rosenthal, p. 79): “And this was the new thing upon the earth: [the one represented] by a man inside a virgin” (translation is mine).

25 **And R. Abraham son of R. Isaac said to me** Both here and at the end of chapter 115 - where R. Abraham is mentioned once again - “And I heard from R. Abraham...” - the context lets us assume that he was a contemporary of Joseph the Official, whom he must have met; Rosenthal (*Sef.*



*Yos.* p. 69, note 2 to chap. 64) rules out any possible identification with R. Abraham ben Isaac of Narbonne (c. 1110 - 1179), known also as Raavad II and author of *Sefer ha-Eshkol*. The question concerning R. Abraham's identity remains therefore open.

*Page 65*

5        **The heretics conclude that He will renovate the Torah and give a new one** *Cf.* parallel argument in *NV* (ed. Berger, pp. 89-90) and especially Berger's commentary *ad loc.* for a comprehensive overview of the Christian interpretation of Jer 31:31 as prefiguration of the new covenant made by God with the Christians, which is supposed to replace the old one He had made with the Jews.

12-13 **Those dogs [i.e. the Christian preachers] bark at them...** The identification of these "dogs" with Christian priests was already expressed by Kahn, *Z.*, *REJ* 3 (1881), p. 13; a suggestion which appears quite convincing especially when considering the penance which they imparted to the believers. We may even venture further into saying that these "barking dogs" are to be specifically identified with the members of the Dominican Order, in Latin *Dominicani*, which gave rise to the pun *Domini canes*, "the dogs of the Lord". Though the epithet is here clearly used in a derogatory fashion, it originally had a positive value, as recounted by Jordan of Saxony (c. 1190 - 1237) concerning Saint Dominic's mother and the vision she had of her son's birth: "Before his mother conceived him, she saw in a vision that she would bear in her womb a dog who, with a burning torch in his mouth and leaping from her womb, seemed to set the whole earth on fire. This was to signify that her child would be an eminent preacher who, by "barking" sacred knowledge, would rouse to vigilance souls drowsy with sin, as well as scatter throughout the world the fire which the Lord Jesus Christ came to cast upon the earth" (*Libellus*, chap. 5).

As for the confession discussed *infra* chap. 92, this penance - which may actually be imparted by the priest right after the confession - is useless in the eyes of the Jews: in the verses here discussed it is already explicitly declared that God's forgiveness will come about spontaneously and freely for His people.

20-21 **The members of the Great Assembly** The Great Assembly, or Great Synagogue was, according to tradition, an assembly of 120 men (sages, prophets, scribes) which functioned as a link between the end of the Prophets' period and the beginning of rabbinical lore; its actual existence is matter of debate. Among the things ascribed to the Great assembly, one is the institution of the prayer known as the "Shemoneh Esreh" or "Amidah", which is mentioned shortly afterwards; see Daniel Sperber, "Synagogue, The Great" in *Encyclopedia Judaica* vol. 19, pp. 383-385.

21 **And the kingdom of the arrogant one you will soon eradicate** As already pointed out by Rosenthal in his edition (p. 70, note 1 to chap. 66), this is a reference to *Birkhat ha-minim*, “The Blessing of the Heretics”, ascribed to Samuel ha-Qatan (cf. *T.B. Berakhot* 28b - 29a); it purportedly dates back to the times of the supposed council of Jamnia (1<sup>st</sup> century). The so-called *Ereṣ Isra’el* version found in the Cairo Genizah explicitly mentions “the Christians (heb. *noṣrim*) and the *minim*”, and it goes on to say: “May the Minim and the Noṣrim perish in a single moment, may they be erased from the book of life; let them not be enumerated among the righteous ones”. Thus, Joseph’s pretension that this prayer refers to someone other than the Christians is clearly apologetic. Cf. Marvin R. Wilson, *Our father Abraham: Jewish roots of the Christian Faith* (Eerdmans, 1989) p.68: “We must emphasize that only two texts of the Birkat ha-Minim (both found in the Cairo Genizah) explicitly mention Christians. Both texts refer to “the Christians [*noṣrim*, ie, the Nazarenes] and the heretics [*minim*]”.

See also: Steven T. Katz (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Judaism: The late Roman-Rabbinic period*, vol. 4 (Cambridge University Press, 2006) p.291: “He [i.e. Gedaliah Alon] proposes that the original Yavnean version of the Birkat ha-Minim, following the medieval Genizah fragment, included both *minim* and ‘Nazarenes,’ and that ‘in this liturgical fragment *minim* and *Notzrim* are synonymous, ie, that both refer to the Jewish Christians.’ But Alon’s ‘assumption’ about the form of the original version is unconvincing, and this not least because, if the terms *minim* and *Notzrim* are synonymous, there would be no need for both of them in the benediction. Thus, as already argued, it appears more reasonable to suspect that *Notzrim* was added to a pre-existing malediction after the period of Yavneh – and most likely after the Bar Kochba Revolt (or later)”.

27 **They speak irreverently about the visions of which it is written in this book...** Cf. parallel argument in *NV* (ed. Berger p. 71), where an important contradiction is pointed out between Ex 33:20 - “No man shall see me and live” - and the visions of God experienced by the biblical prophets. *T.B. Yevamot* 49b was already aware of the problematic nature of the issue: “And in it was also written. ‘Manasseh slew Isaiah’. Raba said: He [i.e. Manasseh] brought him [i.e. Isaiah] to trial and then slew him. He said to him: Your teacher Moses said, ‘For men shall not see Me and live’ and you said, ‘I saw the Lord sitting on a throne, high and lifted up’ [...] [Do not] the contradictions between the Scriptural texts, however, still remain? — ‘I saw the Lord’ [is to be understood] in accordance with what was taught: All the prophets looked into a dim glass, but Moses looked through a clear glass” (ed. Soncino). See also *ibid.* note 21 and 22 which report Rashi’s commentary *ad loc.*, pointing to the fact that, unlike the other prophets who believed they had seen the deity, Moses knew that it was not so.

As noted by Berger in his commentary to *NV* (p. 259), Rupert of Deutz (c. 1075-1080 – c. 1129) seems to be aware of the Talmudic controversy regarding Manasseh and his condemnation of Isaiah, and of the contradiction between Ex 33:20 and Is 6:1 as well. Rupert argues that the persecution of the prophets was carried out in order to deliberately conceal any dangerous reference to Jesus and his future coming: “Et ita et multo insanius et Scripturas omnes incendissent, et prophetas omnes interfecissent nisi Scripturae clausae illis et signatae fuissent, si manifeste his prophetae clamassent quidquid de Christo futurum erat...”; *Anulus Sive Dialogus Inter Christianum et Judaeum*, PL 170.575.

Page 66

9 **I wrote about this in *Matot* Cf. *infra* chap. 39.**

14 **“Why do you not make the sign of the cross?”** Reading these lines, ones wonders if Jewish polemicists were at any level aware of the recurrent Pauline comparison between Jesus’s cross and a stumbling block, or σκάνδαλον in Greek (see Rm 9:33; 1 Pt 2:8; and especially 1 Cor 1:23: *but we preach Christ crucified, to Jews a stumbling block, and to Gentiles foolishness*) and also of the Hebrew מכשול being often translated as σκάνδαλον in the Septuagint (but, ironically enough, not here in Ez 14:4; see for example Lv 19:14). When so understood, “to put the stumbling block before one’s face” may have been understood by the Christian audience as hinting to the sign of the cross, since Paul had already fully resolved the paradox of Jesus’s humiliating calvary by turning it into a principle of faith; the polemicists, on the other hand, knew that the verse speaks plainly of idolaters, and did not feel any need for a further elaboration of a counter-argument.

22 **I will show you through a comparison** A very similar parable can be found in *Midrash Tanhuma* on Lv 4:2 (*parashat Wayiqra*’, 5 [Warsaw: 1875] = *Yalqut Shim’oni Parashat Wa-yikra*’, § 464 [Jerusalem: 1960]), where Ez 18:4 is also quoted. Here both the countryman and the man of the court appear, and both commit the same sin (which is not specified); the first is released, since he does not know “the royal etiquette” (נימוסי המלכות), while the latter - knowing the “kingdom’s duties” (עסקי המלכות) and what it means to transgress them - is sentenced. Similarly - it is explained - the body is a “countryman”, because *the Lord God formed the man out of dust, from the ground* (Gn 2:7), but the soul is “a man of court” which comes from the heavens, as it is written: *and [God] breathed the breath of life into his nostrils (ibid.)*.

Cf. also parallel argument in *NV* (ed. Berger, pp. 194-195), where a different parable is used to convey the view that body and soul sin together and both deserve the same punishment.

24-25 **And [always] stands for a circumcision of the heart** Cf. Rm 2:29: *Rather, one is a Jew inwardly, and circumcision is of the heart, in the spirit, not the letter; his praise is not from human beings but from God.*

27 **And must men circumcise their heart, while women do not have to?** Cf. parallel argument in *Rome MS Wik. Dati* p. 72, dealing with the Passover offering and with who is allowed to eat it: “Since the Scripture says: *Let all his males be circumcised* [Ex 12:48], you must admit that the verse implies an uncircumcision of the flesh; if on the contrary it referred to an uncircumcision of the heart, then *no one who is uncircumcised* [*ibid.*] would mean that anyone whose heart is uncircumcised may not eat it, therefore it should have said: “let them be circumcised” without any [sex] specification. The meaning would be twofold, and that “*no one*” would comprise both men and women, thus omitting *all males*; [however], regarding the Passover offering, it is written of an uncircumcised male, which implies precisely a matter of male uncircumcision. Moreover, if the Holy One - blessed be He - really did not want that the Passover be eaten because of an uncircumcision of the heart, then what difference would there be between the heart of a man and that of a woman? Also, the whole parashah is recited in the masculine form” (translation and italics are mine).

5 ***Your new moons and your festivals my soul abhors*** This verse was frequently used in Christian exegetical and polemical literature to argue that God no longer rejoiced in Jewish rituals and laws; for a list of textual references, cf. Berger’s commentary to *NV* p. 272.

Cf. also *ibid.* the parallel argument p. 96, where it is explicitly stated that Jesus had come and brought a new Torah, and that Jews should celebrate on Sundays instead of observing the Sabbath. The Jewish counterargument is based on Jesus’s own statement that he did not come either to abolish the Law or change a single thing of it (cf. Lk 16:17; Mt 5:17-18); on the contrary, Christian themselves do not respect Jesus’s religion by not observing the Sabbath, for he himself had adhered to the precepts of the Torah all the days of his life.

6 **Turnus Rufus** Quintus Tineius Rufus was, among other things, governor of Judaea from 130 to 132, the same years in which the Bar Kochba revolt took place; he is mentioned in Talmudic and extra-Talmudic literature, often as the opponent of R. Akiva in debates concerning the value of the precepts. See for example *T.B. Baba Batra* 10a, on the value of works of charity for the poor; or

*T.B. Sanhedrin* 65b on Shabbat. It is also recounted that Tineius Rufus's wife, upon hearing that her husband always lost to R. Akiva in all religious debates, went and talked to the great sage himself and was deeply struck by his words; after her husband's death, she converted, married R. Akiva and brought him great wealth (*cf. T.B. Avodah Zarah* 20a and Rashi on *Nedarim* 50b).

9-10 **He does not hate our festivals, but the ones they had arbitrarily devised for themselves**

This argument derives from a passage in *Midrash Tanhuma* (*parashat Pinhas*, chap. 17) and *Yalqut Shim'oni* (§388), an English translation of which can be found in Berger, *NV* p. 273.

21 **The Scripture referred to that defilement of theirs [i.e. the baptism]** So Justin Martyr on Is 1:16, *cf. Apologia Prima Pro Christianis*, chap. 61, PG 6.422 A-B: “Quando quidem primam nostram generationem ignorantes, necessitate quadam ex humido semen per mutuum parentum mistionem geniti sumus, atque in pravis moribus et nefariis institutis educati: ut necessitatis et ignorationis filii non maneamus, sed electionis et scientiae, et remissionem peccatorum, quae prius commisimus, consequamur in aqua; super eo qui regenerari voluerit, et peccatorum poenitentiam egerit, parentis omnium et Domini Dei nomen pronuntiat, atque hoc ipsum tantummodo appellamus, cum eum baptizandum ad lavacrum deducimus”.

Page 69

1 **What you have swallowed and drunk is that which has been diluted...** It appears in this chapter that the main argument against forced baptism - the Jews as undiluted waters, not soiled by impure waters - overlaps with a second controversy on the Christian ritual of the Holy Communion, in which the drinking of wine (representing Jesus's blood) accompanies the consumption of bread (representing Jesus's body). It is not clear whether the polemicist really thought that Christians (or Jews who underwent conversion) drank wine diluted with baptismal waters, or if it is all just said in a derogatory fashion.

2 **Ta glotonie** “Your gluttony”, apparently a judgment on the ritual or the drinking habits described shortly before.

14 **R. Joseph son of R. Nathan** On R. Joseph of Étampes - Joseph the Official's grandfather - *cf. infra* chap. 1; Nathan ben Meshullam was Nathan's the Official's grandfather (and consequently, Joseph's great grandfather), *cf. infra* chap. 25 and commentary.

14 **Rabbeinu Meshullam** R. Meshullam ben R. Nathan of Melun; born in Narbonne around 1120, he settled in Melun, where he distinguished himself among the most illustrious rabbis of his time, and particularly was in contact with the Paris community. He is also known for the polemical exchange of letters with Rabbeinu Tam, who strongly opposed Meshullam regarding some reforms

and *halakhic* decisions he had promulgated ; cf. Kahn Z., *REJ* 1 (1880), pp. 235-237; *Gallia Judaica*, pp. 352-353; Urbach, *Ba'alei ha-Tosafot*, p. 62 ff.; Rosenthal, *Sef. Yos.* p. 74 note 4 to chapter 76.

15-16 **Another answer... Woe to those who drag iniquity...** Rosenthal (*Sef. Yos.* p. 74 note 5 to chap. 76) suggests that this may be an allusion to Christians pulling bell ropes in their churches.

20-21 **Holy, holy, holy! [Is 6:3]. They speak irreverently about this verse...** Cf. parallel argument in *Mil. Ha-Shem* (ed. Rosenthal p. 84), where the verse in its entirety - *Holy, Holy, Holy, is the Lord of hosts, the whole earth is full of His glory* - is assumed by the Christian to be a proof of both God's Trinity (through the threefold repetition of *Holy*) and of His unity, attested by the appellation *Lord of Hosts*. Cf. also Origen, *De principiis*, Book 1, chap. 3:4: "My Hebrew master also used to say that those two seraphim in Isaiah, which are described as having each six wings, and calling to one another, and saying, 'Holy, holy, holy, is the Lord God of hosts,' were to be understood of the only-begotten Son of God and of the Holy Spirit" (*Ante-Nicene Fathers*, vol. 4, p. 253); Jerome, *Commentariorum In Isaim Prophetam*, PL 025.94: "Quod autem [Seraphim] clamant, *alter ad alterum* [Is 6:3], vel, juxta Hebraeos, *iste ad istum*, id est, *unus ad unum*, invicem se ad laudes Domini cohortantur, et dicunt: *Sanctus, Sanctus, Sanctus, Dominus exercituum* [*ibid.*], ut mysterium Trinitatis in una Divinitate demonstrarent: et nemquam Templum Judaeorum, sicut prius, sed omnem terra illius gloria plenam esse testentur, qui pro nostra salute dignatus est humanum corpus assumere, ad terrasque descendere"; Isidore on Is 6:3 in *De Fide Catholica*, PL 083.459: "Nam quid ter sanctus indicat, nisi ejusdem trinae Omnipotentiae gloria demonstrata est in deitate trium personarum significatio? Non autem sicut tres personae, ita et tres dii credenti sunt, sed in eis personis una divinitas praedicanda est".

22 **The Qara answered** Cf. Joseph Qara on Is 6:3-5 in *Miqra'ot Gedolot. Sefer Yeša'yah*, (Lublin: 1897) pp. 55-56.

25 **It is however necessary to refute them, as for: O land, land, land** So Ibn Ezra on Is 6:3; cf. also *infra* chap. 42.

25-26 **With the commentary on the thirteen attributes** This is an allusion to the Thirteen Attributes of Mercy enumerated in Ex 34:6-7 which, according to Jewish exegesis, are descriptive of God's ways of governing the world; see in particular *T.B. Rosh ha-Shanah* 17b and Rabbeinu Tam in *Tosaf. ad. loc.* Also Maimonides, *Moreh ha-Nevukhim* (book 1, chap. 54).

The polemicist, though, is probably referring once again to Ibn Ezra's commentary *ad loc.*, where it is specified that the double attestation of God's Name in Ex 34:6 is conform to other verses in which someone's name is written twice consecutively, such as Gn 22:11 - *Abraham, Abraham*; Gn 46:2 - *Jacob, Jacob*; Ex 3:4 - *Moses, Moses*.

29-30 **Thus that angel called and addressed his companion through the appellation “holy”** So Radaq *ad. loc.*

32 **And others interpret according to the Targum** So Rashi *ad loc.*

Page 70

3 **Render the heart of this people insensitive** Paul had already addressed this verse and the preceding one to the Jews of Rome, who had refused to believe his predication; see Acts 28:23-28. So also Eusebius of Caesarea (260/265 - 339/340), *Demonstratio Evangelica*, Book 7, chap. 1 (Engl. transl. in *The Proof of the Gospel. Volumes I and II*, ed. W.J. Ferrar [Eugene - Oregon: Wipf and Stock Publishers, 2001; repr. New York: 1920] p. 51).

17 **This is the cornerstone of their blasphemy** This is indeed one of the verses that Christians have often used as proof-text and prophecy of Jesus’s birth since early times (*cf.* Mt 1:22-23), with an inclination to see in the *young woman* (heb. *‘almah*) of the passage a virgin, in respect of the dogma of Mary’s Immaculate Conception (i.e. birth without sexual intercourse); and, as a matter of fact, one of the basic refutations of this argument consisted in pointing out that a proper virgin is defined in Hebrew as *betulah*, while *almah* merely indicates a young girl (so *NV* p. 100; *Mil. Ha-Shem* p. 87; *Sef. ha-ber.* p. 43; Joseph Qara and Radaq *ad loc.*)

For a list of patristic sources on Is 7:14, see *La Bibbia commentata dai Padri. Antico Testamento Isaia 1-39*, vol. 10/1; ed. Paolo Bernardini (Roma: Città Nuova 2010) pp. 109-114; *cf.* also Berger’s commentary to *NV* pp. 274-275.

19-20 **This prophecy was a sign for Aḥaz, so that he would not fear the war against the two kings** The two kings here mentioned are Pekah king of Israel and Rezin king of Aram, who had allied against Aḥaz king of Judah, see Is 7.

As for the identity of the young woman and her son, *SYM* does not express any opinion, while merely insisting on that son being a sign of encouragement for Aḥaz; some exegetes believe that the woman was Isaiah’s own wife (Rashi, Joseph Qara and Ibn Ezra *ad loc.*), while others believed she was the wife of Aḥaz (so Radaq *ad loc.*).

22-23 **While the Nazarene’s birth happened more than five hundred years later** *NV* argues in two instances that Jesus lived more than three hundred years later than Aḥaz (p. 101 and 102), while in another case it hyperbolically states that Mary would conceive only one thousand years after Isaiah’s prophecy (p. 104); *Mil. Ha-Shem* (p. 87) has the Jewish polemicist affirm that “Everyone knows that your messiah was actually born at the end of the Second Temple; and from the days of Aḥaz - who lived during the First Temple - until the end of the Second Temple - when Herod was

king - more than seven hundred years elapsed” (translation is mine). See especially *ibid.* note 9 for an overview of Jewish sources concerning both the dating of Jesus’s life and the number of centuries elapsed between Isaiah and Jesus himself, though a precise and unequivocal chronology does not exist (see for example the plethora of inconsistent dates that emerge *infra* from chap. 44 [g] and commentary).

Page 71

3 **For a child is born to us, a son is given to us...** As for Is 7:14, also this verse quite unsurprisingly turned out to be liable to Christological readings; for an exhaustive overview of these verses’ treatment in early patristic literature, see Bernardini, P. (ed.) *La Bibbia commentata dai padri*, vol. 10/1, pp. 122-129, where 26 different interpretations of this passage are reported, spanning from Justin Martyr (2<sup>nd</sup> century) to Beda the Venerable (8<sup>th</sup> century). For a record closer to the times of our disputations, *cf.* Peter of Blois, *Contra Perfidia Judaeorum*, PL 207.838; Walter of Châtillon, *Tractatus*, PL 209.427; Alan of Lille, *Contra Haereticos*, PL 210.415.

9-10 **Indeed you are prosperous more than any other nation, and this is undeniable** The same concession is made in *NV* by the Jewish polemicist on commenting Jer 31:20: “*Is Ephraim my dear son?*” (ed. Berger, p.89). See especially Berger’s commentary on this passage for various examples of Jewish rebuttal of Christianity’s alleged universality (*ibid.* pp. 270-1).

15 **You are sword-consumers and have mastered swordsmanship** The art of war and fighting skills in general are recognized as a Christian prerogative also in *Wik. Ramban* (ed. Chavel p. 311), in a passage where Nahmanides remarks that Christians shed blood more than any other nations and then addresses the king directly and says: “How hard would it be, my lord and king, for both you and those knights of yours, should they no longer learn war” (translation is mine).

18-19 **Isaiah said that this one would be a Jew, a son who was destined to be born for us...** This son has been often identified with Hezekiah by Jewish exegetes, *cf.* for example Rashi, Ibn Ezra, Radaq *ad loc.*; also see *Sef. ha-ber* (ed. Talmage., p. 46). Here, however, the verses apparently refer to a future messiah of Davidic lineage who will reign in Jerusalem and whose kingdom will be a peaceful one.

20 **But they read “he will be made a ruler”** *Cf.* the Vulgate: *parvulus enim natus est nobis filius datus est nobis et factus est principatus super umerum eius.*



4       **...this was prophesized about the Nazarene** Cf. parallel argument in *NV* (ed. Berger, pp. 106-107), where the debate is more articulated and it is argued that the Christian pretension of Jesus's Davidic descent through his father Joseph is invalidated once the Christians themselves admit that Joseph was not his actual father; also, the alleged Jewish tradition of getting married within the same tribe - which would thus make Joseph and Mary relatives, and both of Davidic lineage - is unfounded. A series of Christian responses hinged on Jesus being Mary's son exclusively, and not Joseph's; the shoot springing from the stem of Jesse thus represents Mary descending from Jesse, David's father, while Jesus is symbolized by the bud (cf. Vulgate: *flos* and LXX: *anthos*, both meaning flower; see also Lukyn-Williams, *Adversus Judaeos*, pp. 40-41) blossoming from her roots; so Ephrem the Syrian (4<sup>th</sup> century), *Commentary on Tatian's Diatesseron*, 26; Ambrose, *On the Holy Spirit*, 2, 5, 38-39 and *The Patriarchs* 4, 19; Chromatius (d. ca. 406/407), *Commentary on Matthew* 2, 5 (all references quoted in *La Bibbia commentata dai Padri*, vol. 10/1, pp. 155-156).

10       **And even admitting that it is a metaphor, as they say...** Cf. *Mil. Ha-Shem* (ed. Rosenthal, p. 85) where the Christian opponent argues that these verses cannot be taken literally, for these things will never happen; rather, the wild and strong beasts living peacefully with the meek and weak ones represent the powerful and strong ones putting aside their lust for power and wickedness of heart, and reverting to humble and peaceful ways.

17       **Adan the apostate** Any attempt at exact identification must take into account Rabbenu Tam's words on Jewish converts (quoted in Urbach, *Ba'alei ha-Tosafot* p. 71), namely that it was customary to give them recurring, derogatory nicknames. See also *Sef. Yos.* note 1 to chapter 82.

30       **This stone is a metaphor of the Nazarene** A *locus classicus* of Christian exegesis, see Mt 21:42, Eph 2:20 and 1 Pt 2:6-7. According to Eusebius of Caesarea, "... He set up the Mosaic building, which was to last till His day, and then fitted on to one side of it our building of the Gospel. Hence He is called the corner-stone" (*Demonstratio Evangelica*, ed. W.J. Ferrar, p. 46); cf. also Augustine, *Epistola 187*, PL 033.844: "Hoc ergo excepto lapide angulari, non video quomodo aedificentur homines in Dei ad habendum in se inhabitantem Deum, nisi cum fuerint renati; quod non possunt esse antequam nati"; and also Augustine *Sermo 199*, transl. consulted in *The Fathers of the Church. A New Translation*, vol. 38, transl. Sister Mary Sarah Muldowney (New York: 1959) p. 59: "...the Infant at birth is shown as the chief cornerstone announced by the Prophet [...] He has already begun to weld together in Himself the two walls originally set in different directions,

bringing shepherds from Judea and Magi from the East...". Further references in *La Bibbia commentata dai padri*, vol. 10/1, pp. 284-287.

Page 73

1 **Therefore, those who hurry do not believe** The idea of hurrying and of having no patience is connected in the Bible with the worship of foreign gods; *cf.* Ps 16:4 and 106:13. *Cf.* also *infra* chapters 96 and 111.

7 **Why the double?** *Cf.* Gregory of Nazianzus, *Oratio XVI*, PL 035.939-942: "Quonam modo aliis *de manu Domini duplicia* [Is 40:2] peccata tribuuntur, ac vitii mensura per duplum impletur, secundum quam etiam Israel castigatur; aliis rursus per *septuplum in sinu* [Ps 79:12] redditum peccata exhauriuntur?"

19-20 **One punishment for the sins and one punishment...** *Cf.* Sa'adiah Gaon, *'Emunot we-De'ot*, ed. Slutzky, p. 118.

25 **Behold, my servant shall prosper** Together with Gn 49:10 - *The scepter shall not depart from Judah* - and Is 7:14 - *A young woman will conceive* - this is the third and last great trope of medieval Jewish-Christian polemic; already Mk 15:28 applies Is 53:12 - *And he was numbered with the transgressors* - to Jesus being crucified with two robbers. Cyprian's *Testimonia* (PL 4.708-9) see in these verses a clear proof of Jesus's passion and messianship, a view that keeps being supported throughout the Middle Ages without significant variations, see *inter alios* Peter the Venerable, *Tractatus*, PL 189.544: "Restat igitur ut hae propheticae voces de Christo tantum accipiantur. Nec tamen de Christo a vobis fallaciter exposito, sed de Christo a nobis veraciter intellecto [...] Qui et servus Dei a propheta scribitur, quia exinanivit semetipsum, formam servi accipiens [...] et ingloriosus, ignominiosae passioni se sponte submittens". For further references, *cf.* parallel argument in *NV* (ed. Berger, p. 114) and commentary p. 283; Christopher B. North, *The Suffering Servant in Deutero-Isaiah* (Oxford University Press, 1956) pp. 23 ff.; *La Bibbia commentata dai padri*, vol. 10/1, pp. 267-293.

For an overview of Jewish exegesis on the suffering servant, a major reference work is: Neubauer, A., Driver, S. R., *The Fifty-third Chapter of Isaiah according to the Jewish Interpreters* (New York: KTAV Publishing House, 1969); the standard rabbinic opinion regards the servant described in Is 52-53 as the personification of Israel and its tribulations. However - as pointed out by Rosenthal (*Mehqarim u-meqorot*, p. 112, especially notes 42-45) - this has not always been the case: before Christians started to refer these verses to Jesus, Jews living during the Second Temple and in the Talmudic era did regard the suffering servant as the messiah (*cf.* *Targum Pseudo-Jonathan* on Is

52:13; *T.B. Sanhedrim* 98a quoting Is 53:4 so as to suggest the messiah's name; *Ruth Rabbah* on Ruth 2:14 [ed. Vilna; *parashah* 5, chap. 5] associating the dipping of bread in vinegar with Is 53:5). When Christians made messianship - and fulfilled messianship specifically - the focal point of their theology, Jews probably began to cautiously attenuate and restrain their messianic hopes; therefore, the rabbis started attributing new, unprecedented identities to the suffering servant (e.g.: Moses, according to R. Simlai in *T.B. Sotah* 14; Rabbi Akiva and the men of the Great Assembly, according to *T.Y. Sheqalim*, ed. Venice chap. 4, fol. 48c; Phinehas according to *Sifre on Deuteronomy, pisqa'* 131).

Justyn Martyr in his *Dialogue with Trypho* (PG 006.760) marvels that the Jews regard the servant of whom is recounted in Is 43:10 as referring to both the strangers (gr. Γειόρα; cf. LXX on Ez 12:19, Is 14:1) and the proselytes (gr. προσήλυτοι; specifically proselytes of Judaism, see “προσήλυτ-ος” in Liddell & Scott, *A Greek-English Lexicon* [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1940]; also cf. Acts 2:11 and Mt 23:15), instead of interpreting the verses as alluding to Jesus; shortly afterwards, the proselytes are defined by Justin as those who are even more zealous than Jews themselves in persecuting Christians, and by an assembly of (presumably) Jewish men as those who have been enlightened by the Law; after all - say these men, crying out as people do in theatres - it is to the proselytes and to the Law that Isaiah's verses refer to. The exegetical shift is even more evident and unequivocal in Origen's *Contra Celsum*, Book 1 chap. 45 (written 248 C.E.): “Now I remember that, on one occasion, at a disputation held with certain Jews, who were reckoned wise men, I quoted these prophecies; to which my Jewish opponent replied, that these predictions bore reference to the whole people, regarded as *one individual*, and as being in a state of dispersion and suffering, in order that many proselytes might be gained, on account of the dispersion of the Jews among numerous heathen nations” (*Ante-Nicene Fathers*, vol. 4, p. 420).

As for the Jewish side, one of the earliest attestations of this renewed, pan-Israelite interpretation can be found in *Numbers Rabbah*, which - despite having been edited in the Middle Ages - has preserved much more ancient contents (so Rosenthal, *Meḥqarim* p. 112 and n. 46): “Because Israel poured out itself to death in the exile, as it is written: *Because he poured out himself to death* [Is 53:12]”; see *Numbers Rabbah* (ed. Vilna: 1878) *parashah* 13, chap. 3 (translation and italics are mine).

Joel E. Rembaum (“The Development of a Jewish Exegetical Tradition regarding Isaiah 53” in *HTR* 75 (1982) pp. 289-311; here pp. 296-298) points out that Rashi was the first among medieval exegetes who identified the suffering servant with Israel spontaneously offering himself in sacrifice and atoning for the sins of all humankind, while at the same time explaining his view with the necessity to refute widespread Christological interpretations and to make a sense out of the terrible

massacres which took place throughout the first crusade of 1096 (so also Rosenthal, *Meḥqarim u-meqorot*, p. 104); among the fourteen Bible commentators who share Rashi's view, also Joseph Qara and Ibn Ezra are enumerated (Rembaum, *op. cit.* p. 301 n. 47). Ramban (*Wik. ha-Ram.*, ed. Chavel p. 307) maintains that Is 52-53 refers to Israel and its tribulations, and also emphasizes that the appellation "servant" (heb. 'eved) recurs quite often in the Scripture as an epithet of Israel; furthermore, the Spanish rabbi adds that neither in the Talmud nor in the *midrash* one will ever find a mention of the messiah's death or of his burial with the wicked (the latter, explains the Ramban, not even Jesus experienced). He finally volunteers to explain the whole passage, but the Christian audience refuses to listen to him; an account on Ramban's view can at any rate be found in Smilévitch, E., *La dispute de Barcelone. Suivi du commentaire sur Esaïe 52-53* (Lagrasse: Verdier, 1984) pp. 67-76: the messiah will only undergo the death of his will, experiencing a cessation of any desire of life and salvation - no actual death is to be inferred from Isaiah's words (here p. 75).

30 **And if he was a god, why would he be called a servant?** So also *Rome MS Wik. Dati* p. 63.

33 **Why, have not the accomplishments of the Lord been told them?** *NV* pp. 114-115 ironically remarks that, on the contrary, Christians say that all the prophets prophesied concerning Jesus, therefore it is not true that *what had not been told them, they will see*.

*Page 74*

5 **Following which everyone would descend to hell?** *Cf. infra* chap. 10 and commentary.

20 **This ken is like in the verse...** So Rashi and Ibn Ezra on Nm 27:7.

25 **They will shut their mouth; they will be left speechless...** So Rashi and Joseph Qara *ad loc.* (the latter consulted in *Miqra'ot Gedolot, Sefer Yesha'yah*; p. 423).

29-30 **But if it were so, it should have said...** This sentence, up to the quite unusual - to put it mildly - comparison of the servant's appearance with a man's penis - כמו אדם האומ' אבר הנאה שבאדם - is absent in H (R had stopped copying *SYM* already after chap. 72), and for reasons not difficult to understand; but then again *SYM* proved itself not to be in the least reluctant in making use of the most vivid and explicit expressions and images, not restraining itself even on physiologic functions (*cf. infra* the extra chapter p. 13, and p. 14 line 31; see also the recurrent derogatory nickname both in *SYM* and in *NV* for Mary, *hariya*, lit. "excrements").

- 8-9 **This verse is akin to *and broke...*** So Radaq, *Sefer ha-shorashim* (ed. Berlin: 1847) p. 135.
- 11 ***We thought of him as a stricken, one smitten by God*** For this and for most of the following verses, the reference is to Rashi's commentary.
- 23 ***He laid upon him*** Rashi *ad loc.* explains the verb הפגיע as an expression of supplication.

- 2 **As it is written: *This one shall rule...*** So Rashi and Radaq on 1 Sam 2:17.

4 **Regarding the affair in Pons** Cf. *Gallia Judaica* p. 445 and *REJ* 3 (1881), p. 15-16 (note 1) for the report - originally found in Armand Maichin *Histoire de Saintonge* (Saint Jean d'Angely: 1671) p. 139 - that the Jewish community of Pons had hung a religious man who was taking part in the Crusades, though the exact date is unknown; an event following which the Jewish community was expelled from the city. Gross *loc. cit.* assumes that the miracles enumerated in this chapter are attributed to a itinerant healer who was murdered in Pons, and not to Jesus in particular; therefore the identification of the latter with the murdered man described by Maichin is at least enticing, even considering that the term here translated with "affair" is 'alilah (עלילה), that is to say the technical word designating the "pretext, false charge" (so Jastrow, *Dictionary* p. 1083) that the Jews would kill Christians and at times even consume their blood.

4 **Poitiers** Cf. *Gallia Judaica* p. 452-3.

5 **Angoulême** Cf. *ibid.* p. 62-63; also, see the letter dated 5 September 1236 that Pope Gregory IX sent to the bishops of Poitiers, Angoulême, Saintes and Bordeaux, a translation of which can be found in Grayzel, *The Church and the Jews*, pp. 227, 229: "We have received a tearful and pitiful complaint from the Jews who live in the Kingdom of France [...] But (the crusaders) try to wipe them [i.e. the Jews] almost completely off the face of the earth. In an unheard of and unprecedented outburst of cruelty, they have slaughtered in this mad hostility, two thousand and five hundred of them [...] they represent themselves as having done the above, and they threaten to do worse, on the ground that they (the Jews) refuse to be baptized [...] Therefore, lest such great temerity if unpunished, continue to injure still others, we command that each one of you force the inhabitants of your dioceses who commit such excesses, to bring proper satisfaction for the crimes perpetrated

against the Jews and for the property stolen from them. After giving due warning you may use ecclesiastical punishment without appeal”; on this letter see also my considerations *infra* pp. XXVIII ff.

7 **I believe all of this...** R. Nathan unexpectedly admits that he is ready to give heed to the Christian interpretation of Is 65:1 ff., because it is not unlikely that God would perform little miracles for the simple and the poor of faith (*cf. Sef. Yos.*, note 4 to chap. 85). Christian exegetes, as a matter of fact, referred these verses to God’s will of revealing Himself to the Gentiles and becoming incarnate in Jesus; see Pseudo-Clement, *Recognitions* book 5, chap. 12 in *Ante-Nicene Christian Library: Translations of the Writings of the Fathers Down to A.D. 325* vol. 3 (Edinburgh: 1867) pp. 309-310; Jerome, *Commentariorum in Isaiam*, PL 024.629-630.

12-13 **Those who walk among burial pits, just like the Gentiles** A probable allusion to the Christian custom of visiting both cemeteries and the tombs of the saints. *Cf.* parallel argument in *NV* p. 118; *cf. also infra* chap. 103 and 111.

24 **It is said with regard to *Hariya*** *Cf.* parallel argument in *Mil. Ha-Shem* p. 105 and its refutation *ibid.* pp. 114-115; for a Christological interpretation of these verses, *cf.* Jerome, *Commentariorum in Isaiam* PL 24.657; John of Damascus (675/6 - 749), *De Fide Orthodoxa*, Book 4 chap. 14, PG 94.1159.

29-30 **This is the explanation: the Scripture refers to the final salvation** *Cf.* Rashi on Is 66:7, where it is explained that the metaphor of a woman giving birth without pain allegorically represents the children of Israel gathering in the midst of Zion all of a sudden, during the end of the days; and it will be as though she gave birth to them in an instant.

*Page 78*

5 **The Lord has nothing to share with you...** *Cf.* Justin Martyr, *Dialogue with Trypho*, chap. 19: “Therefore to you alone this circumcision was necessary, in order that the people may be no people, and the nation no nation; as also Hosea, one of the twelve prophets, declares” (*Ante-Nicene Fathers*, vol. 1, p. 204). See also Salvian the Presbyter (5<sup>th</sup> century), *De Gubernatione Dei Octo Libri*, 4:60, PL 53.71.

16 **R. Joseph of Chartres** *Cf. infra* chap. 24 and commentary.

17 **Because he threatened to hang us all upon his return...** Said mockingly by R. Joseph of Chartres, who was probably willing to indulge the Christian taste for a popular and crude interpretation of this verse. Jerome on Hos 11:7 opts for the Septuagint translation, explaining that Ephraim, while residing in Egypt under the rule of Assyria, will long for his homeland and feel like

in suspension because of that stay (“pendebit in incolatu suo”; *Commentariorum in Osee Prophetam* PL 025.918).

27 **They told me that the Nazarene came from Bethlehem and went to Jerusalem** Hos 11:9-10 is enumerated by Cyprian among the verses which should prove why God is Christ (“Quod Deus Christus”): “*Non faciam juxta iram indignationis meae, non sinam deleri Ephraim, quoniam Deus ego sum, et non homo in te sanctus, et non introibo in civitatem, post deum ibo*” (*Testimonia* PL 004.701).

30-31 **How can you say that he was in Jerusalem and in Bethlehem?** That is to say, God plainly said that he will never enter a city, which must be assumed as a proof of His incorporeity; thus he cannot be one and the same with Jesus, who wandered from a city to another.

Page 79

3 **The Lord hates you** Pachomius, in his *Life*, applies Hos 9:15 to the necessity of driving the unfaithful out of God’s house; see *Ancient Christian Commentary on Scripture. Old Testament*, vol. 14, ed. Alberto Ferreiro (IVP Academic, 2003) p. 59.

11 **They speak impudently and say that this is the piece of wood** Unlike the piece of wood mentioned *infra chap.* 28, it does not seem that Christian exegetes saw in this verse a prefiguration of the cross; therefore, one can assume that this interpretation is either a reflection of some populist preaching or a misinterpretation on the side of the polemicist.

18 **Those who plow iniquity...** H reports a different phrasing: “R. Asher son of R. Nathan - may his soul rest peacefully - concerning the nations of the world: ‘Accursed are those who say of that *sacrament* of theirs, that the wine which they pour is the blood of the hanged one, while the impure bread that they call *hostia* is the flesh of the hanged one himself. May their name be erased, for they speak inconsiderately; and this is what the Scripture says: *They will not pour libations of wine to the Lord* [Hos 9:4] - this is the wine they pour; *their sacrifices will not please Him, like the bread of those who mourn* [*ibid.*] - this is *hostia*, the polluted bread: *all those who eat it will be defiled, their bread is for themselves only; it will not enter the house of the Lord* [*ibid.*] - it follows that all that they do is utter foolishness”’. On R. Asher son of R. Nathan see *infra* the marginal annotation to chap. 47 and commentary.

22 **Sacrament** A transliteration in Hebrew characters of the French word for sacrament, a clear allusion to the Christian ritual of Holy Communion; *cf.* also *infra* chap. 14.

24 **...is for the absolution of their souls** *Cf.* Radaq *ad loc.*: “The sacrifice that they offer for the sake of their souls - that is to say, for the atonement of their souls - will not be accepted, because

there is no profit in it; for they transgress willfully, and though they offer the sacrifice, they do not repent from sin” (translation is mine).

Page 80

1 **What do you have to say about the *confession*?** On confession, see also *infra* chap. 114 and *NV* (ed. Berger) p. 223, where it is explained that only God has the authority to know one man’s sins and grant him forgiveness; in *NV* it is also interestingly argued that priests are willing to receive the confessions of adulterous men “so that they might know which women are having extra-marital affairs”, and so that they can in turn have sexual relations with them. It would be more logical - continues the polemicist in *NV*- if the pope gave nuns the permission to hear the confession of other women, while leaving to priests the incumbency of confessing men alone, “so that they would not be seduced into fornication and adultery” (*ibid.*).

9 **There are three fields [of increasing sacredness] before the field of the Shekinah** *Cf. Sifre on Numbers* (ed. Horovitz, 1966; 1:1), where however terminology and arrangement differ sensibly from the ones described by R. Nathan: “*So that they will not defile their camps* [Nm 5:3] - from here, they inferred that there are three fields: the field of Israel, the field of Levi and the field of the Shekinah; from the gates of Jerusalem to the Temple Mount is the field of Israel; from the door of the Temple Mount to the Temple court is the field of Levi; and from the door of the Temple court to the Holy of Holies is the field of the Shekinah” (translation and italics are mine).

10 **Wind, Earthquake, Fire; and the fourth is in the sound of a gentle whispering** These are the prodigies that precede God’s epiphany to Elijah, *cf.* 1 Kgs 19:11-12.

14-15 **But when the sin is committed the fourth time...** *NV* (ed. Berger, p. 123) does not quite agree on this point: “For three transgressions of Israel I forgave them, and for four will I not forgive them? Of course I shall, as I have in the past. The verse thus constitutes a rhetorical question”; it is however significant that *NV* discusses Am 2:6, which is centered on Israel, while *SYM* quotes Am 1:11 on Edom, often associated in Jewish imagery with Rome and the Christians.

20 **And thus taught our teachers** An addition by the copyist; the reference is to *T.B. Yoma* 86b: “It was taught: R. Jose b. Judah said: If a man commits a transgression, the first, second and third time he is forgiven, the fourth time he is not forgiven, as it is said: Thus saith the Lord.’ For three transgressions of Israel, Yea for four, I will not reverse it” (ed. Soncino).

22 **On the fact that once R. Nathan - may his soul rest in peace - met...** Rosenthal (*Sef. Yos.* p. 86, and *ibid.* note 1 to chap. 92a) reads לודויג (supposedly a transliteration of *Ludovicus*, the Latin



name of king Louis IX) instead of נודוּג, “to meet for a consultation”. H, on the other hand, reports a problematic גירוי, of difficult interpretation. Cf. also *REJ* 1 (1880), p. 231.

22 **Pope Gregory** See *infra* chap. 37 and commentary.

31 **If he does not have the faculty to forgive your sin...** *NV* (ed. Berger, p. 66) is aware that Christians would read Ex 23:20-22 as a prophecy on Jesus’s coming; cf. also Berger’s commentary to the passage, p. 255.

*Page 81*

4 **They say that this has been prophesized about the hanged one** Cf. Tertullian, *Against Marcion*, book 4, chap. 40: “For it was written, ‘The righteous one did they sell for silver.’ The very amount and the destination of the money, which on Judas’ remorse was recalled *from its first purpose of a fee*, and appropriated to the purchase of a potter’s field, as narrated in the Gospel of Matthew, were clearly foretold by Jeremiah...” (*Ante-Nicene Fathers*, vol. 3 p. 418); also Walter of Châtillon, *Tractatus*, PL 209.433.

9 **It only mentions the selling carried out by Judah Iscariot** So also *Mil. Ha-Shem* (ed. Rosenthal, pp. 129-130), where it is further added that - according to the Christian gospel - the Sages of Israel acquired Jesus and put him to death, while it was Judah who sold him; therefore, the verse should have said “Because they acquire the righteous”; in any case, the whole account does not refer to Jesus.

14-15 **It should have said: For three sins of Judah** This probably means that, had the Scripture really foretold Jesus’s selling, then the Christian argument should have been based on Am 2:4 - where Judah is explicitly mentioned - rather than on Am 2:6.

16-17 **They would convict the innocent one for money** So Rashi and Joseph Qara (*Miqra’ot Gedolot, Trei ‘Asar*; ed. Lublin, p. 121) *ad loc.*

19-20 **They would lock the fields to the detriment of the poor ones** So Rashi, Radaq and Joseph Qara *ad loc.*

28 **He would judge Esau** Probably assumed here by Jews to designate the Christians (cf. *infra* chap. 37 on Edom and commentary). Augustine sees in mount Zion a synecdoche indicating the whole region of Judaea and his holy one, i.e. Jesus; while Mount Esau is Edom, the church of the gentiles (“ecclesia gentium”), which will be saved by the redeemed ones dwelling on mount Zion and will become part of God’s Kingdom (*De Civitate Dei* 18:31, PL 041.588).

3 **The entire *parashah* refers to the persecutions and the tribulations that you inflict on us** Interestingly enough, Jerome interpreted Ob 1:15-16 as referring to the church of the Christians and to the tribulations the heretics inflicted on it; see *Commentariorum in Abdiam*, PL 025.1110-1111.

5 **Since you assert that your idol was born there** On Jesus's birthplace being either Jerusalem or Bethlehem, see also *infra* chap. 123. Rosenthal (*Sef. Yos.*, p. 87 note 1 to chapter 93a) argues that in Julius Eisenstein's edition of *Toledot Yeshu* (New York: 1922, p. 227) Jesus is declared to have been born in Jerusalem (not seen).

14 **And they say that it was prophesized with regard to the Nazarene** Cf. Mt 2:6; Augustine, *De Civitate Dei* 18:46, PL 041.608; *id.*, *Sermo 373*, PL 039.1665; Theodoret of Cyrus (c. 393 - c. 458/466), *Commentary on Micah*, PG 081:1768; Cyril of Jerusalem (c. 313 - 386), *Catechesis* 11:20, PG 033.715, 718: "Ne igitur attendas ad eum qui nunc ex Bethleem [ortus est], verum adora eum qui sempiterno ex Patre genitus est. Ne quemquam patiare qui temporale Filii principium dicat; sed agnosce principium temporis expers, Patrem".

17-18 **Therefore, he has a god** That is to say, Jesus cannot in turn be a god himself; so also *NV* (ed. Berger, p. 121) and *Mil. Ha-Shem* (ed. Rosenthal, p. 131).

21 **This was David, who descended from Ruth** So Rashi *ad loc.*

24 **When the Temple still existed** Cf. Ibn Ezra on Mal 3:4.

27-28 **In that day, seven people of any language will take hold of the garment of a Jew** As pointed out by Rosenthal in his edition (*Sef. Yos.* p. 88, note 7), this verse has been interpreted by most exegetes as referring to the return of the ten tribes to Israel and to the end of the exile. Here, however, the juxtaposition of Zec 8:23 to Mi 5:2 implies quite an explicit reference to the days of the messiah and of the redemption, when also the Gentiles will finally acknowledge the God of Israel and repent.

6 **This was prophesized concerning the Nazarene** Cf. Cyprian, *De bono patientiae*, PL 004.635; Jerome, *Commentariorum in Sophoniam*, PL 025.1377-8; Fulgentius of Ruspe (c. 465 - c. 530), *Ad Monimum Libri Tres*, PL 065.183; Walter of Châtillon, *Tractatus*, PL 209.435.

10 **And this has not yet happened** So also *NV* (ed. Berger, p. 125).

19 **Concerning us [Jews], toward the end indicates the end of the exile** So Joseph Qara *ad loc.* (*Miqra 'ot Gedolot, Trei 'Asar*; ed. Lublin, p. 265).

22 **It came about very quickly** Cf. *infra* chap. 83 and 111 on the error of those who hurried to worship a false god.

26-27 **Therefore he already came, and he was the Nazarene** Cf. Heb 10:37; Clement of Rome, *Epistola prima ad Corinthios* chap. 23, PG 1.260; Augustine, *De Civitate Dei*, PL 41.588.

28 **I replied** H reads: “And R. Asher answered him”, which probably hints to a conversation originally held between a catholic priest and R. Asher himself, whose name has been suppressed - probably out of modesty - from the marginal annotations of P; cf. *infra* the marginal additions to chapters 47 and 91 (the latter located after chapter 85 in the critical apparatus).

33-34 **These rays represent the abomination of the cross** So Isidore on Heb 3:4 in *De Fide Catholica*, PL 083.485; cf. also paragraph 33 of the anonymous compilation dated 1166 quoted in Lukyn-Williams, *Adversus Judaeos*, p. 397.

Page 84

1 **And plague [heb. *reshef*] came after him** For the view that *reshef* refers to demons, cf. *T.B. Berakhot* 5a and Rashi on Dt 32:4.

10 **Those liars say that the prophet spoke of the Nazarene** Cf. Mc 11:1-11, Mt 21:1-11, Lk 19:28-38 and Jn 12:12-16 on Jesus riding a donkey while triumphantly entering Jerusalem; see also Justyn Martyr, *Dialogue with Trypho* chap. 53 (*Ante-Nicene Fathers*, vol. 1; p. 221-222), where it is argued that Jesus’s request to bring him both beasts implied that both Gentiles and Jews would believe in him: “[...] [this fact] was a prediction that you of the synagogue, along with the Gentiles, would believe in Him. For as the unharnessed colt was a symbol of the Gentiles even so the harnessed ass was a symbol of your nation. For you possess the law which was imposed [upon you] by the prophets”; cf. also Irenaeus, *Against Heresies*, 4.33.1 (*Ante-Nicene Fathers* vol. 1, p. 506); John Chrysostom, *Homilies on the Gospel of St. John* 66.1: “For the, ‘Rejoice, for thy King cometh unto thee meek’ (Zech. ix. 9), belonged to Him as fulfilling a prophecy, but the sitting upon an ass was the act of one prefiguring a future event, that He was about to have the impure race of the Gentiles subject to Him” (transl. in *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers*, series 1, vol. 14 p. 243).

10 **It is a falsehood** Cf. parallel argument and its refutation in *Mil. Ha-Shem* (ed. Rosenthal, pp. 132-133): “How could this verse - *Behold, your king is coming to you; he is a righteous and a savior* [Zec 9:9] - be said with regard to your messiah, since I already answered you many times

that Israel and the sons of Zion did not crown him, nor did he ever rule over them?" (translation is mine).

17 **Zechariah is referring to the King Messiah** So Rashi *ad loc.*

17-18 **While Isaiah is speaking of the Holy One** The contradiction is solved only admitting that Zechariah refers to a human messiah who cannot also be a god, as the Christians maintain; Isaiah, on the other hand, speaks of a purely divine and non-corporeal God, incompatible with any idea of modesty and humbleness. Interestingly enough, Christians also referred Is 40:10 ff. to Jesus and his might, see Justyn Martyr, *Dialogue with Trypho* chap. 50 (*Ante-Nicene Fathers*, vol. 1. p. 220); Theodoret of Cyrus sees in Is 40:9-10 a clear announcement of Jesus's second coming, *cf. Explanatio in Isaiam*, PG 081.403.

20 **My Lord and brother R. Asher ben Nathan - may he prosper - said** This phrase is actually conveyed via two abbreviations: אאא"ש הראב"ן, which Rosenthal (*Sef. Yos.* p. 90, note 1 to chap. 97a), following Urbach's suggestion, renders as: אמר אדוני אחי שיחיה הרב אשר בן נתן.

20-21 **If it had been the Nazarene...** So Theodore of Mopsuestia (c. 350 - c. 328), *Commentarius in Zachariae*, PG 066.556.

23 **However we are not called nations** So Radaq *ad loc.*

Page 85

5 **One apostate says to me that this verse refers to the Nazarene** So also *Mil. Ha-Shem* (ed. Rosenthal, p. 132).

6 **It was him who freed the souls from hell** On Jesus's descent into hell, *cf. infra* chap. 10 and commentary; also, *cf. Bede, Homilies on the Gospels* 2.7: "[The angel] was sitting upon the stone with which the tomb was closed, but which had been rolled away, to teach that [Christ] had cast down and triumphed over the closed places of the lower world by his power, so that he might lift up to the light and the rest of paradise all of his own whom he found there, according to the prophet's [statement]: 'You also because of the blood of your covenant, have led your prisoners back from the pit, in which there is no water'" (Ferreiro, Alberto [ed.], *Ancient Christian Commentary on Scripture. Old Testament*, vol. 14; p. 261).

10 **What is the meaning of from a pit without water?** Radaq *ad loc.* sees in this an allusion to the exile, though here the polemicist appears more focused on refuting any pretension that the pit may represent hell.

12 **I declare that a second promise** Radaq and Josep Qara *ad loc.* interpret this verse as hinting to the victories pursued by the Hasmoneans against the Hellenists during the Second Temple period.

- 14 **Is Ephraim not still in Hala...** That is to say, it is clear that Ephraim/Israel is still in exile.
- 18-19 **Is Edom not whole and dominant?** Rashi *ad loc.* supports the view that the verse refers to the Greeks, though he is aware that some interpret it with reference to Edom; Targum Pseudo-Jonathan *ad loc.* reads: “And [God] will march in the storm wind from Rome”.
- 20-21 **It indicates the circumcision** So Radaq and Ibn Ezra *ad loc.*
- 28 **In the future, everyone will be redeemed** So also Radaq *ad loc.*, which seems to offer an alternative interpretation to the one already expounded, and which viewed this redemption as already fulfilled in the accomplishments of the Hasmoneans.

*Page 86*

- 1 **They want to assert that these are [the rods] of the cross** This must be a popular reading: though the interpreters did not refrain from interpreting these verses allegorically - *cf.* Jerome, *Commentariorum in Zachariam*, PL 25.1502 ff.; Haymo of Halberstadt (9<sup>th</sup> century), *Enarratio in Duodecim Prophetas Minores*, PL 117.259 ff.; Rupert of Deutz, *Commentariorum in duodecim prophetas minores*, PL 168.786 ff. - I did not manage to find an explicit reference to the cross and Jesus’s crucifixion.
- 8 **The thirty silver coins he was sold for** See Mt 27:9; Isidore, *De Fide Catholica*, PL 083.478; Haymo of Halberstadt, *Enarratio in Duodecim Prophetas*, PL 117.260; Peter Damian, *Antilogus Contra Judaeos* PL 145.63.
- 9 **How can the verse call it his wages?** *Mil. Ha-Shem* (ed. Rosenthal p. 133) reports a similar reasoning: “And how can it be said *wages* when it comes to selling? The Scripture should have said: ‘And they weighed out my compensation’, because the expression ‘wages’ does not apply to the act of selling; rather, the word ‘compensation’ is more fitting” (translation is mine). *Cf.* also parallel argument in *NV* (ed. Berger, p. 121-122).
- 12 **This is the explanation of the parashah** For these and many of the following interpretations, see in particular Rashi and Radaq *ad loc.*

*Page 87*

- 7-8 **But the sons of Josiah** A reference to the kingdoms of Josiah’s two sons: Jehoahaz (July - October 609 BCE) and Jehoiakim (608 - 598 BCE); and to his grandson Jeconiah’s rule (Dec. 598 - Mar. 597 BCE).

11-12 **It is akin to: *Take away your foot...*** Radaq on Zec 11:14 suggests the same infra-scriptural analogy; also Rashi and Joseph Qara suggest the idea of the removal of glory rather than that of “being precious, being dear” more commonly associated with the root י-ק-ר.

14 **Until the end of the thirty [generations]** I assumed that עד סוף השלשים was yet another allusion to the thirty generations previously quoted, though Rosenthal (see *Sef. Yos.* p. 93 note 6) refers to Radaq on Zec 11:14, who in turn quotes Abraham ibn Daud, author of *Sefer ha-Kabbalah*: “*And they weighed out my wages: thirty silver coins* - an allusion to the thirty years in which kings of grace ruled, and they are: Mattathias called ‘the Hasmonean’: one year; his son Judah: six years; his son Jonathan: six years; and finally his son Simon: eighteen years. Behold: thirty-one years; and if a few months were subtracted to them, it would amount precisely to thirty years, during which kings of faith ruled” (translation and italics are mine). See also Rashi on Zec 11:12: “And the counting of thirty [according to] Midrash Aggadah [see *Genesis Rabbah* 49:3] is due to the fact that it was promised to Abraham our father that no generation would enumerate less than thirty righteous men; the amount [derives from] *So shall your seed be* [heb. יהיה] [Gn 15:8]: יהיה in *gematria* is equivalent to thirty” (translation and italics are mine).

18 **This is Jeconiah, for the temple was destroyed in his days** Jeconiah actually witnessed the siege of Jerusalem, which began on January 27, 589 BCE (Paker, Richard and Dubberstein, Waldo, *Babylonian Chronology 626 B.C. – A.D. 75* [Brown University Press, 1956] p. 28); it was during the kingdom of Zedekiah, Jeconiah’s uncle, that the temple was destroyed (587 or 586 BCE).

25 **The rebellious ones say that this has been said about the Nazarene** See, for example, John 19:37 and Rv 1:7; Justin Martyr, *First Apology*, chap. 52 (*Ante-Nicene Fathers*, vol. 1, p. 180); Jerome, *Commentariorum in Zachariam*, PL 025.1514. Further references in A. Ferreiro (ed.), *Ancient Christian Commentary on Scripture. Old Testament*, vol. 14; pp. 271-273; of particular interest due to their harshness are maybe the words of Hyppolitus of Rome (130 - 235), quoted *ibid.* p. 273: “Then shall the son of perdition be brought forward, to wit, the accuser, with his demons and with his servants, by angels stern and inexorable. And they shall be given over to the fire that is never quenched, and to the worm that never sleepeth, and to the outer darkness. For the people of the Hebrews shall see Him in human form, as He appeared to them *when He came* by the holy Virgin in the flesh, and as they crucified Him. And He will show them the *prints of the nails* in His hands and feet, and His side pierced with the spear, and His head crowned with thorns, and His honourable cross. And once for all shall the people of the Hebrews see all these things, and they shall mourn and weep, as the prophet exclaims, ‘They shall look on Him whom they have pierced;’ and there shall be none to help them or to pity them, because they repented not, neither

turned aside from the wicked way. And these shall go away into everlasting punishment with the demons and the accuser” (*On the End of the World*, chap. 40).

26 **Retort to them** See parallel argument in *Mil. Ha-Shem* (ed. Rosenthal, p. 133): “And when did your messiah destroy all the nations of the earth who came against it [i.e. Jerusalem; *cf.* Zec 12:3]? This thing did not happen and was never meant to be; also, it will never happen, for he [i.e. Jesus] is already gone and has vanished for good” (translation is mine).

31 **As it is written in Ezekiel** *Cf.* Ez 38, 39.

Page 88

3 **“What are those wounds on your hands?”** Patristic literature viewed Zec 13 (especially verse 7 and ff.) as a prefiguration of Jesus’s tribulations and crucifixion; see Ferreiro (ed.), *Ancient Christian Commentary on Scripture. Old Testament*, vol. 14; pp. 275-277.

6 **No, it refers to what is written above** So Joseph Qara *ad loc.*: “My mother and father smote me for I have prophesized prophecies of falsehood; therefore, I will no longer prophesize for them” (translation is mine).

14-15 **This verse has been pronounced with regard to their offering** See especially the interpretations by Augustine and John Chrysostom (*Ancient Christian Commentary on Scripture. Old Testament*, vol. 14, pp. 289-290) pointing to God’s rejection of sacrifices and worship on the part of the Jews, following their denial of Jesus’s divinity; Eucharist is the new sacrifice in which the Lord delights.

17-18 **The sons of Ishmael, the sons of Keturah and the rest of the nations do not pay tribute to the Lord** On the acknowledgement that Christianity never reached the universality it claims for itself and longs for, see also *Wik. ha-Ram.* (ed. Chavel, p. 311); *Mil. Ha-Shem* (ed. Rosenthal, p. 74); *NV* (ed. Berger, p. 159 and p. 203); *Rome MS Wik. Dati* (p. 69).

25-26 **And they present their offerings on the graves** A probable allusion to the Christian custom of visiting burial places (of both their kin and of revered and saint men; *cf. infra* chap. 85 and 111).

29-30 **Each and every one of them proclaims his own mistake in my Name** *Cf.* Rashi and Radaq on Mal 1:11-12.

4 **You are uglier than any other people on the face of the earth** Cf. parallel argument in *NV* (ed. Berger, p. 224) and commentary p. 340; see also Rashi on Is 52:14: “As many peoples wondered about them when they saw them in their humble state, and said to one another, How marred is his [Israel’s] appearance from that of a man! See how their features are darker than those of other people, so, as we see with our eyes”.

9-10 **You [Christians], however, come from a red seed, from menstruant women** So also *NV* p. 224, lines 23-28.

10-11 **But the real reason is that we are in exile** Cf. *Mishnah Nedarim* 9:10, where R. Ishmael - who flourished in the turbulent and precarious period between the fall of the Second Temple and the Bar Kochba revolt - states that the daughters of Israel are beautiful, though poverty has spoiled their appearance.

Rosenthal’s edition (p. 95, note 1) reports a passage from a manuscript entitled “*Sefer wikkuaḥ tshuvah la-minim*” (“Book of disputation and refutation of the heretics”; cat. Oppenheim 757, cat. Neubauer MS 2289(1), pp. 50-51), which I hereby translate: “And if a Gentile says to you ‘We are exceedingly beautiful while you are not’, you shall reply: ‘Before the destruction of our Temple, we used to be more beautiful, as you can read in [the book of] Daniel concerning Nebuchadnezzar who took Hananiah, Mishael and Azariah as his servants, and could not find among his people men as handsome as them; furthermore, Jeremiah said in the scroll of Lamentations: *The precious sons of Zion, weighed against fine gold; Those reared in purple* [Lam 4:2, 5]. However when the temple was destroyed, beauty was taken from us, as it is written in [the book of] Lamentations: *How they are regarded as earthen jars* [Lam 4:2] etc. But in the future the Holy One - blessed be He - will return us our beauty, as it is written in Jeremiah: *Again I will build you, and you shall be rebuilt, O virgin of Israel! Again you shall take up your tambourines, And go forth to the dances of the merry-makers* [Jer 31:4]”.

21 **They say that this has been said about the Nazarene** Most exegetes interpreted the two comings mentioned in Mal 3:1 - the angel’s and the Lord’s - as referring respectively to John the Baptist and Jesus, in a sequence where the former paves the way for the latter and announces him (see especially the use which is made of Mal 3:1 and Is 40:3 in Mk 1:1-4; see also Ferreiro [ed.], *Ancient Christian Commentary on Scripture. Old Testament*, vol. 14; pp. 298-310 for several examples of such exegesis in patristic literature).

Cyril of Jerusalem (quoted *ibid.* p. 301) seems to distance himself quite sensibly from the other interpreters, viewing in the double coming mentioned by the verse an allusion to a second, final



manifestation of Jesus (*Parousia*): “Of these two comings the prophet Malachi says: ‘And suddenly there will come to the temple the Lord whom you seek’; that is one coming. Of the second coming he says: ‘And the messenger of the covenant whom you desire, yes, he is coming,’ says the Lord of hosts [...] Paul indicates these two comings also in writing to Titus in these words: ‘The Grace of God our Savior has appeared to all men, instructing us, in order that, rejecting ungodliness and worldly lusts, we may live temperately and justly and piously in this world; looking for the blessed hope and glorious coming of our great God and Savior, Jesus Christ [Tit 2:11-13]’. Do you see how he speaks of a first coming, for which he gives thanks, and of a second we are going to look for?”; *Catechesis* 15.2.

22 **It is not possible to say so** *Mil. Ha-Shem.*, in refuting the opponent on the same passage, emphasizes the contradictions of Christian doctrine concerning Jesus and his nature: “You said that he is both the angel and the Lord, but I am surprised that you are not ashamed of saying such things; how could you possibly turn this messiah from god into angel, from angel into lord, and from lord into a *poor man riding a donkey* [Zec 9:9]? It follows that you lessen his substance, overturning his shape and changing it into particular aspects” (ed. Rosenthal p. 134; translation is mine).

*Page 90*

1 **How can you say that he gave a new Torah?** So Augustine on these verses in *De Civitate Dei* 20:28, PL 041.703: “Simul etiam ut discant legem spiritualiter intelligere, et inveniant in ea Christum, per quem iudiciem facienda est inter bonos et malos ipsa discretio. Non enim frustra idem Dominus ait Judaeis, *Si crederetis Moysi, crederetis et mihi; de me enim ille scripsit (Joan. V, 46)*. Carnaliter quippe accipiendo legem, et ejus promissa terrena rerum coelestium figuram esse nescientes, in illa murmura corrueunt [...] Ad haec, inquam, contra Deum murmura pervenerunt, legem Moysi accipiendo carnaliter”.

12 **Nathan of Étampes** On R. Nathan son of Rabbeinu Meshullam *cf. infra* chap. 25 and commentary.

12 **Rabbienu Meshullam** *Cf.* chap. 76 and commentary.

12 **R. Todros** R. Todros ben Kalonymus, who lived in the first half of the 12<sup>th</sup> century; see on him *Gallia Judaica*, p. 406-407 and Gottard Deutsch, S. Mannheimer, “Todros ben Kalonymus” in *Jewish Encyclopedia*, vol. 12, p. 173. His father, Kalonymus the Great, reached the age of eighty years and became renowned for both his learning and the services rendered to the community of Narbonne. Todros was author of *’azharot* (“exhortations”), didactic liturgical poems on the 613 commandments.

13 **Who destroyed the barren house...** A metaphor probably indicating Todros's devout activity of preaching and defense of the Jewish faith.

15 **They may build...** Originally said by the Lord against Edom, who often stands for the Christians as a whole in medieval Jewish imagery.

19 **The holy R. Elijah** Cf. *infra* chap. 40 and commentary.

20 **The commentaries by R. Elijah of Troyes** As already noted by Kahn (*REJ* 3 [1881], p.4) and restated by Gross (*Gallia Judaica*, p. 239), Elijah of Troyes remains unknown besides this quotation in *SYM*. It is also curious that, despite declaring that he found some of his arguments in the "commentaries by R. Elijah of Troyes" (בנמקי ה"ר אליהו מטרויץ), Joseph the Official never quotes his name anywhere in the work.

21-22 **Samuel son of R. David** This name actually appears on a marginal annotation, while the original has been scraped; the name Yehiel was consequently written on this abrasion, but it also has been in turn partially scraped.

Samuel son of R. David may be identical with Samuel Baruch son of David mentioned on the cover sheet of P (maybe a previous owner of the manuscript?).

R. Yehiel may point to R. Yehiel of Paris, to whom we have good reasons to believe the work was originally dedicated, since he was Joseph's teacher (see *infra* p. LVII). So also Kahn, *REJ* 1 (1880), pp. 228, 232; Rosenthal (*Sef. Yos.* p. 97 note 7), on the other hand, is much less confident regarding this identification.

*Page 93*

3 **Blessed is the man** Cf. *infra* chap. 58 and commentary.

14 **This verse speaks of the Nazarene** Sal 2:1-2 is pronounced by the apostles Peter and John with reference to their persecutors and the enemies of the Christian faith; cf. Acts 4:23-28, and especially the last two verses: "*Indeed they gathered in this city against your holy servant Jesus whom you anointed, Herod and Pontius Pilate, together with the Gentiles and the peoples of Israel, to do what your hand and [your] will had long ago planned to take place*".

See also Theodoret of Cyrus, *Interpretatio in Psalmos*, PG 080.874-875: "Cum primum psalmum memoria impiourum clausisset, ab hac rursus secundi principium fecit: docens supradictum impiorum finem reges et principes, Judaeosque atque Gentiles contra Christum furentes manere [...] Non dicit *gentes* [Ps 2:1] cum articulo, ut omnes comprehendi extimes: verum dicit *gentes* ad singulare aliquid sensum dirigens. Nam quia Judaei Jesum comprehensum gentibus tradiderunt, merito haec dicit".

20 **And whom would the Lord say that He beget, besides the Nazarene?** Cf. Acts 13:3; see also, *inter alios*, Augustine, *Enarrationes in Psalmos*, PL 036.70-71.

24 **As if to say, attach yourselves to the son** See Jerome, *Breviarium in Psalmos*, PL 026.827: “Pro eo quod in Graeco dicitur, δρᾶξασθε παιδίας: in Hebraeo legitur NESCU BAR, quod interpretari potest, *adore filium*. Apertissima itaque de Christo prophetia, et ordo praecepti, Adorate filium: ne forte irascatur Dominus, hoc est, Pater”.

26 **Do they not say that he is ingenerated?** On the doctrine of Jesus as the ingenerated, ever-existing son of God, see especially Jn 1:1-18; see also 1 Pt 1:20.

Tertullian in his *Against Marcion* 4:21 sees in the fourth figure appearing in Dn 3:25 (the episode of Shadrach’s, Meshach’s and Abednego’s rescue from the fiery furnace) a manifestation of Jesus as the son of man before his actual birth: “Look carefully, then, along with the king of Babylon, into his burning fiery furnace, and there you will discover one “like the Son of man” (for He was not yet really Son of man, because not yet born of man), even as early as then appointing issues such as these. He saved the lives of the three brethren, who had agreed to lose them for God’s sake” (*Ante-Nicene Fathers* vol. 3, p. 381). Cf. also the *Summa Theologica* by Thomas Aquinas (Tertia pars, Quaestio 16).

Page 94

1 **Thus interpreted R. Joseph Bekhor Shor** The interpretations by Bekhor Shor on Psalms 2, 22 (cf. *infra* chap. 22), 68 (cf. *infra* chap. 118), and 87 (cf. *infra* chap. 123) have been published by M. Liber in *REJ* 58 (1909), pp. 307-314; “Les autres citations [besides those on Gn 25:31-34 and Is 52:13, see respectively *infra* chapters 16 and 84] sont sans doute des fragments du commentaire de Bechor-Schor sur les Psaumes” (*ibid.* p. 309).

3-4 **Their own five princes** See Job 13:3 and Jgs 3:3; cf. also Rashi and Radaq on Ps 2:1.

12 **And he is my king, the king that I have for myself** So Rashi and Radaq *ad loc.*

16 **I have made you great** So R. Menaḥem ha-Meiri (1249 - c. 1310) *ad loc.*: “*Today I have begotten you* - it hints to the day when they anointed him [i.e. David] king, and it means ‘I have made you great’” (*Perush la-Sefer Tehillim*, ed. Joseph Cohen [Jerusalem: Mekiṣe Nirdamim, 1936] p. 16; translations and italics are mine).

20 **Whenever you want to go to war** So Rashi *ad loc.*

27 **It also means cleanness and pureness** See Rashi *ad loc.*; Radaq *ad loc.* admits that the expression *bar* in this verse can mean both son and pureness, with the proviso that the son in question is no other than David, as already stated in his commentary on Ps 2:7.

Radaq is also familiar with the Christological interpretation of this psalm, and this is how he warns his readers: “And the Christians interpret this [psalm] with reference to Jesus, and the verse they adduce as proof of this and which they have made the foundation of their error is their own stumbling block: *The Lord said to me: “You are my son”* [Ps 2:7]. And if they tell you that Jesus was the son of God, you shall reply to them that a mortal man cannot be called ‘the son of God’, for a son is of the same nature as the father [...] And answer them that a deity cannot be both father and son, for a divinity cannot be separated as a normal body would; on the contrary, God is one, a unity in all of his aspects, he cannot be multiplied, diminished or divided. Furthermore, you shall tell them that the father precedes the son in time [...] therefore, as for the deity you speak of and whom you call ‘Father, son and Holy Spirit’, the part which you call ‘Father’ predates the other part which you call ‘Son’; for, if these two had been all along like one and the same, they should be called twin brothers. And should they say that it is not possible to call “son of God” a being that does not partake of the same nature as the deity, you shall reply that we cannot speak of the Lord - blessed be He - but through metaphors [...] and thus it must be understood metaphorically when it is written: son of God, sons of God [...] And if they affirm that the verse [*Ask it of me, and I will give you the nations as your inheritance*] refers to their faith, because it will be accepted [by all]; behold, most of the nations, Jews and Ishmaelites included, did not accept Jesus’s faith” (translation and italics are mine).

27-28 **Furthermore, it means grain** See for example Gn 41:35.

17 **And [Jerome] was wrong in saying that here *bar* means son** So Jerome, *Breviarium in Psalmos* PL 026.827.

31 **Garnissez** Cf. Middle French *garnir* and Old French *guarnir*, “to protect oneself, armor up”.

*Page 95*

5 **For it is customary for all those dealing with their lords to kiss them** So Radaq and Ibn Ezra *ad loc.*

14 **They say that it refers to the Nazarene** So Jerome, *Breviarum in Psalmos*, PL 026.828: “Totus itaque psalmus ad Christum, et per Christum ad justos referendus est”; Augustine, *Enarrationes in Psalmos*, PL 036.79: “*Filii hominum, usquequo graves corde? Saltem usque in adventum, inquit, Filii Dei vester error duraverit; quid ergo ultra graves corde estis? Quando habituri finem fallaciarum, si veritate praesente non habetis?*”.

16 **Offer sacrifices of righteousness** Cf. parallel argument in *NV* (ed. Berger, p. 138): ““Offer sacrifices of righteousness’ [Ps 4:6]. If he [i.e. Jesus] said this about himself, why did he call those

who killed him wicked and sinful men at the beginning of Psalms? After all, he himself commanded that this be done”.

23 **They say that it refers to the Nazarene, for the Lord is his refuge** So Eusebius of Caesarea *ad loc.*: “Haec porro quae jam proposita sunt, possunt mea quidem sententia de Judaeis Salvatoris consilium confundere conantibus accipi, quia putarent ipsum esse inopem virum, nec thesaurum divinitatis pensarent. Ii itaque doctrinae illius semper contradicunt; ac miraculorum virtutes, quasi non divina vi, sed alia quapiam ratione exhibitas, calumniantur” (PG 23.147).

32 **Whoever lends his money on interest** On the issue of usury, *cf. infra* chap. 49 and commentary.

33-34 **And there is no distinction between [lending to] a stranger or to anyone else** For an universal, irrevocable condemnation of usury in all of its forms based on Ps 15 (Ps 14 according to the Vulgate’s numbering), see Basil of Caesarea, *Homiliae in Psalmos* PG 29.263-279.

*Page 96*

9-10 **To the point of not accepting him if he converts** So *Targum Pseudo Jonathan* on Dt 23:8: “You shall not abhor an Edomite when he comes and converts, for he is your brother”.

14 **His fellowman in following the same Torah** *Cf. Midrash Tehillim* on Ps 15:3: “*He does not do evil to his fellowman* - this refers to the Holy One - blessed be He - for, at the time when Israel fabricated the calf, it is written: *And the Lord changed his mind about the punishment* [Ex 32:14] - and there are no fellowmen besides Israel, as it is written: *For the sake of my brothers and fellowmen* [Ps 122:8]”; ed. Buber [Vilna: 1891], translation and italics are mine).

21 **They say that every soul ends up in hell** *Cf. infra* chap. 10 and commentary.

23-24 **David was grateful to the Lord for He would not leave him down there for eternity** Acts 13:35-37 already relies on Ps 16:10 to emphasize the contrast between David and Jesus concerning their ultra-mundane destiny: “*That is why he also says in another psalm, 'You will not suffer your holy one to see corruption.' Now David, after he had served the will of God in his lifetime, fell asleep, was gathered to his ancestors, and did see corruption. But the one whom God raised up did not see corruption*”.

See also Augustine, *De Civitate Dei* 17:18, PL 041.553: “Quis in ea spe diceret requievisse carnem suam, ut non derelicta anima sua in inferno, sed cito ad eam redeunte revivisceret, ne corrumpetur, sicut cadavera corrumpi solent, nisi qui die tertio resurrexit? Quod utique dicere non possunt de propheta et rege David”.

*Cf.* also parallel argument in *NV* (ed. Berger, p. 156).

31 **This pit represents nothing but hell** Cf. *T.B. Eiruvin* 19a: “R. Joshua b. Levi stated: Gehenna has seven names, and they are: Nether-world, Destruction, Pit, Tumultuous Pit, Miry Clay, Shadow of Death and the Underworld” (ed. Soncino).

*Page 97*

3 **Any good deed that You do for me must not be incumbent on You** So Rashi *ad loc.*

4-5 **They go and seek for the saints** Cf. *infra* chapters 85 and 103.

8 **They hastened in making someone else a deity** For the view that the Christians hastened to worship a false messiah, cf. *infra* chapters 83 and 96. Cf. also Rashi *ad loc.*

19-20 **As if He had been constantly in front of me** Cf. Rashi *ad loc.*

26-27 **I knew that you would proclaim to me the path to the Garden of Eden** So Radaq *ad loc.*

29 **This [joy] refers to the future** So Rashi *ad loc.*, a probable allusion to the eschatological future.

*Page 98*

1 **The irreverent ones interpret this verse with reference to the Nazarene** Despite the polemicist’s perplexities on Jesus’s twofold nature raised a few lines afterwards, Cassiodorus (c. 485 - c. 585) made this mingling between human and godly aspects into the very cornerstone of his interpretation *ad loc.*: “*Duas enim naturas in Christo Domino salutariter credimus, Deitatis et humanitatis, quae in unam personam per infinita saecula incommutabiliter perseverant [...]* In prima narratione psalmi hujus, verba prophetae sunt ad Deum Patrem de incarnatione dominica. Secunda diversas virtutes ejus gloriamque describit, declarans a parte qua passus, ad quam summam rerum apicemque ipso largiente pervenerit. Tertia idem propheta convertitur ad Dominum Christum, ubi more desiderantium optat illa in judicio ejus fieri quae novit esse ventura”; *Expositio in Psalmos*, PL 070.149.

3 **Who would the Scripture refer to?** Cf. parallel argument in *NV* (ed. Berger, p. 149).

14 **My God, my God, why have you abandoned me?** Another veritable cornerstone of Jesus’s conception (and self-conception) in the light of Old Testament prophecies, cf. Mk 15:34, Mt 27:46. See also Ambrose, *De Fide* 2:7, PL 16.571; Jerome, *Breviarium in Psalmos*, PL 026.879 ff.; Augustine, *Enarrationes in Psalmos*, PL 036.172. See also chapter ten (*Titulus X*) of Petrus Alphonsi’s *Dialogus*, where he discusses - with his Jewish alter-ego Moses Sephardi - Jesus’s self-sacrifice, PL 157.639-650.

16-17 **It appears that it happened against his will, while...** Many Jewish polemical sources insist on the contradiction between Jesus's voluntary sacrifice and his crying for help; see *Mil. Ha-Shem* (ed. Rosenthal), p. 67; *Sef. ha-ber* (ed. Talmage) p. 65; *Rome MS Wik. Dati* p. 71; Radaq on Ps 22:22, also quoted in Talmage F., "R. David Kimḥi as Polemicist", *HUCA* 38 (1967), pp. 217-218; *NV* (ed. Berger) p. 150.

19 **He entered her through the center of her head** Heb. "שנכנס בה דרך אמצע הראש". On the so called aural conception (i.e. conception through ear) which Bogomils and Cathars in particular supported with regard to Jesus's birth, see Talmage, F., "An Hebrew polemical treatise. Anti-Cathar and Anti-Orthodox", *HTR* 60 (1967) p. 327 and especially notes 26-30. See also *Wik. ha-Rad.* (*ibid.* p. 341: "They say too that the annunciating angel, Gabriel, said to her, 'Ave Maria, gratia plena, Dominus tecum, etc.' At that moment the Holy Spirit of the Lord entered through her ear so that she conceived"); *NV* (ed. Berger) p. 153: "Moreover, if this were said about the hanged ones, the problem would be their belief that he was born out of the forehead of a harlot" (and see also Berger's commentary on this passage *ibid.* p. 303). An indirect reference to aural conception can maybe be found also in *Rome MS Wik. Dati* (p. 69), where the names of two Christian sects are explicitly mentioned: "And many others have become either Albigenses or Bogomils, and cannot believe the vileness he underwent, humiliating himself to the point of entering a woman and be subjected to men" (translation is mine); as explained by Talmage *loc. cit.*, one of the doctrines professed by dualists such as Bogomils and Cathars was Jesus's non-corporeal origin from the Holy Spirit, which would mitigate the much too physical implications of an ordinary birth and the degradation of a violent death.

22 **Rashi interprets with reference to the Nation of Israel** So Rashi on Ps 22:1.

23 **With reference to David, who went back to Ziklag** So Radaq and R. Menaḥem ha-Meiri on Ps 22:1: "And some interpret this [psalm] with reference to David, when he was still running from Saul".

28 **St. Malo** Cf. *Gallia Judaica* p. 550.

29 **Each and every one of them** So Rashi *ad loc.*; this remark probably aims at avoiding ambiguity on the subject of the sentence, since the last male, singular person agreeing with the verb appears to be God himself (*before Him*); thus, the exegetes point out that it is not God who cannot keep himself alive, but *all those who descend to the dust*. R. Joseph, on the other hand, refers this sentence to earthly kings and emperors, as he himself asserts immediately afterwards.

29-30 **And so does also Rashbam** See Aharon Mondschein, "On Rashbam's Rediscovered 'Lost Commentary' on Psalms" (Hebrew), *Tarbiz* 79, No. 1 (2010-2011), pp. 91-141.

9 **To whom do you confess?** Individual and periodic confession of one's sins to a Catholic priest is a practice whose origins date back to the 11th century (see Poschmann, Bernard, *Penance and the anointing of the sick* [Herder and Herder, 1963] p. 156); with the Fourth Lateran Council of 1215, the moral obligation for both men and women to confess their sins at least once a year to their own parish priest was reiterated and officially acknowledged (Canon 21, "Omnis utriusque sexus"; see Leclercq, Henri. "Fourth Lateran Council (1215)" in *The Catholic Encyclopedia* vol. 9, retrieved 4 May 2016 <http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/09018a.htm>)

*Cf.* also parallel argument in *NV* (ed. Berger, p. 223) and Berger's commentary on the passage (p. 339), where it is suggested that the whole argument is probably inspired by *T.B. Yoma* 86b: also in the Talmudic passage the apparent contradiction between Ps 32:1 and Pr 28:13 is emphasized, with the conclusion that the first refers to a private sin towards God, while the latter to a sin that is already known, and which has been committed against one's own neighbor.

22 **To the Pope** On this pope's identity, *cf. infra* chap. 37 and commentary.

30 **They interpret this verse with reference the Nazarene** So Jerome, *Breviarium in Psalmos*, PL 026.956: "Quod autem ait, *pro dilecto*, totus psalmus refertur ad Christum: de quo Pater loquitur in Evangelio: Hic Filius est meus dilectus in quo mihi complacui (*Matth. XVII*). Vel psalmus spiritualium nuptiarum continet Sacramentum: id est, conjunctionem Christi cum Ecclesia". See also Diodorus of Tarsus (c 330 - c. 390) on Ps 45 (quoted in *La Bibbia commentata dai Padri. Antico Testamento 7/1. Salmi 1-50*, Italian ed. Marco Conti, Gianluca Pilara [Roma: Città Nuova, 2012] p. 474): "This psalm seems to make reference to the Lord Jesus, and not to Solomon, as the Jews maintain. Even though they forcibly refer its content to Solomon, since it is all expressed in human form, however, the verse: *Your throne, O God, is forever and ever; your royal scepter is a scepter for justice* [Ps 45:7] silences their mouth, since Solomon was not called God and did not reign for ever and ever. Christ, on the contrary, took on the human condition exclusively in quality of God and for our salvation; and, being God and king for eternity, he also preserved his state of nature. If, however, all things here mentioned are human, this should not surprise us, since - in becoming man - he also accepted the condition of human nature. After all, if he accepted suffering like all human beings, all the more so he is worthy of praise as human being, with no damage to his divine nature" (translation from Italian is mine).

30-31 **Your throne, O God, is forever and ever** Already Heb 1:8-9 uses Sal 45:7-8 as evidence that the psalmist is referring to the Son, and not to mere angels; see also Justin Martyr, *Dialogue with Trypho* chap. 86: "Therefore God, even Thy God, hath anointed Thee with the oil of gladness



*above Thy fellows*’ [Ps 45:8]. For indeed all kings and anointed persons obtained from Him their share in the names of kings and anointed: just as He Himself received from the Father the titles of King, and Christ, and Priest, and Angel, and such like other titles which He bears or did bear” (*Ante-Nicene Fathers*, vol. 1, p. 242; italics is mine).

31 ***Daughters of kings will visit you*** Cf. Radaq on Ps 45:18: “And the Christians who, going astray, refer this verse to Jesus the Nazarene, interpret *daughters of kings* metaphorically as the nations who converted to their faith, to the Christian religion” (translation and italics are mine).

31-32 ***At your right hand stands the queen*** The *queen* of the verse has been variously interpreted by Christian exegetes as either representing the soul (Basil of Caesarea, Jerome) or the Church (Theodore of Mopsuestia); references in Conti-Pilara, *La Bibbia Commentata dai Padri. Antico Testamento 7/1*, pp. 485-486.

32 ***The king’s daughter...*** This verse too has been assumed by Church Fathers to symbolize the Church and its attributes: it is clothed with the gifts of the Spirit (Theodoret of Cyrus), its dress is interwoven with doctrine and practice (Basil of Caesarea); references *ibid.* pp. 487-488.

Page 100

3-4 **This psalm was about King Solomon** Menahem ha-Meiri on Ps 45:1 (ed. Joseph Cohn, p. 93) suggests this interpretation with the proviso that the psalm can also refer to the King Messiah.

14-15 **If he comes to purify himself, the doors are opened to him** See *T.B. Yoma* 38b.

17-18 **Here there is a median pause** In heb. *etnahta* (אתנהתא); it marks the end of the first part of a biblical verse.

19 **But this verse must be transposed** So Rashi *ad loc.*

20 **The heretics, however, read...** So for example Jerome, who comments the first part of the verse: “*Sagittae tuae acutae. Praedicationes, corda hominum transfigentes*” and then goes on to interpret the second segment: “*Populi sub te cadent in corde inimicorum regis. A compunctione predicationis, in corda corrunt ut non superbiant, sed humiliter credant*” PL 026.957-8.

33 **Great cities of kings** Rosenthal (*Sef. Yos.* p. 106, note 8) points to Radaq’s *Sefer ha-Shorashim* (Berlin: 1847) p. 43 on the entry *banah* (בנה): “And metaphorically, the community (heb. העדה) can be called daughter” (translation is mine).

12 **These are the men of Tyre** Cf. *Targum Psalms ad loc.*: “ויתבי כרכא דצור בתקרבתא ייתון” (Paul de Lagarde, *Hagiographa Chaldaice* [Lipsia: 1873] p. 25), “And those who dwell in the fortress of Tyre will come with an offering” (transl. by Edward M. Cook, 2001; consulted online at <http://targum.info/targumic-texts/targum-psalms/>).

20 **I heard from R. Avraham son of R. Isaac** Cf. *infra* chap. 64 and commentary.

20 **Avoteikha-ta'avteikha**, This expression must have suggested R. Abraham ben Isaac a rough assonance between אבתיך (“avoteikha”, *your fathers*) and an approximate future form of the rare verb לאבות, “to desire” (see for example Is 1:19: אִם־תֵּאָבְדוּ וְשִׁמְעֶתֶם, *If you are willing and obey...*).

29 **They speak irreverently and say that these are the three entities** So Jerome *ad loc.*, PL 026.968. See also on the same issue *infra* chapters 42, 53 and respective commentary.

30 **The interpretation according to the thirteen attributes has been already expounded** Cf. *infra* chap. 77 and commentary.

31-32 **David was enraged and exclaimed...** Radaq *ad loc.* refers this verse to the revenge God will exert on the nations.

5 **Your Torah is for an established time only** Cf. Jerome, PL 26.974: “Audiant Judaei sacrificia sua cessasse”; Augustine, *Sermo* 19:3: “Illa [sacrificia] ergo non quaeris, et tamen sacrificium quaeris. Populus tuus dicit tibi: Quid offeram, qui quod offerabam non offero? [...] Signa mutata sunt quibus aliquid significabatur, non res quae significabatur. Pro Christo aries, pro Christo agnus, pro Christo vitulus, pro Christo hircus, totum Christus” (PL 38.133).

11 **But not before that time** See also parallel argument in *NV* (ed. Berger, p. 208, lines 6-8): “Consequently, in the future, when our Temple is rebuilt speedily and in our own time, then we will bring sacrifices and burnt offerings, ‘bullocks upon your altar’ [Ps 51: 21]”.

15 **May God arise, may his enemies be scattered** This psalm too was interpreted by Jerome with reference to Jesus (see PL 26.1012), though there is no reference to Mary, Jesus’s mother; the expression *speciei domus* - which translates the Hebrew וְנִתְּ בֵּיתָ variously rendered as “she who remains in the house” or simply “the household” - is assumed by Jerome to designate the splendor of the Church (“Pulchritudo domus, Ecclesia est”; *ibid.* 1014). So also Augustine, *Enarrationes in Psalmos*, PL 36.821.

21 **And behold, he escaped death** So Jerome, PL 26.1017.

26 **When they were delivered from Egypt and walked into the desert** Cf. Rashi on Ps 68:7,  
11.

*Page 103*

4 **Your tribe** So Rashi and Radaq *ad loc.*

13 **This is Israel** So Radaq *ad loc.*

20 **It will snow in darkness** Radaq *ad loc.* explains *šalmon* (צלמון) - often identified with mount Zalmon, cf. Jgs 9:48 - as a derivation of *šalmut* (צלמות) “darkness”.

*Page 104*

8 **But regarding those escapes...** Interestingly enough, Radaq *ad loc.* interprets *escapes from death* (למות תוצאות) with the meaning of “to issue a death sentence” (להוציא משפטי המיתה), implying that God has many ways to put his enemies to death. The impression that one gets from this need for a sensitive shift of meaning was that the exegete wanted to avoid any association with the concept of a deity who eluded death, an idea much too imbued with Christological implications; see for example the interpretation of the Christian opponent in *Mil. Ha-Shem* (ed. Rosenthal p. 72): “And the explanation is that he will save me from the death which he himself eluded, for he has escapes from the ways of death” (translation is mine).

19-20 **And Miriam the prophetess, Aaron’s sister** The same infra-scriptural analogy suggested by Rashi and Radaq *ad loc.*

22 **You who came forth...** So Radaq *ad loc.*

31 **The nation of wickedness** Radaq *ad loc.* points out that Ps 9:6 displays a similar phrasing: *You rebuked the nations, you destroyed the wicked.*

33 **And they indeed steal money...** The view that theft and robbery are peculiar traits of the Christians is also present in *Rome MS Wik. Dati* (p. 67) and *Sef. ha-ber* (ed. Talmage p. 26).

*Page 105*

1 **And therefore it is called beast of the reeds...** Cf. *T.B. Pesahim* 118b ed. Soncino, note 22: “Kaneh is now interpreted as the cane reeds of the forest, the boar (or, swine) being Rome. This interpretation is probably connected with the midrash that when Solomon married Pharaoh's

daughter an angel planted a large reed in the sea whereon Rome was built (Midrash Rabbah on Cant. 1, 6)".

9 **Those who speak falsehood refer this to Jesus** Cf. Mk 15:36; Mt 27:48; Lk 23:36; Jn 19:29-30. See also Tertullian, *An Answer to the Jews*, chap. 13: "[...] 'and in my thirst [they] slaked me with vinegar.' These things *David* did not suffer, so as to seem justly to have spoken of himself; but the Christ who was crucified" (*Ante-Nicene Fathers* vol. 3, p. 169).

22 **These represent Israel** So Rashi *ad loc.*

27 **This is the exile** So *Midrash Tehillim ad loc.*: "*I have sunk into the mire* - it refers to the exile of Babylon, as it is written: *I say to the depth of the sea: 'Dry up!'* [Is 44:27]; *and there is no foothold* - it refers to the exile of Media and Persia; *I have come into deep waters* - it is the exile of Yavan; *and the current swept me away* - it refers to the exile of the wicked Edom" (italics and translation are mine).

Page 106

1 **The sons of Ishmael** Cf. Radaq *ad loc.*: "And it means that I have been regarded as a stranger; and *my brothers* are the sons of Ishmael, while *my mother's sons* are the sons of Esau" (italics and translation are mine).

13-14 **As it is written: I was only a little angry...** Also Rashi *ad loc.* quotes Zec 1:15.

23-24 **It refers to the Nazarene, for he was a king and a king's son** See Justin Martyr, *Dialogue with Trypho* chap. 34: "And where it has been said, 'O God, give Thy judgment to the king,' since Solomon was king, you say that the Psalm refers to him, although the words of the Psalm expressly proclaim that reference is made to the everlasting King, i.e., to Christ [...] Moreover, that Solomon was a renowned and great king, by whom the temple called that at Jerusalem was built, I know; but that none of those things mentioned in the Psalm happened to him, is evident. For neither did all kings worship him; nor did he reign to the ends of the earth; nor did his enemies, falling before him, lick the dust. Nay, also, I venture to repeat what is written in the book of Kings as committed by him, how through a woman's influence he worshipped the idols of Sidon, which those of the Gentiles who know God, the Maker of all things through Jesus the crucified, do not venture to do, but abide every torture and vengeance even to the extremity of death, rather than worship idols, or eat meat offered to idols" (*Ante-Nicene Fathers* vol. 1, pp. 211-212).

Cf. also Petrus Alphonsi's *Dialogus* (PL 157.622) where he has his former Jewish-self admit that the whole Psalm clearly refers to Jesus, and there is not even need to argue on that.

See also parallel arguments in *NV* (ed. Berger pp. 158-159 and commentary pp. 306-307).

32-33 **One man would swallow up alive his fellow-man** Cf. *Mishnah Avot* 3:2.

Page 107

3 **David was praying for his son Solomon** So Rashi and Radaq on Ps 72:1; Ibn Ezra *loc. cit.* and *Midrash Tehillim* on Ps 72:16 also suggest the King Messiah as alternative addressee of the prayer.

5 **For satiety brings about peace** Interpreted as a metaphor of abundance and agricultural prosperity also in Rashi and Radaq *ad loc.*

7-8 **As long as the sun [endures]** So Rashi, Radaq and Ibn Ezra *ad loc.*

14 **This prayer was not fulfilled** So Rashi *ad loc.*

16 **[It means] abundance** So Rashi *ad loc.*

20-21 **All the days of his life** This is probably to mitigate the alleged eternity of Solomon's fame, since he sinned in his old age and was not remembered as a perfect righteous. This is also how Rashbam interprets *forever* (heb. *le- 'olam*) in Ex 21:6, implying that a slave will serve his master all the days of his life.

25 **There is no before and after** So Rashi *ad loc.*

31 **How long will you harbor this obstinate hope?** Both psalm 74 and psalm 75, indeed, give voice to the Jews' malcontent and doubts about their tribulations, and at the same time contain a promise of redemption and the hope for salvation.

Page 108

8 **The chancellor** Cf. *infra* chap. 8 and commentary.

8 **Which truth will spring from the earth?** A rhetorical question in the chancellor's view, the answer being Jesus; see Lactantius (c. 250 - c. 325), *Divinarum Institutionum Liber V*, PL 6.479: "Unde Davide in psalmo LXXXIV: *Veritas* - inquit - *de terra orta est*; quia Deus, in quo veritas est, terrenum corpus accepit, ut terrenis viam salutis aperiret"; Jerome, PL 26.1077: "Ecce veritas, id est, Salvator de Terra, hoc est, de Maria ortus est".

17-18 **For he was born in Zion** Cf. *infra* the marginal addition to chap. 93 and commentary.

18 **And he founded and established her** Cf. Jerome, PL 26.1080: "Quae sunt autem fundamenta, nisi Pater, et filius, et Spiritus Sanctus? Haec ergo fundamenta non sunt in vallibus, sed sunt in montibus, et non in montibus quibuscumque, sed in montibus sanctis"; Augustine, PL 041.550: "Quis est iste altissimus, nisi Deus? Et per hoc Christus Deus, antequam in illa civitate per

Mariam fieret homo, ipse in Patriarchis et Prophetis fundavit eam”. See also *Mil. Ha-Shem* (ed. Rosenthal, p. 72-73), where the Christian opponent says that the repetition of the word “man” - *this man and that man were born in it* - represents an allusion to the double nature of Jesus, who is man by birth and man in his divinity (איש בלידה ואיש באלהות).

21 **The psalm refers to Mount Temple** Radaq on Ps 87:1: “*In the holy mountains* - they are Jerusalem and Zion; and he said *mountains* in the plural, because Mount Zion is one thing, and Mount Moriah - that is to say, Temple Mount - is another” (translation and italics are mine).

28 **And R. Joseph Bekhor Shor interprets...** On Bekhor Shor’s commentary to Psalms, see Liber, M., *REJ* 58 (1909) p. 308 ff.

Page 109

11 **They refer this psalm to the Nazarene** See Jerome, *PL* 026.1089-1090.

18 **Rabbeinu Menaḥem of Joigny** Identified with Menaḥem ben Perez of Joigny, a contemporary of rabbeinu Tam and Rashbam (see Kahn Z., *REJ* 3 [1881] p. 7; *Gallia Judaica*, pp. 251-252); an important tosafist (his work was known by Asher ben Yehiel) and a biblical commentator (excerpts in *Minḥat Yehudah* and *Da’at Zeqenim*; also author of a Masoretic work), he probably died around 1180-1190; Kahn *loc. cit.* is sure that he is identical with the “holy R. Menaḥem” quoted in *Tosafot* on *Hullin* 11b, and suggests that he may have died in the massacre at Bray-sur-Seine which took place in 1191 during the reign of Philip II of France (see Bernhard Blumenkranz “Bray-sur-Sein” in *Encyclopedia Judaica*, vol. 4, p. 141).

18 **Hospitaller of Jerusalem** A religious-military order founded by Italian merchants from Amalfi in Jerusalem and which received papal confirmation in 1113; also known as the Knights Hospitaller of St. John of Jerusalem; see *REJ* 3 (1881), p. 14.

18-19 **R. Aaron son of R. Joseph ha-Cohen** Author of *Sefer ha-gan* (“The book of the garden”), a commentary on the Pentateuch according to the ways of *peshat* exegesis (printed edition by Yehiel Michal Orléans [Jerusalem: Mosad ha-Rav Kook, 2009]); a contemporary of the Officials (the book was composed around 1240; *cf. ibid.* introduction p. 24), he drew extensively from the same sources as our Joseph: Rashi, Rashbam, Joseph Qara and Joseph Bekhor Shor (*ibid.* p. 36 ff.); the last is considered by the editor as one of the primary sources of *Sefer ha-gan* (so *ibid.* p. 38), and a whole chapter has been dedicated to the relationship between Bekhor Shor’s and Aaron’s exegetical views (*cf. ibid.* p. 42 ff.).

23 **The Lord says to my lord** Another cornerstone of Jewish-Christian polemics; already interpreted in Christological sense - i.e.: “God says to David’s Lord, Jesus” - in the New Testament: cf. Mk 12:36; Acts 2:34-35; Heb 7:17 quoting Ps 110:4.

Further references can be found in Berger’s commentary to *N.V.*’s parallel argument, pp. 160-165 (references p. 307); I, therefore, will only quote Ramban’s caustic yet illuminating observations (*Wik. ha-Ram.* ed. Chavel p. 317) on this verse as translated by Berger *loc. cit.*: “Are you the brilliant Jew who found this novel argument, apostasized because of it, and told the king to bring together all the Jewish scholars for a debate on those novel arguments? Have we never heard this until now? There isn’t a single priest or an infant who does not ask the Jews this question, for it is extremely old”. An extract of Ramban’s argument can also be found in very concise form in *Rome MS Wik. Dati* (p. 64).

28 **Rather, did they not have dominion over his flesh...** The same point is made in *Mil. Ha-Shem* (ed. Rosenthal, p. 75); *NV* (ed. Berger p. 160, lines 11-12).

31 **Had there been no water, he would have died of thirst** So also *NV* on Ps 110:7 (ed. Berger, p. 165 lines 7-9).

*Page 110*

1 **Rashi interpreted it as referring to Abraham** See Rashi on Ps 110:1 and *T.B. Nedarim* 32b.

1 **Or to David as well...** See Rashi on Ps 110:7 for an alternative interpretation. Cf. also Ibn Ezra *ad loc.* and *Mil. Ha-Shem* (ed. Rosenthal, p. 75).

2 **I also heard that this was a prophecy about Hezekiah** As pointed out by Rosenthal (*Sef. Yos.* p. 115 note 5), *Mekhilta de-Rabbi Ishmael* (ed. Horovitz-Rabin, 1970; *masekhta’ de-Shirah*, parashah 6) interprets Ps 110:1-4 as referring to several of Israel’s enemies, Sennacherib included. See also Rashi’s second interpretation *ad loc.*

5-6 **Wait for the salvation of my right hand** So Rashi *ad loc.*

23 **An important man** So Rashi on 2 Sam 8:18 and Ex 19:6.

27 **The ones who came with Sennacherib** Cf. *Mekhilta de-Rabbi Ishmael loc. cit.*

*Page 111*

1-2 **This refers to Sennacherib** See Rashi’s second interpretation *ad loc.*

12-13 **They affirm that they are nothing but a metaphor** See for example Walafrid Strabo (c. 808 - 849), *Liber Proverbiorum*, PL 113.1079: “Proverbiorum liber, ut non simplices arbitrantur, patientia habet praecepta, sed quasi in terra aurum, in nuce nucleus, in hirsutis castanearum operculis absconditus fructus inquiritur; ita in eis divinus sensus altius est inquirendus [...] Latine *similitudines*; quod vocabulum ideo Salomon huic operi imposuit, ut non juxta litteram intelligamus quae dicit: in quo Dominum parabolice turbis locuturum significat, sicut et nomine suo regno pacifico, regnum Christi et Ecclesiae”.

*Cf.* also *Rome MS Wik. Dati* (p. 70): “The heretics speak irreverently and say to us: ‘All the prophets prophesized concerning Jesus’s mother, but you interpret the verses only according to the plain and literal sense’ and also say: ‘You [Jews] gnaw at the bone and do not eat the flesh and the marrow that are inside; because the literal sense of the verse is the body and the bone, while the metaphorical meaning is the spirit and the marrow: it is the *figura*, and we interpret spiritually and metaphorically” (translation and italics are mine).

13 **They interpret in a defective way** *Cf.* *T.B. Sanhedrin* 99b, where the expression is referred to king Manasseh who interprets the Scriptures with the purpose of systematically finding flaws in it.

23 **The rebellious ones say that it refers to the Nazarene** This can be considered a *locus classicus* of Jewish-Christian polemics; *cf.* Berger’s commentary on this same passage as it appears in *NV* (argument p. 129, commentary p. 289).

25 **It should have said: ‘Who descended from heaven and then ascended?’** See also *NV* (ed. Berger p. 129, line 6-7); *Mil. Ha-Shem* (ed. Rosenthal, p. 139).

29 **For the Nazarene had no son** So also *NV loc. cit.*

32-33 **He was a villager, one who worked the land** R. Nathan’s low opinion of Agur son of Jakeh must be at least partially due to what Agur says of himself: “*I am more boorish than any man, and I do not have the understanding of a man; Neither have I learned wisdom, Nor do I have the knowledge of the Holy One*” (Pr 30:3-4).

*Page 112*

6 **This is Rashi’s interpretation** For the exegesis of the verses expounded from here to the end of the chapter, *cf.* Rashi on Prv 30:1-6.

16 **In the *Pesikta*** *Cf.* *Pesikta De-Rav Kahana* 5:4 (ed. Mandelbaum, 1962); *Pesikta Rabbati* 15 (ed. Ish Shalom).



30 **Who do you say this *mother* is?** Though it is not specified whom the Christians think this *mother* is, it is probably understood as an allusion to Jesus's mother, as explicitly stated in the parallel argument of *NV* (ed. Berger p. 166 and commentary p. 309). As pointed out by Berger *loc. cit.*, Bede the Venerable interprets *mater sua* as a reference to Mary: "Hoc est enim aperte dicere, Videte Dominum in humanitate, quem de Virgine matre susceptam, in majestatis paternae dextera collocavit. Mater quippe sua illum diademate coronavit, quando beata et intemerata virgo de Spiritu sancto concipiens, materiam illam illi sacrosanctae carnis de sua carne praebuit, in qua mundo apparens, et habitans in nobis, regnum mortis moriendo destrueret, quamque ad coelos ascendendo, gloria perennis regni sublimaret" (*In Cantica Canticorum Allegorica Expositio*, PL 091.1127). But the mother has also been interpreted as a father, because divine nature knows no sex distinctions; so for example Gregory of Nyssa, *Homiliae in Cantica Canticorum* 7, PG 044.915: "Neque quisquam eorum qui aliquo in oraculis divinis iudicio valent, de vocabuli vi argutabitur quod pro patre matris hic fiat mentio, cum utriusque vocis sensus idem sit. Nam cum in natura divina neque masculus, neque femineus sexus existat [...] idcirco in naturae illius ineffabilis indicatione vox quaevis parem vim obtinet; neque maris, neque feminae vocabulo significationem illius purissimae naturae polluentem".

30-31 **Every *Solomon* mentioned in the Song of Songs is sacred, except this one** Cf. *T.B. Shevuot* 35b: every *shlomoh* is sacred because is to be understood as *shalom*, the Peace of the Lord. The case of converts quoting Talmudic material in their debates with the rabbis is one of the traits that most define Jewish-Christian polemics in the 12<sup>th</sup> and 13<sup>th</sup> century; see my Introduction on the Jewish-Christian debate and especially paragraphs V, VI and VIII.

33 **Solomon's wisdom** Cf. *Song of Songs Rabbah* (Vilna: 1878) parashah 1:7[1].

*Page 113*

1 **His loftiness** Cf. *ibid.* parashah 1:1[2]. Both wisdom and greatness are regarded by the Midrash as Solomon's attributes, though the specific analogy with the  $\alpha\lambda$  of Prv 2:3 and Ez 21:26 are not to be found there and can probably be seen as an original contribution by the Officials.

10 **Who was that wise child?** Cf. Jerome, *Commentarius in Ecclesiasten*, PL 023.1104: "Post generalem enim illam sententiam, quae omnibus patet, quod melior et adolescentulus pauper et sapiens, quam rex senex et insipiens, et quod frequenter evenit [...] super Christo et diabolo hunc locum interpretati sunt, quod puerum pauperem et sapientem, Christum velint".

19-20 **It is not even possible to be forcibly converted** This was - at least on the theoretical level - the Church's official policy towards forced baptism in the 13<sup>th</sup> century, as expressed also by

Innocent III's confirmation in 1199 of the *Sicut Judaeis* bull, "to the effect that 'none can be believed to possess the true faith of a Christian who is known to have come to baptism not of his own free will but even against his wishes'" (Grayzel, *The Church and the Jews*, p. 14).

24 **That is to say: I have been circumcised** Cf. Kahn Z., *REJ* 3 (1881), p. 32 note 2.

31 **Hence, he will no longer take care of you** Rosenthal (*Sef. Yos.* p. 118 note 1 to chap. 131) points to Aphrahat's (c. 280 - c. 345) *Demonstrations* and to his interpretation of Lam 4:16: "He [i.e. Daniel] said again:—*The saints of the Most High shall receive the Kingdom* [Dan 7:27]. What shall we say concerning this? Have the children of Israel received the Kingdom of the Most High? God forbid. Or has that people come upon the clouds of heaven? This has passed away from them. For Jeremiah said concerning them:—*Call them rejected silver, for the Lord has rejected them* [Jer 6:30]. Again he said:—*He will not again regard them* [Lam 4:16]" (*Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers*, series 2, vol. 13, p. 359).

Page 114

9 **They are destined to eat it in the future** So *T.B. Bava Batra* 75a: "Rabbah said in the name of R. Johanan: The Holy One, blessed be He, will in time to come make a banquet for the righteous from the flesh of Leviathan" (ed. Soncino). Cf. also Rosenthal's note (*Sef. Yos.* p. 119, n. 3) on this passage being quoted also in the text of the Paris disputation: "Furthermore [the Talmud] says that they will make a banquet of the salted [meat] of the Leviathan"; ed. Grünbaum (Thorn: 1873) p. 13 (translation is mine).

10 **A demon** So Jerome, *Commentarii in Librum Job*, PL 026.786-7.

22 **Loches** Loches-sur-Indre; cf. *Gallia Judaica* p. 292.

23 **They speak falsehood** The polemicist sees in this verse from Daniel - and especially in the remark that a deity cannot abide with mortal men - a proof against Jesus' incarnation; the verse is quoted with the same polemical intent also in *Rome MS Wik. Dati* (p. 70) and *NV* (ed. Berger p. 85).

30 **One priest from Saint-Prix asked me who that stone was** The stone of the verse was indeed interpreted by Christian exegetes as a reference to Jesus; so Augustine, *In Epistolam Joannis ad Parthos*, PL 035.1987-88: "Nonne lapis iste qui precisus est de monte sine manibus, Christus est de regno Judaeorum sine opera maritali? Nonne ille lapis confregit omnia regna terrarum, id est, omnes dominationes idolorum et daemoniorum? Nonne ille lapis crevit, et factus est mons magnus, et implevit universum orbem terrarum?". Cf. also Gregory of Nyssa, *In Baptismum Christi*, PG 46.589.

8 **Those combiners of lies have combined together two different verses** Christian exegetes indeed interpreted the Holy of Holies quoted in Dn 9:24 as alluding to Jesus, whose coming had brought the lineage of Jewish anointed kings - represented by *the anointed one* of Dn 9:26 - to an end; see for example Isidore on these verses in *De Fide Catholica*, PL 081.462: “Post passionem igitur Christi venit Titus, et debellavit Judaeos, et destruxit urbem, et templum, et cessaverunt libamina et sacrificia. Quae ultra illic celebrari non potuerunt. Ut impleretur quod fuerat ante a propheta praedictum”. So also Peter Damian, *Contra Judaeos*, PL 145.46.

Jewish polemicists were aware of the undue Christian conflation of these two verses, and often pointed it out; cf. *Mil. Ha-Shem* (ed. Rosenthal, p. 135); *Sef. ha-ber* (ed. Talmage pp. 39, 41); *Rome MS Wik. Dati* (p. 70); *NV* (ed. Berger p. 132; see also Berger’s commentary pp. 289-290 for further references).

11 **In the days of Zedekiah the anointed kings had come to an end** Cf. *infra* chap. 22 and commentary.

12 **During the Second Temple we found no use of the oil of anointing** So *T.B. Keritot* 5b.

17 **They want to maintain that it is the Nazarene** See Jerome, *Commentariorum in Daniele*, PL 025.511-512: “Speciem autem quarti quem similem dicit filio Dei, vel angelum debemus accipere (ut Septuaginta trastulerunt), vel certe, ut plerique arbitrantur, Dominum Salvatorem [...] Caeterum in typo praefigurat iste angelus sive filius Dei Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum, qui ad fornacem descendit inferni, in quo clausae, et peccatorum et justorum animae tenebantur, ut absque exustione, et noxa sui eos qui tenebantur inclusi mortis vinculis liberaret”. Cf. also Pseudo-Augustine, *Contra Judaeos, Paganos et Arianos*, PL 42.1126.

18 **Who sent His angel** Rashi *ad loc.* interprets this angel with reference to 2 Kgs 19:35: *That night the angel of the Lord went forth and struck down one hundred and eighty-five thousand men in the Assyrian camp.*

19-20 **The angels are called: ‘sons of God’** So also *Rome MS Wik. Dati* in quoting Job 38:7 to refute the Christological interpretation of the *son* mentioned in Ps 2:7: *You are my son, today I have begotten you.* Cf. also Ibn Ezra on Job 38:7.

28 **They interpret this with reference to the Nazarene** This verse was already interpreted as a prophecy on Jesus’s second advent by New Testament literature, cf. Mt 24:30, 26:64; Rv 1:7; see also Hippolytus of Rome (170 - 235), *De Christo et Antichristo*, PG 010.762-3; Cyril of Jerusalem, *Catechesis*, PG 033.869-70; Justin Martyr, *Dialogue with Trypho* chap. 31 (*Ante-Nicene Fathers*, vol. 1, p. 209); Theodoret of Cyrus, *Explanatio in Daniele*, PG 081.1426.

32-33 **And the four kingdoms have not yet come to an end** It is hereby implied that the fourth kingdom - which is Rome, according to Rashi; the other three beasts (lion, bear and leopard) representing respectively the kingdoms of Babylon, Persia, and Macedonia; see Rashi on Dn 7 - has not yet ceased to exist, and corresponds with the Christian rule; and this is the reason why *one like a son of a man* - identical with the King Messiah according to Rashi *ad loc.* - has not yet manifested himself.

On the Christian exegesis of the four beasts, see Stevenson, Kenneth, Glerup, Michael *La Bibbia commentata dai Padri. Antico Testamento 12. Ezechiele, Daniele* (Roma: Città Nuova 2010) p. 287: “There are two distinct currents of interpretation on the four kingdoms: the Syriac minority (Ephrem [the Syrian], Isho’dad [of Merv]) is opposed to the others (Hippolytus, Cyril of Jerusalem, John Chrysostom, Theodoret, Jerome). All the exegetes agree that the image of the lioness refers to the Babylonian Empire, but are in disagreement concerning the kingdoms represented by the other beasts. Hippolytus, Jerome, Chrysostom and Theodoret believe that the second beast, the bear, is the Persian kingdom; the third, the leopard, is the Macedonian kingdom; and the fourth is the Roman Empire. Ephrem and Isho’dad, on the other hand, believe that the bear is the Median kingdom; the leopard is the Persian kingdom, while the fourth [beast] is the Macedonian kingdom. The ten horns represent the ten kings up to Antiochus (Jerome). Among the ten horns, appears a smaller horn, which is the Antichrist (Hippolytus). The small horn with human eyes is a sinner in which Satan abides (Jerome). The fourth beast looks different from the others because of its horns, and the three horns represent Egypt, Libya and Ethiopia (Hippolytus). The Antichrist is the persecutor of the Jews (Ephrem). Antiochus Epiphanes is the small horn (Isho’dad)” (translation is mine; *cf.* also *ibid.* pp. 287-296. for exact references).

*Page 116*

1 **This event has not yet taken place** John Chrysostom seems to interpret Dn 7:14 as a prophecy already fulfilled through Jesus’s incarnation, and not just as a prefiguration of his second advent: “Et ipsi datus est principatus, et honor, et regnum: et omnes populi, tribus, linguae, ipsi servient. Potestas ejus potestas aeterna, quae non pertransibit, et regnum ejus non corrumpetur.’ Quid, quaeso, his verbis manifestius. *Et omnes populi*, inquit, *tribus, linguae, ipsi servient*. Vide ut omnem orbis gentem complexus sit. Vide ut et iudicis acceperit tribunal ac potestatem [...] Nam quia Filius post patrem apparuit, propter hoc ait eum venisse cum nubibus. Quod autem existeret et antea, clarum est ex ipsis nubibus: siquidem in iis venit. *Et illi delatus est honor*. Quem habebat

scilicet. *Et populi, tribus, linguae, ipsi seruiant.* Principatum etenim habebat antea, tunc vero illum ipsum quem obtinebat accepit” (*Interpretatio in Daniele*, PG 56.232-233).

2 **The Ishmaelites, the Qedarites and the rest of the kingdoms** *Cf. infra* chap. 103 on “the Ishmaelites and the sons of Keturah” etc. and commentary.

Page 118

1 **Sin of blank paper** In Hebrew *'awon gilyion*, a derogatory term of which some Medieval Christians were aware; *cf.* Merchavia, Ch., *Ha-Talmud bi-re'i ha-Nasrut* (Jerusalem: Mossad Bialik, 1970) pp. 86, 303, 327.

3 **Passion** The text has פסייון which is probably a pun playing on the assonance between Jesus's passion and the Hebrew meaning of the word, “spreading” (of leprosy; heb. “pissaiyon”); *cf.* Mishnah *Nagaim* 3:3.

7 **According to their own words, then, Jesus was born from a woman** This Jewish critique of the gospels - which aims at emphasizing alleged absurdities or contradictions in the New Testament - is also quite indicative of a certain level of mutual misunderstanding concerning the other's sacred scriptures (in a similar fashion, the Christian allegorical or typological exegesis of the Tanakh previously expounded has been easily refuted by the Officials and other Jewish polemicists, mostly through a contextual-historical approach). In this case, for example, the statement that John was the greatest man among those born of a human woman implies that the stronger one who was supposed to come after him (*cf.* Mk 1:7; Mt 3:11; Lk 3:16) was necessarily of godly origins.

12 **What is written in the Gospel concerning the wedding and the headwaiter** *Cf.* parallel argument in *NV* (ed. Berger p. 192 and commentary p. 320).

15-16 **And if John [the Baptist's] mother was a woman who had consummated marriage...** Since the Vulgate calls both Jesus's and John's mothers *mulier* (*cf. infra* chap. 1[g]), this must imply - in the polemicist's view - that the two women share the same condition; however, although it is true that the Latin term *mulier* describes mostly - but non exclusively - an adult married woman, here it merely translates the Greek γυνή, an appellation not necessarily describing the status of a woman who had had intercourse with a man.

19 **Par puissance, non par nature, Createur fut fait creature** These words seem to echo those pronounced by the Jew in Gilbert Crispin's *Disputatio*, where reference is also made to James 1:17 concerning God's immutability: “Quae me ratio, quae me Scripturam cogit auctoritas ut credam quod Deus homo fieri queat, vel homo factus jam existat? Si nulla apud Deum est transmutatio, nec

ulla vicissitudinis obumbratio (*Jac. I, 17*), quomodo penes eum tanta rerum fieri potest alteratio, ut Deus homo fiat, Creator creatura, et incorruptibilis credatur factus esse corruptela?” (PL 159.1018).

26 **I said I would gather you...** This chapter probably wants to point out the contradiction between Jesus’s unfulfilled plans of calling the Jerusalemites to repentance - though it is only John, and not the synoptic gospels, who recount of four distinct visits of Jesus in Jerusalem (Jn 2.13; 5:1; 10:22; 12:12) - and God’s omnipotence, which immediately turns intentions into actions.

*Page 119*

1 ***Qui manducat carnem*** These exact verses are not to be found in the gospels, though they are probably reminiscent of Jn 6:57: *Qui manducat meam carnem et bibit meum sanguinem*, where, however, the reference is to Jesus’s flesh and blood, and to the sacrament of communion.

What we have in Lk 7:33-34 - *For John the Baptist came neither eating food nor drinking wine, and you said: “He is possessed by a demon”. The Son of Man came eating and drinking and you said: “Look, he is a glutton and a drunkard, a friend of tax collectors and sinners”* - is not so much a condemnation of eating and drinking as a stigmatization of the hypocrisy and the fickleness of Jesus’s generation.

8 ***Sicut anima...*** These words are taken from the so-called Athanasian Creed (or *Quicumque vult*, “Whoever wishes”, from its opening lines), a declaration of belief in the Trinitarian nature of Jesus, in use since the 6<sup>th</sup> century; it is nowadays common opinion among the scholars that it was neither composed by Athanasius of Alexandria, to whom it was traditionally attributed - so Norris, Frederick W., “Athanasian Creed” in *Encyclopedia of Early Christianity* (2nd ed.) ed. Everett Ferguson (New York & London: 1998) p 137 - nor originally considered a creed at all - see Richardson, Herbert W., Hopkin, Jasper, “On the Athanasian Creed”, *The Harvard Theological Review* 60 No. 4 (1967) pp. 483-484. *Cf.* also the parallel argument - nearly a word by word repetition - in *NV* (ed. Berger p. 215); Berger (p. 332) also points out that the Creed was still quoted by later polemicists such as Alan of Lille (*De Fide Catholica Contra Haereticos*, PL 210.414).

14 **When he was crucified, he said...** The polemicist mistakenly conflates a segment from Mt 26:38 with another from 26:41, thus overturning the original meaning; *cf.* the more precise translation of these verses in *NV* (ed. Berger p. 185).

17 **The Nazarene’s divine part got enraged** This must have been a distraction on the side of the composer, because shortly before it is stated that it is the body who got angry, while the soul was in pain.

22 **The moles** As for the previous chapter, *NV*'s translation is more precise, see Berger's ed. p. 180; the original passage from Lk 9:58 refers to foxes (lat. *vulpes*), as correctly reported here in the Latin quotation from the Vulgate.

24 **He was poor to the point** The condition of poverty was actually not necessarily assumed by Jesus to be degrading, and in one famous example it is even praised as the necessary condition of final salvation: *Again I say to you, it is easier for a camel to pass through the eye of a needle than for one who is rich to enter the kingdom of God* (Mt 19:24). On the other hand, it is perhaps noteworthy that - in Jewish imagery and especially concerning biblical figures - a sign of God's blessing is the condition of wealth, with privation thereof being perceived as a fall from grace (one example above all: Job).

31-32 **There was a time when the Father existed without the Spirit** "And yet - continues *NV* (ed. Berger p. 178) - you say that the three are equal in greatness, age, indeed, in all respects; this contention, then, must be ruled out whether you like it or not"; cf. also Berger's commentary p. 315.

*Page 120*

4 **He who sins against the Holy Spirit...** *NV* (ed. Berger p. 215) reports this same quotation, but then asks: "But if the three are one, why shouldn't the person who sinned against the impure spirit find forgiveness?". Cf. also *Mil. Ha-Shem* (ed. Rosenthal p. 153) where, based on the same New Testament passage, the polemicist asks what should be of the soul of one who has been forgiven concerning the Father and the Son, but not concerning the Spirit; will he be destined to heaven or to hell? This same observation flowed into *SYM*, see *infra chap.* 40.

Cf. also Rembaum, Joel E., "The Influence of 'Sefer Nestor Hakomer' on Medieval Jewish Polemics", *Proceedings of the American Academy for Jewish Research* 45 (1978), p. 161; Rembaum reports the same argument from *Sefer Nestor* - which might even be its original source, since it predates most Jewish polemical works - and points out that its formulation is closer to that of the apocryphal Gospel of Thomas rather than the canonical gospels.

13 **He was not able to remove his own pain** Cf. parallel argument in *NV* (ed. Berger p. 181) and commentary (*ibid.* pp. 316-7), where it is pointed out that this argument can be traced back to Origen's *Contra Celsum* (2:24; quoted in Lukyn-Williams, *Adversus Judaeos* p. 87). Origen refutes Celsus by emphasizing that the latter omitted to quote the rest of the verse - *Not as I will* - which implied Jesus's capacity of refusing death; and also by specifying that he did not so much pray for himself as for those who would kill him, because he foresaw their misery and tribulations.

18 **It is also written** The account which follows is loosely based on the pericope of the Samaritan woman at the well, see Jn 4:7-21.

27 **Keep my commandments, and my father...** Cf. Jn 14:13-16.

Page 121

2 **He rendered himself impure** Among Jesus's original precepts and innovations, stands out his spiritual and ethical conception of impurity and defilement; cf. Mk 7:14-23, also quoted shortly afterwards (chap 14[g]).

13-14 **What they eat at Easter falls to the ground** The Hebrew text has קצק, lit. "black cumin" (*nigella sativa*); cf. Isidore Loeb, "Deux livres de commerce du commencement du XIV siècle" *Revue des Études Juives* 8 (1884), pp. 194-195, where it is explained that the word has been used by Maimonides in his *Mishneh Torah* (*Avodah Zarah* chap. IX) to designate the Christian Easter, probably because of its assonance with *Pesach*. An analogous word (קיסק) is used with the same meaning also in *Sefer Mišvot Gadol* by Moses of Coucy (I, 40; quoted *ibid.*).

It is here implied that, if it is true that food has neither connotation in the terms of a pure/impure dialectic nor any symbolical value, then also the Easter lamb - representing Jesus and his vicar sacrifice according to the Christians - is vain, and eliminated through defecation like any other food.

29 **They would have not sinned** It is indeed undeniable that Jesus in this passage describes himself as causing the sin of those who will not believe in him and will persecute him and his followers: *If you belonged to the world, the world would love its own; but because you do not belong to the world, and I have chosen you out of the world, the world hates you [...] If they persecuted me, they will also persecute you. And they will do all these things to you on account of my name, because they do not know the one who sent me. If I had not come and spoken to them, they would have no sin; but as it is they have no excuse for their sin. Whoever hates me also hates my Father. If I had not done works among them that no one else ever did, they would not have sin; but as it is, they have seen and hated both me and my Father [Jn 15:19-24].* However, Jesus, at least according to John - whose view and authoriality differ sensibly from Matthew's, with whom the polemicist here draws the comparison - could hardly think of himself as the primary cause of humankind's damnation; on the contrary, he saw himself as the carrier of a message of love who interceded before the Father on behalf of all human beings, (cf. Jn 16) and who prayed so that everyone may know the Father: *Righteous Father, the world also does not know you, but I know you, and they know that you sent me. I made known to them your name and I will make it known, that the love with which you loved me may be in them and I in them. (Jn 17:26).*



31 **And even considering the very few [he saved]** This is probably a reference to Jesus's miracles of healing, which were not denied by Jewish polemicists, but considered as acts of sorcery, *cf.* the accusation by the Pharisees in Mt 9:34; see also *NV* (ed. Berger, p. 64, 204 and commentary p. 253).

*Page 122*

5 **Until she gave birth to her son** The value of this "until" (Greek: ἕως οὗ) is object of debate, with some scholars arguing that Joseph and Mary had ordinary sexual relations after Jesus's birth (so Tasker, R.V., *The Gospel according to Saint Matthew* [InterVarsity Press, 1961] p. 36; and Hill D., *The Gospel of Matthew* [London: Marshall, Morgan and Scott 1972] p. 80) and others pointing out that the Greek expression ἕως οὗ does not necessarily imply reversal or cessation of the condition formerly described (so Karl Keating, *Catholicism and Fundamentalism: The Attack on "Romanism" by "Bible Christians"* [San Francisco: Ignatius Press, 1988] p. 285; Raymond E. Brown, *The Birth of the Messiah* [New York: Doubleday 1999] p. 132); that is to say, Joseph and Mary abstained from having intercourse even after they got married.

*Cf.* also parallel argument in *NV* (ed. Berger p. 178) and especially Berger's commentary on the passage, which points to the polemical work 'Edut Ha-Shem ne'emnah ("The Lord's veritable testimony") by Italian polemicist Solomon ben Moses de' Rossi (second half of the 13<sup>th</sup> century; the text is available in Rosenthal, *Mehqarim u-meqorot*, pp. 373-430); Solomon observes that, just like the Christians interpret the *until* of Gn 49:10 - *The scepter shall not depart from Judah [...] until Shiloh comes* - as indicating the end of the condition described, i.e. Judah's kingdom, so they also must admit that the *until* of Mt 1:25 must mean that - after Jesus's birth - his parents had intercourse; otherwise, they should also consistently believe that the coming of Shiloh/Jesus did not bring about the end of Judah's kingship (Rosenthal, *Mehqarim u-meqorot*, pp. 402-3).

It is also perfectly admissible that Matthew was not particularly concerned with this issue, since the doctrine of Mary's perpetual virginity is well attested and established only starting from the 4<sup>th</sup> century (Gambero L., *Mary and the Fathers of the Church*, trans. T. Buffer [San Francisco: Ignatius Press, 1991] pp. 97-98), three centuries after the writing of the Gospels.

10 **I did not come for the pious ones** This saying by Jesus is also quoted in *NV* (ed. Berger p. 57) and followed by the same refutations.

12 **There were pious men in the world** As recorded by the polemicist himself (*cf. infra* chap. 19), Christians did not regard piety and moral integrity as conditions sufficient to avoid

descending into hell after death; on Jesus's sojourn in hell for the salvation of humankind, *cf. infra* chap. 10 and commentary.

18-19 **He stole from Satan what had been granted him** For a similar but more articulated defense of Satan and of his prerogatives over the souls of the damned ones, *cf.* parallel argument in *NV* (ed. Berger pp. 195-196 and commentary p. 322; see also Berger's Appendix 2, "God in the Womb and the Problem of Incarnation", pp. 350-354; especially pp. 353-4 and note 19 for the view that this Jewish defense of Satan can be read as a refutation of the "ransom" explanation of incarnation expounded in the famous *Cur Deus Homo?* by Anselm of Canterbury).

20 **There he remained** It is here implied that Jesus never resurrected; this argument is often associated in Jewish polemics with the statement that nobody actually saw him ascend to Heaven (which is part of the wider current of criticism centered on the observation that Jesus should have performed his miracles more openly if he aimed at attaining universal recognition); *cf.* parallel argument in *NV* (ed. Berger, pp. 146 and 151-152). In both instances, *NV* argues that Mary Magdalene was the only witness of Jesus's resurrection (for the New Testament episode, see Mk 16:9 and Jn 20:14 ff.), probably implying that a woman did not constitute a reliable testimony; the argument is old and in Origen's *Contra Celsum* is attributed to a Jew acquainted with Celsus himself: "Speaking next of the statements in the Gospels, that after His resurrection He showed the marks of His punishment, and how His hands had been pierced, he asks, 'Who beheld this?' And discrediting the narrative of Mary Magdalene, who is related to have seen Him, he replies, 'A half-frantic woman, as ye state.' And because she is not the only one who is recorded to have seen the Saviour after His resurrection, but others also are mentioned, this Jew of Celsus calumniates these statements also in adding, 'And some one else of those engaged in the same system of deception!'" (*Ante-Nicene Fathers* vol. 4, p. 455).

26 **Let me not hear again the voice of the Lord** *Cf.* parallel argument in *NV* (ed. Berger p. 74).

28 **I will raise up for them a prophet...** *Cf.* parallel arguments *infra* chap. 48, *NV* (ed. Berger pp. 74-5), *Mil. Ha-Shem* (ed. Rosenthal p. 60).

34 **They recount the genealogy of Jesus** *Cf.* parallel arguments in *Rome MS Wik. Dati* (p. 65) and *NV* (ed. Berger p. 167-8); the latter also quotes Matthew's and Luke's complete genealogies (*ibid.*), while *Mil. Ha-Shem* (ed. Rosenthal p. 141-2) seems to be acquainted only with Matthew's.

4 **It should have said: 'Mary's betrothed'** Ironically enough, at least two New Testament manuscripts actually report this reading: the most ancient one is the Syriac Sinaitic (4<sup>th</sup> century), the

oldest surviving copy of the four canonical gospels in Syriac (English trans.: *A Translation of the Four Gospels from the Syriac of the Sinaitic Palimpsest*, ed. Agnes Smith Lewis [London and New York: MacMillan and Co., 1894] p. 1: “Joseph, to whom was betrothed Mary the Virgin, begat Jesus, who is called the Christ”). The other reference is in the Codex Koridethi (9<sup>th</sup> century): “Jacob was the father of Joseph, to whom the betrothed virgin Mary [gave birth to] Jesus, called the Christ” (trans. in Raymond E. Brown, *The Birth of the Messiah. A commentary on the Infancy Narratives in the Gospels of Matthew and Luke*, The Anchor Bible Reference Library [New York, Doubleday: 1999] p. 62).

5 **They say that he never had intercourse with her** The only two explicit references in the whole New Testament to Jesus’s virginal birth are Mt 1:18-25 and Lk 1:26-38; see also Karl Barth, *Church Dogmatics. The Doctrine of the Word of God*. vol. 1 part 2 (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1970) p. 175: “It is a fact that the Virgin Birth is not expressly mentioned in the Gospels of Mark and John, that above all Paul and also the Catholic Epistles nowhere expressly betray acquaintance with it, that after the close of the childhood narrative even Matthew and Luke themselves never expressly return to it, and that in the summaries of the *Kerygma* in Acts it is not expressly mentioned”.

11 **Those accursed Jews** It is, to say the least, curious that P reads *’arurim yehudim* (ארורים יהודים), whereas the parallel arguments in *NV* (ed. Berger p. 173) and in the Gospel critique found in *R\** correctly have *Hordos*, “Herod”, as in the passage from Matthew. It is also quite unlikely that the polemicist aimed at suggesting a self-identification with Herod, a half Nabatean, half Idumean client king who is regarded by Talmudic literature as a non-legitimate ruler (in view of his origins) and as a murderer of many rabbis (*T.B. Bava Batra* 3b-4a).

13 **If he was a god, why then did he fear an ordinary man?** Perplexities about Jesus’s flight to Egypt were already expressed by “the Jew of Celsus” in Origen’s *Contra Celsum*: “And in addition to the above, this Jew of Celsus afterwards addresses Jesus: ‘What need, moreover, was there that you, while still an infant, should be conveyed into Egypt? Was it to escape being murdered? But then it was not likely that a God should be afraid of death; and yet an angel came down from heaven, commanding you and your friends to flee, lest ye should be captured and put to death! And was not the great God, who had already sent two angels on your account, able to keep you, His only Son, there in safety?’” (*Ante-Nicene Fathers* vol. 4, p. 426). *Cf.* also parallel argument in *NV* (ed. Berger pp. 173-4).

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\* Folia 13b-19b, which I have excluded from the present edition because of a closer resemblance to *NV* itself; Rosenthal - who also considered this an independent work, yet ascribable to the Officials family - published the Hebrew text in: “Biqqoret Yehudit shel ha-Berit ha-Ḥadasha min ha-Me’ah ha-Yod-Gimel”, in *Studies in Jewish Bibliography, History and Literature in Honor of I. Edward Kiev*, ed. Charles Berlin (New York: 1971) p. 123-140; here p. 127

26 **Baptême** Baptism (modern French: baptême); P has בטימא, while the very similar passage in the Gospel critique found in R reads בשטיטור (Rosenthal, “Biqqoret Yehudit”, p. 124). See also parallel argument in *NV* (ed. Rosenthal p. 174).

28 **Nor in the new one** This expression must here generally refer to post-biblical legalistic literature, for what has been labeled so far a non-legitimate “new Torah”, i.e. the Gospels or God’s new covenant with the Christians - *cf. infra* chapters 11, 50, 65, 106 - in fact do imply the precept of baptizing.

29-30 **Where then did they learn to immerse people in waters drawn...** Immersion of a body in drawn waters is explicitly prohibited by Maimonides, *cf. Mishneh Torah, Hilkhot Miqva’ot* 4:1-2.

Page 124

8 **Why did he order that leper to bring his offering?** *Cf.* parallel argument in *NV* (ed. Berger p. 178). See also the pericopes of Mk 1:40-45 and Lk 5:12-16; on the cleansing ritual of skin diseases according to the Torah, *cf.* Lv 14:1-32.

12 **And many others that Jesus loosened after his coming** It has been argued that, on the one side, it is indeed true that Jesus loosened and relativized some basic precepts intimately connected with ritual and halakha, namely: the observance of Shabbat, the paying of the tithes, the offering of sacrifices, the laws concerning purity and kashrut (see Gerd Theissen, Annette Merz, *El Jesús Histórico. Manual* [Salamanca: Ediciones Sigueme, 1999] p. 400); however, on the other side, it has also been pointed out that some aspects of the Law undergo a veritable radicalization: 1) the first commandment is interpreted in economic terms as an inflexible condemnation of servility to money (Mt 6:24, Lk 16:13: “*No servant can serve two masters. He will either hate one and love the other, or be devoted to one and despise the other. You cannot serve God and mammon*”); 2) the injunctions on homicide and adultery apply already to the preliminary stages of verbal abuse and sexual desire (Mt 5:22: “*But I say to you, whoever is angry with his brother will be liable to judgment, and whoever says to his brother, 'Raqa,' will be answerable to the Sanhedrin, and whoever says, 'You fool,' will be liable to fiery Gehenna*”; Mt 5:28: “*But I say to you, everyone who looks at a woman with lust has already committed adultery with her in his heart*”; 3) the commandment of loving one’s neighbor (Lv 18:19) encompasses in Jesus’s words also the love for one’s own enemies (Mt 5:43-48), for the foreigner (Lk 10:25-37) and for the sinner (Lk 7:36-50); 4) the prohibition of a second marriage after divorcing (Mk 10:11-12); 5) the prohibition of taking a false oath (Nm 30:3) is radicalized and interpreted as a prohibition of ever taking oaths at all, *cf.* Mt 5:33-37 (so Theissen-Merz, *ibid.*, pp. 405-6).

17 **The owner of the field** The original passage of Matthew speaks of a paralytic man (παραλυτικός); however P has בעל השדה, the field-owner, or “the man afflicted by a demon” in case we read בעל השידה, which is also the reading reported by NV (see chapter 168, Hebrew section p. 117); the Gospel critique of R reads בן השידים and בעל השידים (Cf. *Rome MS* in Rosenthal, “Biqqoret Yehudit”, p. 125).

20 **He called himself the son of man** The polemicist legitimately remarks that an alleged god should not call himself “son of man”, an expression that recurs in the bible mostly as a periphrasis for “human being, mortal man”, cf. for example Jer 49:18. A major exception to this meaning, however, is obviously represented by the “one like a son of a man” mentioned in Dn 7:13 ff.; this is an entity definitely superior to a mere human being and who can be assumed to be of celestial origins - he comes from the heavens - and who symbolizes Israel as a whole and its prevailing over the Gentile nations.

The author, furthermore, was in all likelihood not aware of a Jewish current of apocryphal and apocalyptic literature dating from before the end of the 1<sup>st</sup> century, and represented by two main works: the Book of Enoch (1 Enoch) and the apocryphal book of Esdras (variously known as 2 Esdras, 4 Esdras, Latin Esdras or Apocalypse of Ezra). In the apocalyptic visions expounded in both books, there appears a son of a man who explicitly echoes the one described in Dn 7, and who is further characterized as: i) being a messiah and/or the son of God ii) an entity who existed prior to Creation; iii) a judge (1 Enoch) or a warrior (2 Esdras) in the final days (all references in Theissen-Merz, *El Jesùs Historico*, pp. 593-596; cf. also *ibid.* pp. 596 ff. for an analysis of the New Testament sayings concerning the son of a man in the present, in the future, and for the sayings on the suffering son of man).

27 **Why did he call himself son of man?** See above.

32 **That the son of man rules** Mt 9:6 reads: *So that you know that the son of man has the authority on earth to forgive sins* (ἵνα δὲ εἰδῆτε ὅτι ἐξουσίαν ἔχει ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ἀφιέναι ἁμαρτία).

32-33 **Why did he tell a lie...** So also NV (ed. Berger p. 180-1). Theissen-Merz (*El Jesùs historico*, pp- 597-8) point to the contrast between the sayings on the son of man referred to the present - which sometimes emphasize Jesus’s marginal conditions, see Mt 11:18 and Mt 12:32 - and those referred to an often eschatological future, in which the son of man is in charge of judging the righteous and the wicked; see for example Mc 14:62, 13:26.

8 **“Desist from burying your father”** Jesus proclaims elsewhere that his mother and brothers do not necessarily correspond with his biological family, but only with those who do God’s will (Mk 3:31-35; Mt 12:46-50; Lk 8:19-21); also, no relationship with any relative whatsoever must have priority over following Jesus, see Mt 10:32-37 and Lk 12:51-53. Theissen-Merz (*El Jesús histórico*, p. 414) argue that giving up family ties must be regarded as a necessary requirement for a charismatic, itinerant preacher; and that Jesus’s actions - despite relativizing many precepts of the Torah - “show that Jesus indeed represents within Judaism a very liberal conception of the Torah, but in no way a critique towards Judaism based on the Torah itself” (*ibid.*, translation is mine).

Cf. also parallel argument in *N.V* (ed. Berger p. 183).

19 **The spirit of impurity** This is a derogatory term which probably aims at distinguishing the πνεῦμα ἅγιον (“Holy Spirit”) of the gospels from the רוּחַ הַקֹּדֶשׁ (“spirit of holiness, spirit of the holy place”, i.e. the Temple) of the Hebrew Bible (see for example Ps 51:13). Maimonidean scholar José Faur points to the inaccuracy of the Christian translation, which mistakes a noun (holiness) for an adjective (holy), and argues that the Hebrew idiom originally referred to God’s spirit whose dwelling place was the Temple (Faur, José, *Homo mysticus: a guide to Maimonides's Guide for the perplexed* [New York: Syracuse University Press, 1998] p. 201).

20 **Who gave him that dominion?** Cf. parallel arguments in *Mil. Ha-Shem* (ed. Rosenthal p. 152), *Rome MS Wik. Dati* (p. 67) and *NV* (ed. Berger pp. 189-90).

23-24 **But not in the world to come** Here *Rome MS Wik. Dati* (*loc. cit.*) seems to differ slightly from the readings of both *SYM* and *NV* (*loc. cit.*): “Furthermore Jesus said ‘*I am with you until the end of this world* [Mt 28:20] - as if to say, ‘at the end’ but not of the world: you must understand that it has no end” (translation and italics are mine; Hebrew: ועוד שאמר הנני עמכם עד סוף העולם כלומר, הבין שאין לו סוף, בסוף אבל לא לעולם, הבין שאין לו סוף).

This specification on the part of the polemicist seems to reflect an old debate concerning the extension of time designated by the Hebrew *‘olam* or *le-‘olam*, which has often been rendered in the Septuagint through various expressions employing the term αἰών (“aeon, age”) or the related adjective αἰώνιος; and Mt:28:20 has Jesus say precisely “I’ll be with you until the end of the aeon (ἕως τῆς συντελείας τοῦ αἰῶνος). Some Church Fathers - notably Origen and Augustine - were unsurprisingly prone to believe and argue that the original expression never exclusively designated an endless period of time, with the consequence that also most of the precepts in the Torah which report this phrasing - such as the Passover sprinkling, Ex 12:24; the Aaronic priesthood, Ex 29:9;

the ruin of the idolatrous city, Dt 13:17 - were assumed to be valid only for a limited period of time (references in W.F Farrar, *Mercy and Judgment* [London: MacMillan and Co., 1882] pp. 378-400).

28 **Nothing but a walking stick** See here the discrepancy between Mk 6:8-9 (which allows the apostles to carry a walking stick and wear sandals, while explicitly forbidding food), Mt 10:9-10/Lc 9:7 + 10:4 (which forbids to carry money, bags, a second tunic, sandals and stick, but says nothing about the prohibition of carrying food along the way).

The polemicist's critique of the passage is absent and, in *NV* as well (ed. Berger p. 190), the same passage is quoted with no observations being made on it. We can therefore assume that, in both cases, the author believed that the absurdity of these instructions was self-evident, and did not require further remarks.

32-33 **The disciples were not able to drive a spirit away from a young boy** This passage is also quoted in *NV* (ed. Berger p. 190-1), where the polemicist emphasizes that Jesus's students were not able to put into practice their skills as exorcists of unclean spirits.

*Page 126*

20-21 **Jesus promised him that through charity he would gain life** Criticism of richness and luxury constituted an integral part of Jesus's ethics; cf. Mt 19:23-24, Lk 6:24. What is perplexing in the eyes of the polemicist here is probably that mere good deeds (such as giving money to the poor) may be superior to baptism, which is here perceived as the Christian counterpart of a mitzvah; similarly, the *ma'amin* ("believer, faithful one") of *Rome MS Wik. Dati* (p. 67) argued that the essence of Judaism was in the perfect balance between behaving according to one's faith (i.e. fulfilling mitzvot) and accomplishing good deeds.

28-29 **The will of the one who sent me** Cf. parallel arguments in *NV* (ed. Berger p. 198) and in the Gospel critique of R ("Biqqoret yehudit" p. 129); see also *ibid.* (pp. 366-369) Appendix no. 5 "Who was Incarnated?" on the irreducible contradictions, pointed out by many Jewish polemicists, between the indivisibility and infiniteness of God on the one side, and the Christian belief in incarnation and in the Trinity on the other.

*Page 127*

3 **Why did he get weary and thirsty for water?** Cf. parallel arguments in *NV* (ed. Berger p. 193) and in the Gospel critique of MS Rome 53 ("Biqqoret yehudit" pp. 126, 130)

4-5 **As long as the spirit of holiness was within him** So also parallel argument in the Gospel critique of R (Rosenthal, “Biqqoret yehudit” p. 126): “And you may say that the soul was tired, but this can never happen except to the cupid soul of mortal men: when the body is joined to this soul, then a man gets weary; however, a body who has the spirit of holiness within itself cannot get tired” (translation is mine).

12 **He could not call her woman unless she was married to a man** Cf. *infra* chapters 1[g], 2[g] and commentary.

14 **If not the one who made the feast** Cf. parallel argument in *NV* (ed. Berger p. 192) and Berger’s commentary on the passage (p. 320), pointing out that although it is clear from Jn 2:8-9 that Jesus was not the headwaiter (ἀρχιτρίκλινος), one may have this impression based on Mary’s words in verse 5: *His mother said to the servers: “Do whatever he tells you”*.

Furthermore, Jesus’s brusque answer to his mother has not so much to do with running out of wine, as with the association between wine itself and Jesus’s own blood (see the symbolic value of bread and wine in the last supper, Mt 26:26-29), a metaphor which turns Mary’s words - *They have no wine* - into the baleful prophecy of Jesus’s death.

18 **Why was it necessary for Joseph to sleep with Mary...** This argument also appears in the Gospel critique of R (“Biqqoret yehudit” p. 126).

19 **A fornicating woman was [about to be] stoned** This might be a reference to John 8:2-12 and to the adulteress whose life is saved by Jesus through his famous remark that whoever is without sin should throw the first stone. The association between fornication and Mary’s behavior or social status is obviously absent in John; Matthew, however, in describing Joseph’s finding out of his betrothed’s unexplained pregnancy, alludes to the possibility of repudiating Mary as an adulteress: *Now this is how the birth of Jesus Christ came about. When his mother Mary was betrothed to Joseph, but before they lived together, she was found with child through the Holy Spirit. Joseph her husband, since he was a righteous man, yet unwilling to expose her to shame, decided to repudiate her secretly* (Mt 1:18-19).

21 **Stoning is not provided for in case of fornication, but it is in the case...** See Dt 23:23-34: “*If there is a young woman, a virgin who is betrothed, and a man comes upon her in the city and lies with her, you shall bring them both out to the gate of the city and there stone them to death: the young woman because she did not cry out though she was in the city, and the man because he violated his neighbor's wife. Thus shall you purge the evil from your midst.*”

Strangulation, on the other hand, is provided for in case of adultery and fornication; see Mishnah *Sanhedrin* 7:4, 11:1, 11:6.

24-25 **Behold, a young woman shall conceive** Cf. *infra* chap. 79 and commentary.



25-26 **Why would have [God] also made a father for him?** Cf. *infra* commentary to chap. 81.

26 **We have not found in your law that he was ever called Emmanuel** Jesus is called Emmanuel in Mt 1:23, where it is explained that the name means: *God is with us* (μεθ' ἡμῶν ὁ θεός); Matthew then elaborates throughout his gospel what has been defined as an “Emmanuel Christology” (“Matthew does have a clear interest in identifying Jesus as God with us and in developing the significance of his Emmanuel characterization at key points throughout the story. Emmanuel applied to Jesus is more than a static proper name but is part of Matthew's christology which makes possible his soteriology. For Matthew Jesus' significance as God with us impacts his birth, mission, risen character and postresurrection communities”; David D. Kupp, *Matthew's Emmanuel. Divine Presence and God's People in the First Gospel* [Cambridge University Press, 1996] p. 220), a characterization which is reiterated in the closing verse of his gospel: *And behold, I am with you* (ἐγὼ μεθ' ὑμῶν) *always, until the end of the age* (Mt 28:20).

32 **He said that he only came to undergo the tribulations** Cf. parallel argument in *NV* (ed. Berger p. 181).

33 **Let this cup pass from me** Cf. *infra* chap. 10[g] and commentary.

Page 128

6 **They say about the father...** Cf. parallel argument in *NV* (ed. Berger p. 193, commentary p. 321).

16 **Why do you still accuse us of his death?** See the controversial passage found only in Matthew's gospel: “*When Pilate saw that he was not succeeding at all, but that a riot was breaking out instead, he took water and washed his hands in the sight of the crowd, saying: 'I am innocent of this man's blood. Look to it yourselves'. And the whole people said in reply: 'His blood be upon us and upon our children'*” (Mt 27:24-25). According to Theissen-Merz (*El Jesús histórico*, p. 99) and Craig A. Evans (*Matthew* [Cambridge University Press, 2012] p. 455) this passage conveys Matthew's criticism against the Jewish condemnation of Jesus, which finally brought about the Temple's destruction; Graham Stanton (*A Gospel for a New People. Studies in Matthew*, [Louisville - Kentucky: Westminster John Knox Press, 1993] pp. 150-157) on the other hand places Mt 27:25 in the wider context of Jesus's polemics and curses towards the scribes and the Pharisees as expounded in Mt 23:13-32 (see especially verse 31: *Thus you [i.e. scribes and Pharisees] bear witness against yourselves that you are the children of those who murdered the prophets*) and argues that these harsh words must be read as an attempt at coming to terms with the trauma of separation from a ‘mother religion’, and also as part of the self-definition of the yet embryonic

Christian communities. Much less optimistic is Ulrich Luz (*Matthew in History. Interpretation, Influence and Effects*, Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1994, p. 33) who, in commenting Mt 27:25, says: “I am sorry to say that Matthean theology is one of the many elements that made this disaster [i.e. anti-Semitism and Holocaust] possible”.

17 **They say that our exile is long because of the guilt of his death** Cf. the lengthier discussion on exile and redemption in *NV* (pp. 226-228), where the polemicist explains that the exile will surely come to an end as soon as all Jews repent and start again to follow the Torah properly; in any case, redemption will come about even in the case that not all repent. See also *infra* chap. 50, where it is pointed out that neglecting the original Torah given on mount Sinai was the cause that brought about the exile, and not denying Jesus and his new law (so also *NV* p. 126 and *Sef. ha-ber.* ed. Talmage p. 63).

See also *infra* chap. 29 (third marginal addition) for the report that Good Friday - a festivity falling on the Friday before Easter and commemorating Jesus’s crucifixion - is a cursed day for the Jews, because Christians say that the diaspora was a consequence of the Jews hanging Jesus.

23 **Moreover, it is written in their book...** Cf. parallel argument in *NV* (ed. Berger p. 198-9) and in the Gospel critique of R (“Biqqoret Yehudit”, p. 129).

32 **All the signs of the [messianic] era have not yet taken place** MS Rome 53 (*loc. cit.*) reads: “Also, should he [i.e. the Christian] say that this messiah in which we hope has already come and passed by, is it not written in this parashah that [this will only happen] after all these events...?” and then goes on to enumerate the prophecies of Is 11:3-9, and Is 2:2, 4; as well as the curses against the Gentiles of Jer 10:15 and Ps 73:4.

*Page 129*

14 **The first man into whose nostrils** Cf. parallel arguments in *NV* (ed. Berger pp. 193-94) and the Gospel critique of MS Rome 53 (“Biqqoret Yehudit”, p. 130).

23 **Why is the soul punished?** Cf. *infra* chap. 70 and commentary.

29-30 **It follows that they [i.e. the Christians] are guiltier than us** On the view that Jews should be forgiven for merely doing God’s will in crucifying Jesus, see parallel arguments in *NV* pp. 140 and 198, and Berger’s commentary *ad loc.*; for the contention that those who hanged Jesus acted more righteously than his followers, see *ibid.* p. 136 and especially Berger’s exhaustive treatment of this issue in his commentary on the passage pp. 293-4.

3 **The flask of the anointing oil disappeared** *T.B. Kritot* 5b attributes the disappearing of the flask of anointing oil to king Josiah, based on 2 Chr 35:3: “*He [i.e. Josiah] said to the Levites who were to instruct all Israel, and who were consecrated to the LORD: ‘Put the holy ark in the house built by Solomon, son of David, king of Israel. It shall no longer be a burden on your shoulders’*”.

3-4 **And from that day onwards, we have not had a King Messiah** *Cf. infra* chap. 22 and commentary.

8 **And in the year [3]532...** The alleged dating - the millennium is not specified - of Jesus’s death in the year 3532 (i.e. 230-229 BCE) and consequently of the Temple destruction 104 years later, in 3636 (i.e. 126-125 BCE), is obviously historically untenable; though - as pointed out in *Sef. Yos.* p. 138 note 3 - the same date is suggested by an anonymous medieval chronicle by the heading of *Misdar ‘Olam* (MS Paris Hebrew 326), inserted in a casuistic work by Jacob ben Abraham, who lived in the second half of the 12<sup>th</sup> century and whose origins were either from Northern France or from the Rhineland (*cf.* Adolf Neubauer, *Medieval Jewish Chronicles and Chronological Notes* [Oxford: 1887] pp. 197-8). *Misdar ‘Olam* mostly corresponds with another anonymous chronicle edited by Neubauer (*ibid.*, pp. 163-175) and which also was known to the rabbis of 12<sup>th</sup> century Northern France and the French Rhineland, though originally stemming from Southern Italy (*ibid.* p. xii). This latter work, unlike his counterpart in MS Paris Hebrew 326, dates Jesus’s birth to the year [3]933 (תתקלג; = 172-173 C.E.); at the same time, however, it adds with surprising accuracy that Jesus’s death took place in the eighteenth year of Tiberius’s reign, that is to say in the year 32 CE; this may lead one to cautiously assume that there was a fundamental awareness of Christian chronology and of its founding event, though the conformity and conversion of exact dates still constituted a comprehensible problem. Both chronicles, finally, refer to *T.B. Sotah* 47a and to the tradition of Jesus as disciple of Joshua ben Perachia (*loc. cit.*; see also *T.B. Sanhedrin* 107b).

11 **One year before [the beginning] of the kingdom of Herod’s household** *T.B. Arakhin* 12b states that the Second Temple stood for 420 years, which caused the sages to debate whether this means that it was destroyed in its 420<sup>th</sup> year (so Rashi on *Avodah Zarah* 9b and Maimonides, *Mishneh Torah, Hilkhoh Shemittah we-yovel* 2-5) or in its 421<sup>st</sup> (see for example *Tosafot* on *Arakhin* and *Avodah Zarah loc. cit.*); depending on which year one starts counting from (creation of man or creation of the world) and also taking into account the Talmudic information (*T.B. Arakhin* 11b and *Ta’anit* 29a) that the Temple was destroyed following a sabbatical (*shemittah*) year, three possible options ensue: 3828, 3829 and 3830, which respectively correspond to 68-69, 69-70 and 70-71 CE (*cf.* Yehuda Shurpin, “Which Year Was the Second Temple Destroyed, 69 CE or 70 CE?” at

[http://www.chabad.org/library/article\\_cdo/aid/2641925/jewish/Which-Year-Was-the-Second-Temple-Destroyed-69-CE-or-70-CE.htm](http://www.chabad.org/library/article_cdo/aid/2641925/jewish/Which-Year-Was-the-Second-Temple-Destroyed-69-CE-or-70-CE.htm)).

Subtracting 104 years to the above mentioned dates, we further have three (incorrect) possibilities for Jesus's death: 3724, 3725 or 3726, that is to say 38-37, 37-36 or 36-35 BCE; since it is here said that the year following the crucifixion saw the beginning of Herod's kingdom - which started in 37 CE - the reckoning appears quite exact, with a preference for the first option (i.e. destruction of the Temple in Jewish year 3828 and beginning of Herod's dynasty in 3725).

11-12 **Which ruled 103 years during temple times** See *T.B. Avodah Zarah* 9a.



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*Index of Biblical Quotations in the Translation (verse and page number)*

<i>Genesis</i>		34:9	41	20:3	29
		34:16	41	20:4	45
1:1	29	34:23	41	20:10	46
1:26	30, 31, 32			21:4	30
1:27	30, 33	37:2	41	21:6	107
2:2	33	37:35	41	22:13	30
2:9	34	38:26	41, 42	23:5	35
2:10	5	46:38	44	23:20-21	80
2:16	34, 35	48:14	42	23:22	2
2:17	34, 35	48:18-19	42	25:11	88
3:22	33, 34, 35	49:10	42, 43	31:8	88
6:6	36, 37			32:1-2	47
6:7	31			32:4	47, 48
8:21	32	<i>Exodus</i>		32:13	46, 47
9:3	37			32:24	47
12:5	31	2:21	110	32:28	48
13:10	5	8:22	44	32:34	48
14:18	38	9:3	32	34:7	80
14:20	38	12:3	44, 46	34:30	130
14:22-23	39	12:6	44		
17:4	85	12:9	44	<i>Leviticus</i>	
17:10	67	12:14	94		
18:2	33, 37	12:15	33	5:5	99
18:10	38	14:25	44	9:22	48
18:13	38	14:29	45	11:29	48
18:22	38	15:1	104	12:2	49
19:1	38	15:8	112	12:5	49
19:11	123	15:10	42	13:7	107
22:2	36, 39	15:12	102	17:3	56
22:12	36, 39	15:20	104	18:6	49
24:20	76	15:25	45	19:8	30
25:31-34	39	19:5	55	19:17	96
30:32-35	40	19:6	110	23:4	68
30:42	40	19:9	46	24:18	122

26:44	15	9:1	53	32:9	63
		10:1	54	32:21	58
<i>Numbers</i>		10:2	54	32:29	70, 102
		11:17	55	32:40	3
7:9	62	11:21	2	32:43	3
12:6-8	66	11:22-23	2	33:20	58
18:1	76	7:12	2	33:27	14
19:13-14	88	14:5	56	34:10	56, 58, 66
19:15	52	14:8	55		
19:18	88	15:3	75	<i>Joshua</i>	
19:20	88	15:14	35		
21:9	49	16:3	63	1:8	90
22:6	31	17:16	112	22:21-22	60
23:9	84	17:17	112	22:22	53
23:19	16, 37, 128	18:15	56	24:10	101
23:24	50	18:16-18	122		
24:17-19	50	18:18-19	56	<i>Judges</i>	
24:19	16	21:20	69		
24:23-24	50	22:4	35	1:1-2	42
27:7	74	22:7	35, 55	3:9	51
31:19	51	22:12	36	5:20	102
31:35	51	22:20	36	5:24	60
		22:22	36	5:27	60
<i>Deuteronomy</i>		23:5	52, 53	8:16	65
		23:8	57, 96	19:12	57
1:46	110	23:20-21	57		
2:25	112	24:4	52	<i>I Samuel</i>	
2:28-29	52	28:36	86		
4:5	29	29:8	74	6:8	76
5:16	54, 55	30:1	15	9:2	61
6:4	29, 53	30:1-3	57	9:17	76
6:11	53	30:3-4	15	15:11	37
7:7	54	30:7	16	15:22	68
8:1	54	31:21	16	15:29	16

16:7	72	13:4	123	6:5	69
18:14	74	18:39	29	6:8	30
25:29	97	19:12	80	6:10-11	70
28:13-14	30	22:20	30	7:10-16	70
28:15	61			7:14	70, 127
28:19	61	<i>2 Kings</i>		8:15	98
30:6	98			9:2-6	71
		13:23	101	9:5	71
<i>2 Samuel</i>		16:18	123	9:6	110
		18:11	85	11:1-2	72
2:1	43	18:21	19	11:2	129
2:4	43	19:14	110	11:3	72, 128
5:1	43	19:24	90, 111	11:6-7	72
5:17	94	19:31	110	11:9	72
5:19	94			11:11	3, 85
5:24	94	<i>Isaiah</i>		11:15-16	4
6:7	62			11:8	5
6:8	61	1:10	68	11:10	43
8:18	110	1:11	68	14:24	33
12:24	100	1:14	68	14:24-25	110
22:8	102	1:15	68	17:12	105
22:27	14	1:16	68	19:11	47
23:13	103	1:20	32	21:2	15
		1:21-22	68	23:8	101
<i>1 Kings</i>		1:22	68	28:7	88
		2:4	5	28:16	72, 73
2:10	96	3:9	70	29:24	106
2:12	100	4:1	64	33:8	74
2:19	101	4:4	68	40:2	73
3:5	95	5:8	81	40:9	103
10:2	100	5:18	69	40:10	84
10:24	100	5:20	90	40:14	32
12:14	86	5:23	80	40:18	32
12:32-33	68	6:3	69	43:10	74



44:1	74	2:14	62	21:32	53
44:13	51	5:4	106	27:32	105
44:18	36	5:12	98	28:9	67
44:25	50	7:4	53	39:10	4
44:26	32	7:23	62	39:28	3
45:7	34	9:25	67	44:9	67
46:10	52	10:16	63	46:6	29
49:3	74	16:14	63	47:12	4
52:13	73	16:14-15	16		
52:16	73	16:19	65	<i>Hosea</i>	
52:13-53:12	74-76	22:29	53, 69		
53:8-9	74	23:3-4	16	1:9	78
54:9	2	23:5-6	16, 63	2:1	78
54:16	33, 34	23:7-8	64	2:12	14
54:17	32	23:20	15	2:18	64
57:3	15, 29	31:22	64	2:25	78
60:10	3	31:31	65	4:11-12	79
60:11	3	31:34	65	7:2	80
60:12	3	31:40	2	8:5	118
60:20	2	38:26	14	9:4	79
62:8	4	50:31-32	65	9:15	79
64:3	55			11:7	78
65:1	77	<i>Ezekiel</i>		11:9	78
65:1-2	77			12:11	65
65:4	37	1:11	65	14:5	79
65:4-7	77	1:26	51, 66		
66:6-8	77	14:4	66	<i>Amos</i>	
66:8	74, 94	14:9	4		
66:17	37	16:14	89	1:11	79
		16:53	5	2:4	81
<i>Jeremiah</i>		16:55	5	2:6	81
		16:61	100	5:7	90
1:5	62, 93	18:4	66		
2:13	14	21:26	113		

<i>Obadiah</i>		13:6	88	14:1	95
		14:2	103	14:6-7	95
1:1	57	14:4	4, 32	15:1	95
1:11	57	14:8	4	15:3	96
1:20-21	81-82	14:9	53, 62	15:5	57, 95
		14:12	103	16:1	96
<i>Micah</i>		14:14	103	16:1-11	96-97
		14:16	104	16:10	96
5:1-4	82			18:8	102
6:3	56	<i>Malachi</i>		21:2	97
				21:5	98
<i>Habakkuk</i>		1:4	90	21:9	98
		1:7	79	21:12	98
2:3-5	83-84	1:11, 12	88	22:2	98
		2:9	89	22:5	98
<i>Zephaniah</i>		3:1-2	89	22:21	98
		3:4	82	22:29-31	98
3:8-9	83	3:22-24	89	24:1	33
				24:3	95
<i>Zechariah</i>		<i>Psalms</i>		32:2	99
				32:5	99
1:15	106	1:1	62, 93	33:9	118
7:2	104	2:1-2	93	34:16	32
9:9.10	84	2:4-8	94	39:7	33
9:11-14	85	2:7-8	95	44:23	75
11:4-7	86	2:7-10	93	45:1-15	100-101
11:7	85	2:10-12	94	45:2	99
11:10-15	86-87	2:11-12	95	45:7	99
11:12	86	2:12	93	45:10-11	99
12:3	87	4:2-4	95	45:14	99
12:10	87	4:6	95	45:17	101
12:14	87	8:6	33	45:18	101
13:2	87	8:7	32	50:1	101
13:3	88	11:5	48	50:3	101

51:1	102	72:15-17	107	121:4	125
51:3	102	72:17	82, 106	130:4	80, 99
51:18	102	72:20	107	132:12	107
51:21	102	74:1	107	135:6	118
68:1-2	102	74:9-10	108	147:14	107
68:8-19	102-104	75:2	107		
68:13-14	102	78:38	43	<i>Proverbs</i>	
68:18	104	78:60	43		
68:19	102	78:67	43	1:1	37
68:21	102	78:70	43	1:6	111
68:21-31	104	85:1	108	8:36	76
68:24	102	85:12	108	9:9	90
69:1	105	86:2	97	21:27	68
69:1-3	105	87:1	108	25:17	87
69:3	105	87:3-6	108-109	27:1	109
69:5-6	105	87:5	108	28:13	99
69:5-10	105-106	89:1	109	30:1	111
69:10	105	89:20-21	109	30:1-2	112
69:13-16	105	89:30-31	109	30:2-3	112
69:18	105	89:37-38	107, 109	30:4	111, 112
69:21-22	105	89:42-43	109	30:4-6	112
69:22	105	89:45-46	109		
69:24	105	90:2	94	<i>Job</i>	
69:27	105, 106	101:5	41		
69:30	105, 106	101:6	32	1:1	114
72:1	106	106:20	47	1:6	115
72:3	107	106:23	48	4:8	79, 88
72:3-4	106	110:1	38, 109	4:21	102
72:5	107	110:1-7	109-110	5:16	74
72:7	106, 107	110:4	38	7:9	122
72:9	106	110:5	109	20:2	15
72:10	104	110:7	109	27:3	14
72:11	106	114:4	103	33:29	80
72:15	106	115:5	68	38:7	115

41:10	114	4:13	113	<i>1 Chronicles</i>	
41:14	114	4:15-16	113		
				5:1-2	42
<i>Song of Songs</i>		<i>Esther</i>		5:2	42
				17:8	94
1:1	112	4:13	33	29:23	100
1:4	31				
1:6	89	<i>Daniel</i>		<i>2 Chronicles</i>	
2:2	105				
2:3	112	2:11	114	33:13	87
3:2	64	2:34-35	114		
3:11	112	2:36	31	<i>Matthew</i>	
6:8	101	3:25	115		
8:12	112	3:28	115	1:6	123
		4:14	30, 32	1:16	121
<i>Rut</i>		5:1	38	1:18	121
		7:11-12	115	1:20-21	121
4:1	75	7:13-14	115	1:25	122
4:10	14	7:14	116	2:13-14	123
		8:12	108	8:1-4	124
<i>Lamentations</i>		8:13	69	8:18-20	124
		9:24-26	115	8:19	125
3:15	106	11:14	14	8:20	124
3:52-54	113	11:37	112	8:21-25	125
3:59	31	12:2	34	9:1	124
4:15-16	114	12:10	15	9:5-6	124
4:16	113			9:6	124
4:21	16	<i>Nehemiah</i>		9:13	122
				9:20-22	121
<i>Ecclesiastes</i>		4:11	3	10:1	125
		7:3	3	12:31-32	129
2:3	14	7:60	3	12:32	120
3:11	34	9:6	84	13:37	121
3:14	15	9:36	3	19:16-21	126

20:22-23	121	15:22	121
20:28	128		
26:38	119		
26:39	120, 127		
26:41	119		
27:46	128		
28:16-19	125		
28:20	125		

*Mark*

1:5	123
3:29	120
7:18-19	121
9:13-26	126
10:17-21	126

*Luke*

9:58	119
12:10	120
18:18-23	126
23:34	128

*John*

2:1	127
2:3-4	118, 127
4:5-9	127
4:7-21	120
5:28-30	128
5:30	126
8:54	121
14:13-16	120



## לח

אומרים שהאב והבן והרוח שלשתן אחד. האב והרוח יכולין להיות דבר אחד שאינם אוכלים ושותים וישנים ויעפים ומפוחדים. אבל הבן הרי הוא אוכל ושותה וישן ויעף ומפוחד. שהרי הוא אכל ושתה וישן כשהיה בספינה ויעף כששאל לשמרונית לשתות על המעיין ונתפחד כשאמ' אלי אלי למה עזבתני [מתי כז 46].

5

## לט

ועוד כתוב להם. שבשעת מיתתו מחל לאותם שהרגוהו. ואמ' אבי שבשמים מחל להם כי אינם יודעים מה עושים [לוקאס כג 34]. וא"כ למה (למה) (תפשיעונו) [תרשיעונו] ממיתתו. ועוד שאמ' בעון מיתתו גלותינו ארוך. והלא כמה שנים קודם היינו בגלות ועוד שמחל הכל כמו שכתוב למעלה.

10

## מ

ועוד כתוב להם. שתבא השעה שהנקברים ישמעו קול יש"ו ויקומו הטובים לחיים והרעים יעמדו במשפט ואיני יכל לעשות דבר מעצמי. אבל כאשמע משפטי ומשפטי (ישראל) [ישר כן] איני מבקש מחפצי אלא חפץ מי ששלחני [ע"פ יוחנן ה 28-30]. וכי שתי רצונות יש לו שרצון זה אינו כזה. והלא שלשתן כאחד ועוד שאומ' שהוא משיח א"כ מה זה שאומ' כשאשמע משפטי [י] הלא במשיח כתיב לא למשמע אזניו יוכיח [ישעיה יא ג]. ועוד אם אלוה הוא למה צריך לומר ונחה עליו רוח י"י [שם יא ב]. וכי אלוה צריך שינוח עליו רוח אחר בלתי רוחו. ועוד שכל האותות שבאותו זמן לא נתקיימו.

15

## מא

ועוד כתוב להם. החוטא באב יתכפר לו וכן החוטא בבן. אבל החוטא ברוח הקודש לא יתכפר לו [ע"פ מתי יב 31-32]. א"כ משמע דשתי רשויות הן. וא"כ משקילל האב והבן והרוח ונתחרט יתכפר לו על שניהן. אבל מי שקלל הרוח ונתחרט [דף 43א] לא יתכפר. א"כ מה יהיה משפטו ודינו של זה ששניהם כפרו והשלישי לא כפר. ואנה ילך זה שמקצתו האלהות כפר לו ומקצתו לא כפר לו. מכאן יש להשיב שהאב והבן והרוח אינם אחד.

20

## מב

תשאלם. אדם ראשון שנפח הק' באפיו נשמת חיים למה לא נקרא אלוה. א"ת בשביל שלא עשה מופת כמו יש"ו. הרי משה ואהרון ואליהו ואלישע וכמה נביאים שעשו מופתים ולא נקראו אלוה. ועוד כשפרח ממנו הרוח מיד מת הבשר. וזה הם מודים שלאחר מיתת הבשר לא יכל לעשות טוב או רע א"כ היאך שלשתן אחד. ועוד בכל הדברים שאין [דרך] הק' לעשותן אומ' נגד הבשר ודברים שדרך לאלוה לעשותן אומ' נגד רוח הקודש א"כ אינן אחד. ועוד אם הבשר חוטא(ה) בלא רוח הקודש למה הנפש נענשת. וכי זה חוטא מתחייב. אלא עיקר.

25

## מג

ועוד תשאלם מה שעשו לו היהודים מדעתו או משלא מדעתו. ואם יאמרו מרצונו והלא המתעב רצונו חוטא הוא ונמצא שהם חוטאים יותר ממנו. ואם יאמרו בעל כרחו. וכי יש אלוה שאינו יכל להציל עצמו מיד אויביו. והלא במשה כת' וייראו מגשת אליו [שמות לד ל]. ואיך תאמרו שבני אדם החזיקו בו ופצעוהו אם אלוה הוא.

35

## [מד]

בימי יאשיהו נגזר צלוחית של שמן המשחה. וממנו ואילך לא היה לנו מלך משיח. אך אחריו יהואחז ג' חדשים. ואחריו יהויקים י"א שנה. ואחריו יהויכין ג' חדשים. ואחריו צדקיה י"א שנה. ובשנת ט' למלכו בעשור לחדש בא נבוכד נצר והחריב הבית. וכל אילו מלכו ולא נמשחו. ובשנת תקל"ב קודם החורבן. וסימן בשנת תקל"ב יש"ו נצלב. שבבית שני עמד. צא וחשוב לפי חשבון זה ותמצא שנצלב קודם החורבן ק"ד שנה וזהו שנה אחת קודם מלכות [בית] הורודוס שמלכותו היה ק"ג שנה בפני הבית. אין עוד.

40

המלכות ׀ אם תאמר האב והלא שניהן שוין בגבורה ׀ לא זה גדול מזה בשום דבר ׀ ועוד שאמ' הנני עמכם עד סוף העולם [ע"פ שם כח 20] ׀ אבל לא לעולם הבא ׀׀

#### לא

5 ויקרא לתלמידיו ויתן להם ממשלה להוציא רוח הטומאה מן הארץ [ע"פ מתי י 1] ויצום שלא יובילו בידם כי אם שבט בלכתם בדרך ולא יקחו עמהם לחם ולא ינעלו מנעלים ׀ ולא ילבשו כתונות ׀׀

#### לב

10 ובמקום אחר מצינו שלא יכלו תלמידיו להוציא רוח מנער אחד ׀ שכן כתוב להם ׀ ויבא יש"ו לתלמידיו וירא כיתות רבות מדבר עמהם ׀ וישאלם מה אתם אומ' לתלמידיי ויאמרו רוח רעה מבעת נער אחד ׀ ויאמר להם שיוציאוהו ולא יכלו ויאמר להם דור עקש עד מתי אהיה עמכם לסבל מרייכם ׀ הביאוהו אלי ׀ ויביאוהו אליו ׀ וישאל לאבי הנער מאיזה זמן היה בו ׀ ויצא ממנו הרוח [ע"פ מארקוס ט 14-21] ׀ ועתה אם אלהים הוא למה שאל מאיזה זמן היה בו הלא הכל גלוי ׀ ועוד וכי דרך אלוה לדור עם בני אדם ׀׀

#### לג

15 ועוד כתוב להם ׀ ויבא אליו איש כורע על ברכיו ויאמר לו טוב מה אעשה שאנחל חיי העולם הבא ׀ ויאמר (ולא) [לן] למה תקראני טוב ׀ אין טוב [דף 42א] כי אם האלהים לבדו אינך יודע המצות ׀ לא תרצח ׀ לא תנאף ׀ וכו' ׀ א"ל כל אלה שמרתי ויאהבהו מאד ׀ ויאמר לו עדיין יש לך לעשות יותר ׀ תן כל אשר לך לעניים ויהי אוצרך בשמים ולך אחרי [מתי יט 21-16] ׀ ועתה למה הקפיד שקראו טוב אם אלוה הוא ׀ ועוד למה לא צוהו להטביל את עצמו שהיא המצוה המובחרת להם ׀ אלא בצדקה הבטיחו לחיי העולם הבא ׀׀

#### לד

25 עוד כתוב להם ׀ ויאמר לתלמידיו אל תדאגו מה תאכלו ומה תלבשו ׀ אין הנפש אלא למאכל והגוף למלבוש ׀ השגיחו העורבים שאינם זורעים וקוצרים ׀ והצור רועה אותם ׀ אתם לא כל שכן [מתי ו 25-26; לוקאס יב 22-24] ׀ ואני שומע שופט ומשפטו ישר שאיני מבקש רצוני אלא רצון מי ששלחני [ע"פ יוחנן ו 38] ׀ הרי משמע שאין רצון שניהם שוה ׀׀

#### לה

30 ועוד כתוב להם ׀ ויבא שומרון ויעף שם וישב שם על המעיין ׀ ותבא אשה לשאב מים ויאמר לה תני לי לשתות כי צמאתי ׀ ותלמידיו הלכו לקנות לחם ׀ ותען לו השומרנית לא תוכל לשתות עמי ׀ כי אינו דין שישתו השומרונים עם היהודים [ע"פ יוחנן ד 9-5] ׀ ועתה אם אלהים הוא למה נתיעף וצמא למים ׀ וכי תאמר נגד הבשר מדבר ׀ הלא כל זמן שרוח הקדש בתוכו לא יעף ולא יגע ׀׀

#### לו

35 ועוד כתוב להם ׀ ויעש חופה בגליל ׀ ותאמר לו אמו נשלם היין ויאמר לה מה לי ולך אשה ׀ עדיין לא באתה שעתה ומה אני חושש אם נשלם היין ׀ ועתה היאך קראה אשה ׀ אלא [שהייתה] בעולת איש ׀ ועוד מה שאומר מה אני חושש אם חסר היין ׀ וכי אם יחוש כי אם בעל הסעודה ׀׀

#### לז

40 (ועוד כתוב להם) ׀ מפני מה הוצרך יוסף להיות ישן עמה כעין בעלה ׀ לפי שכת' להם שאשה זונה תסקל ונצטוו להיות עמה ׀ וכשיראוהו היהודים לא יסקלוה ׀ וזה שקר הוא שאין סוקלין על זנות כי אם נערה המאורסה ׀ ועוד כי כבוד אלוה הוא לחשד לאמו מכל העולם שיש לה בעל ׀ ועוד שאומ' שישעיה נבא עליו הנה העלמה הרה [ישעיה ז יד] ׀ ואם עליו נאמ' מדוע עשה לו אב ׀ ועוד לא מצינו בכל תורתכם שנקרא עמנו אל כי אם יש"ו ׀ [דף 42ב] ובאותו שם לא מצינו שהוזכר ׀ נפלאת היא שכל הדברים שיש בבשר ודם יש ביש"ו ׀ שהרי אמר העבר ממני כוס זה כי איננו ברצוני [ע"פ מתי כו 39] ׀ כשהיה בין אויביו והיו מיסרין אותו ׀ ואם אלוה הוא מי יכל לבטל רצונו ׀ ועוד שמא' שלא בא אלא לקבל הצרות וליתן נפשו פדיון לרבים ׀ ואחר כך אמ' העבר ממני כוס זה ׀ הרי שניהם סותרין זה את זה ׀ וכת' לא איש אל ויכזב וכן אדם ויתנחם [במדבר כג יט] ׀׀



כא

כתוב להם בתחלת עון גיליון שקורין איונגילא שהן מספרין תולדות ישו שיצא ממשפחת מלכים ואומ' פלוני הוליד פלוני עד שאומ' יעקב הוליד את יוסף אישה של מרים אשר בה נולד יש"ו הנקרא קרישטו ויש להשיב עדיין לא ניסת לבעלה ולמה נקרא אשה היה לו לומ' ארוס של מרים והיאך מספרים שקר בתפלתם שכן אומ' שמעולם לא בא עליה"

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כב

עוד כתוב להם ויהי כאשר שבו המלאכים לבקש יש"ו והנה מלאך אחד נראה בחלום וא"ל קח את הנער ואת אמו ולך ברח למצרים [דף 41א] ושב שם עד אומ' לך קום עתידים ארורים יהודים לבקש הנער ולאבדו ויברח יוסף למצרים [ע"פ מתי ב 13-14] וכל כך למה אם אלהים הוא למה היה ירא משום אדם והלא מלאכי אלהים כשבאו לא יראו משום אדם כדי לעשות שליחותן בגלוי ולא היה כח ביד שום [אדם] להזיקן כמו שנ' בלוט ואת האנשים אשר פתח הבית הכו בסנוירים [בראשית יט יא] וכן באלישע ויתפלל אלישע אל י"י ויאמר הך נא את הגוי הזה בסנוירים ויכם בסנוירים בדבר אלישע [מ"ב ו יח] וכן ישלח (המלך) [ירבעם את] ידו לאמר תפשוהו ותיבש ידו ולא היה יכל להשיבה אליו [ע"פ מ"א יג ד]"

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כג

ועוד כת' להם אז יצאו יושבי ירושלים וכל יהודה וממלכות על הירדן אל יוחנן מטביל והיה מטבילים בירדן [ע"פ מארקוס א 5] ואותה טבילה קורין בטימא וכל כך מצוה לו ליוחנן לעשות כן טבילה זו באיזו תורה מצוה זו לא בקדמונית ולא בחדשה ועוד אם הוא הטבילים במים חיים הטבילים אבל הם מהיכן למדו לטבל במים שאובים ובכלי"

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כד

ועוד כתוב ברדת יש"ו מן ההר הלכו עם רב אחריו והנה מצורע בא ומשתחוה לו ויאמר לא אדוני המלך תוכל לאספני מצרעתי אם תחפץ וישלח ידו ויגע בו ונתרפא ויאמר לו ישו ראה אל תאמר אלא הראהו לכהן והבא [לו] קרבנך אל טהרתך כאשר צוה משה בתורתו [ע"פ מתי ח 4-1] ומדוע צוה למצורע ההוא להביא קרבנו כיון שנתרפא למה צריך להביא קרבנו ועוד אין אנו רואין כל שאר מצות שבתורה שנעשו על פיו אפילו אחת משנולד מן האשה כגון מילה וחזיר והרבה אחרות שהתיר אחר ביאתו ואף זאת לא נעשית על פיו מהיום ההוא והלאה"

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כה

ועוד כתוב להם שאמ' יש"ו לבעל השדה השוכב על המטה קום לך לבעבור תדע כי בן אדם מושל בארץ סולח חטאות אז אמר יש"ו לבעל השדה שא מטתך ולך לביתך [ע"פ מתי ט 2, 6] הרי שקרא עצמו בן אדם"

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כו-כז

ויעבר יש"ו נהר פרת ויבא סופר ויאמר לו ר[בי] אלך אחרוך אל המקומות אשר תלך ענה לו יש"ו לשועלים יש חפורות ולעוף השמים יש קנים ואני בן אדם אין לי קרקע להשים ראשי [ע"פ מתי ח 20-18] ואם אלוה הוא למה [דף 41ב] קרא עצמו בן אדם"

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כח

ועוד אם עשה האות הזה לבעל השדה להודיע כחו וגבורתו למה אמ' לבעל השדה למען תדע כי בן אדם מושל [ע"פ מתי ט 16] למה ענה שקר שאמ' אין לי קרקע להשים ראשי"

כט

ועוד כתוב להם באותו מקום שאמ' לו הסופר אלך אחרוך א"ל אחד מתלמידיו הניחתי עד שאקבר את אבי ענה לו יש"ו הנח לקבר מתים ובא אחרי נכנס בספינה והנה סערה גדולה בים והאניה חשבה להשבר וישן יש"ו ויבאו תלמידיו ויעוררוהו [מתי ח 25-21] וכי יש רעה גדולה מזו שאמ' לתלמידו הנח מלקבר אביך והלא אין מצוה גדולה מלקבר מתים נכרים וכל שכן אביו ועוד כי אמ' שהוא ישן וכת' הנה לא ינום יישן שומר ישראל [תהלים קכא ד]"

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ל

וילכו תלמידיו וימצאוהו בהר הגליל וישתחוו לו מקצתם ויש מהם שלא האמינהו ויאמר להם הנה נתונה לי מלכות שמים וארץ לכו ולמדו כל הגוים טבילה בשם האב והבן ורוח הטומאה [ע"פ מתי ח 16-19] מי נתן [לו] אותו

יא

5 עוד כתוב בצאת יש"ו מירושלם פגע בשומרונית ההולכת על העין וכדה של שכמה אמרה לו רצונך לשתות אמ' לה וכי עליך לתת לי לשתות עלי לתת לך כי היכלת בידי אמרה לו והלא הכד בידי ואני קרובה למעיין אמ' לה וכי את סבורה שמימי מעין זה אני אומ' ממי מעין שמחיה מתים אני אומ' כי בא העת ועתה הוא בירושלים כי לא יקראו רק לאב למה לא אמ' רק אלי מכלל שהוא ואביו אינם אחד ועוד אמ' עשו מצותי וכל שאלתכם ימלא אבי ולא אמ' אמלא א"כ שליח הוא ואינו מעלה ומוריד

יב

10 אדונכם טמא היה ושקרן נדה של י"ב שנה באה לפניו ונגע בלבושה ורפאה לדבריכם א"כ טמא עצמו ועבר על דברי תורה

יג

15 הלל עצמו ואמ' בן אדם יזרע זרע הטוב [ע"פ מתי יג 37] ובמקום אחר הוא אומ' לא אהלל עצמי כי הלולי ריק [ע"פ יוחנן ח 54]

יד

עוד אמ' וכי לא ידעתם כי כל מה שיכנס בפה האדם יכנס בבטן ומבטן ירד למטה [ע"פ מתי טו 17] א"כ מה שאוכלים בקצח יורד למטה

טו

20 עוד אמ' פוט אישטיש ביברי קליצם קום איגו [ע"פ מתי כ 22] פי' היוכלים אתם לשתות כמו שאשתה והם ענו כן יכולנו אמ' משתיתי תשתו אך לא יכלתי להושיבכם לא לימיני ולא לשמאלי כי לאותו שגזר אבי עליו [ע"פ שם כ 23] א"כ אינו יכל לעשות רצונו ועוד נראה [דף 40ב] כי הבן והאב אינו אחד

טז

25 יקופיא הוליד יוסף בעל חריא כשנתארסה אמו מריא ליוסף טרם היו לבשר אחד נמצאת הרה א"ל המלאך הוא יושיע את ישראל מעונותיו ובמקום אחר הוא אומ' אם לא באתי לא חטאו [ע"פ יוחנן טו 22] הרי סתר דבריו ועוד הרי כחש שלא הושיע ואם על מקצתם הרי משה הושיע הכל וכן יעשה מלך המשיח

יז

30 אחר שהעיד והלך המלאך לקח יוסף את אשתו אך נון קונוציבץ איאם [מתי א 25] פי' לא הכיר בה דונק פיפיריץ פיליאום שואום [שם] פי' עד שילדה בנה פרימוס יינטוס [שם] פי' הבכור הנזרע אם כן לאחר שילדה ידעה

יח

35 עוד אמ' יש"ו לא באתי בעבור החסידים אלא בעבור החוטאים [ע"פ מתי ט 13] א"כ בעבור אברהם וחבריו לא בא ועוד לדבריו היו חסידים בעולם ובמקום אחר אומ' שבא כדי להוציא הכל מגהינם

יט

40 פתה השיבני אם גזר על החוטאים שילכו בגהינם ונתן כח לשטן לעכבם שם א"כ כשירד לגהינם גזל לשטן מה שנתן לו וזה אין נכון לומר שהוא גזלן לכן כשירד לגהינם נשאר שם כשלקח הנפשות דכת' נפש תחת נפש [ויקרא כד יח] ואיוב מסייעני כן יורד שאול (ו) לא יעלה [איוב ז ט]

כ

45 אמר אליהם היאך אתם אומ' שיש"ו אלוה וראיתם אותו מדבר אליכם והלא כת' בפר[שת] שופטים שאמרו ישראל לא אוסיף [עוד] לשמוע את (ב)קול י"י ולא אמות ויאמר י"י הטיבו (את) אשר דברו [ע"פ דברים יח טז-יז] וכת' נביא אקים להם מקרב אחיהם כמור [שם יח יח] משמע בן אדם בשר ודם ילוד אשה

א

כתוב להם בעון גליון נגע שגיון בצער ופסיון לא [דף 39ב] יוכלו נקיון [הושע ח ה] אנטר נטו {מוליאר} נון שוררשית מאיור די יהאן בשטישטל [ע"פ מתי יא 11] בן נולד [מ]אשה לא נתעלה גדול מיחנן מטביל יש"ו לדבריהם אם כן היה נולד מאשה כי מולייר היא בעולה ואם יש"ו לדבריהם לא נבעלה

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ב

עיו מה כת' בעון גליון (בשונאי) [בנושאי] [ו]מלך ארטקלין שבאתה חריא ואמרה אל נוצרי תלמיד[י]ך מה יאכלו וינזם נום אבינט [ע"פ יוחנן ב ג] פנאום נון אבינט פי' יין אין להם לחם אין להם והשיב לה מולייר נון בינט אורא מיאה פי' אשה לא באה שעה שלי אם כן הוא עצמו קורא לאמו מולייר ואם אים יואן בעולה כאשר אם כן מולייר הכת' בחריא היינו בעולה ועוד לפי זה לא היה לו יכולת לתת להם לאכל גם השיב פר פוןשונצא נון פר נטורא קריאטור פיש פייט קריאטורא פי' ביכולת ולא בחכמה התולדה הבורא נעשה נוצר כל החכמים מודים כי (הנצור) [הנוצר] אינו יוצר דבר חי א"כ אלהותכם אין בו יכולת לבראות בריות א"כ מה תועלת יש בו

10

ג

אמר לירושלים ירושלם אמרתי (לאוסוף) [לאוסוף] תחת רגלי (בתרנגולת) [כתרנגולת] לאפרוחיה [ע"פ מתי כג 37] והכתוב כי הוא אמר ויהי [תהלים לג ט] וכל אשר חפץ [יהוה] עשה בשמים ובארץ [שם קלה ו]

15

ד

עוד כת' שם קי מנדקוט קרו אי וינזם ביבית לוקשור אש אישט פי' האוכל בשר ושותה יין זולל ובעל עבירות והוא אכל בשר ושתה יין בנושאי ארטקלין

20

ה

שיקוף אנימא איץ (איץ) קרו אוניש אישט אומו אישט דיואש איץ אומו אונץ אישט קרישטוש פי' כמו שהנשמה והבשר יחד הם אדם כך אלהות ואדם יחד משיח קרישט א"כ כשנהרג הבשר נהרג האלהות

25

ו

כשנצלב אמר טרישטם אנימא מיאה אושקא מורטם איץ קרו פרומנטוש אישט [ע"פ מתי כו 38, 41] פי' (באיבה) [כאיבה] נשמתי עד מות והבשר רוגזת ורוגשת והם אומ' כי הנשמה הוא האלהות דכת' נר (אלהים) [יהוה] נשמת אדם [משלי כ כז] א"כ אלהות הנוצר[י] רגש

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ז

(מלפוש) [וולפוש] פואביש אבינט (מלקריש) [וולקריש] צילו ניקו פילי אומוני נון אביץ ריקלניש קפוש שואו [ע"פ לוקאס ט נח] פי' (חפו הפירות) [חפרפרות] מקום צל יש להם [דף 40א] עופות לצד השמים קיניהם בן אדם לא היה לא אפא יכוף ראשו שהיה עני כל כך שלא היה לא מקום לכפות ראשו ולדור בו

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ח

בקילקונקיבט כת' פטריש אין יינטוש פיליוט יינטוש שפריטוש שינוטוש אב טרוקי פרו צינרש פי' האב לא נזרע והבן נזרע רוח יצא משניהם א"כ האב היה קודם לבן וכשהרוח יצא משניהם א"כ היה עת שהאב היה בלא רוח

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ט

עוד כתוב שם החוטא באב ובבן יש לו מחילה אבל החוטא ברוח הקדוש אין לו מחילה [ע"פ מתי יב 32] א"כ אין קדשות של זה כזה ואין כח זה כזה אם אינם דבר אחד

י

עוד כתוב שם שצעק לאב כשהיה צלוב פאטיר מיי שאיפוייש ביל אישט טרנשיאון אמיקליש [ע"פ מתי כו לט] פי' אב שלי אם יכל להיות הפסק הצרה שלי א"כ לא היה יכל להסיר הצרה ממנו כי אם אביו אם כן אינם דבר אחד

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[עון גליון]

## קלג

דניאל ׀ ואחרון לא איתי די (חוצה) [יחונה] קדם מלכא להן אלהין די מדרהון עם בשרא איתוהי [דניאל ב יא] ׀ שאלה מטרונא מלוקש לכומר וכי כתוב כן ׀ אמ' לה הן ׀ אמרה לו שקר הם דוברים [דף 39א] שאתם אומ' שירד ולקח בשר בחריא ׀ והלך עם בני אדם ואכל ושתה עמהן ׀׀

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## קלד

חזה הוית עד די התגזרת אבן די לא בידין ומחת [דניאל ב לד] ׀ ושאלני כומר מקדש פריש מי היתה אותה אבן ׀ וראיתי שהיה רוצה לפתרו על התלוי ׀ אמרתי לו אוי לאותו אבן שהשמידה הכל ׀ דכת' באדין דקו (כחדא כספא ונחשא) [כחדה פרזלא כספא נחשא] [שם ב לה] וגו' ׀׀

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## קלה

שבעים שבעים נחתך על עמך ועל עיר קדשך לכלא [ה]פשע ולהתם חטאת ולכפר עון ולהביא צדק עלמים ולחתום חזון ונביא ולמשח קדש קדשים ׀ ותדע ותשכיל מן מוצא דבר [דניאל ט כד-כה] וגו' ׀ ואחרי השבועים ששים ושנים יכרת משיח ואין לו [שם ט כו] ׀ וטופלי שקר טפלו אילו שני הכתובים ׀ למשח קדש קדשים ׀ וטופלים אותו אל יכרת משיח ואין לו ׀ ואומ' בבא קדוש הקדושים תכלה משיחתכם ׀ ומרמה דברו כי בימי צדקיה כלו המלכים המשוחים ׀ וגם לא מצינו בבית שיני שעשו שמן המשחה ׀׀

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## קלו

(וראיה) [ורוה] (דרביעאי) [די רביעאי] דמי לבר אלהין [דניאל ג כה] ׀ ואומ' מכאן שיש לו בן ׀ ורוצים לומר שזהו נוצרי ׀ וק[שה] להם דכת' בריך אלההון די שדרך (ו)מישך די שלח מלאכה ושזיב לעבדוהי [ע"פ שם ג כח] ׀ וגם מצינו שהמלאכים נקראו בני אלהים דכתיב ברוך יחד כוכבי בקר ויריעו כל בני אלהים [איוב לח ז] ׀ וכן ויבאו בני האלהים להתייצב על י"י [שם א ו] ׀׀

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## קלז

וארו עם ענני שמיא כבר אנש (אתא) [אתה הוא] ועד עתיק (יומין) [יומיא] (מטא) [מטה] וקדמוהי הקר(י)בוהי ולי(י)ה [י]ב שלטן ויקר ומלכו וכל עממיא אומיא ולי(י)שניא ולי(י)ה יפלחון [דניאל ז יג-יד] ׀ והם פותרין אותו על נוצרי ׀ ושוא ודבר כזב החזיקו כי אותו בר אנש לא יבא עד כלות כל ארבע המלכיות ׀ דכת' חזה הוית עד (דקטילת) [די קטילת] חיותא והובד גשמה (ויהיבין) [ויהיבת] ליקדת אשא ושאר חיותא העדיו שלטניהון וארכ[ה] בחיין יהיבת להון עד זמן ועדן [שם ז יא-יב] ׀ ועדין לא כלו ארבע המלכיות ׀ ועוד לא נתקיים דבר זה כל עממיא אומיא ולי(י)שניא ולי(י)ה יפלחון [שם ז יד] ׀ כי ישמעאלים וקדריים ושאר מלכיות אינן עובדין לו כי אם הגוים בלבד ׀׀

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ב ג] והשבתי כי אמו זו היא גדולתו כמו (על) [אל] אם הדרך ישב מלך בבל קלקל בחצים שאל בתרפים [עי' יחזקאל כי כן] וכי יש לו אם לדרך אלא ישב לו בגובה של דרך להפיל גורל אף כאן אמו זו היא גדולתו

#### קכט

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[דף 38ב] קהלת טוב ילד מסכן וחכם ממלך זקן וכסיל [קהלת ד ג] שאל גלח אחד לה"ר נתן מי היה אותו ילד שהיה חכם השיב אוי לו לאותו ילד ראה מה כת' אחריו ראיתי [את כל] החיים המהלכים (את כל החיים) תחת השמש עם הילד השני אשר יעמד תחתיו אין קץ לכל העם לכל אשר היה (לפניו) [לפניהם] גם האחרונים לא ישמחו בו [שם ד טו-טז]

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#### קל

איכה ה"ר נתן הלך לדבר עם [הגמון] בשביל אנוס אחד א"ל היכן מצינו שאין מקבלין אנוס השיב אין יכל להשתמד שכך אמ' ירמיה צ[נ]ד צדוני כצפור אויבי חנם [איכה ג נב] כדי לאנסי לעבר על דתי צמתו בבור חיי [שם ג נד] לדחקני צפו מים על ראשי [שם ג נד] בעל כרחי נותנין עלי מים אמרתי נגזרתי [שם] נכרתתי כלומ' נמהלתי אי איפשי להשתמד מאחר שנמהלתי

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#### קלא

א"ל חובל לה"ר נתן אין הקב"ה חפץ בכם לכך פיזר אתכם בעמים דכת' (בני) [פני י"י] חלקם לא יוסיף להביטם [איכה ד טז] א"כ לעולם לא ישגיח עוד בכם השיבו הכתו' אומ' שכך אתם אומ' דכת' סורו טמא קראו למו סורו סורו אל תגעו כי נצו גם נעו אמרו בגוים [שם ד טו] פני י"י חלקם [שם ד טז] כל זה מדבריהם

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#### קלב

איש היה בארץ עוץ [אויב א א] גלח אחד מפריש אמ' לתלמידיו באו וראו מינות אילו היהודים שאומ' כי לוינתן הוא אחד גדול ועתידיים הם לאכול לעתיד אמרתי לו ואתה מה אתה אומ' מהו לוינתן אמ' זהו שד אמרתי לו וכי איזהו מן יותר האומ' ורוצה לעשות מטוב רע או מרע טוב אנו אומ' הוא דבר חשוב ואתם אומ' שהוא שד ולדבריהם אתם אומ' שהשד דבר חשוב שהרי כת' עתישותיו תהל אור ועיניו כעפעפי שחר [שם מא י'] בצוארו ילין עוז ולפניו תרוץ דאבה [שם מא יד]

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1 והשבתי ה' והשיב הר"ר יוסף | זו היא ה' זוהי | ישב ה' ושב

2 זו היא ה' זוהי

5 לה"ר ה' להר"ר

6 ראיתי ה' כל | (את כל החיים) ה' ח'

7 לכל#2 ה' ח'

11 ה"ר ה' הר"ר | לדבר ה' ח' | עם ה' ב' הגמון | אנוס#2 ה' ח' | יכל ה' יכול

12 צ[נ]ד ה' צוד | לעבר ה' לעבוק

13 לדחני ה' כדי לדחקני | עלי מים ה' ח' | אמרתי ה' אמ'

14 איפשי ה' אפשר

17 חובל ה' ב' אחד | פיזר ה' פזר | בעמים ה' בין העמים | (בני) ה' פני י"י

18 לעולם ה' ח' | אתם ה' ח'

22 בארץ ה' (ארץ) | עוץ ה' ב' אויב שמו | אילון ה' אלו | לוינתן ה' לוינתן | אחד#2 ה' רב

23-25 לעתיד ה' ב' לבא | אמרתי לון ה' א"ל הר"ר יוסף | לוינתן ה' לוינתן | אמ' ה' ב' לו | אמרתי לון ה' א"ל | איזהו ה' איזהו כו' | מן יותר

- תרוץ דאבה ה' חסר בכאן [סוף ה', הערת העורך]

קכו

אחל משלי

להבין משל ומליצה דברי חכמים וחידו[תם] [משלי א ו] על החזיר ועל המילה ועל כמה מצות אומרים כי אין זה כי אם משל ועושים פי' של דופי ואומ' כי אין בכתב(ו) אין לדרשו והשבתי להם אתם דורשים פי' ומסירים ממשות הכתב ואי אפשר לומר כן שהרי אמ' שלמה להבין משל ומליצה דברי ח[כמים] וגו' [שם] א"כ צריך לדרש את הכל

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קכז

דברי אגור בן (יקא) [יקה] [משלי ל א] וגו' מי עלה שמים וירד [שם ל ד] וגו' מה שמו ומה שם בנו כי תדע (כי תדע) [שם] ואומרים סוררים כי הוא מדבר על נוצרי וה"ר נתן השיב אי אפשר לומר כן שהרי כת' מי עלה שמים וירד היה לו לומר מי ירד שמים ועלה שהרי בשמים היה לכתחילה וירד למטה ואחר כך עלה לדבריהם עוד אני מוסיף דכת' מה שמו ומה שם בנו היה לו לומר מה [דף 38א] שמו ומה שם אביו שהרי לא היה בן לנוצרי ואם תאמר שעל האב הוא אומ' היכן מצאו שירד והחובלים שאלוהו לה"ר נתן והשיב מי אמר כן אמרו לו אגור בן יקא אמ' להם כפרי אחד עובד אדמה היה ואני אומ' מה היה אומ' שלמה וכי לא היה יודע מי הוא הק' וכי היה מין אלא כך היה אומ' בער אנכי מאיש [שם ל ב] שאין אני מבין בענין מנהג בני אדם ולא למדתי (אותה) חכמה [שם ל ג] מאין בא[ה] ודעת קדושים אדע [שם] מאין באה לו אותה קדושה ועל הכל יתגדל [ע"פ דניאל יא לז] פי' רש"י נאם הגבר לאתיאל [משלי ל א] אמ' שלמה לפי שהק' עמי אוכל לעשות תאותי כי בער אנכי מאיש [שם ל ב] שעמדתי ושענתי על חכמתי לעבר על דברי הקב"ה שאמ' לו לא ירבה לו נשים וגו' [דברים יז יז] ואני אמרתי אני ארבה ולא אטה וכן לא ירבה לו סוסים [שם יז טז] והיה לי ללמד מי עלה שמים וירד זה היה משה ואסף רוח בחפניו [ע"פ משלי ל ד] (אמ') פיח הכבשן וצרר מים בשמלה [ע"ש] קפאו תהומות [שמות טו ח] והקים כל אפסי ארץ [ע"פ משלי ל ד] זה המשכן שבהקמתו נתבססו כל אפסי ארץ כך נדרש בפסיקתא ולפי הפשט מי הקים וגו' דכת' היום הזה אחל תת פחדך על פני העמים (אשר) תחת כל השמים [ע"פ דברים ב כה] מה שמו ומה שם איזו מישפחה יצתה ממנו כי תדע אם תדע ואין לו יראת לעבר [על] דבריו כל אמרת (י"י) [אלוה] צרופה [משלי ל ה] לא כתב דבר שלא לצורך אל תוסף על דבריו [שם ל ו] שאם תוסף על דבריו תבא לידי עבירה פן יוכיח בך [שם] על מה שעשית ותמצא כזבן

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קכח

שיר השירים אשר לשלמה [שה"ש א א] צאינה וראינה בנות (ירושלים) [ציון] בעטרה שעטרה לו אמו ביום חתונתו וביום שמחת לבו [ע"פ שה"ש ג יא] שאל משומד אחד מי היא אותה אם לפי דבריכם שאתם אומ' שכל (ה)שלמה שבשיר השירים קדש חוץ מזה האלף לך שלמה [שם ח יב] השיב לו אמו זו היא חכמתו כמו אם לבינה תקרא [משלי

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2 אחל ה' ח'

3 חכמים וחידו[תם] ה' חכמי וחידותם | אומרים ה' או'

4 ועושים ה' ועושין | ואומ' ה' ואו' | בכתב(ו) ה' בכתב | לדרשו ה' לדרשו | והשיב | ממשות הכתב ה' המשות

5 לומר ה' לומ' | דברי ח[כמים] ה' ח' | לדרש ה' לדרוש

8 מי עלה - וירד וגו' ה' ח' | (כי תדע) ה' ח'

9 ואומרים - מדבר | פוקרים | נתן | ח' | לומר | ה' לומ'

10 שמים | ח' | לכתחילה | ה' בתחלה | אני מוסיף | ה' הוסיף

11 שמו ומה | ח' | ואם תאמר | ה' וא"ת | האב | ה' אביו

12 אומ' | ה' או' | מצאנו | ה' מצינו | אמר | ה' אמ' | אחד | ה' ב' הזה

13 ואני אומ' | ה' והר' יוסף או' | אומ' שלמה | ה' שלמה או' | הק' | ה' הקב"ה

14 בעניין | ה' בענין | בא[ה] | ה' באה

15 שלמה | ח' | שהק' | ה' שהקב"ה | שעמדתי | ח' | לעבר | ה' לעבור

17 ל[ו]1 | ח' | וגו' | ח' ח'

18 רוח | ח' | ריח | ח' | (אמ') | ח' ח'

19-20 זה המשכן - אפסי ארץ | ח' ח'

20 בפסיקתא | ה' בקסיק' | היום | ה' היום | היום | ח' | (אשר) | ח' ח'

21 שם | ח' | ב' בנו | ח' | יצתה | ח' | זיכתה | ח' | אם תדע | ח' | ואין | ח' | ואיר | ח' | לעבר | ח' | לעבור

22 (י"י) | ח' | אלוה

23 בך | ח' | ב' ונכזבת | ח' | כזבן | ח' | כך

27 אם | ח' | האם | ח' | דבריכם | ח' | אומ' | ח' | אומרי'

28 קדש | ח' | ח' | השיב לו | ח' | השיבו | ח' | זו היא | ח' | זוהי | ח' | כמון | ח' | ב' | (על אם הדרך)

נדבות ביום חילך [תהלים קי ג] יתנדבו להיות [דף 37ב] עמך ולא יאותו לסנחריב (בהררי) [בהדרי] קדש [שם] זהו  
הר ציון מרחם משחר לך טל ילדות[י]ך [שם] מקודם שנולדת שהרי נבא עליך ישעיה למרבה המשרה ולשלום אין קץ  
[ישעיה ט ו] וגו' וכת' קנאת י"י זבאות תעשה זאת [שם] וגבי ישועה זאת כת' (קנאת י"י צבאות תעשה זאת) [נשבע  
י"י [תהלים קי ד] כעניין שנאמר]] נשבע י"י צבאות אם לא כאשר דמיתי כן היתה וכאשר יצעתי היא תקום (לשמר)  
5 [לשבר] אשור בארצי [ע"פ ישעיה יד כד-כה] ואז תתחזק במלכותך אתה כהן [תהלים קי ד] פי' גדול כמו ובני דוד  
כהנים [ש"ב ח יח] וכן ואתם תהיו לי ממלכת כהנים [שמות יט ו] על דברתי [מלכי צדק] [תהלים קי ד] על מה  
שדברתי תהיה מלכי צדק י"י על ימינך מחץ מלכים [ע"ם שם קי ה] אותן שבאו עם סנחריב להלחם על ירושלים על  
ימינך [שם] לישועתך (י"י) ידין בגוים מלא גויות [שם קי ו] שיצא המלאך והרג בהם מאה ושמונים אלף מחץ ראש על  
ארץ רבה [שם קי ו] ארץ חשובה היא ארץ ישראל ושם הרגם (הרגם) ומחץ ראשם מנחל בדרך ישתה על [כן] ירים  
10 ראש [שם קי ז] סנחריב שנ' אני קרתי ושתיתי מים [זרים] ואחריב בכף פעמי כל יאורי מצור [מ"ב יט כד] ..

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חסלו [ה]תשובות [מתהלים] ..

- 2 לך] ה': (לו)
- 3 וגו'] ה': ח' | וגבי ישועה – זאת#2] ה': ח'
- 4 (לשמר)] ה': לשבור
- 5 כהן] ה': (לא עליון) |
- 6 כהנים] ה': לו היו | דברתי] ה': לו מלכי צדק
- 7 אותן] ה': או' | ירושלים] ה': ירושלים
- 8 מחץ] ה': ומחץ
- 9 ישראל] ה': ישר' | ושם] ה': שם | (הרגם)] ה': ח' | על] ה': לו כן
- 13 חסלו תשובות] ה': חסלת התשובות מתהלים



המורים כי על נוצרי נאמ' שהוא יולד בה והוא יסדה ויכוננה ויכוננה וגם עליון וק[שה] לפי' כי הוא נולד אצל בית לחם  
 בנצרת וגם איש ואיש יולד בה א"כ שנים הם אך אוילים המה כי המזמור מדבר על הר הבית והכת' משבחו ואומ' כי  
 הק' אוהב ציון בך נכבדות מדובר [ע"ש פז ג] בו שהוא עיר האלהים אזכיר רהב ובבל [שם פז ד] וגומ[ר] זה יולד  
 שם [ועל] [ול] ציון יאמר איש ואיש יולד [ע"פ שם פז ה] כל אחד ואחד יאמר שנולד בה לפי שהכל חומדים לה לפי  
 שנכבדות מדובר בה והוא יכוננה עליון [שם פז ה] מי יכוננה עליון והר"ר יוסף בכור שור פי' כל המזמור שהיה דוד  
 מצוה לשלמה ואומ' לו עשה הבניין שיאמרו הכל שנראה לפי יופי המלאכה שנולדת שם ופי' י"י יספר [שם פז ו] יספר  
 שבחך לכל העמים עד שיאמרו [דף 37א] זה יולד שם [שם] ולפי' והראשון כך הוא אומ' כל אחד ואחד שבחו אומ' אבל  
 הק' [יברר] הנולדים שם מבין העמים אשר נפצו שם והרב ר' יוסף בכור שור פי' יולד כגון לא תדע מה ילד יום  
 [משלי כז א] כלומר בונא אבנטורא ליאיטא אבנואה

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קכד

משכיל לאיתן [תהלים פט א] שויתי עזר על גבור הרימוותי בחור מעם מצאתי דוד עבדי בשמן קדשי משחתיו [שם פט  
 כ-כא] וכסאו כשמש נגדי כירח יכון עולם ועד בשחק נאמן [שם פט לז-לח] ואומ' אותו על נוצרי וכמה תשובות בדבר  
 אחת שכתו בפ' מצאתי דוד עבדי ועוד ושמתי לעד זרעו [שם פט ל] וכן אם יעזבו בניו תורת [שם פט גא] ועוד היה  
 חרפה לשכניו [שם פט מב] הרימוותי ימין צריו השמחת כל אויביו [שם פט מג] השבת(ה) מטהרו וכסאו לארץ [מגדת]  
 [מגרתה] הקצרת ימי עלומיו העטית עליו בושה סלה [שם פט מה-מו] א"כ חרפתו לעולם וכן השיב רבינו מנחם  
 מיואני אל האסטיאקלא מירושלים וכן אמ' הר"ר אהרן בן הר"ר יוסף הכהן

15

קכה

לדוד מזמור נאם י"י לאדני שבי לימיני [תהלים קי א] פותים פותרים אותו על נוצרי כחשו ב"י שהרי כשהוא אומ' נאם  
 י"י לאדני א"כ אותו אדון אינו י"י ואם תאמ' שעל הבשר הוא אומ' היכן מצינו שהיו אויביו הדום רגליו [ע"ש] והיאך  
 רדה בקרב אויביו [ע"ש קי ב] והלא הם רדו בבשר שהיה מת ונקבר ועוד י"י על ימינך מחץ מלכים ביום אפו [ע"פ שם  
 קי ה] מי היו אותן מלכים ועוד מנחל בדרך ישתה על כן ירים ראש [שם קי ז] ואם לא היה מים לשתות היה מת  
 בצמא אם כן לא היה אלוה רש"י פי' באברהם ופי' אחר בדוד ואני שמעתי שהיה מתנבא על חזקיהו וכך פי' נאם י"י  
 לאדני לחזקיהו שב לימיני כמו [ונשב] [ותשב] בקדש ימים רבים [דברים א מו] וכן ויואל לשבת [ע"פ שמות ב כא]  
 כלומר המתן לישועת ימיני עד אשית אויבך הדום [ל] רגליך [תהלים קי א] סנחריב ובניו מטה עזך ישלח י"י מציון  
 [שם קי ב] מהר ציון שהלך חזקיהו להתפלל שם כדכת' ויקח חזקיהו את הספרים מיד המלאכים [ויקראהו] [ויקראם]  
 ויעל בית י"י ויפרשהו חזקיהו לפני י"י [מ"ב יט יד] וכת' כי מירושלם תצא שארית ופלני[ט]טה מהר ציון [שם יט לא] עמך

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25  
30

- 1 המורים] ה': המורי | וק[שה] ה': וקש'
- 2 יולד בה] ה': ח' | הם] ה': היו | המזמור] ה': המזמו' | הר] ה': ח' | ואומ'] ה': ואו'
- 3 הק' - שהוא] ה': אוהב י"י את שערי ציון כי נכבדות מדובר כן שהיא | וגומ[ר]] ה': וגו' | יולד] ה': ילד
- 4 יולד] ה': ילד | כל] ה': כלו | כל | לפי] ה': ח' | לה] ה': אותה
- 5 בה] ה': בך | מי יכוננה עליון] ה': ח' | והר"ר יוסף] ה': והר'
- 6 ואומ'] ה': ואו' | הבניין] ה': הבנין | שיאמרו] ה': לו | י"י] ה': ח'
- 7 שבחך] ה': [שכחך] | יולד] ה': ילד | אומ' #1] ה': או' | אומ' #2] ה': או'
- 8 הק'] ה': הקב"ה | נפצו] ה': נפצו | והרב ר' יוסף] ה': והר'
- 9 כלומר] ה': כלומ' | בונא אבנטורא ליאיטא אבנואה] ה': בונא אבנטורא ליאיטא אבנואה
- 13 כירח] ה': [לירח] | עולם] ה': [לעולם] | נאמן] ה': כל סלה | ואומ'] ה': ואו' | תשובות] ה': כל יש
- 15 השבת(ה)] ה': השבת
- 16 בושה] ה': כו' | רבינו] ה': רבי
- 17 האסטיאקלא] ה': האפטיאקלא | הר"ר] ה': הר' | אהרון] ה': ח' | בן הר"ר] ה': בה"ר
- 20 פותים פותרים] ה': פותר' | כשהוא] ה': הוא
- 21 אינו] ה': איננו | ואם תאמ'] ה': וא"ת
- 22 י"י - ימינך] ה': מהו
- 23 ראש] ה': [מאפו]
- 24 אם כן] ה': א"כ | אחר] ה': ח' | וכך] ה': וכן
- 25 לחזקיהו] ה': ח' | לשבת] ה': [ללכת]
- 26 כלומר] ה': כלו'
- 27 כדכת'] ה': כדל' | חזקיהו] ה': חזקיה
- 28 [ויקראהו]] ה': ח' | מירושלם] ה': מירושלים

קכ

לשלמה אלהים משפטיך למלך תן וצדקתך לבן מלך [תהלים עב א] אומ' תועי רוח כי מדבר על נוצרי שהוא מלך ובן מלך יפרח בימיו צדיק ורב שלום עד בלי ירח [שם עב ז] זהו סוף העולם לפניו יכרעו ציים ואן יביו עפר ילחנו [תהלים עב ט] וישתחוו כל מלכים יעבדוהו [ע"פ שם עב יא] יהי שמו לעולם לפני שמש ינון שמו [שם עב יז] נואלו כי לא ידעו דרך י"י שהרי בתחלת המזמור {כת' לשלמה} וזהו העד שאינו מדבר על נוצרי ועוד ישאו הרים שלום [שם עב ג] היכן השלום ועוד יושיע לבני אביון וידכא עושק [שם עב ד] ועדיין אנו רואים שהאל[ים] מקפח החלש ואלמלא מוראה של מלכות איש את רעהו חיים בלעו ועוד וירד מים ועד ים [שם עב ח] מאי (רבתינו) [רבותא] והלא הוא מושל על כל העולם ועוד ויתן לו מזהב שבא ויתפלל בעדו [שם טו] וכי צריך הוא להתפלל בעדו או הוא יתפלל על אחרים ולא אלהים הוא ולמי יתפלל אלא זה פתרו' דוד היה מתפלל על שלמה בנו כשהומלך והיה [מלך] ובן מלך ישאו הרים שלום [שם עב ג] לעם שהשובע עושה שלום כדכת' השם גבולך שלום חלב חטים ישביעך [תהלים קמז יד] ייראוך עם שמש [שם עב ה] יהי רצון שייראוך עם שמש ורב שלום עד בלי ירח [שם עב ז] שכך התנה לדוד כסאו כשמש נגדי כירח יכון עולם [תהלים פט לז-לח] והיה מתפלל שיהא מקויים בשלמה וזרעו והיה אומ' שיפרח בימיו צדיק [שם עב ז] שיהו בימי[הם] של ישראל עושים רצונו לפי שכך התנה לו הק' אם ישמרו [דף 36ב] בניו את בריתי ולפי שלעת זקנותו נשיו הטו לבבו לכך לא נתקיימה תפלה זו ויתן לו מזהב שבא [שם עב טו] לעני יתן מזהב הבא משבא והוא יתפלל בעדו יהי פיסת בר [שם עב טז] ריבוי כמו אם פשה תפשה [ויקרא יג ז] ובלע"ז פוי'שון יהי שמו לעולם [תהלים עב יז] שישופר שם מלכותו וחכמתו לעולם וי"א לעולם כמו ועבדו לעולם [שמות כא ו] כל ימי חייו לפני שמש ינון שמו [תהלים עב יז] בעוד שהשמש לפניו שהוא חי יגדל שמו כלו תפלות דוד בן ישי [שם עב כ] והלא הרבה מזמורים אמר [אחרי] זה אלא אין מוקדם ומאוחר אינמי על שלמה לא התפלל יותר

קכא

משכיל לאסף [תהלים עד א] הודינו לך אלהים [שם עה ב] שאל הגמון אחד לה"ר נתן עד מתי תוחילו תוחלת ממושכה א"ל איני מאשימך אם אתה מתמיה על כך כי גם דוד היה תמה על כך דכת' אותותינו לא ראינו אין עוד נביא ולא אתנו יודע [עד מה] עד מתי [אלהים] יחרף צר ינאץ [אויב] שמך לנצח [שם עד ט-י]

קכב

למנצח לבני קרח [תהלים פה א] אמת מארץ תצמח [שם פה יב] שאל הקנצלייר איזה אמת תצמח מארץ השיבו אותו שהשלכתם לארץ דכת' וצבא תנתן על התמיד בפשע ותשלך אמת ארצה ועשתה והצליחה [דניאל ח יב]

קכג

לבני קרח יסודות בהררי קדש [ע"פ תהלים פז א] ולציון יאמר איש ואיש יולד בה והוא יכוננה עליון [שם פז ה] ואומ'

- 2 אומ' ה' או' | נוצרי ה' נצרי
- 4 יעבדוהו ה' ח'
- 6 רואים ה' רואין | מקפח ה' ל' את
- 7-8 ועוד וירד – כל העולם ה' ח'
- 8 בעדן ה' וירד מים ועד ים והלא אינו מושל מים ועד ים [ועוד ויתן לו מזהב שבא ויתפלל] | אן ה' מי
- 9 כשהומלך ה' כשהמלך | והיה ה' ל' מלך
- 10 שלום#1 ה' [עולם] | שלום#2 ה' ח'
- 11 שייראוך ה' שיראוך |
- 12 נגדי ה' [עדי] | מקויים ה' מקוים | וזרעו ה' ובזרעו | אומ' ה' או'
- 13 ישראל ה' ישר' | עושים ה' עושין | הקב"ה ה' ברית' | ברית' ה' ברית'
- 14 ולפי ה' לפי | זקנתו ה' זקנתו | הטון ה' ל' את | לכך ה' ח' | לעני יתן מזהב ה' זהב
- 15 והוא יתפלל ה' והיה מתפלל | ריבוי ה' רבוי | פוי'שון ה' פוי'שון
- 16 כמו ועבדו לעולם ה' ח'
- 18 אמר ה' ל' אחרי
- 21 אחד ה' ח' | לה"ר ה' לה"ר
- 22 איני ה' אינו | מתמיה ה' תמיה | תמה ה' תמיה
- 23 עד#1 ה' [על]
- 26 הקנצלייר ה' הקנצלייר
- 27 תנתן ה' [ינתן]

ל' מהיכלך אשר הוא על ירושלים' (לכך) [לך] יובילו מלכים שי [שם] מלכי שבא (ודדון) אשכר (ישיבו) [יקריבו] [ע"פ שם עב י] גער חית קנה [שם סח לא] אומה הרשעה' מתרפס [דף 35ב] ברצי כסף [שם] ראויים הם שתגער במ שאין מוציא רצון מידם אלא בכסף וגוזלים ממון' בזר עמים קרבות יחפצו(ו) [שם] לפי שתמיד (אותה חיה בזר בזר עמים קרבות יחפצו לפי שתמיד) רוצה להלחם' ולכך קורא אותה חיה קנה לפי שהיא על הים' כמו שנ' מי כצור כדומה בתוך הים [יחזקל כז לב]"

ק"ט

למנצח על שושנים [תהלים סט א] טבעתי ביון [שם סט ג] וכת' בברותי (רוש) [ראש] ולצמאי ישקוני חומץ [שם סט כב] ודבורי כזב אומ' אותו על הנוצרי' תחשכנה עיניהם מראות [שם סט כד] הרי כתוב כי אתה אשר הכית רדפו [שם סט כז] אם כן אומ' שהק' הכהו' ואני עני וכואב ישועתך אלהים תשגבני [שם סט ל] על מי היה אומ' אם על האלהות שבתוך הבשר למה קורא עצמו כואב והלא אין האלהות מרגיש בייסורין' ואם על הבשר מהו ישועתך תשגבני' הלא הומת ונתלה ונקבר' ועוד למעלה בתחלת המזמור כת' אשר לא גזלתי אז אשיב [שם סט ה] מה השיב' ועוד (עתה) [אתה] ידעת לאולתי ואשמתי ממך לא נכחדו [שם סט ו] וכי דרך אלהות להיות אויל ואשם' ועוד קנאת(י) ביתך אכלתני [שם סט י] מה עניין אל נוצרי' ועוד אל תסתר פניך מעבדך [שם סט יח] והיאך קורא עצמו עבד אם אלהים הוא' אבל הכל הבל' וזה פתרו' על שושנים' אילו ישר' שנ' כשושנה בין החוחים [שה"ש ב ב] והיה דוד מתנבא עליהם ומתפלל הושיעני אלהים כי באו מים עד נפש [תהלים סט ב] אילו האומות' כעניין שנ' הוי המון עמים כהמות (ים) [ימים] יהמיון ושאוון לאמים כשאוון מים כבירים ישאוון [ע"פ ישעיה יז יב] טבעתי ביון [תהלים סט ג] זה הגלות' ושבולת שטפ[ת]ני [שם] אילו הצרות' אשר לא גזלתי אז אשיב [שם סט ה] שהם נוטלין ממון ממני שלא כדין' אתה ידעת לאולתי [שם סט ו] מתודה בתפלותו בשביל ישראל' ואשמתי ממך לא נכחדו [שם סט ו] ולא אכסם ממך' אל יבשו בי קוויך [שם סט ז] קבלני בתשובה ולא יבשו בי קוויך' כי עליך נשאתי חרפה [שם סט ח] בשבילך' מוזר הייתי לאחי [שם סט ט] בני ישמעאל' [ונכרי לבני אמי [שם] אילו בני עשו' כי קנאת (בני) ביתך אכלתני [שם סח י] שהחריבו ביתך' ישיחו בי יושבי שער [שם סט יג] אפילו הדלים רקים [דף 36א] היושבים בשערים של עשירים להמתין שרידי המאכל משיחים עלי ומלעיגין בי' ונגינות (שותה) [שותי] שכר [שם] היושבים בחנויות מתלוצצים בי' ואני תפלתי לך י"י [שם סט יד] ואומ' הצילני מטיט [שם סט טו] אל תשטפני [שם סט טז] ואקוה לנוד ואין ול[מנחמים [שם סט יז] לא מצאתי [תהלים סט כא] שהתמהמהו הנחמות' ויתנו בברותי (רוש) [ראש] כמה שנ' השביעני (ממרורים) [במרורים] הרוני לענה [איכה ג טו] כי אתה אשר הכית [רדפו] {תהלים סט כז} כמו אני קצפתי (על עמי) מעט והמה עזרו (עלי) לרעה [זכריה א טו] ואל מכאוב חלליך יספרו [תהלים סט כז] והם מתוועדים להרבות חלליך' ואני עני וכואב [שם סט ל] כך היה אומ' בשביל ישראל' ישועתך [אלהים] תשגבני [שם]"

- 1 (לכך) ה': ב' אפי[לו] | יובילו מלכים] ה': (מלכים יובילו)
- 2 אומה] ה': אמה | במ] ה': בהם
- 3-4 מוציא] ה': מוציאין | וגוזלים ממון] ה': ח' | שתמיד] ה': שרוצה | (אותה חיה – שתמיד)] ה': ח'
- 4 רוצה] ה': תמיד | חיה קנה] ה': חית קנה | שהיא] ה': ב' היתה
- 8 ביון] ה': ב' מצולה | וכת'] ה': ב' ויתנו | (רוש)] ה': ראש
- 9 הנוצרי] ה': נוצרי | כתוב] ה': כת'
- 10 אם – הכהו] ה': א"כ הקב"ה רדפו והכהו
- 11 עצמו] ה': אותו
- 12 מה] ה': ומה | (עתה)] ה': אתה
- 13 ידעת] ה': ח' | ועוד] ה': ב' כי
- 14 עניין] ה': ב' ענין זה | מעבדך] ה': מעבדיך
- 15 פתרו'] ה': פתרונו | אילו] ה': אלו | דוד] ה': ח'
- 16 אילו] ה': אלו | כעניין] ה': כעניין | כהמות] ה': (כהמון)
- 17 (ים)] ה': (מים) | לאמים] ה': לאומים
- 18 ושבולת שטפ[ת]ני] ה': שבולת שטפתי | נוטלין] ה': נוטלים
- 19 ידעת] ה': (ידפת) | ישראל] ה': ישר' | ולא אכסם ממך] ה': ח'
- 20 יבשו בי קוויך] ה': (יבוש כל) קויך כלומ'
- 21 לאחי] ה': (לכם) | ישמעאל [ונכרי] ה': (ושמע נכרי)
- 22 ביתך] ה': ח' | אפילו] ה': אפי'
- 23 ומלעיגין] ה': ומלעיגים | (שותה)] ה': (שותו) | ב#2] ה': עלי |
- 24 י"י] ה': וגו' | ואומ'] ה': ואו' | הצילנ] ה': הצילני | מטיט] ה': (מטיפו) | ואין] ה': ח'
- 25 [ולא] ה': (לו) | (רוש)] ה': ראש | (ממרורים)] ה': במרורי'
- 26 (על עמי)] ה': ח'
- 28 אומ'] ה': או' | ישראל] ה': ישר'

רפאים [ש"ב כג יג] תכין בטובתך לעני [תהלים סח יא] כמו שכוננת אז כן יהי רצון שתכין לעם עני לישראל כשיגאלו והיה מתנבא על גלות זה י"י יתן אמר המבשרות צבא רב [תהלים סח יב] בגלות שתעשה כן ולפי שכת' על הר גבוה עלי לך מבשרת ציון [ישעיה מ ט] לפיכך אומ' כאן המבשרות מל(א)כי צבאות ידודון (צ"ב) ידודון [ע"פ תהלים סח יג] שיבאו כל מלכים להלחם על ירושלים כמו שנ' בזכריה ואספתי כל הגוים (על) [אל] ירושלים למלחמה [ע"פ צזכריה יד ב] ונות בית תחלק שלל [תהלים סח יג] אילו ישראל כדכת' ואסף חיל כל הגוים [זכריה יד יד] אם תשכבון בין שפתים [תהלים סח יד] {אם עתה בגלות אתם שוכבים בין שפתים ונדים} (ונדים) ומטולטלים עוד תהיה כנפי יונה נחפה בכסף ואברותיה בירקרק חרוץ [שם] דכת' ואסף חיל כל הגוים סביב זהב וכסף ובגדים [זכריה יד יד] בפרש שדי [תהלים סח טו] כשיפרש שדי המעשים האלה מלכים בה תשלג בצלמון [שם] מאותו מעשים ירדו המלכים בחשך כדכת' וזאת [תהיה] המגפה אשר יגף י"י את העמים אשר צבאו על ירושלים המק בשרו והוא עומד על רגליו ועיניו תמקנה בחוריהן [ע"פ זכריה יד יב] הר בשן וגו' [תהלים סח טז] למה תרצדון הרים גבנונים [שם סח יז] כמו שכת' ההרים רקדו כא[י]לים [תהלים קיד ד] [דף 35א] והרב ר' יוסף בכור שור פי' שהד' יתירה והוא כמו ירוצון ופתרו' למה תרוצון [ה]הר חמד אלהים לשבתו [שם סח יז] זה הר ציון שבו חמד המקום לשבת מכול(כ)ם אף י"י ישכון לנצח [שם] עליו משם והלאה רכב אלהים רבותים אלפי [שם סח יח] כלומ' הק' ירד עליו ברכבו שהוא רבותים עלפי שנאן י"י במ [שם] הק' תמיד באותו רכב סיני בקדש [שם] כן בא אל סיני כשירד בקדש לסיני עלית למרום [שם סח יט] אתה במרום (ו)שבית שבי (בארץ) ולקחת מתנות באדם [שם] שישבו הכל לעבדך כעניין שנ' והיה כל הנותר מכל הגוים הבאים על ירושלים ועלו מדי שנה בשנה להשתחות למלך י"י צבאות [זכריה יד טז] ואף סוררים לשכן יה אלהים [תהלים סח יט] אותם שהיו סוררי' מתחלה יעלו לשכונתו של יה האל לנו אל למושעות [שם סח כא] כך הוא אלינו שיש בידו כח ודי להושיענו שיש לו הרבה מושעות וכן יש לי"י אלהים הרבה תוצאות למוות [ע"ש] אך באותם תוצאות ימחץ ראש אויבינו קדקד שער מתהלך באשמיו [שם סח כב] קדקד ושער של אותו אויב המתהלך באשמיו אמר י"י מבשן אשיב [תהלים סח כג] כך הבטיח שישב מבשן למען תמחץ רגלי(י)ך בדם לשון כלביך [שם סח כד] שאוכלים הדם מאויבים ראו הליכותיך [שם סח כה] והיכן הליכות אלי מלכי בקדש [שם] בסיני כמו שאמ' למעלה י"י במ בסיני בקדש [שם סח יח] קדמו שרים [שם סח כו] כשנגלת אלי כמו אז ישיר משה ובני ישראל [שמות טו א] בתוך עלמות תופפות [תהלים סח כז] ותקח מרים הנביאה אחות אהרן את התוף בידה ותצאן כל הנשים אחריה בתפים ובמחולות [שמות טו כ] במקהלות ברכו אלהים י"י ממקור ישראל [תהלים סח כז] אתם שיצאתם ממקור ישראל שם היה בנימן [ע"פ תהלים סח כח] מעת רדה אותם שלא מלך שאלו כי אם שתי (נשים) [שנים] שם היו שרי יהודה רגמתם [ע"ש] כמו רגם מלך (חיילותיו) [ואנשיו] [זכריה ז ב] וכן שרי זבולון (ו)שרי נפתלי צוה (אלהים) אלהיך עז(י)ך ע[ו]ןזה [תהלים סח כח-כט] כחך היה כח רב אלהים זו פעלת לנו [שם] כל זה עשית לנו מהיכלך על ירושלים [שם סח

- 1 לעני] ה': ב' אלהים | עני] ה': ב' אלהים
- 2 אמר] ה': או'
- 3 אומ'] ה': או | (צ"ב) ידודון] ה': ח'
- 4 כל המלכים] ה': המלאכים | ירושלים] ה': ירושלם
- 5 ישראל] ה': ישר'
- 6 {אם עתה – ונדים}] ה': להיות נדים
- 8 כשיפרש שדי] ה': ח'
- 9 וזאת] ה': ב' תהיה | עומד] ה': עמד
- 11 והרב ר'] ה': והר"ר
- 12 מכול(כ)ם] ה': מכלם
- 13 אלפי] ה': ב' וגו' הק'] ה': הקב"ה
- 14 הק'] ה': הקב"ה | תמיד] ה': ב' בא | כן] ה': כמו | כשירד] ה': כשר
- 15 אתה] ה': עתה | כעניין] ה': כעניין | מכל] ה': מבין
- 16 בשנה] ה': ח' | סוררים] ה': סררים
- 17 סוררי'] ה': סוררים | לשכונתו של יה] ה': לשכונת יה הקב"ה | למושעות] ה': ח'
- 18 שיש] ה': ב' בו | ודי] ה': ח' | למוות] ה': למות
- 19 תוצאות(ם)] ה': תוצאות
- 20 שישב] ה': שישב
- 23 אחריה] ה': ח'
- 24 י"י] ה': ח' | ישראל#1] ה': ישר' | ישראל#2] ה': ישר'
- 25 בנימן] ה': ב' צעיר רדם | (נשים)] ה': שנים
- 26 אלהיך] ה': ח' | עז(י)ך] ה': עזך
- 27 כח רב] ה': כחרב | עשית] ה': פעלת

5 כמו (ואתנה) [ונתתי] אתהן לך לבנות [יחזקאל טז סא] פיר' עיירות גדולות של מלכים הם מבקרות אותך לשמע חכמתך' נצבה שגל לימינך [תהלים מה י] זו מלכת שבא שנתנה למלך [דף 34א] מאה ועשרים ככר זהב' ויש פותרי[ם] אותו על בת פרעה שהיתה מלכה' בנות מלכים ביקרותיך' אילו נשיו המלכות' ששים המה (ה)מלכות [שה"ש ו ח] נצבה שגל' זו בת פרעה שהיתה חביבה עליו מכולם' ד"א בת שבא דכת' וישם כסא לאם המלך [מ"א ב יט]' שמעי בת וראי [תהלים מה יא]' [יש] א[נמרים] זו בת פרעה' וי[ש] א[נמרים] זו היא ירושלים שקורא בת' כמו בת ציון' בת אדום' בת צר' כלומ' העם אשר בו עבדוהו ויתפאר (בכס) [בון] וזהו ויתאו ממלך יפיך [שם מה יב]' ובת צר במנחה [שם מה יג]' זה חירם מלך צר' פניך יחלו עשירי עם [שם]' אילו אנשי צר כדכת' מי יעץ זאת על צר המעטירה אשר סחריה שרים כנעניה נכבדי ארץ [ישעיה כג ח]' כל כבודה בת מלך פנימה [תהלים מה יד] מתוך חשיבותה המלובשת ממשבצות זהב' אותה הכבודה לקרמות תובל למלך בתולות אחריה מובאות [תהלים מה טו]' הנערות הראויות לתת לשמשה כדרך בנות מלכים וקורין אותן דמישילש' תחת אבותיך יהיו בניך [תהלים מה יז] כמשמעו' אך שמעתי מר אברהם בהג"ר יצחק' אבתיך תאבתיך כמו (מבית) [אבית] ולא אבה' וזה פתרו' כמו שתרצה יהיו בניך (אזמרה) [אזכירה] שמך בכל דור [שם מה יח]' דרכו של דוד היה לדבר בהק' בפסוק האחרון''

#### קטז

15 לאסף אל אלהים יי' [תהלים נ א]' פוקרים ואומ' כי שלש דמיונות הן' כי כבר פי' גבי שלש עשרה מדות' אך יש דוחי[ם] כאן ואומ' כי לפי שאמ' כך כעס עליו דוד ואמ' יבא אלהינו ואל יחרש [שם נ ג]''

#### קיז

20 למנצח מזמור [תהלים נא א]' חנני אלהים כחסדך [שם נא ג]' כי לא תחפץ זבח ואת[נ]ה [שם נא יח]' א"ל משומד אחד לה"ר נתן תורתכם מתנה לזמן' שהרי כשצוה לכם הזבחים לא לעולם צוה אותם דכת' כי לא תחפץ זבח ואתנה עולה לא תרצה [שם]' השיבו ומדוע מהרת להניח ולא חכית עד למדך ב' שיטין אחריו שכת' שם הטיבה ברצונך את ציון תבנה חומות ירושלים אז תחפץ זבחי צדק עולה וכליל אז יעלו על מזבחך פרים [שם נא כ-כא]' אבל קודם לכן לאו''

#### קיח

25 למנצח לדוד' יקום אלהים יפ[ן]צו אויביו [תהלים סח א-ב] מלא(א)כי צבאות יודונו ונות בית תחלק שלל [שם סח יג]' רועי האליל אומ' כי זאת נות בית [דף 34ב] היתה אמו של נוצרי' וכן כנפי יונה נחפה בכסף [שם סח יד]' עלית למרום שבית שבי לקחת מתנות באדם ואף סוררים לשכון [שם סח יט]' יקרא אלהים' האל לנו למושעות ולמות תוצאות [ע"פ שם סח כא]' הרי שיצא מן המות' למען תמחץ רגלך בדם לשון כלבין [שם סח כד]' ימותו ולא בחכמה [איוב ד כא]' כי לו חכמו ישכילו זאת [דברים לב כט] במה שכת' למעלה אלהים בצאתך לפני עמך בצעדך בשימון סלה [תהלים סח ח]' פי' כשיצא לפני עמו כשנגאלו ממצרים' והוליקם המדברה ארץ רעשה אף שמים נטפו [שם סח ט]' דכת' נטית ימינך תבעלמו ארץ [שמות טו יב]' וכת' מן (ה)שמים נלחמו [שופטים ה כ]' וכן פירש הרב ר' יוסף (כ"ש) [בכור שור] שבמקום שמדבר בהילוכו שמים וארץ מתפחדים ממנו' וכן ותגעש ותרעש הארץ [תהלים יח ח] מוסדות שמים ירגזו ויתגעשו [ע"פ ש"ב כב ח] גשם נדבות תניף אלהים נחלתך ונלאה [תהלים סח י] על ארץ ישראל היה מדבר שיניף עליה גשם נדבות' אתה כוננת[ה] [שם] אותה לעם נלאה' חיתך ישבו בה [שם סח יא]' עדתך' כמו וחית פלשתים חנה בעמק

1-12 כמו – האחרון] ה': ח'

15 לאסף] ה': מזמור לאסף | אל] ה': ח' | ואומ'] ה': ואומר' | גבין] ה': ח'

16 ואמ'] ה': וא'

19 למנצח] ה': ח' | כחסדך] ה': ח' | תחפץ] ה': (תחפיץ) | ואת[נ]ה] ה': ח'

20 לה"ר] ה': להר"ר | מתנה] ה': נתנה | שהרי] ה': נ' כת' | אותם] ה': לכם | תחפץ] ה': תחפץ

21 ולא חכית] ה': לא (וחיכת) | למדך] ה': ח' | ברצונך] ה': ברצונ'

22 לא] ה': לאו

25 למנצח] ה': ח'

26 אומ' כ] ה': (כי או') | אמון] ה': (איין) | נוצרי] ה': נצרי | וכן] ה': וכי

27 לשכון] ה': לשכן | יקרא] ה': ח'

28 לון] ה': (לא)

29 במה] ה': כמה

31-32 (ה)שמים] ה': שמים | וכן פירש – ממנו] ה': ח'

33-34 ונלאה] ה': נלאה | על ארץ – נדבות] ה': ח'

34 חנה] ה': חונה

שחזר לצקלג וכת' כי אמרו (כל) העם לסקלו [ש"א ל ו] כי ליי המלוכה ומושל בגוים אכלו וישתחוו כל דשני ארץ לפניו יכרעו כל יורדי עפר ונפשו לא חיה [תהלים כב ל] משומד אחד {שאלני} לפני הגמון מקדש מלו הר"ר יוסף בכור שור פי' כל אחד ואחד נפשו לא חיה וכן פי' רשב"ם אך השבתי לאותו משומד כי ליי המלוכה ומושל בגוים [שם] המלוכה והמחזיק בה להק' וזהו ומושל בגוים אותו שמושל בגוים כמו הקיסר או מלך אחר אכלו וישתחוו כל (דשנה) [דשני] ארץ [שם] לחצר המלך אוכלים כל מעדני עולם לפניו יכרעו כל יורדי עפר [שם] הכל כורעים ומשתחווים למלך והוא עצמו נפשו לא חיה [שם] זרע יעבדנו יסופר ליי לדור [שם כב ל] התהילה הזאת ראוייה לספר ליי

קיד

לדוד משכיל אשרי נשוי פשע כסוי חטאה [תהלים לב א] שאלני כומר אחד למי אתם מתודים אמרתי לו להק' אמר לי ואי אתם מתודים לחזן שלכם אמרתי לו לאו אמ' לי והכת' מכסה פשעיו לא יצל[י]ח [משלי כחי ג] והקשיתי לו אם כן קשו קראי אהדדי דכת' קרא אחרינא אשרי נשוי פשע כסוי חטאה אמרתי לו מכסה פשעיו שאינו מתודה להק' לא יצלח שכן כת' והתודה (על חטאתו) אשר חטא [ויקרא ה ה] ובמזמר זה כת' אמרתי אודה על[י]ן פשעי ליי ואתה נשא[ת] עון חטאתי סלה [תהלים לב ה] לפי שאין כח למחל אלא ביד הק' דכת' כי עמך הסליחה למען תורא [שם קל ד] מלך בשר ודם אם סרח עליו אחד מעבדיו אם יש לו אוהב בחצר המלך או אדם חזק יכל להפיסו בכח אבל הק' אינו כן כי אין אדם יכל להיות עונו נמחל בזולתי הק' לבדו ולכך ארא וזה השיב הח"ר נתן אל האפפיור אבל לגלות עונו לשום אדם על זה נאמ' אשרי נשוי פשע כסוי חטאה

קטו

למנצח על שושנים [דף 33ב] רחש לבי דבר טוב אומ[ר] אני מעשי למלך [תהלים מה ב] הם פותרים אותו על נוצרי לפי שכת' בו כסאך אלהים עולם ועד [שם מה ז] וכת' בנות מלכים ביקרותיך נצבה שגל לימינך [שם מה י] שמעי בת וראי [שם מה יא] כל כבודה בת מלך פנימה ממשבצות זהב לבושה [שם מה יד] וזה פתרונו על שושנים משכיל שיר ידידות [ע"פ שם מה א] השיר הזה היה של אהבים רחש לבי דבר טוב אומר אני מעשי למלך [שם מה ב] המזמור הזה היה על שלמה המלך יפיפית מבני אדם הוצק חן [שם מה ג] כמו שנ' ויי אהבו [ש"ב יב כד] ד"א הוצק חן בשפתותיך [תהלים מה ג] על שם החכמה שהוא מוציא משפתיו כעניי' שנ' וכל הארץ מבקשים את פני שלמה לשמע חכמתו [מ"א י כד] חגור חרבך על ירך גבור הודך [שם מה ד] ואותו חרב הוא הודך והדרך והדרך צלח רכב [שם מה ד-ה] ההדר יהיה לך למרכבת צלח רכב ומה תרכב על דבר אמת וענוה צדק ותורך נוראות ימינך [שם מה ה] כשתכנס בדבר הדבר יורך ותראה בו חכמת רבות וכן אמרו רבותינו בא ליטהר פותחין לו חציך שנונים [שם מה ו] מעשיו הטובים הם החצים העוזרים לו עמים תחתך [שם] עמים יהיו תחתך והם יפלו כאן נקוד אתנחתא לכך נראה כי בלב אויבי המלך [שם] אינו מוסב אל עמים תחתך יפלו אלא המקרא הזה מסורס והוא כמו חציך שנונים בלב אויבי המלך עמים תחתך יפלו וזלפר[וש] למינים כך פתר[ונ]ן חציך שנונים עמים תחתך יהיו למה כי יפלו החצים בלב אויבי המלך כסאך אלהים עולם ועד [שם מה ז] כעניין שכת' וישב שלמה על כסא ייי למלך [דה"א כט כג] שבט מישור שבט {מלכותך} [תהלים מה ז] כדכת' ותכון מלכותו מאד [מ"א ב יב] אהבת צדק [תהלים מה ח] כשנגלה אליו הק' וא"ל שאל מה אתן לך [מ"א ג ה] לא שאל כי אם לב להבין לשפט ישראל לעשות משפט צדק על כן משחך אלהים אלהיך שמן ששון (יותר) מחיברך [תהלים מה ח] שלא היה בכל המלכים גדול כמוהו מר ואהלות קציעות [שם מה ט] כדכת' ותבא ירושלימה בחיל כבר מאד גמלים נשאים בשמים [מ"א י ב] בנות מלכים ביקרותיך [תהלים מה י]

1 כי אמרו (כל) ה': כי  
 2-3 {שאלני} ה': להר"ר יוסף | מקדש מלן ה': מק' מלאון | יוסף - שורן | ה': ח' פי' ה': פיר'  
 3 חיה ה': חיה | השבתי לאותו משומד ה': השיב הר"ר יוסף | בגוים ה': ה' כלומ'  
 4 להק' ה': בהקב"ה | בגוים#1] ה': ה' נ' פי'  
 5 (דשנה) ה': דשני  
 6 יסופר ה': יספר  
 9-10 שאלני ה': שאל | אחד] ה': להר"ר יוסף | מתודים] ה': ח' | אמרתי לן] ה': אל' | להק' ה': להקב"ה | אמר לן] ה': אל'  
 10-11 אמרתי לן] ה': אל' | לאן] ה': לא | אמ' לן] ה': אל' | יצל[י]ח] ה': יצליח | והקשיתי לן] ה': והקשה לו הר"ר יוסף | אם כן] ה': א"כ  
 11 דכת' - אמרתי לן] ה': אלא | מכסה פשעיו] ה': ה' מהקב"ה | להק' ה': אליו  
 12 אשר חטא] ה': ח' | אמרתי] ה': ח'  
 13 למחל] ה': למחול | ביד הק'] ה': בהקב"ה  
 14 הק'] ה': הקב"ה  
 15 יכל] ה': יכול | נמחל] ה': ח' | הח"ר נתן] ה': הרב | האפפיור] ה': האפפיור  
 19 אומ[ר] ה': (אמרת) | פותרים] ה': פותר' | נוצרי] ה': נצרי  
 20-35 לימינך - ביקרותיך] ה': ח'

חסידותו בא כך אלא שינצל מגהינם ומאי רבותיה והלא עשה כן לאחרים ועוד כת' לא תתן חסידך לראות שחת [שם] וזהו גהינם שהרי כת' וישכב דוד עם אבתיו ויקבר בעיר דוד [מ"א ב י] א"כ אין שחת זה אלא גהינם וזה פת[רון] שמרני אל כי חסיתי בך [תהלים טז ג] מתפלל היה שלא ירד לגהינם אמרת ליי"י (יי") [אדני] אתה טובתי בל עליך [שם טז ב] היה אומ' לאומות העולם כך אתם [דף 32ב] אומ' טובתי בל עליך אין כל טובתי עליך לקדושים אשר בארץ [שם טז ג] כך הם אומ' שהם הולכים לבקש הקדשים ומתפללים להם ועושין אותם עיקר ואדירי כל חפצי בם [שם] כל זה מדבריהם ירבו עצבותם [שם טז ד] דוד היה מקללם למה לפי שאחר מהרו [ע"פ שם] הם מהרו לעשות אלוה אחר וכל הנבואות הנבאות על העתיד ממהרים ביאת הנבואה ואומ' כי על נוצרי נאמרה בל אסיך נסכיהם מדם [שם] כל נסכיהם מדם הוא שהם חייבין מיתה על כך ובל אשא את שמותם של אותם קדשים על שפתי [ע"פ שם] אבל אני יי"י מנת חלקי וכוסי [ע"פ שם טז ה] כך היה אומ' דוד ולפיכך אתה תומך גורלי [שם] חבלים נפלו לי בנעימים [שם טז ו] אותו חבל שיש לי שזהו הק' כענין שלמעלה יי"י מנת חלקי [שם טז ה] אף [נחלה] [נחלת] שפרה עלי [שם טז ו] אותה נחלה יקרה בעיני אברך את יי"י אשר יצעני [שם טז ז] לברור לי חלק זה שויתי יי"י לנגדי תמיד [שם טז ח] הייתי זוכרו וירא מפניו כאילו היה לנגדי תמיד וכן הוא היה תמיד מימיני שלא אמוט [ע"פ שם] לכן שמח לבי ויגל כבודי אף בשרי ישכן לבטח כי לא תעזב נפשי לשא[נ]ל [שם טז ט-י] לגהינם ולא תתן חסידך לראות [שם] אפילו ראייה בעלמא דוד היה קורא עצמו חסיד כמו שמרה נפשי כי חסיד אני [שם פו ב] תודיעני אורח חיים [שם טז יא] ידעתי שתודיעני אורח גן עדן חיים זהו גן עדן והעד והיתה [נפש] אדני צרורה בצרור החיים [ש"א כה כט] שובע שמחות את פניך [תהלים טז יא] לעתיד לבא

### ק"ב

יי"י בעזך ישמח מלך ובישועתך מה יגל מאד [תהלים כא ב] פוקרים פותרים אותו על נוצרי כחשו ביי"י שהרי כתוב חיים שאל ממך נתת[ה] לו ארך ימים עולם ועד [שם כא ה] על מי הכתו מדבר אם על האלהות וכי היה צריך לישאל חיים והלא הוא בלא תחילה וסוף ואם היה מדבר על הבשר לא היה לו חיים עולם ועד כי הורג ועוד כת' תמצא ידך לכל אויבך [שם כא ט] אדרבה ידי אויביו מצאוהו ועוד כי נטו עליך רעה חשבו מזמה בל יוכלו [שם כא יב] אדרבה עשו בו כל מזימתם ורש"י פי' על דוד ופי' אורך ימים לממלכתו

### ק"ג

אלי אלי למה עזבתני [תהלים כב ב] הם מסיבין אותו על נוצרי שצעק מן הייסורין נוקשו ונלכדו [ע"פ ישעיה ח טו] א"כ נראה [דף 33א] שעל כרחו היה והם אומ' שמרצונו סבל הכל ועוד כת' בך בטחו אבותינו [בטחו] ותפלטמו [תהלים כב ה] וכי היה לו אבות והלא הם אומרים שנכנס בה דרך אמצע הראש ושמא תאמר על הבשר הוא אומ' הרי כת' הצילה מחרב נפשי מיד כלב יחידתי [שם כב כא] רש"י פי' על כנסת ישראל והר"ר יוסף בכור שור פי' על דוד

- 1 שינצל ה': [שינתן] | חסידך ה': חסידך
- 2 שהרי – גהינם#2 ה': ח' | פת[ן] ה': פתרו'
- 5 ועושין ה': ועושים | עיקר ה': עקר
- 6 מהרו#1 ה': מיהרו | מהרו#2 ה': מיהרו
- 7 על העתיד ה': לעתיד | ביאת ה': כי את | ואומ' ה': ואו' | כי על ה': ב' (כי את)
- 8 שהם ה': ח'
- 9 אומ' ה': או'
- 10 אותו חבל – שפרה עלי' ה': ח'
- 11 את ה': ח' | לברור ה': (לבור) | לנגדי ה': (נגדי)
- 12 כאילו ה': כללו
- 13 ישכן ה': ישכון | תעזב ה': תשב | לשא[נ]ל ה': לשאול | חסידך ה': חסידך
- 14 אורח ה': אורך
- 15 והעד ה': ח' | נפש ה': (נפשי)
- 19 פוקרים ה': ח' | פותרים ה': פותרין | כתוב ה': כת'
- 20 ארך ה': אורך | עולם ה': (לעולם) | מי' ה': מה | הכתו' ה': הכת' | לישאל ה': לשאול
- 21 תחילה ה': תחלת | ואם ה': אם | לו' ה': ח' | עולם ה': לעול' | כי הורג ה': ח'
- 23 מזימתם ה': מזימותם | לממלכתו ה': על ממלכתו
- 26 מן ה': על
- 27 אומ' ה': או' | בטחו' ה': ח' | אבותינו ה': ב' (תכו)
- 28 אומרים ה': ח'
- 29 רש"י ה': ר"י

נסכתי (את) מלכי [שם ב ו] 'אמ' דוד עוד עשה לי הק' טובה גדולה שאני נסכתי את מלכי 'את שלמה בני בחיי נעשה מלך ונמשח 'אספרה אל חק [שם ב ז] 'עד כאן ניבא על עצמי[ו] מכאן ואילך מדבר על שלמה בני היום גדלתיך 'שאל ממני [שם ב ח] 'כעניין שנ' שאל מה אתן לך [מ"א ג ה] 'נשקו בר [שם ב יב] 'דוד היה אומ' היו עבדים לבני ונשקו אותו שכן דרך כל המתערבים לאדניהם לנשק אותם 'פן יאנף הק' שאמ' למעלה עבדו את י"י ביראה [שם ב יא] 'אשרי כל חוסי בו [שם ב יב] 'כך היה אומ' דוד אחרי שספר הטובות שעשה לו הק' אשרי כל חוסי בו בהק' שבו דבר למעלה בפסוק"

#### קח

בקראי ענני 'בני איש עד מה כבודי [ע"פ תהלים ד ב-ג] הם אומ' שהוא מדבר על נוצרי הנכלם 'ודעו כי (הפלא) [הפלה] י"י חסיד לו [שם ד ד] 'תשובתו בצדו 'זבחו זבחי צדק [שם ד ו] 'כלומ' שחטו אותו ונחשב לכם לזבחי צדק 'ובטחו אל י"י [שם] 'אבל בזה אל תבטחו שאין בו תועלת"

#### קט

אמר נבל [תהלים יד א] 'עצת עני תבישו [שם יד ו] 'הם אומ' כי נוצרי [הוא] [דף 32א] כי י"י מחסהו [שם] 'ולדבריהם מהו בשוב י"י (את) [שבות] עמו יגל יעקב ישמח ישראל [שם יד ז] ועדיין לא נהיה דבר זה שהרי מיום שגלו לא שבו"

#### קי

מי יגור באהליך [תהלים טו א] מי יעלה בהר י"י [שם כד ג] מי ישכן בהר קדשך [שם טו א] וכת' כספו לא נתן בנשך [שם טו ה] 'ואומ' א"כ מי שנותן כספו בנשך לא יגור באהל השם ולא יעלה להר קדשו 'ואינו נותן חילוק בין נכרי לאיש אחר 'השבתי אלא מעתה שאתה רוצה לומר דברים ככתבן 'הא דכת' למעלה לא עשה לרעהו רעה [שם טו ג] 'הא לאחר מותר לעשות 'וכן ושוחד על נקי לא תקח [שם טו ה] 'אלא ע"כ אתה צריך לעשות פי' 'לא עשה לרעהו רעה 'כמו שצוהו הכת' לא תשנא (בלבבך אחיך) [את אחיך בלבבך] [ויקרא יט יז] מי שהוא אחיך בתורה 'שאם אי אתה אומ' כן אלא אחיך מי שבא ממשפחתך 'למה נאמ' לא תתעב אדומי כי אחיך הוא [דברים כג ח] 'שלא תקבלהו בגירות 'היה לו לומ' לא תשנא אדומי כי אחיך הוא ובזה נדע שעלינו מצוה לקבלו 'אלא כל זמן שהוא בתורה אחרת אינו נקרא אחינו 'ואינו בכלל לא תשנא אחיך 'אבל יש בו משום לא תתעב אף כאן לא עשה לרעהו רעה 'רעהו בתורתו 'וכן כספו לא נתן בנשך במה שאסר לו הכתוב"

#### קיא

שמרני אל כי חסיתי בך [תהלים טז א] כי לא תעזב נפשי לשאול [שם טז י] 'הם אומ' כי כל הנשמות הולכים לגהינם 'וזה ק[שה] להם שאפילו לראות לא נתנו הק' לדוד 'ופיטפט כנגדי גלח אחד והיה אומ' שהיה מודה דוד להק' על שלא יניחו לעולם לשם אלא היה מתנבא שעתיד להעלותו משם 'אמרתי לו א"כ מהו לא תתן חסידך [שם] 'דמשמע מתוך

- 1 (את) ה': ח' | הק' ה': הקב"ה | את] ה': ח'
- 2 חק] ה': חוק | עצמי] ה': עצמו | מדבר] ה': נבא | בני] ה': נ' (אם)
- 3 אומ'] ה': או'
- 4 לאדניהם] ה': לאדוניהם | הק' שאמ'] ה': הקב"ה שא'
- 5 שספר] ה': נ' את | הק' ה': הקב"ה | בו בהק'] ה': בהקב"ה
- 6 בפסוק] ה': ח'
- 9 אומ'] ה': או'
- 14 אמר] ה': אמ' | אומ'] ה': או' | נוצרי] ה': נ' הוא
- 15 ישראל] ה': ישר' | נהיה] ה': היה
- 18 מי#3] ה': ח' | קדשך] ה': קדשו
- 19 ואומ'] ה': ואו' | להר] ה': בהר | חילוק] ה': חלוק | נכרי] ה': נוכרי
- 20-21 השבתי] ה': השיב | הא – לרעהו רעה#2] ה': ח'
- 22 (בלבבך אחיך)] ה': את אחיך בלבבך | שאם] ה': (שלום) | אומ'] ה': או'
- 23 אלא] ה': אל | שלא] ה': לא | בגירות] ה': בגרות
- 24 נדע שלינן] ה': נאמ' כי
- 25-26 רעה] ה': ח' | בתורתו] ה': בתורתי | וכן כספו – לו הכתוב] ה': ח'
- 29 שמרני] ה': (שומרני) | בך] ה': נ' (כל) | תעזב] ה': (תשב) | אומ'] ה': או'
- 30 ק[שה] ה': קש' | שאפילו] ה': שאפי' | הק'] ה': הקב"ה | כנגדי] ה': כנגדי | להק'] ה': להקב"ה
- 31 אמרתי לון] ה': א"ל | חסידך] ה': חסידך | דמשמע] ה': משמ'



[דף 31א] אשרי האיש [תהלים א א] שאל לי הגמון מוונש מהו אשרי האיש והלא אין האישור בא אליו עד שנולד אמרתי לו לא כי אלא האישור בא לו קודם שנולד בעודו במעי אמו שכן מצינו בירמיה שא"ל הק' בטרם אצרך בבטן ידעתך [ו]בטרם תצא מרחם הקדשתך נביא לגוים נתתיך [ירמיה א ה] לכך נקט אשרי ברישא

קז

למה רגשו גוים ולאומים יהגו ריק [תהלים ב א] הוגי ריק אומ' שהוא מדבר על נוצרי ואי איפשר לומר כן על י"י ועל משיחו [שם ב ב] ואין קרוי משיחו אלא אותו שהוא נמשח בשמן המשחה ונקרא משיח ועוד כשהוא אומ' על י"י ועל משיחו אם כן שנים הוא ולא הוא משיח ועוד פוקרים אמ[ר] אלי בני אתה אני היום ילידתך [שם ב ז] למי הוא אומ' כי ילדו כי אם לנוצרי שאל ממני ואתנה גוים נחלתך ואחותך אפסי ארץ [שם ב ח] תרועם בשבט ברזל [שם ב ט] וגו' ועתה מלכים השכילו [שם ב י] נשקו בר פן יאנף [שם ב יב] וגו' אשרי כל חוסי בו [שם] ואומ' נשקו בר נשקו בן כלומ' הדבקו בבן לריק יגעו אותה קשיא שהם מקשנים לנו קשה להם וכי הוא הולידו והלא אומ' כי לא נזרע ועוד מהו תרועם בשבט ברזל למי היה אומ' אם על הבשר הלא קבל מיתה ואויביו רעוהו הוא לא רעה אותם ואם לרוח הוא אומ' שזהו האלהות היאך הוא קורא בני ואומ' אני היום ילידתך והלא לא היה היום נולד כי הוא היה קיים מלפני ברא העולם נשקו בר פן יאנף כי יבער כמעט אפו [שם] וכי חרה אפו מה בכך לא הניחו בשביל חרונו אלא עמדו עליו והרגוהו אלא כך פתר בכור שור למה רגשו גוים כמו שמצינו וישמענו פלשתים כי משחו את דוד למלך על ישראל ויעלו כל פלשתים לבקש את דוד [ש"ב ה יז] ולאמים יהגו ריק [תהלים ב א] לפי שהיה בהם חמשה סרנים לכך אומ' כן יושב בשמים [שם ב ד] הק' שוחק עליהם אז ידבר אלימו באפו [שם ב ה] כמו שני ישאל דוד [ש"ב ה יט] וכת' ויהי בשמער [את] קול הצעדה בראשי הבכאים אז תחרץ כי אז יצא י"י לפניך להכות במחנה פלשתים [שם ה כד] ואני נסכתי {את} מלכי על ציון הר קדשי [תהלים ב ו] כל [דף 31ב] זה מדברי הקב"ה שאמ' למעלה אז ידבר אלימו באפו [שם ב ה] אני נסכתי את דוד שהוא מלכי מלך שיש לי כמו שיאמר מן נשיא נשיאי ומן עבד עבדי כך מן מלך מלכי אספרה אל חק י"י אמר אלי [שם ב ז] חק כמו חקת עולם [שמות יב יד] דבר שאינו נפסק בני אתה אני היום ילידתך [תהלים א ז] גדלתך כמו בטרם הרים יולדו [שם צ ב] וכן אם יולד גוי פעם אחת [ישעיה סו ח] שכן כתו' ועשיתי לך שם גדול כשם הגדולים אשר בארץ [דה"א יז ח] שאל ממני [תהלים ב ח] כשתרצה לרדת למלחמה כי המלך בי כמו וישאל דוד ב"י לאמר האעלה [אחרי] [אל] פלשתים התתנם בידי [ש"ב ה יט] ועתה מלכים השכילו הוסרו [תהלים ב י] עשו שכל וקחו מוסר כל שפטי כי טוב עבד השם על כן אמרתי עבדו את י"י ביראה [שם ב יא] נשקו בר פן יאנף [שם ב יב] כאן טעה יריומא אשר העתיק להם הקריה כי בר משמע בן ומשמע נקיות וברירות ומשמ' דגן וכמה פנים וטעה כאן לומר כי בר זה פתרו' בן ואינו אלא לשון ברירות שהיה דוד מזהירם לעבד השם ביראה כענין פסוק שלמעלה ואומ' להם נשקו בר נשקו עצמיכם בבירות פן יאנף גרנישייך פ"א [פירוש אחר] ואני

- 1 לי' ה' ח' | מוונש | ה' מונש להר"ר יוסף נ"ע | אין האישור | ה' לא
- 2 אמרתי לו | ה' א"ל | האישור | ה' האשור | בא לו | ה' ח'
- 3 מרחם | ה' (מבטן)
- 4 אומ' | ה' או' | מדבר | ה' ח'
- 5 משיחו | ה' משוחו | אומ' | ה' או'
- 6 אם כן | ה' א"כ | פוקרים | ה' ב' לומר | ילידתך | ה' ילדתך | אומ' | ה' או'
- 7 לנוצרי | ה' לנוצרי | נחלתך | ה' נחלתך
- 8 ואומ' | ה' ואו' | בר | ה' ב' כלומר | ה' כלומר | ה' ח'
- 9 הדבקו בבן | ה' הדבקו בן | מקשין | ה' מקשין | הוא | ה' ב' מי | אומ' | ה' או'
- 10 רעוהו | ה' רעוהו | רעה | ה' רעה
- 11 אומ' | ה' הוא | היה | ה' ח' | ברא | ה' ברית עולם
- 12 פתר | ה' פי' | ישראל | ה' ישר'
- 13 כל | ה' ח' | ולאמים | ה' ולאומים | אומ' | ה' או'
- 14 הק' | ה' הקב"ה | עליהם | ה' בהם | באפן | ה' (באפך) | דוד | ה' ב' וגו'
- 15 את | ה' ח' | ציון הר | ה' הר ציון | כל | ה' ח'
- 16 את | ה' ב' (דה)
- 17 חק | ה' ח' | חוק | חק | ה' (בני אתה)
- 18 שכן כתו' | ה' ח'
- 19 גדול | ה' ח' | כי | ה' ח'
- 20 המלך בן | ה' ח' | מלכים | ה' מלכי
- 21 כל שפטי | ה' כלומ' שפטו
- 22 יריומא | ה' קדמון מרומא | הקריה | ה' הקריאה | משמ' | ה' משמ' | ומשמע נקיות | ה' ומשמ' בקיאות
- 23 לעבד | ה' ב' את
- 24 פסוק | ה' הפסוק | ואומ' | ה' ואו' | פן יאנף | ה' ח' | גרנישייך | ה' ב' בלע"ז

[כתובים]

[דף 30ב] בהראותו כי הוא כאש(ר) מצרף וכבורית מכבסים [שם ג ב] ׳ ולדבריהם ישראל כלכלו יום באו ועמדו בהראותו שהם תפשוהו ודנוהו ״

#### קו

5 זכרו תורת משה עבדי אשר צויתי אותו בחורב על כל ישראל חקים ומשפטים ׳ הנה אנכי שולח לכם את אליה הנביא לפני ב[ו]א יום [יהוה] הגדול והנורא והשיב לב אבות על בנים ולב בנים על אבותם [מלאכי ג כב-כד] ׳ ואיך יכולים לומר שנתן תורה חדשה והוא אומ' אשר צויתי בחורב ובכך ישלח אליה ולא אמ' שמרו תורה החדשה שאני עתיד ליתן ואשלח אליה ׳ אבל בתחלת הנביאים הזהיר על התורה הישנה ובאחריתם הזהיר ׳ בתחלתו כת' לא ימוש ספר התורה [הזה] מפיך [יהושע א ח] ׳ וכאן כת' זכרו תורה משה ׳ לומר לך שהיא ראשונה ואחרונה ואין זולתה ״

10

סליקו תשובות [מן החומש ומן הנביאים] ״

15 נאם ר' יוסף בה"ר נתן ראש המדברים בה"ר יוסף בה"ר נתן מאטונפש בן רבינו משלם בן ה"ר נתן בן הר"ר טודרוס אשר כלה בית הכנסת בנרבונא ובתפלתו הרס בית עקר הרעים והנה קול אליו בלילה ההוא לאמר כלכל טודרוס המה יבנו ואני אהרס [מלאכי א ד] ׳ אני קרתי ושתייתי ואחריב בכף פעמי יאורי מסור [מצור] [ע"פ מ"ב יט כד] ׳ ואלקט אורות בשדה [הח"ר] [הר"ר] נתן נ"ע ומציצי פרחין וְאֶשְׁתַּלֵּם כה וגם מנופת אחי הק' ר' אליהו ומאשר שמעתי וכמעט אשר מצאתי בנמקי ה"ר אליהו מטרויץ ומעט אשר חנני השם ואכתבם {שמואל בן הח"ר דוד} זלה"ה אשר נתן חכמה בלבו וימלא אותו בדעת ובתבונה לעשות בכל מלאכה לשבר מלתעות עול ההופכים ללענה משפט וצדקה לארץ הניחו [עמוס ה ז] ׳ אומרים לרע טוב ׳ ולטוב רע [ישעיה ה כ] ׳ ובלעדי רוח מבינתו [ע"פ איוב כ ג] תודיעם בחכמתו אשר התבונן ׳ אך כתבתי לקיים בו תן לחכם ויחכם עוד [משלי ט ט] ׳ ויש אשר דלגתי מתוך שגגה אך אשוב ואמשכם בשבט סופר [ע"פ שופטים ה יד] ׳ וכאשר זכני השם לכתוב עד כה כן יזכני להשלים כל התשובות בכל הקרייה ׳ ופשר החומש אשר החלותי ״

20

אתחיל בספר תהלים

25

- 1 כאש(ר) ה': (בכסף) | מכבסים] ה': מכסים | ישראל] ה': ח' | כלכלו] ה': נ' את | באו] ה': ח'
- 2 תפשוהו] ה': תפסוהו
- 5 ישראל] ה': ישר' | חקים ומשפטים] ה': חקי' ומשפטי' | שולח] ה': שלח | הנביא] ה': הנבי'
- 6 ב[ו]א] ה': ח' | יכולים] ה': נ' אתם
- 8 ובאחריתם] ה': ובאחריתו | כת'] ה': כתו' | התורה] ה': נ' הזה
- 9 מפיך] ה': והגית בו יומם ולילה | משה] ה': נ' עבדי וגו'
- 11 התשובות] ה': תשובות מן החומש ומן הנביאים
- 14-25 נאם – בספר תהלים] ה': ח'

קב

מה המכות האלה בין ידיך [זכריה יג ו] וק[שה] לדבריהם למה לא הזכיר מכות הרגלים והחזה ועוד אשר הכיתי ביתי מאהבי [שם] וכי היו ישראל אוהביו של נוצרי אלא מוסב למעלה ודקרוהו אבי[ה] ואמו יולדיו בהנבאו [שם יג ג]

5

קג

מלאכי כי ממזרח שמש ועד מב[ו]או גדול שמי בגוים ובכל מקום מוקטר (ו) מוגש לשמי ומנחה טהורה [מלאכי א יא] חרשי און אומ' כי פסוק זה נאמ' על תקרובתם ואי איפשר לומר כן שהרי ממזרח שמש ועד מב[ו]או היינו מסוף העולם [דף 30א] ועד סופו ולדבריהם בני ישמעאל ובני קטורה ושאר אומות אינן מגישין לשם הק' ואין עושין מנחה טהורה ועוד אין מסיבין פסוק זה עליהם והלא כת' ואיש אשר יטמא ולא יתחטא ונכרתה הנפש ההיא מתוך הקהל כי את מקדש י"י טמא [במדבר יט כ] ולמעלה מונה הטמאות כל הנוגע [במת] בנפש אדם [שם יט יג] וכת' אדם כי ימות באהל כל (ימות) הבא אל האהל וכל אשר באהל יטמא [שם יט יד] וכת' והזה על האהל ועל כל הכלים ועל הנפשות אשר היו שם ועל הנגע בעצם או בחלל או במת או בקבר [שם יט יח] והם עושים תקרובת על השוחות והיאך תהא אותה מנחה טהורה לכך שגו ברואה אבל זה פתרו' כי גדול שמי בגוים בכל הגוים מחזיקים שמי בגדולה שהרי כל אחד ואחד קורא טעותו בשמי ובכל מקום מוקטר (ו) מוגש לשמי שאומ' שהם מקטירים לאלוה ומנחה טהורה נקיייה כמו המנורה הטהורה [שמות לא ח] וכמו זהב טהור [שמות כה יא] שהוא לשון נקי כלומ' כל אחד מפאר מנחתו ואומ' שהיא מנחתו טהורה אבל אתם מחללים את שמי כשאתם מקריבים מנחתי אתם אומ' שלחן (י"י) [אדני] מגואל [מלאכי א יב]

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קד

וגם אני נתתי אתכם נבזים ושפלים לכל העמ(ים) [מלאכי ב ט] א"ל משומד אחד לה"ר נתן אתם מכוערים יותר מכל אדם אשר על פני האדמה ובני עמינו יפים מאד השיבו אותן שויסקי שקורין פרנילש הגדלים בסנאים איזה פרח היה בהם א"ל לבן ופרח התפוח מהו א"ל אדום א"ל כך אנו מזרע נקי ולבן לכך פנינו שחורים אבל אתם מזרע האדום מן הנדודות לכך אתם תארכם צהוב ומאדם אבל הטעם לפי שאנו בגלות כמו שאמ' בשיר השירים אל תראוני שאני שחרחרת ששזפתני השמש בני אמי נחרו בי שמוני נוטרה את הכרמים כרמי שלי לא נטרתי [שה"ש א ו] אבל כשנטרתי כרמי הייתי יפה מאד כדכת' ויצא לך שם בגוים ביופך [יחזקאל טז יד]

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קה

הנני שולח (את) מלאכי ופנה דרך לפני ופתאום יבא אל היכלו האדון אשר אתם מבקשים ומלאך הברית אשר אתם חפצים (בו) [מלאכי ג א] ואומ' כי זה נאמ' על נוצרי ואי איפשר לומר כן שהרי כת' ומי מכלכל יום באו ומי העומד [דף

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- 2 וק[שה] ה': וקש' | לדבריהם] ה': להם
- 3 ודקרוהו] ה': (וזכרוהו) | יולדיו] ה': (יולדה)
- 7 מבאו] ה': מבואו | גדול – ובכל] ה': וכל | ומוגש] ה': מוגש
- 8 חרשין] ה': חורשי | ואי איפשר] ה': ואיפשר | מבאו] ה': מבואו
- 9 ועד סופו] ה': ח' | ולדבריהם] ה': ל' הרי | אומות] ה': אומו' | מגישין] ה': מגישים | הק'] ה': הקב"ה
- 10 מסיבין] ה': מסבים
- 11 יטמא] ה': (טמא) | מונה] ה': ל' כל
- 12 (ימות)] ה': ח' | וכל] ה': (כל)
- 13 הנגע] ה': הנוגע
- 14 שגו] ה': (כגי) | פתרו'] ה': פתרון | כי] ה': ח'
- 15 ובכל] ה': וכל | לאלוה] ה': לאלהיו | וממחה] ה': מנחה
- 16 לשון] ה': לשו' | כלומ'] ה': ח' | אחד] ה': ל' ואחד
- 17 מגואל] ה': ל' הוא
- 22 אותן] ה': אותו
- 23 בהם] ה': להם | מזרע] ה': מזרעי | ולבן] ה': לבן
- 24 תארכם] ה': תוארכם
- 25 שחרחרת] ה': שחורחרת | ששפתני] ה': שזפתני | שמוני] ה': שמני
- 26 ביופך] ה': בפיך
- 29 הנני] ה': הנה אנכי | (את)] ה': ח' | ופתאום] ה': פתאום
- 30 ואומ'] ה': ואו' | נוצרי] ה': (נאמר)

אותם וגוזרין עליהם גזירות רעות ולא יאשמו [שם יא ה] אינן סבורין לחטא (ומוכיחי) ומוכריהן יאמר ברוך יי' ואעשיר  
 [שם] אינן מקפידין בעת שמוכרין (אותה) אותן למיתה ורועיהם לא יחמ[ו]ל (עליהן) [שם] הסרדיוטין הממונין  
 עליהם לכך לא אחמל עוד על יושבי הארץ [שם יא ו] וארעה [את] צאן ההרגה [שם יא ז] אותה צאן שעתה נקראת  
 צאן ההרגה אני רעיתי אותה כך אומ' הק' לכן עניי הצאן [שם] עכשיו הם עניי הצאן ואקח לי שני מקלות כמו שפי'  
 רש"י רחבעם וירבעם ירבעם נועם נקרא לפי שדבר בנחת עם ישראל ורחבעם נקרא חובלים שדבר להם קשה אבי  
 ייסר אתכם בשוטים ואני אייסר אתכם בעקרבים [מ"א יב יד] ואקח את מקלי [את] נועם ואגדע אותו [זכריה יא י] זהו  
 מלכי ישראל שגלו להפ[י]ן [את] בריתי אשר כרתי את כל העמים [שם] אחרי אשר הגליתי את בני ושלחתי בהם יד  
 כל שכן שאהיה נפרע מעמים אחרים וידעו כי דבר יי' הוא [ע"פ שם יא יא] שהרי כת' (אליך) [יולך] יי' אותך ואת  
 מלכך [דברים כח לו] כפרש"י ואומ' אליהם אם טוב בעיניכם הבו שכרי [זכריה יא יב] עשו רצוני וקיימו מצותי כדי  
 שיתקיים בית המקדש ואם לא חדלו [שם] הבדלו ממני וישקלו את שכרי שלשים כסף [שם] עד מלאת להם שלשים  
 דורות עסקו במצותי כל כך שנתקיים בית המקדש ואילו הן אברהם יצחק יעקב יהודה פרץ חצרון רם עמינדב  
 נחשון שלמה בועז עובד ישי דוד שלמה רחבעם (אבים) [אביה] אסא יהושפט יהורם אחזיה יהואש אמציה  
 עזיה יותם אחז חזקיה מנשה אמון אישיה [דף 29ב] הרי שלשים ועדיין לא חרב בית המקדש וכולם מתו בארץ  
 ישראל וסלקו מלכותם בארץ ישראל ואע"פ שגלה מנשה הרי כת' ושיבוהו למלכותו [ע"פ דה"ב לג יג] אבל בני  
 אישיה לא סלקו מלכותם בארץ כלו וגם נמלכו על ידי מלך מצרים ומלך בבל שהיו משועבדים להם וחרב בית המקדש  
 בימיהם וזהו שכתוב ויאמר יי' אלי השליכהו אל (בית) היוצר אדר היקר [זכריה יא יג] זה בית המקדש אשר יקרתי  
 עליהם כמו הוקר רגלך מבית (ריעיר) [רעך] [משלי כה יז] ואקחה שלשים הכסף ואשליכהו אל בית היוצר [ע"פ זכריה  
 יא יג] כלומ' בית המקדש נתקיים עד סוף השלשים ואגדע את מקלי השני את החבלים להפר את האחוה בין יהודה  
 ובין ישראל [זכריה יא יד] האחוה שביני לבין ישראל זהו בית המקדש ויאמר יי' קח לך [כלי] רועה (אוויל) [אולי] [ע"פ  
 שם יא טו] זה יהיוכין שחרב בית המקדש בימיו ומהרה יבנה

#### קא

ושפכתי על בית דוד רוח (יי') [חן] ותחנונים והביטו אלי [את] אשר דקרו וספדו עליו כמספד על היחיד [ע"פ זכריה יב  
 י] ואומ' המרים כי זה נאמ' על נוצרי וק[שה] להם למה סופדים משפחות משפחות בית נתן לבד כל המשפחות בית  
 לוי לבד משפח[ת] בית השמע' לבד [ע"פ שם יב יב-יג] כל המשפחות הנשארות משפחות משפחות לבד ונשיהם  
 [שם יב יד] ועוד כת' אכרית שמות העצבים מן הארץ [ע"פ שם יג ב] אלא כת' למעלה ונאספו עליה כל גויי הארץ [שם  
 יב ג] שילחמו העמים על ירושלים כמו שכת' ביחזקאל במלחמת גוג והמשפחות יהיו סופדות כל אחת ואחת לבדה את  
 קרוביה שנהרגו

- 1 גזירות ה': גזרות | אינן ה': אין | (ומוכיחי) ומוכריהן ה': ומוכרהו
- 2 אינן ה': אין | (אותה) אותן ה': אותו | למיתה ה': ח' | ורועיהם ה': ורועיהו
- 3 עליהם ה': עליהן | לכך ה': לכן | אחמל ה': אחמול
- 4 רעיתי ה': רעייתי
- 5 נועם נקרא ה': נקרא נועם | ישראל ה': ישר' | חובלים ה': ל לפי
- 6 ייסר ה': יסר | אייסר ה': איסר | בעקרבים ה': בעקרבי
- 7 ישראל ה': ישר' | אשר כרתי ה': שכרתי
- 8 כל שכן ה': כ"ש | וידעון ה': (ויודע) | (אליך) ה': יולך
- 9 כפרש"י ה': כך פרש"י
- 10 יעקב ה': ויעקב
- 11 שלמה#1 ה': שלמון | בועז ה': בעז | שלמה ה': ושלמה | אבים) ה': אביה | יהורם ה': (יהודה) | אמציה ה': (אמסיח)
- 12 עזיה ה': עזיה | חזקיה ה': וחזקיה | אישיה ה': (יושיה) | בית המקדש ה': הבית | מתן ה': מהן | בארץ ה': ח'
- 13 ישראל ה': ח' | בארץ ישראל ה': בית ישראל | ושיבוהו ה': ושיבוהו | בנין ה': בני
- 14 ידן ה': ח' ומלך ה': מלך
- 15 (ריעיר) ה': רעך | היוצר ה': (האוצר)
- 16 כלומ' ה': כלו | סוף ה': ח' | החבלים ה': החובלים
- 17 ישראל#1 ה': ישר' | שביני ה': בין יהודה | ישראל#2 ה': ישרא' | יי' ה': אלי
- 18 יהיוכין ה': יהויכין | שחרב - מקדש ה': שביט מקדש חרב | ומהרה ה': והר נא
- 19 (יי') ה': חן | אלי ה': ל' | את | עליון ה': ח'
- 20 ואומ' - נאמ' ה': פוקרים לומ' | וק[שה] להם למה הם | משפחות#2 ה': משפחת | כל המשפחות ה': ומשפחת
- 21 לוי ה': הלוי | משפח[ת] בית ה': ומשפחת | משפחות ה': ח' | ונשיהם ה': ל לבד
- 22 אכרית ה': ח' | אלא ה': אל
- 23 שכת' ה': ח' | יהיו ה': יהו

5 }אא"ש הראב"ן | אם הוא נוצרי יתנבא כדת דובר שלום לגוים [ע"פ זכריה ט י] שהם מאמינים בו וא"ת עלינו נתנבא הנביא אין אנחנו נקראים גוי שהרי כת' על ישראל[אל] הן עם לבדד ישכון ובגוים לא יתחשב [במדבר כג ט] | ועוד היאך תאמרו שהכת' מדבר על הבורא והכת' ומשלו מים ועד ים [זכריה ט י] ואם הוא בורא וכי יש תחומים לממשלתו, הלא הוא מושל בכל | וכי אין ממשלתו אלא בארץ והכת' כי י"י הוא האלקים בשמים ממעל [ע"פ דברים ד לט] וגו' | וכת' לי"י השמים ושמי השמים הארץ וכל אשר עליה הימים וכל אשר בהם [ע"פ נחמיה ט ו] מכלל דאין שיעור לממשלתו וזה יש לו תחומים}

צח

10 גם את בדם בריתך שלחתי אסיריך מבור (מים) אין [מים] בו [זכריה ט יא] | משומד אחד אומ' לי שמדבר על נוצרי שנשפך דמו ובכך הוציא הנשמות מגהינם | וכת' גם היום מגיד משנה אשיב לך [שם ט יב] והם פותרים תורה שנייה | (באו) [בא] וראה כמה טפלו שקר וכן השבתי למשומד המדבר עמי | מהו מבור מים אין בו וכי היכן מצינו בור של מים | בבאר יש מים אבל בור הוא כמו שוחה | ועוד מגיד משנה משמע שמגיד בשנייה כמו שהגיד בראשונה | ועוד כי דרכתי לי יהודה קשת מלאתי אפרים [שם ט יג] | והלא אפרים עדיין ישנו בחלה ו[ב]חבור (הרי) [נהר] גוזן וערי מדי [מ"ב יח יא] | ועוד ועוררתי בניך ציון על בניך יון [זכריה יב יג] והלא ציון חרבה ושוממה | ועוד וי"י עליהם יראה ויצא ככרק חצו וי"י אלהים בשופר יתקע והלך בסערות תימן [שם ט יד] | והיכן מצינו שהלך בסערות אדום | והלא שלמה ושלטת | לכך זה פתרו[נ] גם את (בריתך) בדם בריתך | זהו ברית מילה שכת' הנה בריתי אתך [בראשית יז ד] וכן ברית התורה דכת' ויזרק חצי הדם על העם וחצי [ע"פ שמות כד ו, ח] כו' שלחתי אסיריך מבור מים אין בו | באותו ברית אין בו מים | כלומ' אין בו שמד | ולכך גאלתיך | וגם עתה שובו לביצרון אסירי התקוה גם היום מגיד משנה אשיב לך [זכריה ט יב] | כמו שכת' יוסף י"י שנית ידו לקנות את שאר עמו [ישעיה יא יא] שפעם אחת נגאלו כולם בימי עזרא | אבל לעתיד [דף 29א] עתידין ליגאל כולם וזהו שנית וכן מגיד משנה מבשר גאולה שניה |

צט

25 ואקח לי שני (ה)מקלות [זכריה יא ז] | רוצים לומ' שזהו שתי וערב | אוי להם כי המקלות נגדעו | א"כ השתי וערב יכרת מן הארץ |

ק

וישקלו את שכרי שלשים כסף [זכריה יא יב] | ואומ' כי הכסף הזה אילו שלשים פשיטים שנמכר ולדבריהם היאך קור[א]הו הפסוק שכרו והלא לא באו לידו אלא נמכר בהם ונמסר לטבח | והכת' אומ' הבו (לי) שכרי [שם] | וזה פתרון הפרשה להשיב להם | רעה את צאן ההריגה | אשר קוניהן יהרגון [שם יא ד-ה] | מדבר על ישראל שזה מוכר וזה קונה

- 1 }אא"ש הראב"ן | ה' | ועוד | כדת | ה' | שכרת
- 2 אין אנחנו | ה' | והלא אין אנו
- 3 בורא | ה' | הבורא | תחומים | ה' | תחומין
- 4 וכי | ה' | ועוד וכי | האלקים | ה' | האלהים | וכת' | ה' | ב' | הן
- 6 תחומים | ה' | תחומין
- 9 אומ' לין | ה' | אמ' להר"ר יוסף
- 10 אשיב לך | ה' | (השיב לו)
- 11 (באו) | ה' | בא | השבת | השיב | עמי | ה' | עמו
- 12 שוחה | ה' | שחיה | משמע | ה' | משמ'
- 13 קשת | ה' | ח' | בחלה | ה' | (כח לה) | (הרי) | ה' | נהר
- 14 ועוררתי | ה' | ועוררתי | יון | ה' | (און) | חרבה | ה' | חריבה
- 15-16 בסערות#2 | ה' | בסערות | והלא | ושלטת | ה' | והלא היא שלמה ושוקטת | לכך – פתרו' | ה' | ח'
- 16 (בריתך) | ה' | ח' | בדם | ה' | (ודם) | זהו | ה' | זה | שכת' | ה' | ככת'
- 17 ויזרק | ה' | ויזרק | על העם וחצי | ה' | ח' | כו' | ה' | וגו' | ה' | ב#1 | ה' | ב' | כלו' | כלומ' אין בן | ה' | פי'
- 18 כלומ' אין בן | ה' | פי'
- 19 כולם | ה' | ח'
- 20 עתידין | ה' | ח' | ליגאל כולם | ה' | י[נ]גאלו כלם | שניה | ה' | שנייה
- 23 (ה)מקלות | ה' | מקלות | שזהו | ה' | ח' | א"כ | ה' | אכן
- 28 קורהו | ה' | קורא את | באו | ה' | בא
- 29 את | ה' | ח' | קוניהן יהרגון | ה' | (קוניהם יהרגון) | מוכר וזה קונה | ה' | קונה וזה מוכר

5 (רבבה) יהודה זה היה דוד שבא מרות ומוצאותיו מקדם (כמי) [מימי] עולם מקדם לפני שמש (ינוב) [ינון] שמו [תהלים עב יז] כימי עולם כימי קדמונים כמו שכת' וערבה ליי מנחת יהודה וירושלים כימי עולם [מלאכי ג ד] זהו כימים קדמונים שהיה בית המקדש קיים לכן יתנם עד עת יולדה ילדה על שם כי חלה גם ילדה ציון את בניה [ישעיהו 10 ח] ויתר אחיו ישובו על [בית] [בני] ישראל [מיכה ה ב] כמו שנ' ביום ההוא והחזיקו שבע אנשים מכל לשון בכנף איש יהודי ואמרו נלכה עמכם כי שמענו [ע"פ זכריה ח כג] וגו' "

צה

10 צפניה לכן חכו לי נאם י"י ליום קומי לעד [צפניה ג ח] מונים נואמים כי הוא מתנבא על נוצרי ואומ' ליום קומי מון רשוציטמנט ואי איפשר לומ' כן דכת' כי אז אהפך אל עמי[ם] שפה ברורה לקרא כלם בשם י"י לעבדו שכמ אחד [שם ג ט] ועדייו לא בא הדבר הזה "

צו

15 חבקוק הנביא כי עוד חזון למועד [חבקוק ב ג] מכאן תשובה לאומ' שבא כי עוד חזון למועד ויפח לקץ ולא יכזב [שם] איזה קץ הוא רוצה לומ' [דף 28ב] בשלמ[א] לדידן לקץ מיירי קץ הגלות אלא לדידהו איזה קץ רוצה לומ' ועוד אם יתמהמה חכה לו כי בא יבא (ו)לא יאחר [שם] א"כ משמע שעתיד להתמהמה ולדבריהם מיהר מאד "

20 {אחרת לחבקוק. שאל גלח אחד לה"ר נתן נ"ע למה אתם מחכים משיח עוד והלא כת' כי בא יבא ולא יאחר [שם] א"כ כבר בא והוא נוצרי ועליו נתנבא הנביא שהרי הוא לא יאחר השבתי לו אתם מעקלים הכת' וזה פירושו אם יתמהמה חכה לו ואל תתיאש ממנו ודע כי (אחר) בא יבא והוא לא יאחר. ראה מה כתו' הנה (שפלה) [עפלה] [שם ב ד] אותו אשר יבא לא ישרה נפשו בו [שם] שהרי ימות אבל משיח הצדיק ונוגה כאור תהיה (ו)קרנים מידו לו [שם ג ד]; פוקרים הארורים לומ' שהקרנים הוא התועבה שתי וערב והמשיב אומ' לו אמת הוא, ראה מה כת' אחרי[ו]: לפניו ילך דבר ויצא רשף לרגליו [שם ג ה] כלו' זה הסימן אינו אלא למזיקין.}

צז

25 זכריה גילי מאד בת ציון הריעי בת ירושלים הנה מלך יב[ו]א לך צדיק ונושע הוא עני ורוכב על חמור ועל עיר בן אתונות [זכריה ט ט] דוברי שקר אומ' כי הוא מדבר על נוצרי ושקר הוא שהרי כת' ונכרתה קשת מלחמה ודבר שלום לגוים [שם ט י] וזה נוצרי מיום באו לא פסקו מלחמ[ות] ועוד קשה דא"כ קשו קראי אהדדי הכא כת' עני ורוכב על חמור א"כ בא בשפלות ובישעיה כת' על הר גבוה עלי לך מבשרת ציון הרימי בכח [ישעיה מ ט] וגו' הנה [אדני] י"י בחזק יב[ו]א וזרועו מושלה לו [שם מ י] אלא כאן מדבר במלך משיח אבל בישעיה מדבר בהק' "

- 1 (רבבה) ה': ח' | ומוצאותיו ה': ומוצאותיה | (כמי) – מקדם#2 ה': דכת' | שמש ה': (שמשון) | (ינוב) ה': ח'
- 2 זהו ה': ח'
- 3 שהיה – המקדש ה': שהיו במקדש
- 4 אנשים ה': ח' | לשון ה': וגו' והחזיקו
- 5 שמענו ה': ב' אלהים עמכם
- 8 י"י ה': (כי) | נואמים ה': ח' | נוצרי ה': נצרי
- 9 רשוציטמנט ה': רשוציטמנט | אהפך ה': אהפוך | לעבדו ה': ולעבדו | אחד ה': ח'
- 13 חזון ה': ח' | מכאן ה': (מיכן) | לאומ' ה': לאו' (שאו')
- 14 איזה#1 ה': איזהו | לקץ – קץ#2 ה': מיירי לקץ | איזה#2 ה': איזהו | קץ#3 ה': ב' הוא
- 15 בא ה': ב' (אורך) | ע' ישעיהו ס א | משמע ה': משמ' | ולדבריהם ה': ולדבריהם
- 17 אחרת לחבקוק ה': ח' | לה"ר – נ"ע ה': ח'
- 18 כבר ה': ב' הוא | השבתי לו ה': והר"ר אשר השיב | פירושון ה': פי'
- 19 תתיאש ה': תתיאש | והוא ה': ח' | כתו' ה': ב' אחריו
- 20 בן ה': כן | הצדיק ה': ב' באמונתו יחיה
- 21 הארורים ה': ח' | לו ה': להם | אחריו ה': אחריו לפני פי' | לפניו ה': ב' זה
- 22 כלו' ה': כלומר | הסימן ה': הסומא
- 25 הריעו ה': (הריעו)
- 26 כי – מדבר ה': אותו | ונכרתה ה': (ונכרת) | מלחמה ודבר ה': (ומלחמה ודובר)
- 27 מלחמ' ה': מלחמות
- 28 ובישעיה ה': ובישעיה
- 29 בחזק ה': (כחתו) | על תהלים יט ו: ישעיה סא י | בהק' ה': בהקב"ה

הבל ׀ אין כחכם גדול מכה מלאך השם ראה מה כת' (אחריו) עליו הנה אנכי שולח מלאך לפניך לשמר[ך] בדרך ולהביאך אל המקום אשר הכינתי השמר מפניו ושמע בקולו אל תמר בו כי לא ישא לפשעכם [שמות כג כ-כא]. זה פירו[ש]: אם אין בו כח לישא לפשעכם אל תקלהו בעיניך כי שמי בקרבו [שם]. אבל אין בו כח לסלוח וז"ש דוד כי עמך הסליחה למען תורא [תהלים קל ד] ׀ לפי שאין אחר יכול לסלוח כי אם אתה ׀ אתם יראוי

## צג

על מכרם בכסף צדיק ואביון בעבור נעלים [עמוס ב ו] ׀ הם אומ' כי על התלוי נתנבא שמכרוהו ישראל ׀ ופיהם דבר שוא ׀ שהרי כל אילו שכת' בהן על שלשה פשעי ׀ הכתו' מודיע החטאים הגדולים שנחתך עליהם גדר דינם ׀ ואיך היה מניח אותם על המכירה ומניח מלהזכיר ההריגה שעשו כל ישראל שמסרוהו להריגה ׀ ומזכיר המכירה שלא עשה אלא יהודה איסכרויטא לדבריהם שמכרו ליהודים ׀ עוד יש להשיב ׀ שע"כ שקר הם דוברים ׀ שהרי סנחריב הגלה עשרת השבטים ולא נותר כי אם שבט יהודה ובנימין בסוף בית ראשון ׀ ומעשה של נוצרי היה בסוף בית שני א"כ לא היתה בו יד עשרת השבטים כי אם יד יהודה לבדו ׀ והיה לו לומר על שלשה פשעי יהודה ׀ אלא ודאי אינו מדבר על נוצרי ׀ וזה [דף 28א] פתרונו על מכרם בכסף צדיק ׀ שהיו מחייבין הזכאי בשביל ממון כדכת' (מחטיאי אדם) [מצדיקי רשע] עקב שוחד וצדקת צדיקים יסירו ממנו [ישעיה ה כג] ׀ ואביון בעבור נעלים [עמוס ב ו] ׀ שהיו נועלים בפני עניים עד שגוזלים לו מקומו כיצד עני היה לו בית או שדה (בית) [בין] שני עשירים והיה זה מרחיב גבולו מכאן וזה מכאן ומקצירם מקום העני עד אפס מקום ׀ כמו שנ' (הרי) [הוי] מגיעי בית בבית שדה בשדה יקריבו עד אפס מקום והושבתם לבדכם בקרב הארץ [ישעיה ה ח] ׀

{בעובדיה ׀ שאל הגמון משנץ לה"ר נתן נ"ע למה אמ' הקב"ה לדון עשו בהר ציון יותר ממקום אחר ׀ השיבו אמשול לך משל למלך שבא אחד מגדולי מכריו ושלה ידו בבן המלך ואמ' לא אתקרב בדעתי עד שאדינהו במולדתו כך לפי שכת' וגלות החל אשר בצרפת וספרד [ע"פ עובדיה א כ] וגו' ׀ וכל הפרשה כולה שמדברת על הצרות והעינויין שאתם עושים לנו דור אחר דור כת' ועלו מושעים בהר ציון(ו) ׀ לשפט את הר עשו [שם א כא] וגו' על החמס ׀ לפי שיראתכם נוצרי נולד שם לדבריכם נידון בעיר מולדתו}

## צד

מיכה ׀ ואתה בית לחם אפרתה צעיר להיות באלפי יהודה [מיכה ה א] ׀ וכת' ממך יצא לי מושל בישראל ומוצאותיו מקדם (כימי) [מימי] עולם [ע"פ שם] והם אומ' כי על נוצרי נבא ׀ ולכך יתנם עד עת יולדה [שם] זוהי חריבה ׀ וזה קשה להם שאמ' ועמד ורעה בעז י"י בגאון שם אלהיו [ע"פ שם ה ג] ׀ א"כ יש לו אלוה ׀ והיה ז[ה] שלום אשור כי יבא בארצינו [שם ה ד] ׀ והלא משבא לא היה שלום בעולם אלא מלחמות וזה פתרונו ׀ ואתה בית לחם אפרתה צעיר להיות באלפי

- 1 (אחריו) ה': ח'
- 3 פירו[ש] ה': פי' | א[ם] ה': אפ' כי | זז"ש] ה': וזהו שא'
- 4 תורא] ה': תיורא | כי א[ם] ה': אלא | אתם יראוי] ה': אתה יראוי
- 7 נתנבא] ה': נבא
- 8 אילו] ה': אלו | בהן] ה': בהם | עליהם] ה': ח'
- 9 מלהזכיר] ה': מלזכור | ההריגה] ה': (ההריגם)
- 10 איסכרויטא לדבריהם] ה': ח' | שמכרו] ה': שמכרוהו | שע"כ] ה': שעל כן
- 11 ובנימין] ה': ובנימן | של נוצרי] ה': דנוצרי | היה] ה': ח'
- 13 מחייבין הזכאי] ה': מחייבין את הזכאין | שוחד] ה': שחד
- 14 נועלים] ה': נ' דלת | לו] ה': להם
- 15 מקומו] ה': את מקומם | (בית)] ה': בין | ומקצירים] ה': ומקצרו
- 16 (הרי)] ה': הוי | והושבתם] ה': והושבתים
- 19 בעובדיה] ה': עובדיה | הגמון] ה': נ' אחד | לה"ה] ה': אל הר"ר | נ"ע] ה': ח' | לדון] ה': נ' את
- 20 משל] ה': למה הדבר דומה | מכריו] ה': עבדיו | המלך] ה': וחרה מאד במלך | לא] ה': ח'
- 21 החל] ה': נ' הזה | וספרד] ה': ח' | שמדברת] ה': שמדבר | עושים] ה': עושין
- 22 ציון(ו)] ה': ציון | לשפט] ה': לשפוט
- 23 נידון] ה': (נולד)
- 26 להיות] ה': ח' | לי] ה': להיות
- 27 מקדם (כימי)] ה': מימי | והם אומ'] ה': והיה או' | יולדה] ה': נ' יתנם יניחם בגלות עד עת יולדה ילדה | זוהי חריבה] ה': זוהי חרבה | וזה קשה] ה': ואמור
- 28 שאמ'] ה': ח' | ז[ה]] ה': לו | בארצינו] ה': בארצנו
- 29 משבא] ה': נ' לעולם



כי אל אנכי ולא איש [הושע יא ט] חרש משחית אמ' לי כי נוצרי יצא מבית לחם ובא לירושלים אמרתי לו אי איפשר לומ' כן שהרי כת' בהושע לא אעשה חרון אפי (ולא אעשה חרון אפי ו)לא אשוב לשחת אפרים כי אל אנכו ולא איש בקרבך קדוש [ו]לא אב[ו]א בעיר [שם] אם כן היאך יכולים אתם לומ' שהיה בירושלים ובבית לחם

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אח גרין אמ' לה"ר נתן המקום שונא אתכם שכן כת' לא אוסיף אהבתם [הושע ט טו] השיבו חזר וריפא שנ' ארפא משובתם אוהבם נדבה כי שב אפי ממנו [שם יד ה] שכחתי לעיל

צא

עמי בעצו ישאל [הושע ד יב] פוקרים לומ' שזהו העץ שנתלה עליו נוצרי ואומ' אני כן הוא כת' זנות [ו]יין ותירוש יקח לב [שם ד יא] הזנות והיין מסיבין הלב לעבירה עמי בעצו ישאל כשהיו שכורים [דף 27ב] מיין היו תועים בע"ז ולמה כי רוח זנונים התעה ויזנו מתחת אלהיהם [שם ד יב]

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צב

על שלשה פשעי אדום ועל ארבעה לא אשיבנו [עמוס א יא] שאל הגמון משנץ לה"ר נתן מה אתה אומ' מקונפישיאון אל טובה היא אל אתה אומ' בשפה רפה אל ואתה היאך אומ' אל אם התנהג אדם כל ימיו בעבירה אחת ולבסוף התודה עליו נעשה נקי מאותו עון אל א"כ (אמ לו) מהו על שלשה פשעי אדום ועל ארבעה לא אשיבנו כיצד הוא מדבר אם התודה מפני מה על ארבעה לא אשיבנו ואם לא התודה מפני מה על שלשה משיב ושתק ההגמון אל ה"ר נתן שלש מחנות יש לפני מחנה שכינה והוא ברביעי רוח רעש אש והוא בקול דממה דקה [מ"א יט יב] כשאדם עושה החטא פעם ראשונה עדיין הוא חלש ואינו עובר כי אם במחנה הראשון כשעושהו פעם שנייה חזק יותר ונכנס במחנה שנייה בפעם שלישי עובר מחנה שלישית ועד כאן נוח הוא להתכפר ועל זה נאמ' הן כל אלה יפעל אל פעמים (ו)שלש עם גבר [איוב לג כט] אבל כשנעשה החטא פעם רביעי אז נכנס במחנה רביעי לפני שכינה ואינו נוח להתכפר ועל זה נאמ' נגד פני היו [הושע ז ב] ולכך כת' על ארבעה לא אשיבנו וזהו שכת' בתורה נשא עון ופשע וחטאה [שמות לד ז] הרי שלשה מכאן ואילך ונקה לא ינקה [שם] וכן דרשו רבותינו

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{על דבר מעשה נדוג ה"ר נתן נ"ע אל האפיפיור גריגוריא תפח נפשו בגהינם להתנוכח על המחילה. ואמר לו האפיפיור אין אתה מאמין שבידי לאסור ולהתיר ולסלוח ולכפר? אל ודאי אתה יכול להתיר ולאסור הרצועות שבאבנטך אבל אין אתה יכול (לסלול) [לסלוח] ולכפר. אל והלא אני במקום קדש פירא? אל הן ככחו כך כחך והכל

- 2 אמ' לי: אל | אמרתי לו: אל
- 4 קדוש: ה: ח | אם כן: ה: א"כ
- 7 וריפא: ה: ורפא
- 8 שכחתי לעי: ה: ח
- 11 העץ: ה: עצו | ואומ' אני: ה: ואו' הר"ר נתן [בן] יוסף נ"ע | כת': ה: כתיב
- 12 והיין: ה: היין | מסיבין הלב: ה: מסית הלב | הין: ה: ח
- 13 זנונים: ה: ח
- 16 אדום: ה: ישראל | לה"ר: ה: לה"ר | מקונפישיאון: ה: מן הקונפישיאון
- 17 היאך: ה: ל' אתה | בעבירה: ה: בעברה
- 18 אדום: ה: ישראל
- 19 התודה: ה: מתודה | ארבעה: ה: ארבע
- 20 ה"ר: ה: הר"ר | אש: ה: איש
- 21 הראשון: ה: ראשון
- 22 במחנה שנייה: ה: במחל' שניה | שלישי: ה: שלישית
- 23 כשנעשה: ה: כשעושה | רביעי: ה: רביעית
- 24 נשא: ה: נושא | וחטאה: ה: נ' (ונקה)
- 25 וכן דרשו רבותינו: ה: ח
- 27 נדוג: ה: נירוג | נתן: ה: ח | גריגוריא: ה: גריגוריא | בגהינם: ה: בגהינ'
- 28 להתיר ולאסור: ה: לאסור ולהתיר
- 29 (לסלול): ה: לסלוח | קדש: ה: קד' | הן: ה: נ' (כח) | כן: ה: נ' (כך)

כל היום אל עם סורר ההולכים (בדרך) [הדרך] לא טוב אחר מחשבותיהם [שם סה ב] וגו' היושבים בקברים ובנצורים ילינו [שם סה ד] 'פי' אותם שהולכים אל השוחות כמו הגוים שהולכים לקדש יעקר ולקדש יחונן ונעורים כל הלילה האוכלים בשר החזיר ומרק פיגולם כליהם האומרים קרב אילך (אילך) אל (תגע) [תגש] בי כי קדשתיך [שם סה ד-ה] ' כך אומ' לישר' ראה מה כת' הנה כתובה לפני לא אחשה כי אם שלמתי [שם סה ו] וגו' וכת' חרפוני ומדותי פעלתם ראשונה אל חיקם [שם סה ז]

{חורשי און אומרים למה אין אתם מאמינים בשקרמנט ועוד למה לא תאמינו שהלחם שאנו אוכלין שהוא כפרת נפשינו? משיבים אנו להם הוא אשר נבא הושע' לא יסכו לי"י יין ולא יערבו לו זבחיהם [הושע ט ד] ' זה השקרמנט שעושין מיי' ראה מה כתוב אחריו כלחם אונים להם כל אוכליו יטאמו [שם] זה הלחם מגואל [ע"פ מלאכי א ז] ' עוד רעה כי הלחם שקוריו פאן באה לכפרה נפשם' נא[מר] כי לחמם לנפשם לא יבוא בית י"י [הושע ט ד] כל העבדה הזאת הבל היא}

#### פז

בטרם תחיל ילדה [ישעיהו טו ז] ' שאל משומד [דף 27א] אחד להר"ר [נתן] נ"ע על מי נאמ' מקרא זה בטרם תחיל ילדה בטרם יבא חבל לה והמליטה זכר [שם] ' על כרחך [על] חריא נאמ' שהמליטה זכר בלא צער' השיבו דבר זה דברי הואי הם ועתידי הק' להפרע מן המחזיקים בו ' דכת' קול שאון מעיר [שם טו ו] ' קול המולה היתה בעיר' ועליו נאמ' קול י"י משלם גמול לאויביו [שם] ' ופתרונו מדבר על הגאולה דכת' אחריו מי שמע כזאת ומי ראה כאלה היוחל ארץ ביום אחד אם יולד גוי פעם אחת כי חלה גם ילדה ציון את בנייה [שם טו ח] ' וזהו שאמ' למעלה בטרם תחיל ילדה''

#### פח

כי אתם לא עמי [הושע א ט] ' שאל חובל אחד אין למקום חלק בכם' דכת' כי אתם לא עמי (ואני) [ואנכי] לא אהיה לכם [שם] ' אמרת[י] והלא כתוב במקום אשר יאמר להם לא עמי אתם יאמר להם בני אל חי [שם ב א] ' א"ל אין כת' אלא יאמר להם' אבל לא יהיה כן' אמרתי לו עיין בעמוד שלישי' וזרעתיה לי בארץ ורחמתי את לא רחמה ואמרתי ללא עמי עמי אתה והוא יאמר אלהי [שם ב כה]

#### פח

ועמי תלואים למשובתי [הושע יא ז] ' נשאל לדוד הר"ר נתן הר"ר יוסף מקרטוש' למה עשיתם כה לתלוי' השיב הוא אותנו גזם לתלות כולנו בשובו' דכת' ועמי תלואים למשובתי' התל בהם' אך פתרונו כפי' רש"י' תלואים היו בספק אם ישוב אם לא' פ"א הם תלויים כל תשועתם אינה תלויה אלא בתשובה''

- 1 אחר מחשבותיהם] ה': ח'
- 2 שהולכים] ה': שהולכין (אל השוחות)
- 3 (אילך)] ה': ח'
- 4 כת' ה': ב' אחריו | חרפוני] ה': ח'

7-11 חורשי – הבל היא] ה': הר"ר אשר בן הר"ר נתן נ"ע על אומות העולם: ארורים הם שאו' משקרמנט שלהם שהיין מנסכים שהוא דם התלוי והלחם הטמא שקורין[ם] אויטא [hostia] הוא בשר (ת) התלוי עצמו; ימח(ם) שמם כי מבהילים הם וזה שא' הכת' כי לא (יתקן להם) [יסכו לי"י] יין [ע"פ הושע ט ד] הוא היין שהם מנסכים ולא יערבו זבחיהם כלחם אונים [שם] הם אויטא, הלחם מגואל כי כל אוכלין (יתמו) יטמא[ן] כי לחמם נפשם לא יבא בית י"י; נמצא שכל שהם עושים שטות הוא.

- 14 תחיל] ה': תחל | ילדה] ה': ב' בטרם יבא חבל לה והמליטה זכר | להר"ר] ה': אל הר"ר נתן | נ"ע] ה': ח' | מקרא זה] ה': ח'
- 15 כרחך] ה': כרחיך על | חריאה] ה': חריאה
- 16 הואי] ה': הבאי | הם] ה': ח' | הק' ה': הקב"ה | להפרע] ה': ליפרע | מחזיקים] ה': מאמין | קל] ה': (כל) | בעיר] ה': מעיר
- 17 ומי ראה] ה': וראה
- 21 לכם] ה': ב' (לכם לעם)
- 22 אמרת[י]] ה': א"ל | להם#1] ה': (לכם)
- 24 יאמר אלהי] ה': יאמ' (לי אלהים)
- 27 הר"ר יוסף] ה': ח' | מקרטוש] ה': ב' שמו | למה] ה': ולמה
- 28 אותנו גזם] ה': גרם לנו | בהם] ה': במ | רש"י] ה': ר"י
- 29 תלויים] ה': תלואים | כל] ה': אבל

עליו כל הייסורין האילו אכן חלינו [הוא] נשא [שם] אבל עתה אנו רואים שלא מחמת עונו באו לו הייסורין אלא חולי הראוי לבא עליו ובא עליו ובם אנו מתכפרים והוא מחולל מפשעינו מדוכא מעונותינו [שם נג ה] עכשיו אנו רואים שעל פשעינו באו עליו הייסורין מוסר שלומנו עליו [שם] הייסורין שעליו היה לנו לשלום שלא החריב הק' את העולם בעונותינו ובחבורתו נרפא לנו [שם] שהיו נפצעים על קדושת השם ונהרגין כדכת' כי עליך הורגנו כל היום נחשבנו כצאן טבחה [תהלים מד כג] כלנו כצאן תעינו [ישעיה מג ו] עכשיו אנו יודעים כי כלנו כצאן תעינו וי"י הפגיע בו [את] עון כלנו [שם] נעתר על ידו ונתרצה על עונינו ואני אומ' הפגיע לשון הקרה בו עון כלנו נגש והוא נענה [שם נג ז] נדחק היה כמו את הנכרי תגש [דברים טו ג] נגש באונאת דברים שורפליץ בלע"ז [בשער] [ו] לא יפתח פיו [ישעיה נג ז] מקום מושב הגדולים כמו ובעז עלה השער(ע) [רות ד א] והוא כשה לטבח יובל וכרחל לפני גוזזיה נאלמה [ישעיה נג ז] כך היו ישראל בין האומות מעוצר וממשפט לקח [שם נג ח] ממקום שהיה נעצר בידם וממשפט הייסורין שהיה סבול עד עתה ואת דורו מי ישוחח [שם] שני דורות התלאות שמצאוהו ואני אומ' מעוצר וממשפט [ממלכות ושררה כמו זה יעצור בעמי [ש"א ט יז] ואת דורו מי ישוחח מי יאמר כמה דורות יש שנלקח (מן) המלכות ממנו כי נגזר [שם] וגולה היה מארץ (ה)חיים [שם] מארץ ישראל אשר מפשע עמי [שם] הנגע הזה לצדיקים שלהם ויתן את רשעים קברו [שם נג ט] נתן עצמו להיות [ב26] נקבר בגזירת הרשעים והיו דלת עמם ממתים אותו על קדושת השם ואת עשירי במותיו [שם] שהיו השרים המושלים בהם מגררים אותם וממתים אותם על לא חמס עשה [שם] בכל הגוים אשר גר ביניהם ואני אומ' על לא חמס לא חטא כמו וחטאי חומס נפשו [משלי ח לו] ולא מרמה בפיו [שם] שנהרג על שלא רצה לכפור בהק' וי"י חפץ דכאו החלי [שם י] הק' חפץ לייסרו לפיכך החלה אותו אם תשים אשם נפשו [שם] אמ' הק' אם נתנה לי נפשו בקדושת שמי אשם זהו קנס כמו אשם (תשיבו לי) [תשימו] בארגז [ש"א ו ח] אף אני אשלם לו גמולו שיראה זרע (ו)יאריך (ימיו) [ימים] וחפץ י"י בידו יצליח [ישעיה נג י] שיהא לו שכר טוב בעמלו שעשה חפצו של מקום מעמל נפשו יראה ישבע [שם נג יא] היה אוכל ושבע ולא היה גוזל וחומס בדעתו יצדיק צדיק [שם] שהיה דן דין אמת לכל הבאים לפניו ועונותם יסבל [ע"פ שם] כמו אתה ובניך תשא [את] עון (הקדשים) [המקדש] [ע"פ במדבר יח א] לכן יען עשותו כך אחלק לו ברבים [ישעיה נג יב] נחלה וגורל ברבים עם אבות הראשונים [תחת] אשר הערה [שם] כמו ותער כדה [בראשית כד כ] ואת פושעים נמנה [ישעיה נג יב] סובל ייסורין כאילו חטא ופושע ולפושעים יפגיע [שם] על ידי ייסורין (כאילו חטא ופשע) באה על ידו טובה לעולם

פה

נדרשתי ללא שאלו [ישעיה סה א] בעלילת פונץ באו גוים ואמרו להגמון מפייטירש ומאנגולימא שהיה השקץ עושה נפלאות פוקח עורים זוקף פסחים מסיח אלמים אמ' להם ה"ר נתן כל זה אני מאמין כי הק' רגיל לעשות נסים בשביל קטני אמונה דכת' נדרשתי ללא שאלו נמצאתי ללא בקשוני אמרתי הנני [הנני] אל גוי לא קורא בשמי [שם] פרשתי ידי

- 1 הייסורין#1] ה': הייסורים | חלינו] ה': ה' הוא | אבל – אלא] ה': פ' | חולין] ה': חלי
- 2 מדוכא] ה': מדכא | רואים] ה': רואין
- 3 שלומנו] ה': שלומ(ינו) | הייסורין] ה': הייסורין | שלא החריב] ה': שהחריב | הק'] ה': הקב"ה
- 4 ונהרגין] ה': ונהרגים
- 6 הפגיע לשון] ה': לשון] הפגיע
- 7 נגש] ה': ח' | שורפליץ] ה': שורפלרין | פיו] ה': פי(ה)
- 9-10 ממקום] ה': מקום | הייסורין – סבול] ה': שמי
- 10 וממשפט] ה': ל' לקח
- 11 יעצור] ה': יעצר | ישוחח] ה': ל' פ' | שנלקח (מן)] ה': שנחלק היתה
- 12 הנגע] ה': הנוגע | את] ה': ח'
- 13 עצמו] ה': ל' (עצמו) | והיו] ה': והיה | ממתים] ה': ממתין
- 14 שהיו] ה': (שהיה)
- 15 לא#1] ה': ח'
- 16 בהק'] ה': בהקב"ה | הק'] ה': הקב"ה
- 17 נתנה] ה': נתנו | לי נפשו] ה': נפשם
- 18 (ימיו)] ה': ימים | טוב] ה': ח'
- 19 צדיק] ה': ח'
- 20 הבאים] ה': באים | תשא] ה': ל' את | (הקדשים)] ה': המקדש
- 22 אשר] ה': תחת אשר
- 23 כאילו חטא ופשע#2] ה': ח'
- 26 מפייטירש] ה': מפוטיירש
- 27 עורים] ה': עורים | פסחים] ה': כפופים] | כל – מאמין] ה': מאמין אני | כי הק'] ה': כן הקב"ה
- 28 אמונה] ה': אמנה

סרחנו אבל אין עלי לתת לו משלי עד אשר יקבל עליו דין שני כך אמר הנביא כי לקחה מיד י"י כפלים בכל חטאותיה [שם] דין על העונות ודין על שילום תגמול טוב [שהוא עתיד לשלם לנו]

פד

5 הנה [דף 25ב] ישכיל עבדי ירום ונשא וגבה מאוד [ישעיה נב יג] הפוקרים מסיבים פרשה זו על נוצרי וכבר בא משומד אחד שהיה אדוק ביותר לפני הרב ר' יוסף בכור שור א"ל מה אתה יכל להשיב על פרש[ה] זו א"ל הרב בכור שור שוטה ישמעו אזניך מה שאתה מוציא מפ"ך הנה ישכיל עבדי ואם הוא אלוה היאך קורא אותו עבד מיד קרע אותו המשומד את בגדיו ונתפלש באפר וחזר בתשובה עוד כי אשר לא ספר להם ראו [שם נב טו] כלומ' הנפלאות הגדולות וכי לא ספר להם גבורות המקום והלא נכתבה יצירת בראשית ומה עשה לדור המבול ולדור הפלגה ולפרעה ולמלכי כנען ובקיעת הים וכמה נסים וגבורות שנעשו קודם לידת הנוצרי ועוד מפשע עמי נגע למו [שם נג ח] וכי מפשע עמו נגע למו בא לו והלא לא קבל המיתה אלא כדי למרק חטא אכילת של עץ הדעת שהיו כלם יורדים לגהינם והיה לו לומ' מפשע אדם וחיה נגע למו ועוד על לא חמס עשה ולא מרמה בפיו [שם נג ט] ואם אלהים הוא למי יחמס והלא הכל שלו כי אלהים שופט זה ישפיל וזה ירים והילך הפתרון הנה ישכיל עבדי מדבר על ישראל שנקראו עבדו של מקום כמו שנ' אתם עדי נאם י"י ועבדי אשר בחרתי (בו) [שם מג י] וכן שמע יעקב עבדי וישראל בחרתי בו [שם מד א] וכן עבדי אתה ישראל אשר בך אתפאר [שם מט ג] אתו עבד שהוא ישראל ישכיל כמו ויהי דוד (בכל) [לכל] דרכיו משכיל [ש"א יח יד] וכן למען תשכילון בכל אשר תעשון [ע"פ דברים כט ח] הנה יצליח עבדי ישראל ירום ונישא וגבה מאד [ישעיה נב יג] שירום קרנם בכבוד כאשר שממו עליך רבים [שם נב יד] על שפלותם של ישראל כמו שכת' הפר ברית מאס ערים לא חשב אנוש [שם לג ח] כן משחת מאיש מראהו [שם נב יד] כן כמו כן בנות צלפחד [במדבר כז ז] ומשפט היה לפי משחת מאיש מראהו וכמו כן יזה גוים רבים [שם נב טו] ינצח עליו יקפצו מלכים פיהם [שם] כמו ועולתה קפצה פיה [איוב ה טז] יסגרו פיהם שיאלמו ולא ידעו מה לדבר כי אשר לא ספר להם ראו [ישעיה נב טו] לא ראו כי אם שפלות ישראל ולא גדולתם מי האמין לשמועתינו [שם נג א] מי האמין הנבואה הזאת מי שהאמין אותה וזרוע י"י על מי נגלתה [שם] ויעל כיונק לפניו [שם נג ב] כמו נטע ילד שהוא מבצבץ ועולה [דף 26א] ועולה כך יולדו ויעלו ישראל (וכשוש) [וכשרש] מארץ ציה [שם] כמו שכת' היוחל ארץ ביום אחד אם יולד גוי פעם אחת [שם סו ח] לא תאר [אחת] [לון] ולא הדר [לו] [נג ב] מלפנים היו נבזים [ונ] נראהו ולא מראה [שם] הנראה שבו לא מראה ונחמדהו [שם] רש"י פי' וכי נחמדהו וא"כ היה לו לומ' ונחמדהו אלא ונחמדהו זהו הנחמד שבו אין בו הדר כמו אדם האומ' אבר הנאה שבאדם זה מכוער הוא נבזה וחדל אישים ולא חשבנוהו [ע"פ ישעיה נג ג] כך אומ' המלכים [שם] על ישראל שהוא [איש] מכאובות ויודע חולי [שם] כמו ויודע בהם סכות [ע"פ שופטים ח טז] וכמסתיר פנים ממנו [ישעיה נג ג] אמ' שהיה מתבייש מחמת שפלותו ואנחנו חשבנוהו נגוע מוכה אלהים [שם נג ד] כסבורים היינו שמחמת עונו באו

- 1 עלי לתת ה': (עלילת) | משלי ה': משלו | שני ה': ממה שעשה | חטאותיה ה': חטאתיה
- 2 העונות ה': העונות | תגמול ה': הגמול | טוב ה': נ' שהוא עתיד לשלם לנו
- 5 הפוקרים מסיבים ה': הפוקרים מסיבין
- 6-7 הרב ר' ה': הר"ר | יכל ה': יכול | הרב בכור שור ה': הר"ר יוסף
- 7 שוטה ה': ח'
- 8-9 המשומד ה': משומד | הנפלאות הגדולות ה': הגדולות והנפלאות
- 10 ובקיעת הים ה': וקריעת ים סוף | הנוצרי ה': נוצרי
- 11 נגע למו ה': ח' | כלם ה': ח'
- 12 לא ה': ח'
- 14 כמו ה': ח' | אתם עדי ה': ואתם עדיי | י"י ה': נ' (ואני אלהים)
- 15-16 אתה ה': נ' (אמר) | ישכיל ה': נ' פירוש יצליח | ויהי – יצליח עבדי ה': כמו שנ'
- 16 ונישא ה': ונשא לו
- 18 כן כמו כן ה': כמ' | ומשפט ה': כלומ' משפט
- 19 רבים ה': נ' פי' | עליו ה': ועליו
- 20 שיאלמו ה': ויאלמו | ראו ה': נ' כלומ'
- 21 האמין ה': (יאמין) | הנבואה ה': השבועה | מי שהאמין אותה ה': ח'
- 22 נטע ה': נ' יונק | ועולה#2 ה': ח'
- 23 (וכשוש) ה': (וכציון) | אחת ה': לו
- 24 [ולא – לא מראה] ה': כלומ' לא מראה לו | רש"י ה': ח'
- 25-26 וא"כ – מכוער הוא ה': ח'
- 26 אישים ה': (לאישים)
- 28 מוכה ה': מכה

בספרד באשכנז ברוב מקומות והיכן תהיה המשרה על ממלכתו בירושלם להכין אותה ולסעדה מעתה ועד עולם [ע"פ שם] לעולם תהיה קיימת קנאת י"י צבאות תעשה זאת [שם] אותה משרה שהיא של שלום תהיה מאת י"י ולא כמו עתה שהמשרה גורמת אכילת חרב ומלחמות בין גוים ובין ישמעאלים אבל במשרה זו שלום גדול יהיה"

פא

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ויצא חטר מגזע ישי [ישעיה אי א] שטי כזב אומ' כי על נוצרי היה מתנבא והמה דברו כזבים דכת' ונחה עליו רוח י"י [שם יא ב] ולדבריהם הלא הוא עצמו אלוה וכת' חכמה ובינה רוח עצה וגבורה רוח דעת ויראת י"י [שם] שיהא יודע וירא[ת] י"י את מי יירא הלא הוא עצמו אלוה וגר זאב עם כבש [שם יא ו] וגו' ופרה ודוב תרעינה [שם יא ז] וגו' ואפילו לפי מה שאומ' שזהו משל מ"מ קשה שכת' כי מלאה הארץ דעה את י"י כמים לים מכסים [שם יא ט] ועכשיו א[י]נו שאין הכל יודעין את י"י וצריכין להתלמד ולנבח"

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פב

שאל אָדן המשומד יש"ו לה"ר נתן נ"ע איך תוכל לומר שאין נבואה זו על נוצרי והלא כת' לא למראה עיניו ישפט ולא למשמע אזניו יוכיח [ישעיה יא ג] ומי עושה כן זולתי הבורא שכן כת' כי האדם יראה לעינים וי"י יראה ללבב [ש"א טז ז] השיב לו ומה תועלת יש בראיית הלבב יותר מבראיית העינים א"ל שהרואה לעינים טועה אבל הק' שרואה ללבב אינו טועה לכך אני אומר שחוסר זה אינו אלוה שירא לשפט למראה עיניו ולמשמע אזניו פן יטעה אילו היה אלוה לא היה צריך לירא פן יטעה"

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פג

הנני יסד בציון אבן [ישעיה כח טז] פקרו כי אותה אבן היא משל על נוצרי ותשובתם שכן כת' לכן כה אמר י"י אלהים הנני יסד בציון אבן אבן בחן פנת יקרת מוסד מוסד המאמין לא יחיש [שם] א"כ המחיש[ים] אינם מאמינים ולא היה להם להחיש"

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{הגמון משנץ [שאל] לה"ר נתן נ"ע וכי הקב"ה עביד דינא בלא דינא א"ל לא א"ל והלא כת' כי לקחה מיד [י"י] כפלים בכל חטאותיה [ישעיה מ ב] כפלים למה דיי בחטאותיה השיב לו אמשל לך משל למה הדבר דומה למלך שהיה לו אוהב ונתן לו שדות וכרמים כסף זהב ונכסים סרח עליו האוהב מה עשה המלך נטל ממנו כל מה שנתן לו וחבשו ועינה נפשו בבית הסוהר לימים באו קרוביו אל המלך ובקשו ממנו שימחול סרחונו אמ' לה[ם] לזאת אשא פניכם צוה להוציאו מבית הסוהר ושלא לענותו יותר אמנם מה שנטל ממנו לא החזיר לו (כשבאו) [כשראו] הקרובים כך באו לפני המלך אמרו לו הלא מחלת לו על סרחונו ולמה לא החזרת לו מה שנטלת ממנו אמ' לה[ם] אמת הוא שמחלתי לו על

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1 המשרה – בירושלם ה' המשרה בירושלם על ממלכתו

2 תהיה קיימת ה' תהי קיימת | של ה' ח'

3 ומלחמות ה' (ומלחמת) | גוים ה' הגוים | ישמעאלים ה' הישמעאלים | גדול ה' ח'

6 שטי – אומ' ה' פוקרים ואומ' | נוצרי' ה' ישו | דברו' ה' דברים

7-8 הלא ה' ח' | עצמו' ה' נ' הוא | וכת' חכמה – עצמו אלוה#2 ה' ח'

9 מה' ה' (ש)מה | מ"מ' ה' ח' | א[י]נו' ה' אינו

10 יודעין ה' יודעים

13 אָדן ה' אדן | יש"ו' ה' ח' | לה"ר' ה' לה"ר | נ"ע' ה' ח' | על' ה' ח' | ישפט' ה' ח'

14 אזניו' ה' אזן | עושה כן' ה' כך

15 השיב לו' ה' השיבו | בראיית הלבב' ה' בראיית הלב | מבראיית העינים' ה' מראית העין | אבל – ללבב' ה' והרואה ללב

16 שחוסר' ה' שחטר | שירא' ה' שלא | ולמשמע' ה' ולשמע | אילו' ה' ואם

20 הנני' ה' הנה | היא משל' ה' ח' | נוצרי' ה' נ' היה | ותשובתם' ה' ותשובתי

21 הנני | מוסד#2 ה' ח' | המחיש[ים] ה' המחחישין

24 משנץ' ה' נ' שאל | לה"ר' ה' אל הר"ר | נ"ע' ה' ח' | הקב"ה עביד' ה' עביד קודשא בריך הוא | מיד' ה' נ' י"י

25 אמשל' ה' אמשול | למה – למלך' ה' למלך (למלך)

27 ועינה' ה' ענה | לה[ם] ה' ח' | אשא' ה' נ' את

28 הסוהר' ה' סוהר | ושלא' ה' שלא | (כשבאו) ה' כשראו

29 מה – ממנו' ה' ח' | לה[ם] ה' ח' | הוא' ה' ח' | לו' ה' ח'

השיבו כמה היה דבר זה ראוי להתקיים א"ל לעולם א"ל אבא מרי נ"ע כחשת ראה אחריו ואומ' עד מתי י"י ויאמר עד אשר] אם שאו ערים (מבלי) [מאין] יושב (ובתום) [ובתים] מאין אדם (והארץ) [והאדמה] תשאה שממה [שם ו יא] וכל זה עבר"

עט

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הנה העלמה הרה [ישעיה ז יד] כאן ראש פיקורם כי אומ' שעל נוצרי [דף 24ב] נאמ' אוי לנפשם [ישעיה ג ט] כי נחלו אולת [ע"פ משלי יד יח] לו חכמו ישכילו זאת [דברים לב כט] כי הנבואה הזאת היתה אות לאחז שלא יירא ממלחמת שני המלכים ואילו היה אותו הבן הנוצרי האות הזה לא יתכן כי המלחמה היתה ראויה להיות מיד ולידת הנוצרי היתה אחרי כן מחמש מאות שנה וע"כ אות היה שנ' ויוסף י"י (דבר אלי עוד לאמר) דבר אל אחז שאל לך אות מעם י"י העמק שאלה או הגבה(ה) למעלה ויאמר לא אשאל ולא אנסה את י"י ויאמר המעט מכם הלאות אנשים כי תלאו גם [את] אלהי [ע"פ ישעיה ז יג] לכן יתן י"י [הוא] לכם אות הנה העלמה הרה ויולדת בן וקראת שמו עמנו אל חמאה ודבש יאכל לדעתו מאס ברע ובחור בטוב כי בטרם ידע הנער מאס ברע ובחור בטוב תעזב האדמה אשר אתה קץ מפני שני מליכה [שם ז יד-טז] א"כ היה אותו הבן אותו לאחז ושוטה היה בתחלה דכת' כי בטרם ידע הנער מאס ובחור בטוב [שם]"

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פ

כי ילד ילד לנו בן נתן לנו וגו' עד ויקרא שמו פלא יעוץ אל גבור אבי עד שר שלום [ע"פ ישעיה ט ה] ושאל לי גלח אחד בטריט מי היה אותו ילד אמרתי לו ואתה מה אתה אומ' מי הוא אמ' לי זהו נוצרי אמרתי לו כך (אני) [אתה] אומ' אך שא נא עיניך וראה מה כת' למעלה הרבית הגוי (לא) [לן] הגדלת השמחה שמחו לפניך כשמחה בקציר כאשר יגילו בחלקם שלל [שם ט ב] אתם שמחים יותר מכל אומה ודין הוא ולמה כי את על סבלו ואת מטה שכמו שבט הנוגש בו החתות כיום מדין [שם ט ג] אין לכם עול משום אומה ואין שבט נוגש בכם אבל אתם השבט הנוגש בכל ולמה כי כל סאון סואן ברעש ושמלה מגוללה בדמים והיתה לשריפה מאכולת אש [שם ט ד] כשאתם הולכים בגייסות אתם הולכין ברעש גדול ובגאווה ושמלה מגוללה בדמים אתם אוכלי חרב ואומנותכם בידכם ואין זולתכם בעולם להכות בחרב עד שאתם עושין כל שמלה מגוללה בדמים ומה סופכם והיתה לשרפת מאכולת אש [תשובה] הכל ירד לגהינם ולמה כי ילד ילד לנו [אמר] ישעיה שהיה יהודי ילד עתיד להולד לנו מיהודית בן נתן לנו ותהי משרה על שכמו [שם ט ה] הם קורין ותהי שתתנו לו את השררה [דף 25א] ויקרא שמו פלא יעוץ אין כת' והיה שמו אלא ויקרא כך תקראו אותו ולכך נאמ' והיתה לשרפת מאכולת אש אבל למרבה המשרה אותו שיהא לו רבוי שררה [ולשלוש] אין קץ רוב שלום יהיה בימיו כמו שנ' במקום אחר לא ישא גוי אל גוי חרב ולא ילמדו עוד מלחמה [ישעיה ב ד] על כסא דוד ועל ממלכתו [שם ו] לא יהיה לדוד אלא כסא אחד כמו שהיה מתחלה אבל אתם יש לכם כמה כסאות של מלכים באיי אלישה בצרפת

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- 1 כמה היה ה' כמו שהיה | אבא מרי נ"ע | ה' הר נתן | כחשת | ה' נחשת | ואומ' – י"י | ה' ח'
- 2 עד | ה' נ' אשר | (מבלי) | ה' מאין | (ובתום) | ה' ובתים | (והארץ) | ה' והאדמה
- 6 פיקורם | ה' פקורם | כי אומ' | ה' ואו' | לנפשם | ה' (לנעשם)
- 7 אולת | ה' אולת | זאת | ה' ח' | אות | ה' ח' | יירא | ה' יפחד ממלכת
- 8-9 שני | ה' משני | ואילו | ה' ואלו | ה' הנוצרי | האות – מחמש | ה' והלא נוצרי חיה אחר אותה הנבואה חמש מאות שנה?
- 9 וע"כ | ה' ועל כרחך | היה | ה' היא | עוד | ה' ח'
- 10 הגבה(ה) | ה' הגבה | המעט | ה' ח'
- 11 אלהי | ה' (אלהים) | לכם | ה' ח'
- 12 מאס | ה' מאוס
- 13 היה אותו – אותן | ה' ח'
- 17 עד | ה' ח' | ושאל לי | ה' ושאל | גלח אחד | ה' נ' להר"ר יוסף
- 18 בטריט | ה' ח' | אמרתי לו | ה' וא"ל | מי הוא | ה' ח' | נוצרי | ה' נצרי | אמרתי לו | ה' א"ל | אך | ה' וכן
- 19 (לא) | ה' לו
- 20-21 שלל | ה' נ' כלומ' | אומה | ה' אומות | על סבלו | ה' (רגלו) | שבט – השבט | ה' כלו' שבט
- 22 אש | ה' נ' כלו' | אתם הולכין | ה' (אתה) הולכים
- 23 בחרב | ה' חרב
- 24 עושין | ה' עושים | לשרפת | ה' לשריפת | מאכולת | ה' ח' | תשובה | ה' ח'
- 25 [אמר] | ה' אמ'
- 26 ותהי | ה' ותהי המשרה | ויקרא | ה' ויקרא | שמו | ה' ח' | ויקרא | ה' ויקרא
- 27 לשרפת | ה' לשריפת | אותן | ה' (אתנו)
- 28 בימיו | ה' בימיו

## עד

עוד פוקרים דכת' רחצו הזכו [ישעיה א טז] 'ואומ' שדבר הכת' על טינופם 'עינים להם לא יראו [תהלים קטו ה] 'שהרי כתוב למעלה ידיכם דמים מאלו [ישעיה א טו] ולכך אמ' רחצו הזכו שמצינו על דמים רחיצה 'וכתו' אם רחץ י"י את צואת בנות ציון ואת דמי ירושלים ידיח מקרבה [שם ד ד] "

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## עה

סבאך מהול במים [ישעיה א כב] 'אמ' ה"ר נתן בא וראה כמה (שנוי) [שנוא] השמד לפני המקום [דף 24א] שהרי הוכיחם על השמד יותר מעל הרציחה ומגזל דכת' איכה היתה לזונה קריה [שם שם כא] וכו' 'וכת' ועתה מרצחים כספך היה לסיגים [ע"פ שם כא-כב] אבל סבאך מהול במים כלומ' הבלעות {והסבאות} שבך זהו מה שמהול במים של שמד שמעורב בו והלע"ז טגלוטוניאה 'סבאך' כמו זולל וסובא [דברים כא כ] "

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## עו

הוי מוכשי העון [ישעיה ה יח] 'שא(ו)ל גלח אחד לר' יוסף קרא מפני מה אין לכם כישכושים 'אל'ל בא עמי הלכו שניהם לשוק ושעמו סוחרי דגים ששמן הרנש שמכריזים אותן אחר כך (הוליכו) [הלכו] לשער הדגים המשובחים ולא היו מכריזין המשובחין 'אל'ל מפני מה הן עושין כך 'אל'ל הסחורה המשובחה מכרזת עצמה ואינה צריכה להכריז 'אל'ל לכך אין לנו כישכושין 'כך אמ' לי מורי זקני ה"ר יוסף בן הר"ר נתן בן רבנו משלם 'תשובה אחרת' מכאן עליהם נאמ' הוי מושכי העון בחבלי השוא [שם] "

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## עז

קדוש קדוש קדוש [ישעיה ו ג] 'מכאן פוקרים לומ' שלש רשויות והשיב הקרא יפה אמרת 'לכך אמ' ישעיה אוי לי כי נדמתי כי איש טמא שפתיים אנכי [שם ו ה] (וששקתי) ששתקתי 'ובתוך עם טמא שפתיים [שם] שכך אמרו 'אבל יש לדחותם כמו ארץ ארץ ארץ [ירמיה כב כט] 'וכן פי' ביי"ג מדות 'ופתרונו' וקרא זה אל זה ואמ' קדוש [ישעיה ו ג] 'מלאך אחד שנקרא קדוש 'שכן המלאכים נקראו קדושים' כמו ואשמע אחד קדוש לפלמוני המדבר [ע"פ דניאל ח יג] 'ואותו מלאך היה קורא ואומר לחבירו קדוש' כדי שיצמצמו לכוין קולם ביחד והשנים אומ' קדוש י"י צבאות (מלא) [ישעיה ו ג] 'וגו' ויש פותרים כמו התרגום 'קדיש בשמי מרומא בי[ת] שכינתיה (וכו') 'קדיש על ארעא וכו' 'קדיש לעלם ולעלמיא י"י' "

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## עח

השמן לב העם הזה [ישעיה ו י] 'משומד אחד אמ' לאבא מרי נ"ע' אין הק' חפץ בתשובתכם ושתעשו הישר בעיניו 'שכן כת' השמן לב העם הזה ואזניו (השע) הכבד ועיניו השע פן יראה בעיניו ובאזניו ישמע ו(ב)לבבו יבין ושב ורפא לו [שם]

- 2 טינופם] ה': טנופם
- 3 רחיצה] ה': רחוצה | וכתו'] ה': כדכת'
- 4 מקרבה] ה': בקרבה
- 7 אמ'] ה': או' | ה"ר] ה': הר"ר | בא וראה] ה': ח'
- 8 מעל] ה': מן | ומגזל] ה': ומן הגזל | קריה וכו'] ה': וגו'
- 9 כלומ' הבלעות] ה': כלומר הבליעות | שבך זהו] ה': שכך זה
- 10 טגלוטוניאה] ה': טלוגוטיניאה
- 13 העון] ה': נ' בחבלי השוא | שא(ו)ל] ה': שאל | כישכושים] ה': קשקושין
- 14-15 סוחרין] ה': סוחר | ששמן] ה': שקור[אים] | אחר כך] ה': אחרי כן | הוליכו] ה': הלכו | לשער] ה': לשערי | ולא – המשובחין] ה': ח'
- 16 כישכושין] ה': קשקושין | כך – מכאן] ה': ח'
- 20 קדוש קדוש קדוש] ה': קדוש ק"ק | מכאן] ה': מינין
- 21 נדמתי] ה': נדמיתי | (וששקתי) ששתקתי] ה': ששתקוני | שפתיים#2] ה': ח'
- 23 שנקרא] ה': ששמו
- 24 לחבריו] ה': לחברו | שיצמצמו] ה': (שיתמצמו) | מלא] ה': ח'
- 25 התרגום] ה': התרגו' | בי] ה': בית | (וכו')] ה': ח' | וכו'] ה': עובד גבורתיה | ולעלמיא י"י] ה': ולעלמי עלמיא
- 28 לאבא מרי נ"ע] ה': להר' לנתן | הק'] ה': הקב"ה
- 29 הזה] ה': ח' | (השע) ה': ח' | (ב)לבבו] ה': ולבבו

אחר והביאו לפני המלך כעס המלך עליו 'אל מדוע איחרת להביא ואתה ידעת כי רעב ועיף אנכי' שח לו כל המאורע 'אל והיכן הקרתני 'אל חבשתיו ועתה גזור מה יעשה לו 'אל הניחוחו וילך לדרכו' פעם אחרת אירע למלך כן שהלך בקניגיא ושהא וירעב וצוה למהר את המאכל כשהיו מביאין המאכל למלך בא בן פלטין ונטלו הלכו ועשו אחר ואמרו למלך מה שאירע 'אמ' להם היכן הבן פלטין אמרו לו הנחוחו והלך לדרכו 'ויאמר המלך {תלוהו} אמרו אדוננו המלך מה המעשה שהנחת הקרתני והמית הבן ביתך 'אמ' להם המלך הקרתני עשה כמשפטו כמו שרגיל לעשות בין שכיניו הקרתנים ' אבל זה בן ביתי שגדל אצלי ולמד [דף 23ב] טכסיסי מלכות ודאי פושע הוא מזיק הוא והוא בן מות ' כך הנפש שבאת מן השמים וגדלה בקדושה וטהרה והיא חוטאת ראוי הוא שתהא נידונות ' אבל הגוף שבא מטיפה סרוחה ומן האדמה מן מקום שקצים ורמסים ראויה היא ש{ת}תלכלך''

עא

האמר תאמר אל[הים] אני לפני הורגך [יחזקאל כח ט] (ממות) [אומות] העולם אומ' שנהרג הנוצרי שהיה אומ' שהוא אלוה וא"כ הוא היאך היה אומ' (לחכם) [לחירם] מלך צ[ו]ר האמר תאמר אל[הים] אני לפני הורגך ' ואתה אדם ולא אל[ל] ביד מחלליך [שם] ' ואם כדבריהם היאך מוכיח שאינו אל לפי שנהרג והלא לעצמו אירע כך''

עב

ערל לב וערל בשר [יחזקאל מד ט] ' פוקרים ואומ' כי המילה משל הוא ורוצה לומ' מילת הלב ' טחו עיניהם מראות ' אחת שהרי נאמ' המ[ו]ל לכם כל זכר [בראשית יז י] ' וכי הזכרים צריכים למול לבם והנקבות אינן צריכות למול לבן ' ועוד ק[שה] שהרי בסוף יחזקאל כתוב ערל לב וערל בשר לא יבא אל מקדשי [יחזקאל מד ט] ' והכתו מעיד עליהם שהם ערלים שכן כתוב כל הגוים ערלים ו[כל בית] ישראל ערלי לב [ירמיה ט כה]''

עג

ישעיה ' חדשיכם ומ[ו]עדיכם שנאה נפשי [ישעיה א יד] ' פוקרי' כמו שפקר טמנוסורפוס הרשע את ר' עקיבה א"ל אלהיכם שונא את המועדות הוא דכת' חדשיכם ומועדיכם שנאה נפשי ' א"ל וכי הוא שונא את המועדות והלא הוא עצמו נתנן דכת' אלה מועדי י"י [ויקרא כג ד] אלא לא שלנו הוא שונא אלא אותם (שבזו) [שבדון] מלבם כדכת' ויעש ירעבם (את ה) חג בחדש השמיני בחמשה עשר יום לחדש כחג אשר ביהודה בחדש אשר (בזא) [בדא] מלבו [ע"פ מ"א יב לב-לג] ' וכן היה שונא זבחים כדכת' למה לי רב זבחים [ישעיה א יא] ' לפי שהיו רשעים ' כמו שאמ' למעלה שמעו דבר י"י קציני סדום [שם שם י] ' זבח רשעים תועבה [משלי כא כז] ' וכן אמ' שמואל החפץ לי"י בעולות זבחים הלא שמע טוב [ע"פ ש"א טו כב]''

- 1 להביא] ר': לבא [כל] כ[ך] | רעב ועיף] ר': עיף ורעב | עיף] ה': עיף | שח] ר': סיפ[ר]
- 2 א"ל#1] ה': אמ' ליה | גזור] ר': ב' עליו | הניחוח] ר': הניחוחו | פעם אחרת] ר': פ"א
- 3 בקניגיא] ה': לקניגיא; ר': בקטגיא | וירעב וצוה] ר': ורעב וצמא | את] ה', ר': ח' | המאכל] ה': מאכלו | כשהיו מביאין] ר': כשמביאין | פלטין] ר': פלטרין
- 4 להם] ה': ח' | היכן הבן פלטין] ר': והיכן הוא | הנחוחו] ה': הניחוח; ר': הניחוחו | אמרו] ה': ב' לו | א"ל משרתיו | אדוננו] ר': אדוני | המלך] ה': ח'
- 5 המעשה] ר': הזה | שהנחת הקרתני] ה': הקרתני הנחת | והמית] ה': ותמית | והמית - ביתך] ר': ובן פלטין אתה רוצה להמית | להם] ה': ח'; ר': לו | המלך] ר': ח' | שרגיל לעשות] ה': שהוא רגיל | שכיניו] ה': שכניו
- 6 טכסיסי] ר': תכסיס | פושע - והוא] ה': פושע הוא ומזיק ודאי הוא; ר': (פושע) [פושע] מזיק הוא והוא | מות] ר': ב' (הבא)
- 7 שבאת] ה': שהיא; ר': הבאה | מן השמים] ר': מהשם' | וגדלה] ר': וגדל | וטהרה] ה', ר': ובטהרה | ראוי] ה': ראיה | הוא] ה': שהיא; ר': היא שתהא] ה': ח' | נידונות] ה': נידונית; ר': נענשת | מטיפה] ה', ר': מטפה
- 8 מן מקום] ה': ממקום; ר': ח' | ראויה היא] ה', ר': ראוי הוא | ש{ת}תלכלך] ה': שתלכלך; ר': (שיתלכך)
- 11 אל] ה': אלהים | הורגך] ה': ח'; ר': הרגיר | (ממות) העולם] ה': מימות עולם; ר': פוקרי[ם] | אומ' - הנוצרי] ה': ואין[מרים] שהכל נאמ' על הנוצרי שנהרג | שהיה אומ'] ר': שאמר
- 12 וא"כ] ר': וי"ל א"כ | היאך הוא אומ'; ר': איך הוא אומ' | (לחכם) מלך צ[ו]ר] ר': ח' | הורגך] ר': הרגיר | ואתה] ה': (ואדם)
- 13 מחלליך] ה': מחוללך | היאך] ר': איך | מוכיח] ר': ב' הוא
- 16-19 פוקרים - ישראל ערלי לב] ר': עיין לעיל אצל ענייני מילה [סוף ר', הערת העורך] | ואומ'] ה': אומ' | המילה] ה': המלה | ורוצה] ה': ורוצ'
- 17 הנקבות] ה': הנקיבות | לבן] ה': לבבן
- 18 ק[שה] ה': ח' | כת] ה': ב' כל
- 22 חדשיכם] ה': ח' | פוקרי] ה': ב' אין[מרים] | טמנוסורפוס] ה': טרונוסורפוס | א"ל] ה': ח'
- 23 הוא דכת] ה': כמו שכת' | המועדות#2] ה': ח'
- 24 נתנן] ה': נתנו | אותם שבזו] ה': שבדו
- 25 (בזא)] ה': (ברא)
- 26 זבחים] ה': ח'



ילמדו עוד איש את רעהו ואיש את אחיו לאמר דעו את י"י כי כן]לם ידעו אותי למקטנם ועד גדולם נאם י"י כי אסלח לעונם ולחטאתם לא אזכר עוד [ירמיה לא לג-לד] ואם כדבריהם היאך יודעים את י"י והלא אנו רואים בכל יום הנבחנין שמנבחים להם ונותנים להם כפרה שקורין פניטונצא

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הנני אליך זדון נאם י"י אלהים צבאות כי בא יומך עת פקודתך וכשל זדון ונפל ואין לו מקים [ע"פ ירמיה נ לא-לב] בנבואת בבל נאמ' מקרא זה ולכך יסדו [דף 23א] אנשי כנסת הגדולה ומלכות זדון מהרה תעקר שזהו בבל שהגלם

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יחזקאל פוקרים אל הדמיונות הכתובים בספר זה וטעות הוא בידם שהרי בתחילת הספר נאמ' נפתחו השמים ואראה מראות אלהים [יחזקאל א א] לא ראה להדיא אלא כמו רואה בחלום או בחזיונות לילה וזש"ה וביד הנביאים אדמה [הושע יב יא] כשהוא נגלה {לנביאים} נראה להם בכמה דמיונות וכן כל רואה חזיון מה שהוא רואה משתנה לכמה דמיונות וזהו שנ' אם יהיה נביאכם י"י במראה אליו אתודע בחלום אדבר בו לא כן עבדי משה בכל ביתי נאמן הוא פה אל פה אדבר בו [במראה] [ומראה] ולא בחידות [במדבר יב ו-ח] ועליו נאמ' ולא קם עוד נביא כמשה אשר ידעו י"י פנים אל פנים [ע"פ דברים לד ו] אבל באחרים לא ידעם פנים אל פנים כל שכן שהם לא ידעוהו פנים אל פנים אלא נגלה להם בחזיון

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כמראה אדם מלמעלה [ע"פ יחזקאל א כו] כתבתי במטות

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ומכשול עונו [ישא] [ישים] [לנוכח] [יחזקאל יד ד] א"ל הגמון לה"ר נתן נ"ע מדוע אינך עושה שתי וערב והיה מפקח א"ל כבר הזהירנו עליו הכת' ומכשול עונו [ישא] [ישים] לנוכח [עיניו] [פניו] [שם]

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הנפש החטאת היא תמות [יחזקאל יח ד] שאל הגמון אניוד לה"ר נתן מפני מה הנפש היה נענשת יותר מן הגוף א"ל אמשל לך משל למה הדבר דומה למלך שהלך לקניגיא בשחר ושהא לבא כשבא היה רעב ביותר צוה לקוררקנו למהר מאכלו הלך ועשה כן כשהיה מביא המיסון למלך בא קרתני אחד נטל המיסון התחיל שורפו הלך הקוררקגא ועשה

- 1 עוד ר' ח' ואיש ה' [ואת] [ואיש] [את#2] ר' ח' [כלם] ה' ח' [ועד] ה' עד
- 2 כדבריהם] ה', ר' כדבריהם | היאך] ה': ב' אתם; ר' איך אתם | אנו - יום; ר' כל יום אנו רואים | הנבחנין] ה': הנבחים; ר' גלחיים] [שמןבחים להם] ה': ח'; ר' מנבחים לכם | להם#2] ר': לכם | פניטונצא] ה': פניטונצא; ר' "פריטך ואפלוס" (?)
- 6 זדון] ה': ח' | צבאות] ר': ב' הצבאות
- 7 בנבואת בבל] ר': בנבוכד נצר | תעקר] ר': ב' תשבר | שזהו] ר': זהו | שהגלם] ר': ב' נשלמו תשובות] מירמיה] [ה] ועתה אכתוב תשובות] והוכחתי] [ת] מנחמות] [ת] כל הנביאים] [מ]
- 10 פוקרים] ה': ב' היו | אל] ה', ר': על | זה] ה': הזה | וטעות - נאמ' ר': כתי' | בתחילת] ה': בתחלת | ואראה] ר': (וארא)
- 11 להדיא] ר': בהדיא] [א] רואה] ה': ח'; ר': שרואה | וזש"ה] ה': וזה שא' הכת'; ר': ושם הפסוק] [ק]
- 12-13 וכן - לכמה דמיונות] ה': ח' אתודע] ה': אתודע
- 14 בן] ר': ח' | (במראה) ר': ומראה | ולא#2 - כמשה] ה': ולא קם נביא עוד בישראל] [אל]; ר': ולא נביא] [א] עוד בישראל] [אל] כמשה | י"י] ר': ח' פנים#1] ר': ב' ה' | ידעם] ר': ב' ה'
- 19 מלמעלה] ה', ר': ח' | כתבתי] ה': ב' למעלה; ר': עליו ביארתי | במטות] ה': (במטות)
- 22 לנוכח] ה': לעיניו; ר': לנגד עיניו | א"ל הגמון] ר': הגמון משאנך שאל | נ"ע] ה', ר': ח' | אינך עושה] ר': אינכם] [עושים] | והיה מפקח] ה': ח'; ר': והוא [מפקק] [מפקק] שקורקאים] באייליר [fr. bâiller]
- 23 הזהירנו] ר': הזהיר | עליו הכתוב] ה': עליו; ר': הפסוק עליו שהרי כתי' | לנוכח] ה': לנוכח; ר': לנגד
- 26 החטאת] ה', ר': החוטאת | אניוד] ה': דאנג'ירש; ר': ח' | מפני מה] ר': מדוע | נענשת] ה': (נעשת) | מן הגוף] ר': מהגוף
- 27 אמשל - הדבר] ר': משל למה הוא | קניגיא] ר': קניגיא | בשחר ושהא] ר': נשאר ושהא | כשבא היה] ר': והיה | לקוררקנו] ה': קורקנו; ר': לקרקתן | למהר] ה': ח'
- 28 מאכלו] ר': למאכלו | כשהיה מביא] ה': כשהוא] [א] מביא; ר': כשהביא] [א] | קרתני] ר': קרתן | אחד] ה': ח' | נטל] ה', ר': ונטל | התחיל שורפו] ה': התחיל שרפו; ר': ח' | הקוררקגא] ה': הקורקני; ר': הקרתני

טז ג] וגו' א"ל אמשל לך למה זה דומה למלך שנתן לעבדו סוס נאה והיה רוכב עליו בעיר אמרו לו בני העיר מי נתן לך סוס נאה כזה אמ' להם המלך נתן לי והיו בני העיר תומהים אמ' להם מה אתם מבוהלים על זה עוד אני עתיד שיתן לי מתנה אחרת חשובה מאד ומתוך חשיבותה לא תהיה מתנה זו נחשבת למאומה ולא יהא אדם זוכרה כך הגאולה הזו תהיה כל כך חשובה שלא תהיא גאולת [דף 22ב] מצרים חשובה כנגדה

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### ג

הנה ימים באים נאום י"י והקיימותי לדוד צמח צדיק ומלך מלך והשכיל ועשה משפט וצדקה בארץ : בימיו תושע יהודה וישראל ישכון לבטח וזה שמו אשר יקראו י"י (צדקני) [צדקנו] [ירמיה כג ה-ו] מינים פוקרים על כך ואומ' שנאמ' פסוק זה על עול הזמה ואי איפשר לומר כן שהרי כת' בימיו תושע יהודה וגו' ועדין לא נושענו וע"כ על מלך המשיח הוא מדבר שהרי כתו' אחריו לא יאמר חי י"י אשר העלה ישראל מארץ מצרים כי אם חי י"י אשר העלה ואשר הביא את ישראל מארץ צפונה ומכל הארצות [ע"פ שם שם ז-ח] וזה פי' הפסוק וזה שמו אשר יקראו י"י צדקנו זה שמו מה שאמרתי צמח צדיק השם הזה יקרא לו י"י יוסף

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### ד

עד מתי תתחמקין הבת השובבה כי ברא י"י חדשה בקרב הארץ נקבה תסובב גבר [ירמיה לא כב] ואומ' הפוקרים כי על הנוצרי (בא) [נאמר] וכן אמ' לי חובל אחד אמרתי לו א"כ לדברייך קורא אמו בת השובבה ואתם אומ' כי בתולה הייתה ורש"י פי' תסובב כמו ואסובבה בעיר [שה"ש ג ב] לשון בקשה שתחזור אחר (אשר) [מי שישאנה כמו תקראי (לי) אישי ולא תקראי [הושע ב יח] וגו' ור' אברהם ב"ר יצחק אמ' לי נקבה תסובב גבר זהו כמו שכת' בישיעה והחזיקו שבע נשים באיש אחד ואמרו לחמנו נאכל ושמלתנו (ילבש) [נלבש] רק יקרא שמך עלינו אסוף חרפתינו [ע"פ ישעיה ד א] כך אמרו לי במלינש יוסף

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### ה

הנה ימים באים נאם י"י וכרתי את בית ישראל ואת בית יהודה ברית חדשה [ירמיה לא לא] ומשם פוקרים לומר שעתיד לחדש תורה ולתת תורה חדשה אך שקר נחלו' שהרי כתו' אחריו כי זאת הברית אשר אכרת את בית ישראל אחרי הימים ההם נאם י"י נתתי את תורתי בקרבם ועל לבם אכתבנה והייתי להם לאלהים והמה יהיו לי לעם ולא

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- 1-2 [וגו'] ר': מצ[רי]ם כל ימי חייר | אמשל | אמשול; ר': משל | לך – דומה | ר': להד' | והיה – להם | ר': והוא צווח וקורא | העיר | ה': עירו
- 2 [כזה] ה': ח' | תומהים | ה': ר' | תומהין | עוד | ר': ח' | אני | ה': ח' | שיתן | ה': ליתן
- 3 אחרת | ר': ח' | חשובה | ה': חשוב | מאד – זוכרה | ר': שלא תתחשב זאת נגדה מאומה | מאד | ה': מזאת | זן | ה': זאת | נחשבת למאומה | ה': חשובה לכלום
- 4 הזן | ה': הזאת; ר': (היו) | גאולת | ה': גאלת
- 7 מלך | ה': ח' | וצדקה | ר': לצדקה | תושע יהודה | ר': תושע יודא
- 8-9 צדקנו | ה': ר' | צדקני | מינים – הזמה | ר': פוקרים | אות | פסוק | על ישו | שנאמ' – זה | ה': כי אותו פסוק
- 9-10 עול | ה': של | תושע | ר': תושע | יהודה וגו' | ר': ח' | נושענו | ר': נושענו | וע"כ – מדבר | ר': ח' | וע"כ | ה': אלא
- 10-11 יאמר | ר': ב' | ענד | | מארץ מצרים | ר': וגו' | אשר #2 – הארצות | ר': וגו' | ועוד היכן נמצא שישו נקרא ה' צדקינו אל | לא עליו נאמר |
- 11-12 וזה #1 – אשר | ר': וכך הפי' כך | הפסוק | ה': ח' | י"י | ר': לה' | זה – יוסף | ר': כלומ' צדקינו בא אותו שהבטחתנו שנאמר | והקיימותי | לדוד צמח צדיק וזה יהיה שמו | זה שמו | ה': כלומ'
- 12 יקרא | ה': יקראו | יוסף | ה': הר"ר יוסף
- 15 בקרב הארץ | ר': בארץ | נקבה – גבר | ר': וגו' | נקבה | ר': ונקבה | ואומ' הפוקרים | ר': פוקרים | ואומ'
- 16 (בא) | ה': נאמר; ר': ח' | וכן – אחד | ר': ח' | לי | ה': ח' | אמרתי לו | ה': אל הר"ר יוסף והביש לו; ר': וי"ל | לדברייך קורא | ר': הו | קורא בת | ה': הבת | ואתם | ר': ואיך | כי בתולה | ר': שבתולה
- 17-18 הייתה | ה': היתה | ורש"י פי" | ה': ור' פי'; ר': ח' | תסובב | ה': ב' גבר תבקש; ר': (ושובבה) | ותסובב | כמון | ר': הו | לשון | | שתחזור – וגו' | ר': וחיפוש האשה מבקשת את האיש להיות נושא אותה | אשר ישאנה | ה': מי שיאשנה | כמו – תקראי וגו' | ה': ח'
- 18 ור' אברהם – לי | ר': ול | שון | | לי | ה': ח' | זהו | ה': זהו | שכת' | ר': שנבא
- 19 שבע | ר': ז' | באיש | ר': (בכנף איש) | ושמלתנו | ר': ושמלותינו
- 20 כך – יוסף | ה': ר': ח'
- 23 נאם | ה': ח' | יהודה | ר': יודא |
- 24 שעתיד | ר': שיש עתים | אך – שהרי | ר': וי"ל | אכרת | ר': אכרות | בית ישראל | ר': ב"י
- 25 בקרבם | ר': בקרבכם | ועל | ר': ב' | לוח | | אכתבנה | ר': אכתובנה

היה להם להביא הארון על כתף כדכת' ולבני קהת לא נתן מאומה כי עבודתם בכתף ישאו [ע"פ במדבר ז ט] ◌ [דף 22א] וכל היום נשאוהו הבקר' ועזא לא היה נושא ולכך נענש' וזהו שכת' ויכהו י"י שם על השל [ע"פ שם ז] על מה ששגג'

נח

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בטרם אצרך בבטן [ירמיה א ה] 'שאלני הגמון מוונש מהו (מהו) אשרי האיש [תהלים א א] 'היה לו לומ' האיש אשרי' לפי שהוא איש קודם שבא אילו האישור' אמרתי לו האישור בא לו קודם שנולד דכת' בטרם אצרך בבטן ידעתיך'

נט

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העבד ישראל אם יליד בית [ירמיה ב יד] 'גלח אחד אמ' לרבינו יחיאל מפריש אתם פסולים לעדות לפי שאתם משועבדים לנו ועבד פסול לעדות' אמרתי לו העבד ישראל אם יליד בית מדוע היה לבז [שם] 'ואתם תהיו לו לעם)''

ו

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[ואתם תהיו לי לעם] [ירמיה ז כג] 'שאל משומד אחד לה"ר נתן נ"ע' הנבואה הזאת היתה' או עתידה להיות' אמ' לו עתידה להיות' א"ל אינכם עכשיו עם השם' השיבו והיה י"י למלך על כל הארץ [זכריה יד ט] 'וכי עכשיו אינו מלך' כך פירש עכשיו אין הכל מודים שהוא מלך' אבל לעתיד יהיו הכל מודים שהוא מלך' כן עכשיו אין הכל מודים שאנו עם השם אבל לעתיד לבא יהיו הכל מודים שאנו עמו''

זא

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לא כאלה חלק יעקב [ירמיה י טז] 'שאל אפיקורוס לאבא מרי נ"ע' מהו כי חלק י"י עמו יעקב חבל נחלתו [דברים לב ט] 'השיבו מאי קשיא לך' א"ל דמה לחבל יעקב' סימן לג' דמיונות' השיבו' אמת הוא כי דמה יעקב לחבל לפי שיש בהם ג' משרתי עליון כהנים לויים וישראלים' אבל גבי הק' אין כתו' כן' אלא לא כאלה חלק יעקב כי יוצר הכל הוא (ושבט) [וישראל שבט] נחלתו י"י צבאות [שמון] [ירמיה י טז] 'ולכך אמ' שבט נחלתו ללמדך שאינו אלא אחד''

זב

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לא יאמר חי י"י אשר העלה [ע"פ ירמיה טז יד] 'שאל משומד אחד לה"ר נתן נ"ע' תורתכם נתנה לזמן או לעולמי עד' א"ל לעולמי עד' א"ל אינכם לא יאמר חי השם אשר העלה וגו' והלא כת' למען תזכר את יום צאתך מארץ [דברים

1 היה] ר': שהיה | להביא] ר': לשאת | הארון] ה': ארון | מאומה] ה': ח' | מאומה – עבודתם] ר': וגו' | עבודתם] ה': עבדת הקדש עליהם  
2 וכל – נושאן] ר': וגם היה לו להעלות על לב ושלא לשלוח ולחשוב שלא יניחוהו הק' לנפול וכיון שלא עשה | שם] ר': ח' | על מה] ר': פי' על  
6 בבטן] ר': ב' ידעתיך | שאלני – (מהו)] ר': מכאן יש להשיב מה ששאלו[ם] | שאלני] ה': שאל | מוונש] ה': ב' אל הר"ר יוסף | האיש#1] ר': ב' הלא האיש קודם האישור א"כ  
7 לפי – ידעתיך] ר': אבל כן משמע] שהאישור קודם] ש' בטרם כו' | קודם#1 – 1#] ה': האישור אל בא לו | דכת'] ה': כת'  
10-11 בית] ה', ר': ב' הוא | גלח – לנן] ר': פוקרי[ם] ואומ[רים] שאני פסולי[ם] שאני משועבדים להן | לרבינו] ה': אל הר"ר | מפריש] ה': ב' צ"ל  
11 אמרתי לו] ה': אמר לו; ר': וי"ל כך הפי[רוש] | היה] ר': (יהיה) | (ואתם – לעם)] ר': בתמיה[ה]  
14 שאל] ר': ואתם תהיו לי לעם שאל | אחד] ה': ח' | נ"ע] ה', ר': ח' | הנבואה] ר': הנחמה | הזאת] ר': ב' כבר |  
15 עתידה להיות] ה': הנבואה היתה | אינכם] ה': אינו | עכשיו#1 – השם] ה': עכשיו מלך; ר': עמו עכשיו | השיבו] ה': אבל השיבו; ר': השיבו לו וכת' | על כל] ר': ע"כ | הארץ] ר': ב' וגו' | וכי – מלך] ה': ח' | מלך] ר': ב' אלא  
16-17 מלך] ה': עמו; ר': ח' | אבל#1 – השם] ה': ח' | עם] ר': עמו  
17 השם] ר': ח' | לבא] ר': ח' | שאנו עמו] ר': ח'  
20 יעקב#1] ה': ח' | שאל אפיקורוס] ר': נשאל | לאבא מרי נ"ע] ה', ר': לה"ר נתן  
21 קשיא לך] ה': השאילך | א"ל] ר': ב' לכך | לחבל#1] ה': חלק | יעקב] ר': ח' | סימן] ה': ח'; ר': לסימן | לג] ר': ג' | דמיונות] ר': ב' שהם הכל אחד | דמה#2] ה': ב' חלק | לחבל#2] ר': שהו[א] משולש  
22 ג] ה': ח' | משרתי] ר': שרתי (שרתיים) | לויים וישראלים] ר': לויים ישראלים[ם] | גבין] ר': לגבי | הק'] ה': הקב"ה | כתו'] ר': כתי' | הכל] ה': ח'  
23 נחלתו#2] ר': ח'  
26 יאמר] ר': ב' עוד | העלה] ר': ב' כיו וגו' | לה"ר] ה': אל הר"ר | נ"ע] ה', ר': ח'  
27 א"כ] ה': אם כן; ר': ח' | מהו] ר': ב' שכתו' | יאמר] ר': ב' עוד | השם] ה': י"י; ר': ה' | וגו' והלא] ר': ח' | כת'] ר': והכתי' | מארץ] ה': ח' | ר': מא'

נג

שפטים מינים מונין אותנו שאנו נושאים בת אח ובת אחות וה"ר נתן השיב כי כן מצינו גבי עתניאל בן קנז שנתן לו כלב אחיו עכסה בתו לאשה

נד

מנשים באהל תבורך יעל [שופטים ה כד] שאלני [דף 21ב] הגמון מוונש היאך היה מברך יעל והיא עשתה נבלה שלא כהוגן להרג סיסרא שהיה בורח אליה וקבלתו בשלום השבתי כהוגן עשתה שהרגתו כי שלום היה בין יבין ובין חבר הקיני ואותו הנבל סיסרא ברח אליה והיא [קבלתי] [קבלתו] בשלום והוא עשה נבלה שאנסה אחרי כן בהיותו אחרי כן עמה לבטח כדכת' בין רגליה כרע [שם שם כז] וגו' לכך מברכה

נו

שמואל פוקרים ממה שהעלתה בעלת [אוב] את שמואל ואם לא היה בגיהנם היאך היתה יכולה להעלותו והשיב ה"ר יוסף מקרטש אחי אם אבא מרי נ"ע אם כדבריתם היאך אמ' לשאול למה הרגתני [לעלות] [להעלות] [ע"פ ש"א כח טו] הלא היה טוב לו לצאת מגיהנם כדי למצא מעט ק[ו]ן[רת רוח] וכן השבתי לחובל אחד בעיר דורא ופקר וכי יש כח לשד להכנס בגן עדן כדי להביא משם צדיק אחד להוציאו מהנאתו אמרתי לו וכי תעלה על דעתך שיש כח ביד השד להעמיד המת ולתת דבור בפיו א"ל לא אמרתי לו והיאך יכל בעל אוב לעשות כל זה אלא מאי אית לך למימר על ידי שם עושין כן לכך העלתה שמואל שהיה בגן עדן על ידי השם שהוא שליט בכל א"ל והלא כת' מחר אתה ובניך עמי [שם כח יט] כך אמ' שמואל לשאול ושאל היה רשע שסרח כמה פעמים אמרתי לו חלילה חלילה אך צדיק גמור היה כמו שכת' ולו היה בן ושמו שאול בחור וטוב ואין איש מבני ישראל [בחור וטוב ממנו] [שם ט ב] אבל סרח כי אין אדם שלא יחטא ולפיכך פגעה בו מדת הדין ולקח הוא ובניו ואחרי אשר לקח נתכפר לו ונעשה צדיק ולכך א"ל שמואל מחר [אתה] ובניך עמי לאחר שתנקה תהיה עמי בגן עדן

נז

על כן קרא למקום ההוא פרץ עזא [ש"ב ו ח] שאלני כומר אחד מפני מה הרג את עזא אמרתי לו אתה מה אתה אומ' א"ל לפי שהיה הארון בבית עובד אדום הגיתי אביו ועזא שמש עם אשתו לילה ולכך נענש ולפיכך אשה עצורה לנו אמרתי לו אם כדברך היאך היה במחנה והלא בעל קרי טמא ואיך היה בתוך הקהל אלא לא היה בשביל כך אלא

- 2 מינים – אותנו] ר': על שפוקרי[ם] | בת#1 – אחות] ר': בן אח ובן אחות | וה"ר] ה': וה"ר | גבי] ר': י"ל | כ"ן] ה': (כך כי) | עתניאל] ר': מעתניאל
- 6-7 יעל#1] ה': ר': ח' | שאלני – היאך] ר': פוקרי[ם] לומ' | שאלני] ה': שאל | מוונש] ה': ב' אל הר"ר יוסף בן הר"ר נתן | היה – יעל#2] ר': בירך אותה והלא | והיא] ר': היא | נבלה] ה': ח'; ר': נבלות | שלא כהוגן] ר': והסיד זבולה (?)
- 7 להרג] ה': ב' את | ר': להרוג | אליה] ר': ב' לעזרה בטח אליה | השבתי] ה': והשיב; ר': י"ל | ובין] ר': ב' בית
- 8-9 ואותו הנבל] ר': ח' | ברח] ר': גם | והיא] ר': והיה | (קבלתי)] ה', ר': קבלתו | והוא – כדכת'] ר': ובהיותו עמה לבטח זונה לא תמה דכת' | אחרי#1 – עמה] ה': בה יותר עמו
- 9 כרע] ה': ב' נפל; ר': לו נפל | וגו'] ה': ח' | הלך מברכה] ר': ולכך בירך אותה
- 12-13 פוקרים] ה': ח' | ממה] ר': על | בעלת] ה', ר': ב' אוב | שמואל#2] ר': לשמואל ואו[מרי]ם] | היאך] ר': איך | היתה] ה', ר': ח' | והשיב – נ"ע] ר': וי"ל | ה"ר] ה': הר' ר'
- 13 אבא – נ"ע] ה': הר"ר נתן | אם#2 – היאך] ר': ולי(טעמיק למה | אמ'] ר': ב' שמואל] | למה] ר': ח'
- 14 הלא – לצאת] ר': היה לו להחזיק טובה על שהוציא[הו]ן | טוב] ה': נאה | כדי למצא] ר': להיו[ת] לו | קרת] ה', ר': קורת | וכן – ופקר] ר': ואם יאמר המין | השבתי] ה': השיב הר"ר יוסף | יש] ה': לו | כח] ה': ב' ה'
- 15 לשד להכנס] ה', ר': ביד השד ליכנס | משם – אחד] ר': צדיק אחד] משם | להוציאו מהנאתו] ר': ח' | אמרתי לו] ה': א"ל; ר': י"ל
- 16 להעמיד] ר': להעלות | המת] ר': ב' מיד | בפיו] ר': בתוך פיו | א"ל – זה] ר': כמ[ו]ן] שעשת[ה] בעלת אוב | על ידי] ר': ע"י
- 17 עושין] ר': עושים | לכך – שהוא] ר': שהשם | בכל] ר': ב' ובו העלת[ה] שמואל] | א"ל] ר': ואם יאמ[ר] | מחר] ר': ומחר
- 18 כמה] ר': ה' | אמרתי לו] ה': א"ל; ר': י"ל | חלילה#2] ה', ר': ח' | אך] ה': אכן
- 19 כמו שכת'] ה': כמו שני; ר': דכתיב בשאול | ולא – שאול] ר': ח' | ולו] ה': (ולא) ואין – ממנו] ר': ח' | ממנו] ה': (כמוהו)
- 20 שלא] ה', ר': אשר לא | ולפיכך פגעה] ר': ולכך פגע | ואחרי – לקח] ר': ובכן | א"ל] ר': א[מ]ר] מחר] ר': ומחר | מחר] ה', ר': ב' אתה
- 21 עמין] ה': ב' כלומ'; ר': ב' במחיצתי [ע' בבלי ברכות יב ב] כלומ' | בגן עדן] ה', ר': בג"ע
- 24-25 עזא] ר': עזא | שאלני – א"ל] ה': פוקרי[ם] לומ' | שאלני] ה': שאל | אחד] ה': ב' לה"ר ר' יוסף | אומ'] ה': או'
- 25 עם אשתו] ה': מיטתו; ר': את אשתו | לילה] ה': הלילה | ולכך] ר': לכך
- 26 אמרתי לו] ה', ר': א"ל | אם כדברך] ר': ולי(טעמיק | והלא] ר': הלא | טמא] ה': היה | בתוך הקהל] ר': בקהל | לא – אלא#2] ר': שקרי דברך אך בשביל

[נביאים]

נצבים 'אומרים כי אבד ממנו סבר אם לא נאמין בהבליהם' השיב להם ה"ר נתן דכת' אחרי תוכחות אחרונות 'והיה כי יבאו אליך (את) [כל] הדברים האלא את הברכה והקללה אשר נתתי לפניך והשבות אל לבבך(י) בכל הגוים אשר הדיחך י"י אלהיך שמה : ושבת עד י"י אלהיך [ושמעת בקלון] ככל אשר אנכי מצוך היום [ע"פ דברים ל א-ב] לא נאמ' ככל אשר אצוך 'אלא אשר אנכי מצוך היום לומ' שאין אנו בגלות אלא לפי שלא קיימנו התורה שנתנה בסיני שצונו אז 'לאפוקי מה שאתם אומ' שנתן תורה חדשה 'וכשנחזור לקיימה כראוי 'ראה מה כתו' ושב י"י אלהיך את שבותך ורחמך [דברים ל ג] וגו' "

האזינו 'הם קנאוני בלא אל כעסוני [דברים לב כא] וגו' 'אח גרין יש"ו נתוכח עם ה"ר נתן א"ל לפי רשעכם וגריעותכם אתם משועבדים לנו לפי שאנו חשובים מכם' השיבו כך מדתו של הק' שהוא נפרע מדה במדה 'הכעסוהו בגרוע ממנו 'וכן עשה לנו 'שנ' הם קנאוני בלא אל כעסוני בהבליהם ואני אקניאם בלא עם בגוי נבל אכעיסם [שם] 'ואם היה גוי נבל יותר מכם היה משעבד אותנו תחת ידן "

ברכה 'ולא קם נביא עוד [בישראל] כמשה אשר ידעו אלהים פנים אל פנים [ע"פ דברים לד י] 'שאל אפיקורוס לה"ר נתן 'והלא כת' כי לא יראני האדם וחי [שמות לג כ] 'השיב 'אלהים ידע משה פנים אל פנים 'אבל משה לא ידעו פנים אל פנים "

**כלו תשובות המינין מן החומש 'אחל תשובות של נביאים**

- 2 אומרים – בהבליהם] ר': על שאומ' תורה חדשה נשן ישו ואם לא נאמין אוד[ותיה] נאבד | ממנו סבר] ה': סברנו | השיב – נתן] ר': יש להשיב | אחרונות] ר': האחרונות
- 3 אליך] ה': עליו; ר': עליך | (את)] ר': כל | אשר – לפניך] ה': ח' | לפניך] ר': לך כו' | לבבך] ה': לבבך
- 3-6 והשבות – היום] ר': ח'
- 4 אלהיך#2] ה': נ' ושמעת בקלו
- 5 לפי שלא קיימנו] ר': משו[ם] שאין מקיימי[ן] | שנתנה – אז] ה': שצוה לנו על ידי משה; ר': בסיני
- 6 לאפוקי – חדשה] ר': ח' | לקיימה] ה': לקיימה; ר': לקיימם | כתו] ר': כת' על זה
- 7 וגו'] ה': גו'; ר': ח'
- 10-11 כעסוני] ר': נ' בהבליהם | וגו'] ה': ח' | גרין] ה': גרין | וגו' – מכם] ר': על זה הם פוקרי[ם] לומ' משועבדי[ם] תחת ידם בשביל אות[ו] שקר | יש"ו] ה': ח' "ה"ר] ה': הר"ר | א"ל] ה': וא"ל
- 11 השיבו – במדה] ר': י"ל להם ודאי כך הי[ה] מדתו של הקב"ה לפרוע מדה במד[ה], אנו | מדתו] ה': נ' (מדתו)
- 12-13 שנ' – ידן] ר': הכעסוהו בעגל שהוא הבל וכלה והוא שיעבדנו תחת אומ[ה] שאין נבלה יותר (בימנה) [מימנה] ואינו עם ולפי שמאמיני[ם] במאמ[ר] אדם
- 13 ידן] ה': ידו
- 16-17 עוד] ה', ר': נ' בישר[אל] | אלהים] ה': ח'; ר': ה' | שאל – כת'] ר': פוקרי[ם] הכת' | לה"ר] ה': אל הר"ר
- 17 השיב] ה': א"ל; ר': וי"ל הם | אלהים] ר': ח' | משה] ה': למשה; ר': את משה
- 18 פנים] ה': נ' ומה שכת' ותמונת י"י ביט' [במדבר יב ח] זה מראה אחרים הז"ק; ר': נ' ולא ידע יש את קבורתו א"כ ראו שגדול משה רבי[נו] מישו כי כל העולם יודע קבורתו ובשל משה לא ידע איכן. סליק, לא מצאתי יותר לא תשובה ולא פשר בשם הגדול והנאמן. אחל לכתוב תשובות המקרא
- 20 כלו – נביאים] ה', ר': ח'

5 כנפשו ׀ מה עשה ׀ צוה לפיסטור שלא יאכיל את בנו אלא מתבשילו ׀ כך אמ' הקב"ה לישראל אל תאכלו אלא ממה שתקריבו לפני כמותו ׀ וזש"ה שור או כשב וא עז [ויקרא יז ג] וגו' ׀ והקשה לי הגלח אם כן והא אתם אוכלים איל וצבי ויחמור [דברים יד ה] ׀ שאין אתם מקריבין מהם ׀ והשבתי לו טעם גדול יש בדבר לפי שלא רצה הקב"ה להטריח את בניו לא צוה להם להקריב שום חיה וזה שאמר הכתוב במיכה המרשתי עמי מה עשיתי לך ומה הלאיתיך ענה בי [מיכה ו ג] ׀ כי לא צויתך להטריחך ולרדוףך אחר צבי או אחר (אחד) [איל] אלא אחר שור וכבש ועז בעדריך הקריבהו אליך

#### מח

10 שפטים ׀ נביא אקים (לך) [להם] מקרב אחיהם כמוך [דברים יח יח] ׀ ופוקרים לומ' שהוא היה הנוצרי ׀ ועליו נבא משה ׀ אוי להם כי גמלו להם [רעה] [ע' ישעיה ג ט] כי הפסוק אומ' כמוך א"כ לא היה אלהים ובעל התשובות פי' פקרו נביא מקרבך מאחריך כמוני יקים [שם יח טו] ׀ פי' יצא ממות לחיים ׀ ולפי הלשון רשוציטיר ׀ והוא הנוצרי ׀ ולכך אתם משועבדים דכת' אנכי אדרש [שם יח יט] והנה פיהם דבר שוא מכמה דברים ׀ האחד וכי נוצרי נביא היה והלא אלוה הוא לדבריהם ׀ ועוד הלא כתו' כמוני ׀ אם כן נולד מאיש ומאשה ׀ ומשה היה גדול ממנו דכת' ולא עוד נביא כמשה [ע"פ דברים לד י] ׀ וא"ת עד אותו זמן הרי כתיב עוד ׀

#### מט

15 תצא ׀ לא תשיך לאחריך נשך [דברים כג כ] ׀ מוכחים אותנו על הרבית ׀ לפי שאמ' דוד במזמור ט"ו כספו לא נתן בנשך [תהלים טו ה] ׀ וכת עושה אלה לא ימוט [שם] ׀ תשובה דוד המלך תלמידו של משה היה ואין לו כח לחלוק על רבו ולהוסיף ולגרוע על דבריו ומשה רבינו אמ' לנכרי תשיך ולאחריך לא תשיך [דברים כג כא] ואם יאמרו הממרים שהם אחינו לפי שכת' לא תתעב אדומי כי אחיך הוא [שם שם ח] ׀ השיב הר"ר משה מפריש הלא עובדיה הסיר האחוה שאמ' ונכרים באו שערוי גם אתה כאחד מהם [עובדיה א א] ׀ והוא היה מדבר אל אדום שכתו' בתחלת הספר שמועה שמענו לאדום [ע"פ שם א א] ובסוף שפטים בפלגש בגבעה כתיב [דף 21א] לא נסור אל עיר נכרי אשר לא מישר[אל] המה [ע"פ שופטים יט יב] ׀ ואף לאחר שנ[ת]גיירו לא יבאו בקהל עד דור שלישי ׀ מדור ראשון [לא] יכולים לבא בקהל ׀ (זה אינו כלום) ׀ אמנם אתם מלויים בריבית גדול כור בכוריים ומאריכים זמן לקונה סחורתם בעבור פרעון ונוטלין שכר המתנת מעות ׀

- 1-5 כנפשו – אלין ר': ח' | מה עשה] ה': ח' | לפיסטור] ה': ח'
- 2 או – וגו' ה': שה בכבשים ושה עדים | והא – אוכלים] ה': לא תאכלו
- 3 והשבתי] ה': והשיב
- 4 לא – חיה] ה': לרדוף אחר חיה דבר שאינו מצוי | הכתוב] ה': ח' | ענה בי] ה': ח'
- 5 כי] ה': פ'רוש] כי | אחר (אחד)] ה': או איל
- 8 אקים לך] ה': (אלהים) | (לך)] ר': להם | פוקרים] ר': ופוקרים] | שהוא היה] ה': זה | נבא] ר': נבא
- 9 אוי – אלהים] ר': וי"ל מדכת' כמוך משמע בן אדם | ובעל – פקרו] ר': עו[ד] פוקרים] על שאמ' משה לישראל
- 10-11 כמוני] ר': ח' | פי'] ה': ורוצה לומר | ולפי – רשוציטיר] ר': ח' | רשוציטיר] ה': רשציטיר | ולכך – משועבדים] ר': וכת' אחרי כן | אדרש] ה': נ' מעמו; ר': אדרוש מעמו סופי תיבו[ת] ישו ולכך אנו משועבדים וי"ל כי
- 11-12 והנה] ר': ח' | דברים] ר': טעמים | האחד] ר': חדא | נוצרי] ר': ח' | והלא – לדבריהם] ר': לדבריהם] הי[ה] אלוה
- 12 הלא כתו'] ר': מדכת' | אם כן] ר': משמ[ע] | ומאשה] ר': ואשה כמשה | ומשה – כמשה] ר': וכת' ולא קם נביא] עוד כמשה א"כ משמ[ע]
- דמשה היה גדול ממנו | עוד – כמשה] ה': קם נביא בישר[אל] כמשה
- 13 הרי כתיב] ר': והכתיב | עוד] ר': נ' וא"ת לא יקום לא נאמר אלא ולא קם; י"ל לכך נאמר כמוך שגלוי וידוע לפני הק' שיטעו אומה בדבר לכך אמר כמוך. מה אתה, אדם ולא אלהים? אף הוא אדם ולא אלהים.
- 16 תצא] ר': נ' למען יטב לך והארכת ימי[ם] עיין פרש[ת] עקב | לאחריך נשך] ה': אחריך; ר': לאחריך עיין בסימ[ון] מ'
- 16-18 מוכחים – לא תשיך] ר': ח'
- 17 לחלוק] ה': ח' | רבן] ה': נ' ולא
- 18 הממרים] ה': ח'; ר': הגוי[ם]
- 19 שכת] ר': שנ[א]מר] | השיב – הלא] ר': י"ל
- 20-21 שאמ'] ר': שנ[א]מר] | שערין] ר': נ' וכו' | מהם] ה': נ' ועל אדום | הוא] ה': ח' | אל – שכתו'] ה': דכת' | שמועה – לאדום] ר': כה אמ[ר]
- ה' אלהים לאדו[ם] | שמועה] ה': שמוע
- 21 בפלגש] ה', ר': גבי פלגש | מישר] ר': מבני ישר[אל]
- 22-23 ואף – גדול] ר': ח' | ראשון] ר': נ' ושיני | יכולים] ר': לא יוכלו
- 23 אמנם – גדול] ר': א"כ הם נכרי[ם]; על כל זה הם לוקחים] ר' רבית גדול משאנו לוקחים] [שם מלויים | גדול] ה': ח' | סחורתם] ר': הסחורה בעבור פרעון] ה': ח'; ר': בעבור הפירעון

למען תחיון וירשתם ולמען (ת) [אריכון ימיר] [ע"פ דברים ח א; ה טז] פוקרים שלא אמ' הק' לתת לנו שכר טוב לעולם הבא בקיום המצות כי אם למען תחיון למען (ת) [אריכון ימיר] וכן למען ייטב לך והארכת ימים [שם בכ ז] שזהו שכר בעולם הזה אבל מטוב העולם הבא לא נדר כלום אמרתי לו א"כ לדברך אין לנו פורענות מעבירות לעולם הבא שלא (גיזם) [גזר] עלינו אלא מגלות כמו שנ' ואבדתם מהרה מעל הארץ הטובה [שם יא יז] וכיוצא בו וכבר שאלני גלח אחד בטריט מה נדר אלהיכם כדי לקיים התורה אמרתי לו בתנאי התורה כשבאו לפני הר סיני התנה לנו הקב"ה לתת לנו אהבתו דכתי' והייתם לי סגולה מכל העמים [שמות יט ה] ובזה שייך כל טוב העולמים ועל זה נאמר עין לא ראתה אלהים זולתך יעשה למחכה לו [ישעיהו סד ה] א"ל א"כ למה נאמר למען יברכך למען יאריכון ימיר וכיוצא בהן אמרתי לו משל לקיסר שהיה לו עבד חשוב והיה אוכל על שולחנו תמיד וניזון ומתפרנס משל הקיסר ורוכב על סוסיו פעם אחת הוצרך לשלחו למרחק א"ל לך בזריזות ואני אתן לך סוס נאה ואע"פ שהיה מסתפק הכל משלו נדר לו סוס כדי לזרזו כך אע"פ שנדר לנו אהבתו אצל מצוה אחת נודר טובה ואריכות ימים ומכל מקום רב טוב צפן לנו

ראה ואת החזיר כי מפריס [דברים יד ח] שאלני גלח אחד והיה רואה לפניו חתיכת של חזיר צלויה אמ' לי מה הפסד יש לאלהיכם אם הייתם אוכלים חזיר אמרתי לו מעשה היה שנתערב יהודי אחד עם חבריו שלא תמרה אשתו את פיו הלכו אליה א"ל בעלה הסירי צעיפק מעליך ותעש כן אמ' לה קראי לך החתול וסימי אותו על ברכיך ותעש כן קשרי אתו בצעיפק [דף 20ב] ותעש כן אם היה אומ' לה לכי שברי לנו אוכל לרעבון בתינו זה היה דבר הגון ואם היתה עושה צויו בכך לא היתה אהבתה נכרת אבל כשאמ' לה דברי תהו ותימהון והיא היתה עושה בדבר זה נכר שהיא היתה אוהבתו כך כשצוה לנו אלהינו אדוננו אוהבינו לא תרצח לא תנאף לא תגנוב וכיוצא בהם ואנו מקיימין דין הוא ובכך לא נודעה אהבתינו אשר לנו אל בוראינו אבל כשצוה לנו לבלתי אכל חזיר ומצות כיוצא בו שבני אדם תומהין עליהן ואומ' מה תועלת יש בכך כשאנו מקיימין אותן בזאת נודעה אהבתינו לבוראינו ועל זה נאמר י"י צדיק יבחן [תהלים יא ה]

{ואני הצעיר השבתי לגלח אחד ממונקלביט אמשל לך משל למה הדבר [דומה] למלך שהיה לו בן והיה אוהב אותו

- 2 תחיון וירשתם] ר"ל: (תחיון וירשת) | פוקרים] ר"ל: על | הק'] ה"ל: הקב"ה; ר"ל: ח' | טוב] ה"ל: ח'
- 3 בקיום] ר"ל: בקיום | למען#1] ימיר] ר"ל: חיינים] ואורך ימים | ייטב] ר"ל: ייטב | שזהו] ר"ל: הוא
- 4 אבל מטוב] ר"ל: ומשכר | אמרתי לו] ה"ל: א"ל הר"ר יוסף; ר"ל: י"ל | מעבירות] ה"ל: מעברות
- 5 גיזם] ה"ל: גזר | אלא] ר"ל: כ"א | מגלות] ה"ל: גלות | מעל - הטובה] ר"ל: ח' | הטובה] ה"ל: הטבה | בו] ר"ל: בה | שאלני] ה"ל: שאל
- 6 אחד] ר"ל: ח' | בטריט] ה"ל: בטרייש לה"ר יוסף נ"ע; ר"ל: ח' | אלהיכם] ר"ל: הק' לאבותיכם] | אמרתי - התורה] ר"ל: השיב המשיב | לנו] ר"ל: ח'
- 7 דכתי'] ר"ל: דכתי' | סגולה] ה"ל: סגלה | העולמים] ר"ל: ב' העולמינים] | ועל] ה"ל: על
- 8-9 למחכה] ר"ל: למחכינים] | א"כ] ר"ל: ח' | למען#1] ר"ל: ח' | אמרתי לו] ה"ל: ח'; ר"ל: א"ל
- 9 וניזון] ר"ל: וניזון |
- 10 למרחק] ה"ל: למרחוק; ר"ל: מרחוק | ואע"פ - סוס] ר"ל: ח' | מסתפק - משלו] ה"ל: מתפרנס משלו הכל מ"מ | סוס] ה"ל: נאה
- 11 כך] ר"ל: כן | לנו] ר"ל: נ' | הק' | אהבתו] ר"ל: נ' | בקיום כל מצות | נודר] ר"ל: נדר | צפון] ה"ל: צפון; ר"ל: וצפון | לנו] ר"ל: א(ז) לינו
- 14 כי מפריס] ר"ל: ח' | מפריס] ה"ל: נ' | פרסה | שאלני] ה"ל: שאל | ח' | והיה רואה] ה"ל: ראה | של חזיר] ה"ל: בשר | אמ' לי] ה"ל: א"ל
- 15 יש] ר"ל: היה | הייתם אוכלים] ר"ל: אכלתם | חזיר] ר"ל: נ' | כמונו | אמרתי לו] ה"ל: א"ל; ר"ל: והשיב המשיב] | יהודי] ר"ל: יודי | חבריו] ה"ל: חברו | שלא - אשתו] ה"ל: של תמוה אשתו שלא תשנה | שלא תמרה] ר"ל: והיו ממירין יחד
- 16 הסירי - לה] ר"ל: ח' | מעליך] ה"ל: ח' | לך] ה"ל: ח' | החתול] ר"ל: נ' | ותעש כן, אמר לה | וסימי אותו] ר"ל: סימי | ברכיך] ה"ל: ברכך | כן#2] ה"ל: ר"ל: נ' | אמר לה
- 17-18 אתו] ה"ל: ר"ל: אותו | בצעיפק] ר"ל: בצעיפק | אמ היה אומ'] ר"ל: ואם אמר | אוכל] ה"ל: אכל | זה] ר"ל: זהה | דבר] ה"ל: טוב ודבר | ואם - עושה] ר"ל: ועשתה
- 18-19 צויון] ר"ל: הציוני | היתה#1] ר"ל: נ' | בכך] | אהבתה] ר"ל: אהבה | תהו] ר"ל: הבלי' ורוחני (?) | היתה עושה] ר"ל: עושה] | עושה#2] ה"ל: ח' | זה] ה"ל: ח' | שהיא היתה] ה"ל: שהיא; ר"ל: כי
- 19 כשצוה לנו] ר"ל: כשאמ' | אלהינו - אוהבינו] ה"ל: ח'; ר"ל: ח' | הק' | בהם] ה"ל: בהן | בהם] ה"ל: נ' | שבני אדם תומהין עליהן; ר"ל: נ' | שהיתה] לטובותיה' | אם נקיימם
- 20 ובכך] ה"ל: בכך; ר"ל: בזה נודעה] ר"ל: נודע | אשר לנו] ה"ל: ח' | אל בוראינו] ר"ל: לבוראינו | אכל] ר"ל: אכול | וחזיר] ר"ל: נ' | ציצית ותפילין ושעטנ"ז | ומצות] ה"ל: ר"ל: ח' | כיוצא בו] ר"ל: וכיוצא בהן
- 21 עליהן] ר"ל: עליהם | כשאנו - אותן] ר"ל: כשנקימם | בזאת נודעה] ר"ל: בהנים] ניכר | לבוראינו] ה"ל: אל בוראינו; ר"ל: לק'
- 24 ואני - אותן] ר"ל: ח' | ואני - ממונקלביט] ה"ל: והר"ר אשר בן הר"ר נתן ז"ל השיב לגלח ממונקניט | למה הדבר] ה"ל: ח' | אוהב אותן] ה"ל: אוהבו



השיב א"כ זהו שכת' עוה עוה עוה [יחזקאל כא לב] כנגד שלשה הדמיונות' עוד יש לומר שזהו דרך הפסוק ארץ ארץ ארץ [ירמיהו כב כט] היכל י"י (הוכל) [היכל] י"י היכל י"י המה [ירמיהו ז ד] אמנם זה אינו דומה לאחד מאלה שכך הוא נשמע' שמע ישראל כך היה אומר (את הירדן) משה לישראל' כמו שמע ישראל אתה עובר [היום] את הירדן [דברים ט א] וכך אמ' משה שמע אלי עם ישראל י"י הוא אלהינו' ואתו שהוא אלהינו י"י הוא אחד' אינו משלשה דמיונות' וכן הוא אומר' והיה י"י למלך על כל הארץ ביום ההוא יהיה י"י אחד ושמו אחד [זכריה יד ט] הוא יהיה אחד שלא יאמר שיש בו ג' דמיונות' ושמו יהיה אחד שלא יקרא כמו שמכנים אותו' יוסף'

#### מג

ובתים מלאים כל טוב [דברים ו יא] שאלני מין אחד' אתם אומר' בתים מלאים כל טוב כתלי דחזירי והלא הזהיר אתכם על החזיר' אמרתי ודאי מותר היה במלחמת שבעה עממים' שאם אי אתה אומר' כן מפני מה המתין להודיע דיני הגעלה עד מלחמת מדין וכבר קדמוה מלחמת סיחן ועוג ולא הזהיר על הגעלה' לפי שהיו משבעת עממים

#### מד

לא מרבכם חשק [ע"פ דברים ז ז] שאלני גלח אחד מאיטנפש' וכי סבורים אתם שכל העולם יאבד מן העולם' ואתם מעוטי עמים תזכו לחי העולם הבא' אמרתי לו הרי כבר נאמר לא מרבכם חשק י"י בכם כי אתם המעט [ע"פ שם]

#### מה

עקב' בעת ההיא אמר י"י אלי פסל לך שני לחות אבנים [דברים י א] פוקרים לומר שנשתברו הלחות ושוב לא מצינו שניתנה תורה לישראל' ושקר הם דוברים שמעולם לא נאבדה התורה' אם נשתברו הלחות שבהם עשרת הדברים לא הפסידו ישראל כלום שהרי כשנתנה להם התורה נתנה להם בלא כתב' אבל משה נעשה שליח להביא להם הכתב על הלחות' להגות בו ואפילו לא באו להם הלחות היתה התורה שלהם אבל לפי שהיו כתובים באצבע אלהים וישראל היו מגואלים בעון העגל שברם משה [דף 20א] שלא היו ראויים לכך' אבל כשמחל להם הק' צוה למשה לפסל להם אחרות לכתב דוקא מה שהיה בראשונות' אבל התורה לא היה צריכה להנתן עוד להם' גם הלחות (גם הלחה) לא שברם הק' אלא משה שברם מעצמו' ולכך כת' אשר שברת שלא נצטוו בכך' יוסף'

- 1 השיב ה' ח' | ר' ב' ה"ר נתן ולטעמך | זהו ר' ח' | עוה#3 | ה' ב' אשימנה | שלשה הדמיונות | ר' הג' דמיונות | עוד – שזהו ר' ארץ הפסוק | ר' המקרא כך כמ[ו]
- 2 (הוכל) ה' ר' היכל | מאלה | ר' מאילו | הוא
- 3 נשמע | ר' משמע | היה אומר | ר' אמ' | (את הירדן) | ה' ר' ח' | עובר | ה' ר' ב' היום
- 4-5 אלי – אומר' ה' ישראל; ירושלמי: עדיין אומרים לאבינו (שבמערה) [שבשמים] י"י שהוא עתה אלהינו, עתיד להיות שיהיה י"י אחד שיאמינו בו הכל | אלהינו#1 | ר' ב' י"י אחד | י"י הוא אחד | ר' הוא יחיד | אינו משלשה | ר' אינו מג' | וכן הוא אומר' ה' ר' וכן
- 5-6 הוא – יוסף | ה' שלא ימרו ג' דמיונות | הוא – בן | ר' יחיד ולא
- 6 ושמו – יוסף | ר' וגם שמ[ו] אח[ד] שלא יהו מכני[ם] אותו האומות
- 9 טוב | ר' אשר לא מלאת | שאלני | ה' שאל מין אחד להר"ר יוסף בה"ר נתן; ר' שאל | בתים – טוב#2 | ה' אפילו | בתים מלאים | ר' ח' טוב#2 | ר' ב' אלו
- 10 אמרתי | ה' א"ל; ר' השיב | ודאי – היה | ר' נהי[ה] מותר | הוא | היה | ה' הוא | שבעה | ר' ז'
- 11 קדמוה | ה' קדמו | הגעלה | ה' ב' אלא | שהיו | ה' שהוא | משבעת | ה' משבעה; ר' מז'
- 14 שאלני – מאיטנפש | ר' זו זשוב[ה] על זשאומ[רים] לנו | שאלני | ה' שאל | מאיטנפש | ה' מאטנפש אל הר"ר יוסף בן הר"ר נתן | יאבד - העולם | ה' ילך לאבד(י); ר' זרוב העולם יאבד |
- 15 אמרתי – המעט | ר' ח' | אמרתי לו | ה' א"ל
- 18 לחות | ר' לחות | אבנים | ה' ב' כראשני[ם] | הלחות | ה' ר' הלחות
- 19 שניתנה | ר' שנתנה | ושקר – שמעולם | וי"ל מ[כל] מ[קום] | התורה | ה' תורה | הלחות | ה' ר' הלחות | שבהם | ר' שבהם היו כתובי[ם]
- עשרת הדברים | ר' י' דברות
- 20 להם התורה | ה' ר' התורה להם | להם#2 | ה' ר' ח' | נעשה שליח | ר' עובר שמח
- 21 להם הלחות | ר' הלחות | עליה[ם]
- 22 מגואלים | ר' (מגועלים) | שברם | ר' שבר אות' | הק' | ה' הקב"ה | לפסל | ר' (לפסול) | להם#2 | ר' ח'
- 23 לכתב | ר' ולכתב | דוקא | ר' דוקא | להנתן | ר' לינתן | הלחות | ר' ב' ששבר | (גם הלחה) | ה' ר' ח' | שברם | ר' שבר | הק' | ה' הקב"ה
- 24 שברם | ר' ח' | שברת | ר' ב' כלומ' | נצטוו בכך | ר' נצטוו לשברם | יוסף | ה' ר' ח'

הנשים אמר ה"ר נתן מעלות רוחך אני ידעתיה כי פוקר אתה על שכת' ועל דמות הכסא דמות [כ]מראה אדם מלמעלה [ע] יחזקאל א כז] זה פתרו' ועל דמות הכסא יש דמות אחד ולא פי' מי הוא כמראה אדם הדמות היה גבוה כמו שאדם יכל להסתכל למעלה בגובה אבל לא היה יודע איזה דמות היה והטעם מוכיח שטעם דמות ברבע לומר שהוא עומד"

#### מ

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כל הורג נפש וכל נוגע בחלל [במדבר לא יט] שאל קונצלייר מפריש יש"ו מה זה שהחמיר הכתו' בטומאת מת וכן בכלי חרש פתוח אשר אין צמיד פתיל עליו [ע"פ במדבר יט טו] אם יש כאן כלי חרש חדש בזוית אחת מן הבית (מות) [ומת] בזוית אחרת איזה גועל ואיזו טינוף שייך בו השיב לו אחי ר' יוסף הקדוש ר' אליהו הקב"ה מגיד מראשית אחרית מה שעתיד להיות וגלוי לפניו שעתידה אומה אחת לבא שתהא אומרת שקבל עליו מיתה לפיכך החמיר בטומאתה להודיע לכל שהוא מואס בה יותר מדבר אחר שאפילו כלי חרש שנטמא באהל טעון שבירה וכל דבר אחר טעון הזאה שלישי ושביעי"

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#### מא

דברים אוכל בכסף תשבירני [דברים ב כח] גלח המלכה אמ' לה"ר נתן נ"ע כי התלוי בא מדוד השיב לו א"כ לא היה ראוי לבא בקהל דכת' לא יבא עמוני ומואבי בקהל י"י [דברים כד ד] ודוד בא מרות המואביה הלך אותו ושאל ליהודי אחד היאך הומלך דוד וכתב כל העניין כמו שהיא ביבמות על דבר אשר לא קדמו בלחם ובמים ואיש דרכו לקדם ואשה אין דרכה לקדם לכך לא נפסל[ו] רק האנשים השיבו ה"ר נתן אי איפשר לומר כן שהרי כתוב אכל בכסף תשבירני ואכלתי ומים שתיתי כאשר עשו לי בני עשו היושבים בשעיר והמואבים היושבים בער [ע"פ דברים ב כח-כט] הרי שקדמו בלחם ומים וא"כ אין הטעם תלוי בכך ולפי זה הכל נפסלו אחד אנשים ואחד נשים ולא היה ראוי לבא בקהל וחלו לה"ר נתן לאמר להם הטעם אמ' להם מפני שני [טעמים] פסלם המקום מלבא בקהל על דבר אשר לא קדמו אתכם בלחם ובמים ואשר שכר עליך את בלעם בן בעור [דברים כג ה] ובשני טעמים אילו לא פשעו רק האנשים ולא הנשים ולכך לא נפסל[ו] הנשים"

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#### מב

ואתחנן שמע ישראל י"י אלהינו י"י אחד [דברים ו ד] אפיקורוס פקר הרי שלשה [דף 19 ב] ד(ו)מיונות וכן אל אלהים י"י [יהושע כב כב] השיבו אם כן היה לכם לומר שיש שש דמיונות שכת' בו שני פעמים אל אלהים י"י וה"ר נתן נ"ע

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- 1-2 הנשים ר' ח' | מעלות – אתה ר' אני מעלת רוחך שאת[ה] פוקר | דמות#2 – הכסא#2 ר' ח'
- 2 זה פתרו' ה' זהו פתרונו | פי' ה' ח' | הדמות – גבוה ה' ח'
- 3 יכל' ה', ר' יכול | והטעם – דמות ר' וטעמו שעל דמות מוכיח שהוא | ברבע ה' ברביעי; ר' רביעי
- 6 בחלל ר' ח' | קונצלייר ה' הקונצלייר; ר' הקנצלער | מפריש ר' ח' | יש"ו ה', ר' ח' | בטומאת ה' בטמאות | מת ה' ח'
- 7 חרש#1 ח' חרס | פתוח ה' ח' | אשר אין ה' שאין המוקף | עליו ה' ח' | חרש#2 ח' חרס | חדש ה', ר' ח' | מות ה' ומת; ר' וזה
- 8-9 אחרת ר' אחר | גועל ה', ר' (גיעול) | ואיזו ה', ר' ואיזה | טינוף ה' טנוף | בן ר' כאן | השיב – אליהו ה' השיב לו; ר' השיב[ב] המשיב | הקב"ה ר' הק' | מראשית אחרית ה' אחרית מראשית
- 9 מה – להיות ה', ר' ח' | שעתידה – אחת ר' שעתיד[ד] אדם אח[ד] | שתהא אומרת ה' ולומ'; ר' שיהא אומ' | לפיכך ר' לכך
- 10 בטומאתה ר' בטומאתו | מואס – אחר ר' (רוח) | חרש ה' חרס | וכל – אחר ה' וכל שאר כלים אדם
- 11 טעון ה' טעונין | שלישי ושביעי ר' ג' ז'
- 14-20 גלח – בקהל ר' עיין בסוף סימ[נ] לז כו' עד ונשתק | לה"ר ה' אל הר"ר
- 15 י"י ה' השם | אותו ה' הגלח | ליהודי' ה' ח'
- 16 אחד ה' ח' | שהיא ביבמות ה' שהוא | לא ה' ח' | קדמו – ובמים ה' וכו'
- 17 ואשה – לקדם ה' ולא אשה | לכך ה' לכן | נפסל[ו] – האנשים ה' פסל הנשים | ה"ר ה' הר"ר
- 18 תשבירני ה' תשבירני | ואכלתי – שתיתי' ה' ומים וגו' | בער ה' בעיר
- 19-20 שקדמו ה' שקדמום | ומים ה' ובמים | אחד – בקהל ה' ח'
- 20 וחלו ה' וחילו; ר' אח"כ בקשו | לאמר ה', ר' לומ' | הטעם ר' נ' למה פסל הק' עמוני ומואבי | שני ה' נ' טעמים; ר' ב' דברי[ם] | המקום ר' הק' | מלבא בקהל ה' ח'; ר' לבא בקהל
- 21-22 אתכם – ובמים ה' ח' | את ר' ח' | ובשני – הנשים#2 ה' וזה הטעם שייך גבי מואב, ועל (אשר) דבר אשר לא קדמו שייך גבי עמוני ומפני אילו הטעמים לא נפסלו רק האנשים, מפני שאין דרכה של אשה לא לשכר ולא לקדם | ובשני ר' ובב' | אילו לא ר' הללו נפסלו ולא
- 22 הנשים ר' נ' דאין[ו] לא[ן] תימא[ן] הכי[ן] תקשי לך דוד היאך נמשח
- 25 פקר ה' שאל | שלהש ה', ר' ג' | ד(ו)מיונות ה', ר' דמיונות
- 26 השיבו ה' והר"ר נתן השיבו | השיבו – נ"ע ר' ח' | וה"ר נתן נ"ע ה' ח'

לו

בלק ודם חללים ישתה [במדבר כג כד] הרב ר' אביגדור בה"ר יצחק ספר לי כי הקונצלייר מפריש אמ' אל הר"ר יחיאל והר"ר יצחק והוא שמה אתם אוכלים דם של הערל שכן נבא בלעם ודם חללים ישתה והם עמדו ולא ענו וקראתי עליהם מקרא זה משיב בחכמים אחור [ישעיה מד כה] [דף 18ב] וגו' (הם לכם) [היה להם] לומר כי זה ודם חללים מוסב לראש הפסוק הן עם כלביא יקום וכארי(א) יתנשא לא ישכב עד יאכל טרף ודם חללים ישתה [במדבר כג כד] אותו ארי או אותו לביא שנמשלו אליו יוסף

לז

דרך כוכב מיעקב [במדבר כד יז] שאל האפפיור לה"ר נון נ"ע מי היה אותו כוכב השיב לו אותו כוכב סימן קללה הוא דכת' ומחץ פאתי מואב וקרקר כל בני שת [שם] א"כ ישמיד כל העולם שכולם באו משת ועוד הבט אחריו והיה אדום ירשה והיה ירשה שעיר אויביו [שם שם יח] בימיו תגלה אדום עוד כת' והאביד שריד מעיר [שם כד יט] היינו משעיר שדבר בו הכתו' ראה מה (מה) כת' אוי מי יחיה משומו אל [שם שם כג] מה הוא משומו אל כשיעשה עצמו אלוה' וצים מיד כתים וענו אשור וענו עבר [שם שם כד] שתק האפפיור וידם בפנים זועפים א"ל ה"ר נתן מדוע אתה מחריש קרא עוד אמ' מה אקרא כת' וגם הוא עדי אובד [שם] פי' זהו רומי ואתם מה אתם מפרשים אמר לי באהבתי א"ל על דוד ומהו וקרקר כל בני שת א"ל היא עיר מואב ונקראת שאון וזהו שכת' בירמיה (וקרקר כל) [וקדקד] בני שאון [ירמיהו מח מה]

לח

פנחס (לנפש לאדם מן הנשים) שאל הגמון לו המלך שאל לה"ר נתן נ"ע דרך בדיחות מי אשתו א"ל בת דודי היא אמ' אח גרין ימח שמו וזכרו הם נושאים זה את זה ככלבים וחתולים א"ל ה"ר נתן כדין אנו עושים שמצינו בבנות צלפחד שנתנו לבני דודיהן לנשים על פי הדבר וכן בת כלב עכסה כת' ויתנה לעתניאל [בן קנז] אחי כלב הקטן ממנו [ע"פ שופטים ג ט]

לט

מטות ונפש אדם מן הנשים [במדבר לא לה] שאל הגמון משנץ לה"ר נתן מאי משמע אדם השיב אדם נשמע איש ונשמע אשה זו מנין לך א"ל כת' ויעשהו כתבנית איש כתפארת אדם לשבת בית [ישעיה מד יג] וכן ונפש אדם מן

- 2-3 ודם – שמה] ר': פוקרי[ם] להוכיח | הרב – יצחק#1] ה': הר"ר אביגדור בן הר"ק יצחק | לי] ה': ח'  
 3-4 והוא שמה] ה': מה זה | אתם] ה': שאתם; ר': שאנו | דם של הערל] ה': את דם הערל; ר': דם הערל[ם] | והם –לומר] ר': ויש להשיב  
 4 (הם לכם)] ה': היה להם | ודם חללים] ה': לי ישתה; ר': ח'  
 5 וכארי(א)] ה', ר': וכארי | לא – ישתה] ר': לי"ע יטוח"  
 6 שנמשלו] ר': לי ישראל[אל] | יוסף] ה': הר"ר יוסף; ר': וראה לדבר שהרי באות[ה] פרש[ה] כת' יאכל גוים צריו ועצמותיה[ם] יגרם [במדבר כד ח] כו' ואמ' ואכלת את כל העמי[ם] [ע"פ במדבר יג לב] ואינו מפשיע[ם] אותנו לומר שאנו אוכלי[ם] הבשר והעצמות אע"פ שכתו' בפסוק בהריא יש לכם להודו[ת] שלא נשת דמכם אך תפ(ו)שוהו כתרגום  
 9 האפפיור] ה': האפפיור; ר': אפפיור | לה"ר] ה': אל הר' ר' | נ"ע] ר': ח' | היה] ה': הוא  
 10 ומחץ] ה': (ומחץ) | שכולם] ה': שכלם | באו משת] ר': משת באו | הבט] ר': מה כת'  
 11 והיה ירשה] ה': ח' | הגלה] ר': תגלה | כת'] ר': נאמ'  
 12 שדבר בון] ה': שבו דבר | (מה)] ה', ר': ח' | כת'] ר': לי אחריו | אל] ה': לי פי'; ר': לי הוא מי | כשיעשה] ה': לי ישו; ר': שיעשה | אלוה'] ר': אלה'  
 13-14 כתים] ר': כיתים | שתק – כת'] ר': ח' | ה"ר] ה': הר"ר  
 14 כת'] ה': א"ל שנ[אמר] זהו] ר': זה | רומי] ה': לי א"ל; ר': לי שתק א"ל ה"ר נתן | ואתם – א"ל] ר': מה אתה מפרש אמר לו | אמר לי] ה': אמור לי  
 15 דוד] ה': לי א"ל; ר': לי נאמר הכל | כל בני שת] ר': כב"ש | א"ל היא] ר': זהו | שכת'] ר': לי בספר | (וקרקר כל) בני] ר': (וקרקר) | שאון] ר': לי עוד י"ל מדכתיב וקרקר כל] בני] ש[און] משמע שימולך בכל העולם ועול הזמה עדיין לא פשט מלכותו רק על י"א אומות אלא לא עליו נאמר הפסוק  
 20-22 פנחס – ממנו] ר': ח' | שאל הגמון] ה': ח' | לה"ר] אל הר"ר | נ"ע] ה': ח' | בדיחות] ה': בדיחות | אשתו] אשתך  
 21 גרין] ה': גרין | ימח – וזכרו] ה': ח' | נושאים] ה': נושאים | את זה] ה': ח' | ה"ר נתן] ה': חומר  
 22 לבני] ה': (לבנות) | בת כלב עכסה] ה': עכסה בת כלב | כת' ויתנה] ה': נתנה | לעתניאל] ה': לי בן קנז  
 26 שאל – משנץ] ר': פקרו | לה"ר] ה': אל הר"ר | משמע] ר': לי לשון] | השיב] ה': ח' | איש] ר':  
 27 ונשמע] ר': נשמע | אשה] ה': לי א"ל | זו – א"ל] ר': ח' | כת'] ה': דכתי; ר': כדכתי | לשבת בית] ה': ח' | וכן – מן] ר': ח'

לא

שמיני וישא ידיו אל העם ויברכם [ע"פ ויקרא ט כב] פוקרים הן ואומ' מכאן ראייה לשתי וערב דכת' וישא ידיו ושמעתי תשובה א"כ היה לו לומר וישא ידו שהיה משמע אחת

לב

פוקרים איך תאמרו שהתורה נדרשת כמשמעות המקרא והלא אסר לכם הכתוב שרצים צב וחומט [דף 18א] ועכבר [ע"פ ויקרא יא כט-ל] והאחרים שקר דוברים כי אין כת' את זה {לא} תאכלו בשרצים אלא כת' וזה לכם הטמא [ויקרא יא כט] לומר שהם מטמאים

לג

תזריע שמעתי כי אפיקורוס פקר ואמ' כת' אשה כי תזריע וילדה זכר [ויקרא יב ב] מי היתה אותה אשה אשר הזריעה וילדה זכר ואין איש מזכר כאן א"ל המשיב ומי היא א"ל זו היתה חרבה א"ל והכת' אם נקבה תלד [שם יב ה] אם כן היה לתלוי אחות

לד

אחרי איש איש [אל] כל שאר בשרו לא תקרבו [ויקרא יח ו] שאל אח גרין ימח שמו לה"ר נתן נ"ע איך אתם נושאים קרובותיכם והלא נאסר לכם כל שאר בשר השיב פירש לנו האסורות בפר[שת] עריות א"ל והכת' איש כל שאר בשרו לא תקרבו לגלות ערוה [ע"פ שם] השיב אילו פי' הכת' העריות תחלה ואחר כך אמ' איש איש כל שאר בשרו כדקאמרת אחר שפי' מקצתן כלל את הכל השתא דכת' כל שאר ברישא ואחר כך פי' העריות אין לנו לאסר יותר והעד בנות צלפחד שניתנו לבני דודיהן לנשים

לה

חקת והביט אל נחש הנחשת [במדבר כא ט] שאל חובל אחד איזה סימן היה נחש הנחשת אם לא מפני התלוי שכן היה תלוי ועל ידו באה רפואה לעולם א"ל ה"ר נתן אמת הוא סימן לתלוי שכל מי שרואה אותו בענין זה שראו בקלקולו יש להם רפואה עוד פוקרים לאמר היאך עשה משה נחש הנחשת והלא הוא דמות צלם מתמונות אשר בארץ ושמעתי שהשיב ה"ר נתן נ"ע שלא עשאו משה אלא זה היה מטהו נהפך ונעשה נחש תדע שמשם ואילך לא תמצא במקרא שמדבר מן המטה

- 2-3 וישא ה': ב' אהרון את | ויברכם | ר': ח' | הן | ה', ר': ח' | ואומ' מכאן ה': לומר | ואומ' ר': ב' ויברכם | דכת' - תשובה | ר': ח' | ושמעתי ה': ושמע | שהיה משמע | ר': דהוה משו ידו
- 6 פוקרים | ר': והעכבר ופוקרי[ם] | ואו[מרי]ם | המקרא | ר': מקרא | שרצים | ר': ב' שאינ[ם] ראויים לאכול
- 7 והאחרים - כין | ר': ואחרים אלא משל הוא וי"ל בשרצי[ם] | בשרצים | ר': ח' | הטמא | ר': ב' כת' בהם
- 11 שמעתי כין | ה': ח' | שמעתי - כת' | ר': מין פקר | אשר הזריעה | ר': שהזריע
- 12 היא | ר': היה | חרבה | ה': הריאה; ר': מריאה
- 13 לתלוי | ה': ב' לו
- 16 איש#2 | ה', ר': ב' אל | כל | ר': ח' | לא תקרבו | ה': לא תקריבו וגו'; ר': לגלות ערוה | אח גרין | ה': אח גירין; ר': גורין | ימח שמו | ה', ר': ח' לה"ר | ה': אל הר' | ר': (לק"ר) | נ"ע | ה', ר': ח' | איך | ה': ח'
- 17 והלא - בשר | ה': ח' | בשר | ה': ב' השיב; ר': ב' השיב לו | פירש | ה': פי' | בפר' | ר': בפרשת | איש | ה': ב' איש; ר': ב' איש אל
- 18 תקרבו | ה': תקריבו | לגלות ערוה | ה': ומשמ[ע] | כלם | אילון | ה': אלו | פי' | ר': פירש | הכת' | ר': הכתו[ב] | איש#2 | ה': אל; ר': ב' אל | בשרו | ר': וגו'
- 19 כדקאמרת | ה': ב' היה משמע | את | ה': ח' | הכל | ה': ב' אבל | לאסר | ה', ר': לאסור
- 20 והעד בנות | ר': וראיה מבנות | שניתנו | ה', ר': שנתנו | לנשים | ר': ב' ע"פ הדבור וכן כלב השיא עכסה בתו לאחיו עתניאל | בן קנז
- 23 נחש#1 | ה': הנחש | הנחשת#1 | ר': הנחושת | נחש#2 | ר': מנחש
- 24 א"ל | ר': השיב | ה"ר | ה': הר"ר | נתן | ה': ב' נ"ע | הוא | ר': ח' | סימן לתלוי | ה': ח' | לתלוי | ר': ב' ה' | ה' | אותן | ה': אותן בקלקולן | שראו | ה', ר': שראוהו
- 25 יש | ר': ה' | ה' | רפואה | ר': ב' עו[ד] | י"ל להם ולטעמ"ך ישו נכתש והלך לאבדו כמ' שנאמר בחזקיהו וכיתת נחש הנחשת [מ"ב יח ד] | לאמר | ה': ח'; ר': לומר | הנחשת | ה': נחשת; ר': נחושת | הוא | ה', ר': ח' | צלם | ה': ב' הוא
- 26-27 בארץ | ר': ב' ה' | ושמעתי | ה', ר': ח' | שהשיב | ה', ר': השיב | ה"ר - נ"ע | ה': ח' | נ"ע | ח' | עשאן | ה': עשה; ר': עשהו | זה - נחש | ה': מטהו היה שנהפך לנחש; ר': זהו מטהו שנהפך לנחש ה' | תדע | ה': והעד; ר': ותדע שכן הוא כי | ואילך | ר': והלאה | לא - שמדבר | ה': אין המקרא מדבר | מן המטה | ר': במטה

מאמין בחריא' השיב לו ואתה הכי אתה מאמין בה' א"ל לאו' אלא אני שואל ממך מדוע אינך מתחנן אליה שתעזר לך נגד התלוי' השיב אי איפשי בכך' שהרי מומחה שבמתחננים היה משה רבינו ובצורך הגדול שהיה לנו לא אמ' לאברהם יצחק ויעקב בקשו עלינו רחמים אלא אמ' זכר לאברהם ליצחק וגו' א"ל ואי אתה מאמין שהוא בנה ונולד ממנה' השיב חס ושלום שלא אקראוהו בן כי אותם שקראוהו בן לפניו לקו' שכן כת' בישעיה' אך אוילים שרי צוען חכמי יועצי פרעה איך תאמרו אל פרעה בן חכמים אני בן מלכי קדם [ע"פ ישעיה יט יא] כמו שאתם אומ' שבא ממשפחת דוד' א"ל ואי אתה מאמין שנכנס בה כדי להציל החטאים מגהינם' השיב הקשית לי עכשיו דום מעט ואני אקשה אשאלך והודיעני' א"ל דבר' אמ' מה זה היה שאמרו ישראל לעגל הזהב אלה אלהיך ישראל אשר העלוך מארץ מצרים [שמות לב ד] והרי כבר עברו שלשה [חדשים] שיצאו ממצרים ואיך טפס לבם לומר אשר העלוך' א"ל ההגמון השטן התעם' א"ל איפשר שש מאות אלף רגלי היו הגברים הראוין למנות יתרים מעשרים שנה ופחות מששים ואין יכול להיות שכלם תעו ולא אחד בהם שאמר להם טועים אתם שהעגל נעשה עכשיו' ואנו יצאנו ממצרים כבר עברו [דף 17ב] זה שלשה חדשים' מיד שתקו ולא ענו ההגמונים' אמר להם ה"ר נתן שמעוני ואשיבכם מלים אין לתמוה אם תעו ישראל' כי ראו כי בשש משה וסבורים היו שמת ובאו אל אהרן ואמרו לו עשה לנו אלהים אשר ילכו לפנינו כי זה משה [שמות לב א] וגו' כלומר עשה לנו דבר ומנהיג ללכת לפנינו תחת משה שאבד ממנו' בקש אהרן לדחותם אמ' להם פרקו [נזמין] הזהב אשר באזני נשיכם [שם שם ב] וגו' נטל הזהב ובקש להתיכו' ומיד שנתנו באש יצא העגל עשוי ולא חלו בו ידים' כמו שכת' שם ואשליכהו באש ויצא העגל הזה [שם שם כד] זו תימה גדולה' ראו גדולה מזאת שמיד הלך ואכל מן העשבים' שנ[אמר] וימירו את כבודם בתבנית שור אוכל עשב [תהלים קו כ] זה לא חשב אנוש' הם לא טעו לומר שהוא אלוה אלא כך אמרו אלה אלהיך אשר העלוך [שמות לב ד] זהו האלהות שיצא מתוך משה רוח הקדש שהיה בו ונכנס בעגל זה שהרי נבראו בו מופתים כאלה' אם בכך טעו אין זו תימה גדולה שאין אדם יכל למלוך עד יעדה זהב [ויעבדוהו] [ויעטרוהו] עטרת פז' והנה המנורה והשלחן וכלי השרת אשר ישרתו בם בקדש היו של זהב' א"כ לא היו יכולין לומר שנכנס רוח הקדש בדבר טהור יותר מזהב' ראו מה הגיע אליהם' ויפל מן העם ביום ההוא כשלת אלפי איש [שם שם כח] וכת' ביום פקדי ופקדתי עליהם [שם שם לד] וכת' ויאמר להשמידים לולי משה בחירו [תהלים קו כג] ואין אוכל לומר שנכנס באשה' והוא הזהירו אל תגשו אל אשה שלשת ימים [ע"פ שמות יט טו] בשביל פעם אחת שרצה לדבר אלינו' מיד התל בהם ההגמון משנץ' ואמ' להם אם אין האיש הזה חשוב להשיב לכם נבקש גדול ממנו''

- 1-2 מאמין בחריא' ה': מאמין בחרי אף; ר': מאמיני[ם] במריאה | השיב לו ה': ל' א"ל ה"ר נתן נ"ע בפני הגמון; ר': יש לשאל | ואתה – התלוי | ר': אם הם מאמין בה והכתי' לא יהיה לך אלהים [אחרים] ע[ל] פ[ני] [שמות כ ג]; ואם יאמ[ר] לא יאמין א"כ למה יתחננו וצעקו אליה? וא"ת לעזור נגד בנה | לאו | לא | ממך | ה': ח'
- 2 השיב | ר': ח' | איפשי | ה': איפשר | מומחה – רבינו | ה': משה רבנו היה מומחה שבמומחין ובמתחננים | שבמתחננים | ר': שבתחונני[ם] | רבינו | ר': ל' ע"ה | ובצורך הגדול | ה': ובצורך גדול | לנו | ה': לו
- 3 יצחק ויעקב | ה': ליצחק וליעקב | בקשו עלינו | ר': התפללו עלינו ובקשו | ליצחק | ה': וליצחק | וגו' | ה', ר': וליעקב כלומר בזכות תציל את ישראל | א"ל | ר': וכן השיב ה' יוסף להגמון משנץ גם א"ל | ואי אתה מאמין | ר': אתם מאמיני[ם]
- 4 אקראוהו בן | ר': קראוהו כך | כן | ה': ח' | אותם – ב[2] | ר': אותן שקראו כך | לפני[ם] | ר': ח'
- 5 פרעה[1] | ר': ל' עצה נבערה
- 6 כדן | ר': ח' | החטאים | ר': הפושעי[ם] | הקשית | ר': ל' לשאול | עכשיו | ר': ח' | דום | ה': רוב | ואני אקשה | ר': ח'
- 7 והודיעני | ה': והודיענו | דבר | ר': ל' מה שתרצה | זה | ר': ח'
- 8 והרין | ר': והלא | שלשה | ה': ל' ג'; ר': ל' חדשי[ם]
- 9 התעם | ר': התעה אותו | א"ל | ר': איך | יתרים | ה', ר': ל' מן | מעשרים – ואין | ר': ל' ולא עו[ד] | ופחותי[ם] | מבני ששים והי[ה] | ואין | ה': ואיך
- 10 אחד בהם | ה': היה בהם אחד; ר': יהא אחד בהם | שאמר | ר': שיאמר | יצאנו | ה', ר': יצאנו
- 11 זה | ה', ר': ח' | שתקו | ר': ל' כולם | ההגמונים | ר': ח' | ה"ר | ה': ר' | ואשיבכם | ר': ואשיבכם | מלים | ר': מילין | תעו | ר': טעו
- 12 משה | ה': ח' | שמת | ר': כי מת | אשר – לפנינו | ר': דבר | לפנינו – משה | ה': ח' | משה | ר': ל' האיש
- 13 ללכת | ר': ח'
- 14 פרקו | ה': ל' (את) נזמי; ר': ל' נזמי | באזני נשיכם | ה': ח' | וגו' | ר': ח' | נטל | ה': (בטל) | להתיכו | ר': (לחתיכו)
- 15-16 בן | ה', ר': בה | זה | ר': ועו[ד] | ראו – מזאת | ר': ח' | שמיד הלך ואכל | ר': שהלך מיד ואכל
- 16 מן העשבים | ה': את העשבים; ר': מהעשבי[ם] | זה | ר': ח'
- 17 העלוך | ה': כלום; ר': ח' | שיצא | ה': ל' (מתוך) | הקדש | ר': הקדוש
- 18 זה | ה': הזה | אם בכך | ר': ואם כבר | תימה | ה': תימה | גדולה | ר': ח' | יכל | ה', ר': יכל
- 19 (ויעבדוהו) | ה': יעשו לו; ר': ויעטרוהו | פז | ה': ח' | והשלחן | ר': והשלחן | בקדש | ר': ח'
- 20 יכולין | ה': יכולים | הקדש | ר': הקדוש | טהור | ה': ח' | מזהב | ר': ל' ועתה | אליהם | ר': על ככה | ביום ההוא | ה': ביום; ר': ח'
- 21 עליהם | ה': ל' חטאתם
- 22 אוכל | ה': יכול | לומר | ר': ל' כן | באשה | ר': בה | שלשת ימים | ר': ח'
- 23-24 פעם אחת | ר': פסוק אחד | התל – ממנו | ר': נפלו פניו של הגמון | להם | ה': ח'

כח

ויוורו י"י עץ [שמות טו כה] 'אומ' שזהו העץ של שתי וערב 'אומ' אני א"כ היה לו לומ' עצים 'ועוד עדיין לא נעשה אותו העץ של שתי וערב'

כט

ויתרו 'לא תעשה לך פסל [שמות כ ד] 'פוקרים על מעשה [דף 17א] הכרובים והלא הם צלמים 'והשיב ה"ר נתן נ"ע' לא אסרה תורה אלא אשר בשמים ממעל ואשר בארץ מתחת ואשר במים מתחת [שם] 'ודוגמת הכרובים אינה לא בשמים ולא בארץ שלא היה בהם אלא פנים וכנפים 'ואני אומ' שהכרובים מותרים דכת' לא תעשה לך 'מקום שתוכל לראות' אבל הכרובים היו נעלמים מן העין שהיו מונחים במקום שאין אדם נכנס כי אם כהן גדול פעם אחת בשנה 'ועוד שמעתי כי לא נאסרו כי אם לעשות כדי לעבדם 'שאם אי אתה אומ' כן היאך עשה את (האריים) [האריות] שלמה ' {ואני אומ' לא אסרה תורה כי אם בצביונם ' כמו שנבראו שנ[אמר] פסל שהיא כל תמונה [שמות כ ד] שיש בו כל האברים 'וכרובים לא היו להם אלא פנים וכנפים גם זה תשובה לפוקרים על נחש נחושת שעשה משה שלא עשאו כמו שנברא ברגלים}

{שאל האבל מקליני אל הר' נתן נ"ע במולינש היאך אתם מוהלים בשבת והכת' לא תעשה כל מלאכה [שמות כ י] ' השיב לו כת' וביום השמיני ימול בשר ערלתו [ויקרא יב ג] ' בכל יום שיומו השמיני ואפילו בשבת 'א"ל איזה דבר יש להאמין המלך או משרתו 'א"ל המלך 'א"ל א"כ הבורא צוה לא תעשה כל מלאכה 'ומשה שהוא משרתו אמר וביום השמיני והיאך תשמעו לדברי התלמיד ומניחים דברי הרב 'א"ל ראה מה כתוב ויאמר י"י אל משה הנה אנכי בא אליך בעב הענן בעבור ישמע העם בדברי עמך וגם בך יאמינו לעולם [שמות יט ט] ' ואפילו הוא עוקר דבר אחד שבתור[ה] היה לנו לשמוע לדבריו}

{נשאל מיום מעולם נקרא מקולל' למה נקרא מקולל יותר מאדם אחר ' בכל צד נקרא מקולל אם לדידכם אם לדידנו. לדידכם נקרא מקולל כי אלקיכם היה תלוי ' וגם לדידנו נקרא מקולל עבור גלות אשר גלל עלינו כי תלינו אותו כי אתם אומרים}

ל

תשא 'זכר לאברהם [שמות לב יג] ' ההגמון ממיזץ שאל לה"ר נתן נ"ע בפני הגמון משנץ ותשעה אחרים ' מדוע אינך

- 2 אומ' ה': פוקרים; ר': פוקרים ואומר' | שזהו ר': שהוא | של ר': ח' | א"כ ר': י"ל | עדיין ר': שעדיין
- 3 וערב ר': נ' כי היה יותר מ"ג שנה מאות[ה] שעה עד שנצלב ישו
- 6 פסל ר': ח' | והשיב – נ"ע ר': ו"ל | ה"ר ה' הר"ר | נ"ע ה': ח' |
- 7 אשר ר': ח' | מתחת#2] ה': ר' | לארץ | הכרובים ר': כרובי' | אינה ה': (אתה); ר': אינו
- 8 בראץ ר': נ' ולא במים | בהם ה': ח' | אלא ר': לא | פנים ר': נ' ולא | ואני ה': והר"ר יוסף | ואני – דכת' ר': ועוד לא אסר הק' אלא
- 9 הכרובים ר': כרובי' | נעלמים ה': (בעולמים) | שאין – נכנס ר': שלא נכנס שום אדם
- 10 שמעתי ה': שמע; ר': ח' | כן ר': ח' | לעשות כדי ר': ח' | לעבדם ר': לעובדם | היאך – (האריים) ר': איך נעשו האריות מכסא | עשה ה': נ' שלמה | (האריים) שלמה ה': האריות
- 11-13 ואני - ברגלים ר': ח' | ה': והר"ר נתן אשר נ"ע | שהיא ה': ח'
- 12-13 האברים ה': האיברים | וכנפים ה': נ' והיו תקועים רגליהם בכפרת של מן הכפרת תעשה את הכרובים [שמות כה יט] | גם זה - לפוקרים ה': זו גם תשובה | נחושת ה': הנחושת | שלא – ברגלים ה': שהיה תקוע בנס
- 15-20 שאל – לדבריו ר': ח' | מוהלים ה': מלים
- 16 בשר – ואפילו ה': ביום אפילו | הבורא ה': המלך | שהוא ה': שהיה
- 17 הבורא ה': המלך | שהוא ה': שהיה
- 18 תשמעו – הרב ה': תניחו דברי הרב ותשמעו דברי התלמיד | כתוב ה': נ' אחריו
- 19 ואפילו ה': אפילו
- 20 היה ה': היו | לדבריו ה': אל דבריו
- 22-24 ה': ח'; ר': שאל הגמון משנץ: למה תקראו ליו[ם] ו' שלפני פסח יו[ם] ששי מקולל? השיב ודאי אמת הוא שהו[א] מקולל אלינו לדברייכ[ם]. אבל אם היה אלוה ואתם מאמיני[ם] בו מפני שנ[עשה] אל[ה]יכם מה אז דבר אליכם דברים אשר לא כן. א"כ מקולל הו[א] אליכם שתאמינו באדם הנתלה ואו[מרים] שהו[א] אלוה. ובלעם נביאכם אמ': לא איש י"י יוכזב כלומ' מי שאומ' שהו[א] אדם ויכזב הו[א]. ושתק ההגמון.

כה

שאל הגמון ממנש לה"ר יוסף אותו השה שצוה המקום לכם לאכל בפסח מפני מה אני יוסף השבתי לו כמו שאמ' מורי זקני ה"ר יוסף בשם אביו הר"ר {נתן} בן רבינו משלם הדבר ידוע כי הצאן היו אלהי המצרים כמו שכת' הן נזבח את תועבת מצרים לעיניהם ולא יסקלנו [שמות ח כב] וכן כי תועבת מצרים כל רועה צאן [בראשית מו לד] אמ' הק' לישראל קחו לכם מבעשור לחדש איש שה לבית [ע"פ שמות יב ג] וגו' והיה לכם למשמרת עד ארבעה (ימים) [עשר יום] [ע"פ שם ו] כדי שיראו אותו [דף 16ב] המצריים וכשהוא צועק היו המצריים שומעים קולו ומביטים בתוך הבית אותו קשור ועדיין היו אומ' (יפנה) [יפדה] עצמו ויעלה לשמים צוה הק' לשחטו בין הערבים בשעת שהפועלים באים ממלאכתם עדיין אין הכל יכולין בשעת שחיטה לבא צוה הק' לתת מן הדם על המשקוף ועל שתי המזוזות וכשבאין לפני הבית ולא היו שומעין קולו כמו אתמול היו מסתכלין אל הבית ורואין את הדם היה אחד(היה) אומ' נשחט וחבירו אומ' לו לא כי אלא עלה למרום והיו מביטין בתוך הבית ורואין אותו על האש צוה הק' אל תאכלו ממנו נא [שמות יב ט] אל תמהרו לאכלו עד שיגמר בישולו וגם אל תבשלוהו במים כדי שיראה לעולם שהוא צלי אש ראשו על כרעיו ועל קרבו [שם] שיהא נכר שהוא השה"

כו

בשלח גלח היה רוכב אחר ה"ר נתן נ"ע ראה סוס שהיה גורר עגלה אחת בלא גלגלים א"ל לה"ר נתן נ"ע ראה כמה סוס גורר בקלות זו העגלה ומהו ויסר את אופן מרכבותיו וינהגו בכבודת [שמות יד כה] מה כבודת יש השיב לו אין כת' ויסר אופני מרכבותיו אלא אופן האחד והאחד הניח והיה העגלה מוטה לצד אחד"

כז

ובני ישראל הלכו ביבשה [שמות יד כט] כומר אחד שאל לה"ר יוסף איזה סימן היה שנבקעו המים ועברו ישראל בתוכו אמרתי לו ואתה (אמרת) מה אתה אומ' א"ל זהו סימן לשמד אמרתי לו כן דברת אותם שעברו ביבשה ולא נתלכלכו במים נושעו אבל אותם שלא הלכו ביבשה ונתלכלכו במים אבדו א"ל א"כ למה נחלקו היה לו להוליכם על פני המים אמרתי לו סימן הוא שנהיה ביניכם ולא נתלכלך במים אחר כך שאלני הפי' ואמרתי לו אילולי חלק היה להם צער לעלות לפי שהים גבוה יוסף"

- 2-3 ממנש ה' ח'; ר': משאנצא | המקום | ר': הב"ה | לכם | ה' ח' | מה | ר': ב' היה | אני – משלם | ה': והשיב כמו שאמ' זקנו הר"ר יוסף בשם הר"ר נתן | ר': והשיב
- 3 ה' ח' | ה' ח'
- 4 כ' | ר': ח' | ה' ח' | ר': הקב"ה
- 5 מבעשור | ה': שור | איש | ר': אי | לבית | ה', ר': ב' אבות | ארבעה | ר': י"ד
- 6 שיראן | ר': שיראוהו | אותן | ר': ח' | וכשהוא צועק | ר': וכשיצעק | היו – קולו | ר': אז המצרי' שומעין | המצריים | ה': ח' | ומביטים בתוך | ר': ומביטין תוך | הבית | ר': ב' ורואין
- 7 ה' ח' הוא | (יפנה) | ה': יפדה | עצמו | ר': לעצמו | ויעלה | ה': ומעלה | לשחטו | ה', ר': לשוחטו | בשעת | ה', ר': בשעה
- 8 ממלאכתם | ר': ממלאכתן | אין | ר': לא הכל – לבא | ר': היו מאמיני' כי לא היו כולם יכולין להיות שם בשעת שחיטה | מן | ר': ח'
- 9 ולא היו | ר': ואינם | שומעין | ה': ב' את | את | ה': ח' | היה | ר': ח' | היה | ה': מהם | ר': ח' | וחבירו | ה', ר': וחברו
- 10 לו | ה', ר': ח' | אלא | ר': ח' | למרום | ר': לשמים | מביטין | ה': מביטים | בתוך | ר': תוך | אותן | ה': ח'
- 11 לאכלו | ר': לאכולו | תבשלוהו | ר': תבשלו | לעולם | ה': העולם | אש | ר': ב' ויראוהו
- 12 נכר | ה': נכר | ר': ניכר
- 15 גלח | ה', ר': ב' אחד | היה רוכב | ר': רכב | ה' ח' | ר' | נ"ע | ר': ח' | ראה | ח' – גלגלים | ה': ח' | להר"ר נתן נ"ע | ה': ח' | נ"ע | ר': ח'
- 16 סוס | ה': ח' | ר': ב' זה | גורר | ר': נוהג | זון | ר': זאת | אופן | ה': אפן | בכבודת | ר': בכבידות | מה כבודת | ר': מאי כבידות | השיב לו | ה': השיב; ר': א"ל | אין | ר': ח'
- 17 כת' | ר': ח' | מרכבותיו | ר': ב' אין כת' כאן | האחד | ח' – הניח | ה': אחד והניח אחד; ר': אחד ואחת הניח | והיה | ה', ר': והייתה | מוטה | ה': מוטות | לצד אחד | ר': על צדה אחת וזהו כבודת גדול מאד
- 20 ביבשה | ה': ב' בתוך הים; ר': ב' בתוך כו' | לה"ר | ה': לה"ר | סימן | ה': ב' אחר | שנבקעו | ר': שבקעו | המים | ה': ח'
- 21 ואתה – אומ' | ה': ואתה מה אומ' | ר': ומאי דעתך | א"ל | ר': ב' הכומר | זהו | ר': ב' הי' | דברת | ה': ב' (ומיתו) | אותם | ה': אותן; ר': אותן | ולא | ר': לא
- 22 נתלכלכו | ר': (נתלכנו) | אבל אותם | ר': ואותן | אבדו | ה', ר': נאבדו | א"כ | ר': ח' | נחלקו | ה': המים | היה | ה': היו
- 23 הוא | ר': ח' | ביניכם | ר': בניכם | נתלכלך | ה': (נתלכך) | אחר כך | ר': אחרי כן | שאלני | ה', ר': שאל לו | אילולי | ה': אלמלא; ר': אילו לא | חלק | ה', ר': ב' המים
- 24 הים | ה', ר': היה | יוסף | ה', ר': ח'

כב

לא יסור שבט מיהודה · עד כי יבא שילה [ע"פ בראשית מט י] משיח · וסמכו על [התרגום] עד דייתי משיחא וכחשו לקרות (לישראל) [לישון] משיח ומשבא לא היה לישראל משיח · צללו במים אדירים [ע"פ שמות טו י] [ולא] והעלו [אלא] חרש [חרס] בידם · שהרי משהגלה נבוכד נצר מלך בבל את צדיקה[ו] מלך יהודה לא היה לנו מלך משוח בשמן המשחה שהיה יותר ממאתים שנה קודם ביאת הנוצרי · אבן אזרא · פירש לא יסור שבט מיהודה מיום שנתברך יהודה באה לו ברכה וממשלה · כמו שכתוב בדברי הימים · ובחללו יצועי אביו נתנה בכורתו ליוסף ויהודה גבר באחיו [ע"פ דהיי"א ה א-ב] ראשון (ברגלים) [בדגלים] ובחונכת המזבח ובשפטים מי יעלה לנו בתחילה להילים ויאמר י"י יהודה יעלה [ע"פ שופטים א א-ב] · גם במלכות שאול היה דוד המוציא והמביא · ואחריו נעשה מלך · וכה פתרון לא יסור [דף 16א] שלא יאה מלך מושל וגבור עד שיהיה מלך · משל למלך שאומ' לעבדו לא תפטור ממני עד שאעשה אותך מלך וגדול · ומזמור והוא רחום [תהלים עח לח] ראה לפי זה ויטש (את) משכן שילה [שם שם ס] וימאס באהל יוסף [שם שם סז] ויבחר בדוד עבדו [שם שם ע] · וזהו עד כי יבא שילה ששקע משכן שילה ונחרב · ומיד שנהרג שאול שהיה מאפרים בן יוסף · מיד ולו יקתה עמים [בראשית מט י] שנאספו כל ישראל להמליכו כמו שכתוב בספר שמואל וישאל דוד בי"י האעלה באחת (מ)ערי יהודה וגו' [ע"פ ש"ב ב א] · ויאמר אנה אעלה [ע"פ שם] ויאמר ויבאו אנשי יהודה וימשחו שם [את] דוד למלך [ע"פ שם ד] · ואחרי מעשה אבנר ויבאו כל שבטי ישראל חברונה [ע"פ שם ה א] · וימליכו את דוד · ונמשך מלכותו עד גלות צדקיהו · ט[עם] א[חר] · לא יסור שבט מיהודה · לא יסור נוגש ורודה מעל יהודה שאין מלכות שלמה ביהודה שתסתלק מלכותו בשלוח שלא יקום עליו שטן עד כי יבא שילה · מלך משיח שכתוב בו והיתה מנוחתו כבוד [ישעיה יא י] · ולו יקתה עמים · דכת' והיה ביום ההוא שורש ישי אשר ע(ו)מד לנס עמים אליו גוים ידר(ו)שו [שם] ·

כג

משומד אחד אמ' לר[בינו] ת[ם] איך תאמרו ששילה אין זה ישו · והלא רמזו הכתו' · ויבא שלה ולו [בראשית מט י] [ראשי תיבות ישו] · א"ל ר"ת · כן דברת · ראה אחריו יקתה עמים [שם] ראשי תיבות וסופי תיבות · יתעם · וזהו ישו יתעם ·

כד

שמות · שאל גלח אחד לדודינו הר' יוסף מקרטוש · מפני מה נגלה הק' בסנה יותר מעץ אחר · והשיב לפי שאין יכולים לעשות ממנו צלם ·

- 2 מיהודה ר': ומ[חקק] [מ]ב[יון] [ר]גליו | משיח – על | ר': פוקרין | על מה דמתרגו[ם] | על | ה': ה' התרגום | דייתי משיחא ר': דאתי משיח
- 3-4 (לישראל) ר': ישו | לישראל ר': לה' | והעלו – חרש | ה': ולא העלו אלא בידם אלא חרש
- 4 את | ר': ח' | צדיקה ר': צדיקה | משוח | ה': משיח
- 5 שנה | ה': ח' | הנוצרי | ה': נוצרי | אבן | ה': ר' זאבן | פירש | ר': ה' הפסוק
- 6 באה – וממשלה | ר': נעשה ראש לכל דבר
- 7-8 ראשון – גם | ר': וכו' כדפי' לעיל עד וגם | (ברגלים) ובחונכת | ה': (לרגלים) ולחונכת | בתחילה | ה': בתחלה | להילחם | ה': להלחם
- 8 ואחריו | ר': ואח"כ | וכה | ה': וכן
- 9 שלא – מלך | ר': ממנו | וגבור | ה': ר' גיבור | שיהיה | ה': שיהא | שאומ' | ר': שאמ' | מלך | ר': שר
- 10 וגדול | ה': וגבור; ר': גדול וראי' | לפי זה ממזמור | ראה לפי זה | ר': ח'
- 11 ששקע | ר': ישקע | נהרג | ר': שהרג
- 12 מיד | ה': ב' | ולא יק | כל | ה': ח' | כמו שכתוב | ר': דכת'
- 13 האעלה | ה': (עלה) | (מ)ערי | ר': ערי | אעלה | ה': ב' וגו' | ויאמר#2 | ה': ח'; ר': ב' וגו' | יהודה | ר': יודא
- 14 שם | ה': ב' את | ואחרי מעשה | ר': ואחריו | חברונה | ר': ח'
- 15-17 ונמשך | ר': ונמלך | ט[עם] א[חר] – ידרושן | ר': ח' | מיהודה לא יסור | ה': ח'
- 16 והיתה | ה': והיה
- 17 ע(ו)מד | ה': עמד
- 21 משומד – ת[ם] | ר': שאל משומד אחד לרבינו תם | איך-אין | ר': שילה | והלא – הכתו' | ר': שהרי רמזו הן | ולו | ר': ר' [אשין] תיבות | ישו
- 22 ראה | ר': אך קרא | וסופי תיבות | ה': ח' | וזהו – יתעם#2 | ר': ח' | יתעם#1 | ר': ב' ע[ו]ד | י"ל קח ר"ת מראש הפסוק ותמצא "לא" "יש" "מום" "רע" "כישו" ·
- 25 לדודינו – מקרטוש | ה': אל הר' מקארטרש; ר': להר' מתתיה מקרטוש | הק' | ה': הקב"ה | והשיב | ר': א"ל | יכולים | ר': יכולין



יח

פקרו כי אמרו בני יעקב עשו רמאות לבני שכם שהרגום אחר שנמולו יתשובה כואבים היו ואחר[י] כן נתחרטו ואני הכותב אמרתי ואחר כך שמעתי כי בני שכם העוו תחילה ששינו התנאי שביניהם שהם התנו את בנותיכם תתנו לנו ואת בנותינו תקחו לכם [בראשית לד ט] והם אמרו {ונתנו} את בנותינו (להם) [לכם] ואת (בנותיהם) [בנותיכם] נקח לנו [שם שם טז] מקניהם וקנינם לנו הוא [עפ"י בראשית לד כג] ועל פי דבר זה נמולו ולפי דבריהם היו בני יעקב משועבדים להם ולכך הרגום

יט

וישב כי ארד אל בני אבל שאולה [בראשית לז לה] חובל אחד שאל לר' יוסף והלא יעקב צדיק היה גמור לדברי הכל ואיך היה ירא לרדת לגיהנם אם לא היו הכל יורדים בו אמרתי לו לכך היה מתאבל שבתחלה [דף 15ב] היה בטוח שלא ירד ואמ' עכשיו בשביל חטא זה ארד לגיהנם שגרמתי לו שימות וארד אל בני כמו על בני א"ל אין כתוב על בני אלא אל בני א"כ יודע שהיה שם בנו אמרתי לו כן דברתי (י) יוסף חטא בנפשו דכת' מלשני בסתר רעהו אותו אצמית [תהלים קא ה] ויוסף היה מוציא דבה דכת' ויבא יוסף [את] דבתם רעה אל אביהם [בראשית לז ב] אמ' יעקב יוסף נהרג בחטאו שהיה מלשין ואני אדר אחריו לגיהנם שעל ידי מת

כ

שאל גלח לה"ר נתן נ"ע מהו צדקה ממני [בראשית לח כו] וכי בשביל שזינתה אליו ונתעברה ממנו נעשית צדקה והשיב יהודה לא אמ' צדקה אלא צדקה ממני כלומ' אני חולק באותו און שזינתה אלי ועוד חטאתי יותר ממנה שלא נתתיה לשילה בני א"כ היא זכאה יותר ממני ואינני כדי (לזונה) [לדונה] והוא היה מלך כדכת' כי יהודה גבר באחי [דהי"א ה ב] וכיון שלא היה דנה לא היה אחר דנה יוסף

כי

ויח' פקרו שכל את ידיו [בראשית מח יד] והקרא השיב כי לכך א"ל יוסף לא כן אבי [שם שם יח] אך (בזז) [בזו] הטענה להוציא הצדיק מן הדבה (לא הבנתי אבל שמעתי) א"ל [לא] כן אבי שהיה סבור שאביו מניח ידיו במזיד בשתי וערב ויעקב השיב ידעתי בני ידעתי [שם שם יט] יודע אני שאסור לעשות שתי וערב אבל אינו מתכוין לכך

- 2-3 פקרו – כי#1 ר': עוד פוקרי[ם] | ואו[מרם] | אחר שנמולו | ר': אחרי אשר נמולו | תשובה – כי#2 ר': ושמעתי תשובה | ואחר[י] כן | ה': ואחר כך
- 3 הכותב - כר' | ה': | העוון | ה': | ח' | ששינו | ה': | ר': ששנו | התנאי | ה': | ח' | שביניהם – התנו | ר': התנאי שעשו ביניהם[ם]
- 4 ואת – לכם | ר': וגו' | {ונתנו} | ה': | ויתנו | ר': | בנותינו#2 | ר': בנותיך | (להם) – לנו | ר': כן עד
- 5 לנו הוא | ה': לנו הוא; | ר': הלוא לנו הם | נמולו | ה': נמלך
- 6 הרגום | ה': | ואתי שמעתי לפי שהתנו להם בת יעקב: יום תהיו כמונו [בראשית לד טו]. משמע להתגיר ולא ללכת לע"ז; ולא קיימו תנאי(ים) דכת' ויהי ביום השלישי בהיותם כואבים [בראשית לד כה]; ואין כאב אלא א"ז
- 9 וישב | ה': פ[רשת] וישב | חובל יוסף | ר': פוקרי[ם] | [לר'] | ה': אל הר"ר
- 10 שבתחלה | ר': כי מתחילה |
- 11-12 ירד | ה': לירד | עכשיו | ה': | ח' | וארד – בני#2 | ה': | ח' | א"ל – דברתי(י) | ר': וא"ת אל בני ממש וא"כ יודע היה יעקב שהי[ה] בנו שם; י"ל זה אינ[ו] תימ[ה] | ה': | דברתי(י) | ה': דברת
- 13 מוציא דבה | ר': | ח' | יוסף | ה': | ר': | ל' את | אל אביהם | ר': א"א | יעקב | ר': | ח'
- 14 נהרג – מת | ר': בחטאו מת ואני אחריו שעל ידי הוא מת | אחריו | ה': | ח'
- 17 שאל – מהו | ר': | ח' | גלח | ה': | ל' אחד | צדקה ממני | ר': | ל' פוקרי[ם] | שזינתה – ממנו | ר': | ח' | שזינתה אליו | ה': שזנת ממנו | נעשית | ה': | ר': נעשה | צדקה#2 | ר': צדקת
- 18 והשיב יהודה | ר': וי"ל יהודא | צדקה#1 | ה': | ח' | שזינתה | ה': | ר': שזנתה | אליו | ר': | ח'
- 19 לשילה | ה': לשלה | היא | ה': היתה | ואינני כדי (לזונה) | ה': | ר': ואינני כדי לדונה | והוא – מלך | ר': ויהוד' מלך היה | יהודה | ר': יודא
- 20 שלא – דנה | ר': שהוא לא דן אותה | יוסף | ה': הר"ר יוסף
- 23-25 פקרו – לכך | ר': שכל את ידיו; פוקרי[ם] שהוא שתי וערב וכדכ[תיב] בו י"ל שבשביל כך הרעה בעיני יוסף, ויאמ' "לא כך אבי, אין טוב ששכלת את ידך אלא רע". ויעקב ה(י)ש[ב] "ידעתי בני ידעתי שאסור לכון לשתי וערב אלא שהוצרכתי לברך אפרים ביד ימיני לפי שהוא יגדל"; וא"ת למה לא הפך את הבני ולמה הוצרך לתמוך ידיו, י"ל כי יעקב נתכוון לנסות את יוסף אם יקפיד על עשיית שתי וערב.
- 23 את | ה': | ח' | א"ל | ה': אמ' | (בזז) | ה': בזאת
- 24 הבנתי | ה': הבין | שמעתי | ה': שמע | א"ל | ה': | ל' לא
- 25 בני ידעתי | ה': | ח' | לעשות | ה': | ל' כן

לעולה משל למלך שנתארח אצל (אוהבי) [אוהבו] התקין אותו אוהב סעודה גדולה וכבדו בכל כחו בגמר הסעודה א"ל המלך מפני מה לא עשית לי מבנך מנה אחת נטל את הסכין ובקש לחתכו ולנתחו א"ל המלך וכי אמרתי לך להרגו לא אמרתי אלא שתעשה לי ממנו מנה שתביאהו לפני כי הייתי מתאוה לראותו כך א"ל הק' לאברהם והעלהו שם לעולה [שם שם ב']

5

טז

תולדות יקופין אחד מצא ר' יוסף בדרך פריש ואמ' לו יעקב אביכם גנב היה ואין אוכל רבית כמהו שבשביל קערה אחת שהיתה שוה מחצה קנה הבכורה שהיתה שוה אלף זקוקים והשיב לו פשט הר"ר יוסף בכור שור ויאמר {יעקב} מכרה כיום את בכורתך [בראשית כה לא] כיום כמה ששוה היום שמא תמות קודם אבינו או יאבד את שלו ואני אתן לך דמים (כי) [כמו] טובת הנאה שיש בה ויאמר עשו הנה אנכי הולך למות [שם שם לב] שהיה איש שדה ויוצא כל הימים בסכנה ליהרג ולמה [זה] לי בכורה [שם] וימכר את בכורתו ליעקב [שם שם לג] בדמים חשובים ויעקב נתן לעשו לחם [שם שם לד] וגו' אין כת' וימכר [בכורתו] ליעקב בלחם ונזיד עדשים אלא ויעקב נתן לעשו [דף 15ב] שנתן לו בחנם על דמי המכר בשביל היכר המכירה כמו שרגילין עוד לעשות בעלי סחורה יוסף בה"ר נתן זצ"ל

10

יז

ויצא פקרו לומר יעקב רמאי בתנאי לבן תשובה הוא החליף תנאו מיד שהתנה להסיר נקוד וטלוא וחום אבל לא כל אשר לבן בו והוא הסיר כל אשר לבן בו וגם מן התישים לא התנה להסיר ור' יוסף היה מוסיף יעקב נאמן גדול היה ונאמנות גדול עשה ללבן אבל לבן רמה אותו שהתנה לו אעבר בכל צאנך היום הסר משם כל שה נקוד וטלוא וכל שה חום בכשבים וטלוא ונקוד בעזים [בראשית ל לב] ותשימם במקום אחר והיה שכרי [שם] מכאן ואילך כל אילו המנומרים יהיו שכרי אותן שיוולדו ולבן א"ל הן לו יהי כדברך [שם שם לד] אבל הזקנים התישים היה מעכב כדי להוליד כמותם ולבן הסיר אף התישים כדי שלא יתעברו צאנו מנומרים לפי שא"ל יעקב כל אשר איננו נקוד וטלוא גנוב הוא אתי [ע"פ בראשית ל לג] ומהיכן יבאו המנומרים לכך הוצרך להציג המקלות בא וראה כמה גדול נאמנותו של יעקב שאע"פ שרמהו לבן עשה לו יעקב טובה כשהציג המקלות היה מציג לפני הקשורים ובהעטיפי הצאן לא ישים [שם שם מב] והיו כל הקשורים הנוולדים בחורף ליעקב והנוולדים בקיץ [היו] ללבן

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- 1 לעולה ה': נ' ולא אמ' לו [לשחוטו] [לשחוטו] | [אוהבי] ה', ר': אוהבו | התקין ר': והתקין | אותו ר': לו | כחון ה': בהן
- 2 אתן ה', ר': ח' | לחתכו ר': ח' | להרגו ר': [לחורגו] ח[ס] | [חלילה]
- 3 לפני ה': לפנינו | הייתי מתאוה ה': [מתאלה לעשותו] | א"ל ה', ר': אמ' | הק' ה': הקב"ה | לאברהם ר': לאברהם | והעלהו ר': והעלהו
- 7 מצא ר' ר': פגע להר' | אוכל רבית ר': מרבית בעולם | כמהו ר': כמוהו | קרעה ר': נ' תבשיל
- 8 אחת שהיתה ה': ח' | שוה ר': נ' פשוט או | פשט – שור' ר': כך פי' [רוש] הפסוק |
- 9 את בכורתך ה': נ' ל'; ר': ח' | כיום#2 | כלומ' | כמה ה': כמו; ר': נ' שהיא | אבינו ר': נ' או כלומ' יאבד אבינו | שלון ה': אשר לו | ואני ר': ואפ"ה
- 10 (כי) ה': כמו; ר': ח' | שיש ר': נ' לך | ויוצא ר': יוצא | בה' ה': עתה
- 11 הימים ר': יום | ולמה ה', ר': נ' זה | חשובים ה': הרבה; ר': יקרים ומה שכתוב |
- 12-13 לחם ה', ר': נ' ונזיד | וגו' – המכר ה': ח' | וגו' – סחורה ר': זה נתן לעשו כדרך שעושי' לסרסורי[ם] שקו[ראים] ווינקיף ולא לעשו נתנו עבור המכר דא[ם] ל[א]ן [כנן] היה לו לומר וימכר [בכורתו] ליעקב בלחם ובנזיד עדשי[ם] | המכירה ה': נ' נתן לו בחנ[ם] לחם | יוסף – זצ"ל ה', ר': ח' | לעשות בעלי סחורה ה': בעלי סחורה לעשות
- 16 יוצא ה': פ[רשת] יצא | פקרו ר': פוקרי[ם] | רמאי ה', ר': נ' היה | לבן ה': נ' במקלות | תשובה הוא ר': י"ל אדרב[ה] לבן | הוא ה': ח' | מיד שהתנה ר': כי יעקב | וחום ר': ח'
- 17 לב#1 ר': (להן) | והוא – בו#2 | ר': ח' | התישים ר': התישים | להסיר ה': (בסיר) | ור' – מוסיף ה': והוסיף הר"ר יוסף | יעקב – היה ר': אדרב[ה] היה יעקב נאמן גדול
- 18 ונאמנות – אותו ר': נגד לבן | רמה אותו ה': רמהו | לון ר': ח'
- 19 ותשימם – אחר ה': ח' | אילון ה': ח'
- 20 יהיו ה': היה | אותו ה': אותו | שיוולדו ר': שיוולדו | ולבן – לון ה': והיו שכרי וללבן אמר | ולבן ר': ח' | הזקנים ה': הזקנים התישים ה': ח'; ר': התישי[ם] | כדי ה': וכדי
- 21 התישים ר': התישים | איננו ה': ח'; ר': (אננו)
- 22 יבאו ר': יבואו | המנומרים ה': מנומרים | גדול נאמנותו ה': גדולה אמונתו; ר': גדול (נאמנותו)
- 23 יעקב#2 ר': ח'
- 24 בקיץ – ללבן ר': קיץ ללבן היו

כירק עשב נתתי לכם את כל זה פתרונו דמיתי הכל לכם לירק עשב כמו שהעשב יש שהוא ראוי לאכל כך בהמות וחיות יש מהן ראוי ויש מהן שאינו ראוי וכן עופות ודגים אותן שהזהיר הכתוב עליהם אינן ראויים והשאר ראויים

## יג

וירא והנה שלשה אנשים [בראשית יח ב] פוקרים המינים לומר שג' רשויותיהם תשובה כי בסוף הפרשה כת' וילכו משם האנשים סדומה ואברהם עוד(י)נו עומד [ע"פ בראשית יח כב] א"כ כל היחיד אחד פ"י ר"ס ובעל התשובות השיב מדכתיב ויבאו שני (האנשים) [המלאכים] סדומה [בראשית יט א] א"כ נחלקו וה"ר יוסף אומ' אנשים ממש או גדולים או נביאים ובכן אני דוחה אותם ומה שכתוב שוב אשוב אילך כעת חיה [שם יח י] בנבואה נאמ' לו אי נמי הק' אמ' לו והעד אחריו שכת' ויומר י"י [אל אברהם] למה זה צחקה שרה [שם יח יג] א"כ הק' מדבר אילו

## יד

שכחתי בפרשת לך לך ו"ו שאל גלח אחד לה"ר יוסף ומלכי צדק מלך שלם הוציא לחם ויין [בראשית יד יח] מפני מה הוציא לחם ויין יותר מדבר אחר א"ל שזהו לפי שעושי השקר מנט מלחם ויין אמרתי לו מי היה כהן ומי נתן המעשר למי א"ל מלכי צדק היה כהן ואברהם נתן לו מעשר מכל אמרתי לו היכן מצינו כהונתו של מלכי צדק לא מצינו עבודתו בשום מקום אבל אברהם היה כהן כמו [דף יד ב] שמצינו במזמור נאם י"י לאדני שב לימיני עד אשית אויביך הדום [ל]רגליך [תהלים קי א] שזהו (אמר) אמרפל וחבריו וכת' שם אתה כהן (לאל עליון) [לעולם] על דברתי מלכי צדק [שם שם ד] ומצינו שהקריב קרבנות ועל פי הדבר במזמור {את} האיל וכמה קרבנות הקריב ולכך הוציא לו מלך שלם לחם ויין כדי ליתן לו מעשר מן הלחם ומן היין וזהו ויתן לו מעשר מכל [בראשית יד כ] הוציא (מעשה) [מעשר] מוכן לאנשים עוברים היעפים לחם ויין להשיב נפש עוד י[ש] מ[פ]רשים לחם כמו (עבר) [עבד] לחם רב [דניאל ה א] עוד זה יוכיח היאך כת' ויתן לו מעשר מכל אי אפשר לומר מכל מה שהיה מביא והלא כת' הרימותי ידי (לאל) [אל-יהוה אל] עליון [בראשית יד כב] וגו' והיאך היה נותן מעשר מדבר שאינו שלו יוסף

## טו

עוד פוקרים שאלו הק' אמ' לאברהם קח נא את בנך את יחידך [בראשית כב ב] וגו' ואחר כך אמ' לו המלאך אל תשלח ידך אל הנער [שם שם יב] והניח בשבילו אך לפי המדרש אינו קשה כלום שהרי לא אמ' לו כי אם והעלהו

- 1-2 את כל ה' את; ר': אכל | דמיתי - שהעשב | ר': דמה הכל לירק עשב מה העשב | הכל - עשב | ה': לכם את כל | שהוא - לאכל | ה': ראוי | לאכל | ר': נ' ויש שאינו ראוי לאכל | כר' | ר': אף | בהמות - וכן | ר': בהמה וחיה
- 2 אותן | ר': יש | הכתוב | ה': הקב"ה | הכתוב עליהם | ר': עליו הכתוב | אינן ראויין | ר': ואינן ראוי | והשאר ראויים | ר': ויש שראוי
- 5 וירא | ה': פ[ר]שת | וירא | שלשה | ר': ג' | אנשים | ר': נ' נצבים עליו | רשויותיהם | ה': ר': רשויות הן אב ובן ורוח הטומאה | תשובה | ה': ח'; ר': וינש [להשיב]
- 6 האנשים | ר': נ' ויבואו | ואברהם - א"כ | ה': א"כ נחלקו וה"ר יוסף או' | עומד | ר': נ' לפני ה' | היחיד | ר': נ' היה | פ"י ר"ס | ה': ר': ח' (האנשים) | ה': ר': המלאכים | סדומה | ה': נ' בערב | אומ' | ה': פ"י; ר': אמ' | און | ה': ח'
- 8 | או נביאים | ה': ונביאים | דוחה אותם | ר': דוחם | לון | ה': ח'; ר': נ' הכי קאמ'
- 9 הק' | ה': הקב"ה | שכת' | ה': כת | שרה | ה': לאמר | הק' | ה': הקב"ה
- 12 שכחתי - לך#2 | ה': פ[ר]שת | לך לך | ר': לך לך
- 13-14 שלח - יוסף | ר': פוקרים | לה"ר | ה': אל הר"ר | הוציא - ויין | ר': הל"ו | מדבר אחר | ר': מזבח אחר
- 14 א"ל שזהו לפי | ה': אלא לפי; ר': לא משו[ם] | השקר מנט | ה': ממש השקרמנט; ר': שקרמנט | אמרתי לון | ר': י"ל | מין | ה': ומי | המעשר למין | ה': למי המעשר | ר': המעשר | א"ל#2 | ה': אלא; ר': אמר המין
- 15 כהן | ר': הכהן | א"ל היכן | ר': י"ל והיכן | כהונתו | ה': כהונה שלי; ר': מכהונתו
- 16 במזמור | ר': ח' | רגליך | ה': ר': לרגליך
- 17 שזהו | ה': זהו; | (אמר) | ה': ר' ח' | וחבריו | ר': וחבריו | (לאל עליון) | ר': לעולם
- 18 {את} | ר': ח' | כדן | ה': וכדי
- 19 מן - ויין | ה': ר' מלחם ויין | וזהו | ר': נ' שאון | דכתי' | (מעשה) | ר': מעשר | מוכן | ר': וכן | עוברים | ר': ח'
- 20 היעפים | ר': עיפים מוציא[ם] | י[ש] מ[פ]רשים | ר': יוכיח | לחם#2 | ה': ח' | (עבר) | ר': עבד | זה | ר': ח' | היאך | ר': היך
- 21 שהיה מביא | ר': שהביא | והלא | ר': דה[ו]ן | יד | ה': ח' | (לאל) | ה': (לא)
- 22 והיאך | ר': ואיך | נותן | ה': ח' | יוסף | ה': ר' ח'
- 25 עוד | ה': ועוד | פוקרים | ה': ר' ח' | שאלו | ר': שואל | הק' | ה': (ל) הקב"ה | אמ'#1 | ר': א"ל | את יחידך | ה': ר' ח' | המלאך | ה': ח'
- 26 אל הנער | ה': נ' וגו'; ר': ח' | שרה | ה': נ' (אמ') | כי אס | ר': אלא

וכי נתן קרובי בגן בושם שלו כך אתם אומ' שנתקן הקילקול וכי הוציא הנשמות מגהינם ומי יאמין לכם לזאת וכל הקללות הנראות עדיין קיימות כלו דברי ר' יוסף

#### יא

5 וינחם י"י כי עשה את האדם בארץ [בראשית ו ו] פקרו דרכו להנחם ולהפר את בריתו ולשנות את דבריו כה עשה לאברהם שאמ' והעלהו [שם ל]עולה [שם כב ב] ואחר כך שלח מלאכו ואמ' אל תשלח ירך [שם יב] וכן בשאול וכן (בננוה) בנינוה וכן בעולם לא תלך עמהם [במדבר כב יב] ואחר כך קום לך אתם [שם כב כ] ויחר אף אלהים כי הולך הוא [שם כב כב] על כן אמרו בבא מצרים הפך דברי אל חי ונתן להם תורה חדשה וטח מהשכיל לבותם [ע"פ ישעיה מד יח] כי לא ידעו מה היא נחמה (ולא) [ולמה] נכתבה ואתה דע לך כי לא יתנחם הבורא אבל דברה תורה כלשון בני אדם עיני י"י כדי שידעו הפתאים שהוא רואה לאור מחשך מעשיהם באזני שיבינו שאם יתפללו לפניו שישמע שועתם 10 דברים האילו לא יזיקו למשכיל בהם והמשל אדם הרוצה להשקות בהמתו אינו אומר שתי אלא שורק לה בפיו כדרך בינתה וכן (בינתה) נחמה הכתובה לענין הבורא משל להשכיל כי הבורא מתנחם והופך גזרתו על ידי ריבוי תפלה ותשובה כמו שמצינו במשה ובנינוה ובכמה מקומות ולי אני יוסף נראה הפי' עיקר התשובה וינחם י"י [בראשית ו ו] נחמה היתה לו כי עשה את האדם בארץ ולא בשמים ויתעצב אל לבו [שם] של אדם שהיה רע ונחמתי כי המלכתי את שאול [ש"א טו יא] אינו קשה על המקרא [כי ראשון מוכיח על סופו ויתנחם דומיא דויכזב [במדבר כג יט] אם אמר הק' 15 להטיב על אדם אחד או לממלכה אחת אינו חוזר בו כי בא יבא דברו [דף 14א] הטוב אבל על הרעה מתנחם ומרחם

#### יב

נח כירק עשב נתתי לכם את כל [בראשית ט ג] שאלני לי הכותב שאלני משומד אחד וכי הק' נתן וחוזר אמרתי לו לאו א[מר] ל[י] והלא נתן הכל לבני נח דכתיב כירק עשב נתתי לכם את כל והיאך אתם [אומ'] שאסר לכם בהמות 20 וחיות ודגים אינו אלא משל אמרתי לו שלמה אמ' בחכמתו להבין משל ומליצה דברי חכמים וחידותם [משלי א ו] צריך לדרוש הכל הלשון והמשמעות אבל אין לומר כי הכל פי' להשחית הלשון התורה הזהירה על החזיר ואתם אומרים כי הכל אינו אלא משל און חרשתם ועולה קצרתם [ע"פ הושע י ג] שהרי מצינו אוכלי בשר החזיר [ו]השקץ והעכבר יחדו יסופו נאם י"י [ישעיה סו יז] וכן האוכלים בשר החזיר ומרק פגולים כליהם [שם סה ד] א"ל א"כ מהו

1 שלו ר' ח' | הקילקול ה' הקלוקל

2 הנראות ר' הברא

5 פקרו ה' נ' ואמ[רו] כי [את#2] ה', ר' ח'; את#3] ה', ר' ח' | כה ר' כן

6-7 שאמ' ר' נ' לו | והעלהו ר' והעליהו | מלאכו ר' מלאכו | וכן בשאול – בנינוה ר' וכן בכרובים בתחילה צוה לא תעשה לך פסל וכל תמונה [שמות כ ד] ואח"כ שינה ואמ' עשה לך שרף [במדבר כ ח] ועשית כרובים וכן הרף ממני ואשמידם [דברים ט יד] וחזר ואמ' וינחם י"י על הרעה [שמות לב יד] וכן לא תבערו אש בים השבת [עייף שמות לה ג] ואח"כ עלת שבת בשבתו [במדבר כח י] והתיר הבערה וכן ביום הח' ימול [ויקרא יב ג] אפ[י]ל[ו] בשבת וקו[ד]ם לכן אסר מלאכ[ה] בשבת וכן בשאול נחמתי כי המלכתי שאול למלך [ש"א טו אין וכן בעולם

7 עמהם ה' ח' | אתם ר' נ' ואח"כ

8 אמרו – להם ר' ע"כ יש להאמין כי אלהים הפך דבריו ועשה | מצרים ה' נצר | וטח מהשכיל ר' ויש להשיב להם ולהשכיל לבותם

9 היא ר' הוא לשון | ולא | ולמה | הבורא – תורה ר' אבל הוא מדבר

10 מעשיהם ר' מעשים | באזני ה' נ' י"י כדי; ר' אזני

11 דברים האילו ה' דברי האלו | יזיקון ר' תקו | לה בפיו ר' בפיה

12 (בינתה) ה' ח' | כי ה' ח'

13 במשה ה' ח' | ובנינוה ה' בנינוה; ר' ובננוה | ולי – התשובה ה' ולהר"ר יוסף נראה כי פי' הוא התשובה; ר' ד[בר] א[חר]

14 לא ר' לפניו | שהיה ר' שהוא

15 על המקרא ה' המקרא; ר' נ' כי | על סופו ר' בסופו | דויכזב ר' דול כזב | אמר ר' דבר | הק' ה' הקב"ה

16 על אדם ה' אל אדם; ר' על האדם | אחד ר' ח' | כי ר' כי אם

18 נח ה' פרש' נח

19 שאלני – אחד ה' שאל משומד אחד; ר' שאל משומד אחד להר' יוסף בר הר' נתן

20 לאו ה' לא | הלא ה' הרי | נתן הכל ר' הכל נתן | היאך ר' איך | {אומ'} ר' תאמ[רו] | לכם ה' ח' | וחיות ה' חיות; ר' חיה

21 ודגים ר' עוף | שלמה ה' שלומה | משל#2] ר' (חכמה)

22 לדרוש ה' לדרש | אבל ה', ר' ח' | אין ה' ואין הכל ה' שלמה | להשחית ר' להשיב | כי ר' ח'

23 הכל ה', ר' ח'

24 מרק ר' מורק | א"ל א"כ מהו ר' א"ל מהו א"ל

5 הפרי לבטל הגזירה ולמה אמ' ואכל וחי לעולם [בראשית ג כב] 'אלא כך אמ' הק' לאדם מכל עץ הגן [בראשית ב טז] וגו' 'כלומ' בעצתי אל תאכלו מעץ הדעת לפי שיש סם המות בתוכו וביום אכלך ממנו בודאי מות תמות 'ולא גילה [לו] הרפואה 'כשעבר על הצווי אמר הק' הוא לא האמין לעצתי 'לפיכך אסיר ממנו רפואתו 'לכך אמ' ועתה פן ישלח ידו [בראשית ג כב] וגו' 'משל לרופא שאמ' לעבדו מכל הקילרין שיש בחדר זה אתה [יכל לאכל] [יכול לאכול] חוץ מאותו שיש בכלי זה שהוא סם המות מה עשה העבד כשהלך רבו נטל מאותו כלי ואכל ונסתכן 'אמ' רבו הואיל ולא האמין לי לא אשתדל לרפואתו 'כך עץ החיים היה רפואתו של עץ הדעת''

ט

10 שאלוני איך תוכל לומר שלא ירד לגיהנם והלא כתוב בו שתי מיתות אחת בעולם הזה ואחת לעולם הבא 'דכת' מות תמות [בראשית ב יז] 'השבתי אלא מעתה אכל תאכל [שם ב טז] הכי נמי בעולם הזה ולעולם הבא 'וכן הקם תקים עמו [דברים כב ד] 'וכן עזב תעזב עמו [שמות כג ה] 'וכן הענק תעניק [דברים טו יד] אלא דברה תורה בלשון בני אדם וכן שלח תשלח''

15 שאלני משומד אחד בפני גלחים הרבה 'אתם אומ' שהבורא מכה באיזמל ומרפא באיזמל תודה לי האמת אמרתי לא כן 'א[מר] [לני] א"כ יש לך להודות שכשם שהעולם נתקלקל על ידי אשה כך נתקן על ידי אשה 'אמרתי לא אבל 'אמנם הגידה לי מפני מה עלה בדעתו לתקן על ידי אשה 'אם בא לתקן על ידי[נ] החוטא היה לו לתקנו על ידי אדם שנצטווה אבל חוה לא נצטוית שעדיין לא נבראת כשנעשה הצווי 'וא"ת שהיא עושה יותר אשר הס[נ]תה בעלה לאכל והיא היתה האיזמל שהמסית חמור מן החטא 'א"כ היה לו לתקן על ידי הנחש שהוא המסית הראשון וחמור מן הכל 'ועוד איך נתקן הכל על ידה והיא עמדה בקילקולה כאשר אנו רואים 'ועוד הקללה הנראת עדיין קיימת 'הנה אמשל לך למה הדבר דומה 'למלך שסרח עליו עבדו טרדו מתוך פלטיין שלו ושלחו בגלות וכל מקום שהיה מוצא אחד מקרוביו היה אוסרו ומשליכו [דף 13ב] בבור ומחריב כל קרקעותיו. פעם {אחת} מצאו אדם אחד לאותו עבד 'א"ל המלך נחם על הרעה אשר עשה לך ולקח קרוביך הכלואים והושיבם בגן בושם שלו ועתיד לעשות לך כן וכל כך למה [לפי] שלקח אחת מקרובותיך לו לאשה 'אמ' לו אותו העבד בדבר זה איני מאמינך 'א"ל מפני מה 'אמ' לו עדיין עודינו מחזיק אותי בגלותי ואני רואה עדיין ארצי שממה וכל מקום שהוא מוצא קרובי אוסרם בכלא 'ואיך אאמינך שהוא מתחרט ונתפייס

- 1 הק' ה': הקב"ה; ר': ח'
- 2 וגו' ר': אכל תאכל | תאכלו ר': תאכל | שיש ר': בו | בתוכו ר': ח' | בודאי ה', ר': ח' | תמות ה': ב' בודאי | גילה ה': גלה | לו}} ה': אליו; ר': לו
- 3 הק' ה', ר': הקב"ה | לפיכך ר': לכן | אסיר ממנו ה': לא אגיד לו | רפואתו ה': רפואת; ר': רפואות | ידו ה': ב' ולקח גם מעץ החיים
- 4 הקילרין ה': הקילורין; ר': קלרין | שיש בחדר ר': שבחד | (יכל לאכל) ה', ר': יכול לאכול
- 5 שיש – שהוא ר': שבכלי זה שיש בו | רבו ר': ח' | אמ' ר': ב' לו
- 6 לרפאותו ה': לרפותו
- 9 שאלוני ה': ועוד; ר': שאל לי | איך ר': היאך | שתי ר': ב'
- 10 השבתי ה': והשיב; ר': הישבתי לו | הזה ה': ב' ואחת | ולעולם הבא ר': ול"ה
- 11 עמו ה': שלח תשלח | וכן#1] ה', ר': ח' | וכן#2] ה', ר': ח' | תעניק ר': ב' שלח תשלח וכיוצא[א] בהן
- 12 וכן – תשלח ה', ר': ח'
- 15 שאלני ה': שאל; ר': שאל לי | שהבורא ר': שהק' | ומרפא – האמת ה': ח' | אמרתי לו ה': אמ[ר] לו; ר': אמר לו
- 16 כן ר': כך הוא | שכשם – נתקלקל ר': שנתקלקל העולם | כך ר': כן | אבל אמנם ר': אך אתה אמת
- 18 חוה – נצטוית ר': לא חוה | עושה ה': פותה; ר': עושה | אשר הס[נ]תה ה': ב' את; ר': שהסית | לאכל ר': לאכול
- 19 האיזמל שהמסית ה': האיזמל והמסית | לו ה': לה | וחמור מן הכל ר': שהו' חמור מהכל
- 20-21 והיא – בקילקולה ה': והלא היא עומדת בקלולה; ר': והיה עצמה נתקלקלה | כאשר ר': כמ' | רואים ה', ר': רואין | הנראת ה': ח'; ר': הבר[א]ת | הנה – דומה ר': משל להד'
- 21 מתוך ר': מעל | פלטיין ה': פלטיין | שהיה ר': שהוא | מקרובין ה': מקרובין | היה ר': הוא
- 22 אוסרו ר': מוסרו | בבור ר': לבור | {אחת} ה', ר': אחת | אדם ר': קורא | נחם ר': נחם
- 23 אשר עשה ר': שעשה | קרוביך ר': קרובך | והושיבם ר': והושיבו | לך#2] ה': לו | למה ה': ה'; ר': ב' לפי
- 24-25 אותו ה': ח' | זה ה': הזה | בדבר – מאמינך ר': איני מאמינך דבר זה | עדיין – בגלותי ה': עודינו עדיין מחזיקנו בגלותי; ר': מפני שעדיין מחזיק אותו בגלות
- 25 ואני – עדיין ה': ועוד אני רואה | שהוא מוצא ר': שמוצא | מוצא ר': רואה את | ונתפייס ה': ח'

[ודם] שטועה בעיתותיו ורגעיו צריך להוסיף מחול על הקדש אבל הק' שמכיר עתיו ורגעיו נכנס בו כחוט השערה ונראה כאילו כלה ביום השביעי והפרחון אומ' ביום השביעי בטרם בא יום השביעי כמו ביום הראשון תשביתו שאור מבתים [שמות יב טו] פי' הקרא ויכל ביום השביעי ביום השביעי נכלה הכל והלע"ז אי אוט' אַיִפֿלֿאַי וכן ביום הראשון תשביתו אַיִץ דִּטּוֹרֵבִי

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י

וירא אלהים את כל [אשר] עשה והנה טוב מאד [בראשית א לא] שאל משומד אחד לה"ר נתן נ"ע מי ברא המשחית השיבו הק' בראו א"ל והכת' ירא אלהים את כל אשר עשה והנה טוב מאוד א"ל שוטה והלא כתוב ואנכי בראתי משחית לחבל [ישעיה נד טז] ואני השבתי עושה שלום ובורא רע [שם מה ז] וא"ת אי הכי קשו קרא(ו) [י] להדדי אלא את הכל עשה יפה בעתו

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ז

ואץ החיים בתוך הגן [בראשית ב ט] שאל כומר אחד לה"ר יוסף בה"ר נתן נ"ע האופיצאל בכינוי איך תאמרו שהבורא אינו אוכל אם כדבריכם למי ברא עץ החיים אי אפשר לומר שבראו בשביל אדם שהרי אם לא היה אדם חוטא לא היה צריך לעץ החיים שהיה חי לעולם כי לא נקנסה עליו מיתה [אלא] בשביל שחטא ואם נברא העץ להאכילו אחר החטא להצילו ממות אי אפשר לומר כן שהרי כת' ועתה פן ישלח ידו ולקח גם מעץ החיים וגו' [בראשית ג כב] א"כ לא בראו אלא לעצמו אמרתי שוטה הלא אתה מודה שאם לא חטא אדם (ש)לא יהיה צריך לעץ (הדעת) [החיים] כי היה {חי} לעולם מבלעדי עץ החיים אע"פ שלא יאכל מעץ החיים כל שכן הבורא עצמו שאינו צריך לעץ החיים אם כן למה נברא לפי שכתוב ורבים מישני [אדמת] עפר יקיצו אלה לחיי עולם [דניאל יב ב] וגו' ואותם שיקיצו ויחיו לחיי עולם יאכלו מעץ החיים.

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ח

שאל הקו{נ}צלייר מפריש לה"ר נתן יש גבול למצות ואין ראויות המצות הראשונות להתקיים לעולם שהרי מצות הפרי שנצטוו אדם נקנס עליו ביום אכלך ממנו מות תמות [בראשית ב יז] ולא מת השיבו אם נקנסה עליו מיתה היאך יכל

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- 1 בעיתותיו] ה'; ר': עתותיו [ורגעיו] ר': וברגעיו [הקדש] ה'; ר': הקודש [הק'] ה': הקב"ה
- 2-3 כאילו] ה': כאלו [השביעי#1] ר': ז' [הפרחון אומ'] ר': ד[בר] א[חר] [השביעי#2] ר': ז' [בא] ר': יבא [השביעי#3] ה': ח'; ר': ז' [כמו] ה': נ' אך [שאור מבתים] ה': ח';
- 3 ביום השביעי#1 – נכלה] ר': ביו[ם] ז' ביו[ם] ז' כלה [הכל] ר': ח' | אי אוט' אַיִפֿלֿאַי] ה': נאי אוט אנפלייאי; ר': אניפלאייא [וכן] ה': נ' משמ[שים]
- 4 תשביתו] ר': ח' | דִּטּוֹרֵבִי] ר': דטוברי
- 7 לה"ר] ה': להר"ר
- 8 השיבו] ר': א"ל [הק'] ה': הקב"ה [והכתוב] ה': והכת' | ר': ומה כת' | והלא כתוב] ה': והכת'; ר': כת'
- 9 ואני השבתי] ה': והר"ר יוסף השיב; ר': נ' מדכתי' [קרא(ו)] ר': קראי [להדדי] ה'; ר': אהדדי | אלא] ה': א"ל; ר': ח'
- 10 בעתו] ר': בעיתו
- 13 שאל] ר': אמ' | להר"ר – בכינוי] ה': אל (הח"ר) (הר"ר] בן הר"ר נתן; ר': להר' נתן אופיצאל [תאמר] ר': את[ם] אומ[רים] | שהבורא] ר': כי ה'
- 14 כדבריכם] ה': כן [החיים] ר': (ברא) | אפשר] ה': איפשר [בשביל אדם] ר': לאדם [אדם#2] ר': ח'
- 15 חין] ר': חיים [מיתה] ה': ח' | [אלא] ר': אלא | אחר החטא:] אחרי שחטא
- 16 כת'] ר': כתב [ולקח – החיים] ר': ח'
- 17-18 אמרתי] ה': א"ל [שלא] ר': לא | יהיה צריך] ה': יצטרך; ר': היה צריך [הדעת] ה': ח'; ר': החיים | כי – {חי}] ר': כי הוא חיים
- 18 אע"פ – החיים#1] ה'; ר': ח' | עצמו] ה': ח' | למה] ר': למי
- 19 נברא] ה': נ' אלא [שכתוב] ר': שכתב [וגו' עולם#2] ר': ח'
- 23 הקו{נ}צלייר] ה': הקוצייר; ר': הקנצלער [נתן] ה': ח'; ר': נ' ואמ' | להתקיים] ה': אלהים [הפרי] ר': ח'
- 24 שנצטוו] ר': שנצטוו [אדם] ר': לאדם [נקנס] ה': נהנה [עליו#1] ר': נ' מיתה שנ[אמר] | נקנסה] ה': נקנס [מיתה] ה': ח' | יכל] ה'; ר': יכל

שהק' נתייעץ והלא כת' את מי נועץ ויבינהו וילמדהו משפט וילמדהו דעת [ישעיה מ יד] וגו' והשבתי אדרבה משם יש להוכיח שהקב"ה מתייעץ מדכת' את מי נועץ ויבינהו זה פתרונו אם היה כתוב את מי נועץ ולא יותר הייתי אומר שלא נועץ לשום ברייה אבל עכשיו שכתוב ויבינהו זה פתרונו את מי נועץ שיוכל להבינו או ללמדו (ו) אורח משפט או להודיעו דרך תבונות עוד שמעתי נעשה אדם בנהוג שבעולם מלך או שלטון או שר שרוצה למנות שופט בארצו מגלה לבני ארצו ואומ' להם אני רוצה למנות עליכם שופט זה כדי שלא יתרעמו עליו כך כשבא הק' לבראות אדם אמ' לבריותיו נעשה אדם לפי שהיה רוצה לעשותו שופט על כל (אלהים) הארץ דכת' וירדו בדגת הים ובעוף השמים ובבהמה ובכל הארץ ובכל הרמש הרומש על הארץ [בראשית א כו] וכן תמשילהו במעשה ידיך כל שנה תחת רגליו [תהלים ח ז]

ד

בצלמנו כדמותינו [בראשית א כו] פקרו לומר שיש דמות לבורא ומביאים ראיה שמצינו מקראות מזכירים חילוק איברים על הבורא כמו על אדם וכובע ישועה בראשו [ישעיה נט יז] פי י"י דבר [שם א כ] עיני י"י בנאמני ארץ [תהלים קא ו] ואזניו אל שו(ו)עתם [שם לד טז] יד י"י הויה [שמות ט ג] ועמדו רגליו [זכריה יד ד] ויאמר י"י אל לבו [בראשית ח כא] אמרו המבוהלים מה חסר שלא היה אדם והנה אשיב אליהם ממה שמצאתי בשם רבינו סעדיה ובשם רבינו נסים ואבן גבירול ואבן עזרא רצו מסילתם על הצלם והדמות איך יתכן לומר ומה דמות תערכו לו [ישעיה מ יח] ופשט המקרא יש לפתור בכמה ענינים בצלמנו צלם המלאכים שנקראו אלהים והם בדמות אנשים דכת' והנה שלשה אנשים ד"א אמר {ר"ס} הצלם והדמות דרך משל כי כאשר אמ' דוד ליי"י הארץ ומלואה תבל ויושבי(ה) [בה] [תהלים כד א] ככה נאמ' באדם ותחסרהו מעט מאלהים [שם ח ו] וכן הן האדם היה כאחד ממנו [בראשית ג כב] ולבעל התשובות נראה אם הצלם והדמות איברים ופרצוף א"כ דמו יראתם לאנדרוגינוס שהרי [דף 12ב] כתוב בצלם אלהים ברא אותו זכר ונקבה ברא אותם [שם א כז] ד"א בצלמנו בצלם שיש לנו מוכן אי נמי בצלמנו בקומה זקופה וכן אך בצלם יתהלך איש [תהלים לט ז] כדמותינו כלומר כאשר יהיה נראה בעינינו כמו אם לא כאשר דמיתי כן היתה [ישעיה יד כד] וכן אל תדמי בנפשך [אסתר ד יג]

ה

ויכל אלהים ביום השביעי [בראשית ב ב] פוקרים אם כן עשה הק' (מלאכת) מלאכה בשבת (פר"ש) [פרש"י] בשר

- 1 שהק' ה' שהקב"ה | נתייעץ | ר' נתייעץ | כת' | ר' כתיב | וילמדהו משפט | ר' ח' | וילמדהו דעת | ה' | ר' ח' | וגו' | ה' ח' | והשבתי | ה' והשיב; ר' והוא משיבו
- 2 שהקב"ה | ר' כי הק' | מתייעץ | ה' מתייעץ | מדכת' | ר' אלו כתי' | יבינהו – נועץ#2 | ר' ח' | זה | ה' וזה
- 3 ברייה | ה' בריה | זה | ר' זהו | זהו | זהו | פתרונו | ה' ח' | (ו) אורח | ה' | ר' אורח
- 4 תבונות | ר' תבונה | שמע | ה' שמע | נעשה אדם | ר' ח' | בנהוג שבעולם | ה' מנהג בעולם | או שר | ה' או; ר' ח' | בארצו | ר' בבני ארצו
- 5 יתרעמו | ר' ירעימו | כשבא הק' | הקב"ה כשרצה
- 6-7 ובעוף – הארץ | ר' ח' | וכן | ר' וכת' | כל – רגליו | ר' כשת"ר
- 10 ומביאים | ה' (והביאים) | מקראות – חילוק | ר' הרבה מקומ' חתיך
- 11 על הבורא | ר' לבו[רא] | בראשו | ר' על ראשו כי | בנאמני ארץ | ר' אל צדיקי[ם]
- 12 אל שו(ו)עתם | ה' אל שועתם; ר' א"ש | אל לבו | ה' ביום ההוא
- 13 מה | ה' נ' היה | שלא היה | ר' הוא משל | אשיב | ה' השבתי | אליהם ממה | ר' עליה[ם] מה | רבינו | ה' רב; ר' ה' ר' רצו | ר' נץ | הצלם | ר' נ' ועל | ופשט | ה' ופשט
- 15 צלם | ר' בצלם | דכת' | ה' כדכת'
- 16 אמר {ר"ס} | ה' | ח' | הצלם והדמות | ר' הדמות והמשל | כי | ה' ח' | ליי"י | ר' להשם | הארץ | ה' נ' | תבל ויושבי(ה) | ר' ח' | ויושביה | ויושבי בה
- 17 באדם | ר' ח' | ותחסרהו | ר' ותחסרהו | וכן – ממנו | ר' וגו'
- 18 לאנדרוגינוס | ה' אנדרוגינוס
- 19 אותם | ר' נ' ונ"ל | נוסף לך | דיש להשיב א"כ לדבריהם נברא כל האדם בג' דמיונות, אב וכן ורוח, כמ[ו]ן שאת[ם] אומר[ים] כן נעש[ה] אדם בצלמנו ל[שון] רבים. נאם המעתיק | בצלמנו#1 | ה' נ' כדמותינו | בצלם – בצלמנו#2 | ר' ח' | וכן | ר' כמו
- 20 יהיה | ר' ח' | כן היתה | ר' ח'
- 24 השביעי | ר' ז' | פוקרים | ר' נ' לומ[ר] | הק' | ה' ח' | (מלאכת) | ה' מלאכה; ר' (מלאכים) | בשבת | ר' ביום | ז' שהו[א] שבת | (פר"ש) – בשר | ה' פרש"י בשר ודם
- 24-1 (פר"ש) – שטועה | ר' וי"ש | יש להשיב | בן אד[ם] שאינו בקי

נעשה אדם [בראשית א כו] פקרו המינין כי רבים הם תשובה בצדו ויברא אלהים [בראשית א כז] [דף 11ב] ולא כת' ויבראו ד"א פי' רש"י כי מדת מעלה נמלך בפמליא שלו כמו שמצינו מי יפתה את אחאב [מ"א כב ב] וכן בישעיה את מי אשלח ומי ילך לנו [ישעיה ו ח] (מי יפתה אחאב) בגזירת עירין פיתגמא ובמאמר קדישין שאילתא [דניאל ד יד] ועתה דברי הק' הרב ר' יום טוב מיואני אפרש אשר מפיו יקרא אלי' הרי בכל מעשה בראשית לא תמצא נעשה כי אם באדם. והטעם כי ברוב ו' ימים בבריאה תמצא כתוב למ[י]נהו בעץ עושה פרי' ובעשבים ובשרץ המים [עפ"י בראשית א כ] ובעוף השמים [עפ"י בראשית א ל] ובנפש חיה האדמה ובעשיית אדם למה לא כתב למינהו פירש שיוליד אדם ולא יוליד בהמה או חיה או עוף על כן (לא) אמ' הרב נ"ע כי זה היה מדברי משה רבינו וכן פתרונו ויומר אלהים [בראשית א כו] לנו צוה אלהים שנעשה אדם כלומר שאדם יוליד אדם וזהו כמו למינהו לגבי אדם ומצינו עשייה באדם את(ה) הנפש אשר עשו בחרן [בראשית יב ה] אבל הגאון רבינו סעדיה (סועד) [סומך] למה שאמרנו למעלה מצינו רבים על היחיד כמו אולי אוכל נכה בו [במדבר כב ו] ורבים ככה ובעל התשובות מוסיף עוד ראייה אחרת שהנו"ן במקום אל"ף משכני [...] נרוצה [שה"ש א ד] שהוא כמו ארוצה וכן בסוף הפסוק נגילה ונשמחה בך נזכירה [שם] {שמעתי נעשה דרך גדולים לדבר בלשון רבים. הגדול אמר כן דנא חלמה ופשריה נאמר קדם מלכא [דניאל ב לו]} הגמון משנץ שאל לה"ר נתן והוא השיב אדני לבי נעצב עשה לי משפט כי אני נתתי כ' ליטרין למחצית שכר לעירון אחד אשר גר תחתך בעיר חדשה וקנה פרגמטיא והלך ליריד פרובינש למכר סחורתינו והוזלה הסחורה והפסיד ויקצף מאד ויחר אפו ויקם ויאבד סחורתינו בלא רשותי ואתה ידעת כי אינני מלוה ברבית ועתה שפטה משפטי ויקם ההגמון בחימה שפוכה וישבע כי ישלם הקרן ומה שראוי להרויח אמר לו הח"ר נתן נ"ע וכי הק' מעקש הישרה אמ' לו לאו אמ' לו ולדבריכם העוה הואיל [ונטל] רשות בעשייה מפני מה {לא} נטל רשות במחייה שהרי כתוב אמחה את האדם אשר [עשיתי] [בראשית ו ז] ואם תאמר לא היה צריך לפי שחאטו בנפשם הרי מצינו בדור הפלגה שלא בא להשמידם כי אם להפיצם ולבלבל לשונם אמר הבה נרדה ונבלה שם שפתם [בראשית יא ז] אמ' לו אם כן למה אמ' נעשה אמר [דף 12א] לו במלאכיו נמלך וכן הוא (נמלך) אומ' בגזירת עירין פיתגמא ובמאמר קדישיו שאילתא [דניאל ד יד] ועל זה נאמ' מקים דבר עבדו ועצת מלאכיו ישלים [ישעיה מד כו] ור' יוסף שאל משומד אחד היאך תוכלו לומר

- 2 אדם ר': נ' בצלם | הם: ר': היו | תשובה] ה': והתשובה; ר': ותשובתן
- 3 פי' – מדת] ר': ח' | מעלה] ר': נ' כך | יפתה] ר': (לנו)
- 4 מי – אחאב] ה', ר': ח' | בגזירת] ה': (בגזית); ר': בגזר'
- 5 דברי – הרי] ר': ח' | מיואני] ה': מיוני
- 6 ברוב] ה': ברב | ו'] ה', ר': ח' | בבריאה] ר': ח' | תמצא] ה': נמצא; ר': נ' נבראו | כתוב] ר': ח' | למ[י]נהו] ה': למינהו כמו; ר': למינהו כת' | עושה:] ר': ח'
- 7 חיה] ה': ח'; ר': חית | האדמה:] ר': הארץ | ובעשיית] ה': ובעשית | למה] ר': ח'
- 8 או חיה] ה': וחיה | לא] ה', ר': ח' | הרב נ"ע] ה': הרם נ"ע; ר': הפסוק נעשה | כי] ה': נ' כל | היה] ה': ח' | וכן פתרונו:] ר': שכל הבריא' כת' וכשבא לבריא' האדם כת' | אלהים] ה': נ' כלומר; ר': נ' נעשה אדם כלומר הקב"ה
- 9 לנו צוה] ר': צוה לנו | אלהים] ר': ח' | לגבי אדם] ה': ולא יוליד בהמה או חיה; ר': לגבי השאר | אדם] ר': כי אמ' פרו ורבו [בראשית א כח] כך כתב לנו משה שהקב"ה צוה עלי' לעשות אדם ולא תעלה ע"ז שהקב"ה א' נעשה | באדם] ר': לגבי אדם | את(ה)] ה': את; ר': ואת
- 10 סועד] ה': סומך | למה – למעלה] ר': על דפי[רוש] לע[מוד] | מצינו] נ': ל[שון]
- 11 היחיד] ר': יחיד וחלופו | אוכל] ר': ח' | התשובות] ר': התשובה | אחרת] ר': ח' | אל"ף] ר': נ' כמ'
- 12 משכני] ה': נ' אחריו ו ; ר': אחריו | כמון] ה': עמו
- 13 משנץ] ר': משאנץ | שאל] ר': נ' תשובה זו
- 14 לה"ר] ה': מנעשה אדם | נתן] ה': ח' | אדני – נעצב] ר': הנני טרוד עתה | כ' – שכר] ר': כך וכך | למחצית שכר] ה': ח' | אשר – תחתך] ה': תחת ממשלתך | אשר גר] ר': שגר
- 15 חדשה] ר': חדשיא | וקנה פרגמטיא] ר': ולקח הפרקמטיא | והלך] ר': נ' לו | ליריד] ה': ח' | פרובינש] ה': לפריש; ר': פורביש | למכר:] ה', ר': למכור | סחורתינו:] ה': הסחורה | והוזלה] ה': והוז(ו)לה | והפסיד] ה': והופסדה; ר': והפסידה | ויחר – ויקם] ה': ח' | ויקם] ר': ח'
- 16 סחורתינו:] ה': הסחורה; ר': סחורתי | ידעת] ר': ידעת(י) | כי אינני] ה': שאינני | אינני] ר': אני | שפטה:] ר': שפוט
- 17 ישלם] ה': נ' את | שראוי] ה': שראו | הח"ר] ה', ר': הר' | נ"ע] ה', ר': ח' | הק'] ה': הקב"ה | מעקש] ה': נ' את; ר': מעיקש | ולדבריכם] ר': לדבריכ'
- 18 העוה] ה': ח' | הואיל] ה', ר': ונטל | בעשייה] ה': בעשיה | מפני מה לא] ר': ל[מה] ל[א] | במחייה] ר': במחאה | את – [עשיתי]] ר': ח'
- 19-20 כי אם] ר': אלא
- 20 ולבלבל לשונם] ר': ח' | אמר] ה': ואמרה | אמ' #2] ה': ח'
- 20-21 אמר לו] ר': ח'
- 21 וכן – אומ'] ר': וכן דכ[תיב] | עירין] ה': עירי | פיתגמא – שאילתא] ר': וכו'
- 22 נאמ'] ה': שמר | ור'] ר': והר' | ור' – אחד] ה': משומד אחד שאל אל הר"ר יוסף | היאך] ר': איך



א

פ' בראשית ברא אלהים [בראשית א א] עד הנה דברנו על הנחמות ועל הגמול המרעים לנו מעתה נדבר על משענת קנה רצוף [מ"ב יח כא] בני עוננה [ישעיה נז ג] אשר הרבו רשויות אשר שבא להשען מהבליהם על דברי הנביאים [דף 11א] וכל מקום שפקרו המינין תשובתו בצדן וכאשר תשיג ידי אכתוב מכל מלמדי השכלתי

5 ואחל לכתוב מספר משה רבנו עליו השלום ברא כת' בצדו ולא כת' בראו אם כן בזו מלבם לומר מלת אלהים שתיים ולא כן אף אם מזה אלהים שתיים מה עזרו ללא כח [עפ"י איוב כו ב] הלא האב והאל שנים והשלישי פיגול לא ירצה [עפ"י ויקרא יט ג] וסבר[ת] הגאונים למה לא אמ' משה ברא י"י כי רצה להזכיר שם שיש לו כינוי אלהיך אלהינו אלהיכם אלהי כמו שכת' אנכי י"י וכן וכאשר ציוני י"י אלהי [דברים ד ה] מי הוא אותו י"י הוא האלהים [מ"א יח לט] שמע ישראל י"י אלהינו על כן פתח באלהים שאינו שם העצם כמו שם המיוחד שלא יאמר אדני אדניך משם המיוחד כמו שלא יאמר משם העצם כמו יצחק לא יאמר "יצחקך, יצחקי, יצחקינו ומה שמצינו היהודי על שם יחוס וכן תשבי ואלקושי על שם המקום ששמו כך ולא בעבור כינוי וכן אלהים כך שמו ואמר המין כל יום לשון רבים וה"ר מאיר (ספר) [סתר] דבריו במלת יהויקים ששמו כך ואליקים ואני מצאתי בסוף יחזקאל פר בן בקר תמימים [יחזקאל מו ו] וזהו לשון רבים על לשון יחיד וכן לשון אדנות מצינו שהוא לשון רבים אם אדניו יתן לו [שמות כא ד] בעליו אין עמו [שמות כב יג] ועוד מצינו מלת אלהים על היחיד ראה נתתיך אלהים לפרעה ומשה יחיד היה וכן ראיתי אלהים עולים מן הארץ ויומר לה מה תארו ותאמר איש זקן [ש"א כח יד] וזה היה שמואל ור' יוסף בה"ר נתן השיב כי בלא אדנות ובלא אלהות אנו מוצאים דוגמתו ואוכליו עונו ישא [ויקרא יט ח] ואוכליו לשון רבים עונו ישא יחיד ולשון הקדש ככל הלשונות שיש לשון רבים על היחיד ויש לשון יחיד על הרבים וכן השיב ה"ר נתן נ"ע שהוא כמו שקורין העולם לאגוז אחד בלשון רבים נויץ בל[ועזית] וכיוצא.

ב

20 שאלו אנשי שאול לה"ר נתן מפני מה {לא} נאמר כי טוב ביום שיני של בראשית השיב להם הק' צופה עתידות ויודע מה שעתיד להיות וצפה שרוב עם עתידין להיות נדחים על ידי המים וגם מקולקלים ונאבדים לפיכך לא רצה לכתוב בהם כי טוב והמים נבראו בשיני

- 2 על[ ה' ] נ' (על) | הנחמות | ה' הניחמות; | ר': נ' אשר אמר לנו | המרעים [לנו] | ר': שהודיע לנו | מעתה נדבר | ר': וישלם הקב"ה לאיש כדרכין ואכת' אשיב | משענת | ר': משען
- 3 רצוף | ה': הרצוף | בני עוננה | ה': בני עשיו | אשר שבא | ה': ח' | להשען | ר': להושיע | מהבליהם | ה': בהבליהם; | ר': ח' | דברי הנביאים | ר': דבר הנבו[א]
- 4 מקום | ר': מה | המינין | ה': המינים | וכאשר – השכלתי | ר': ח' | ומכל | ה': בכל
- 5 מספר | ה': ח' | מספר – השלום | מחומש תור' את אשר אמצא בעד' | השלום | ר': נ' אלהים י"י תשוב' בצדו | ברא – בצדו | ר': דכת' ברא | בזון | ר': ר' | ב' | מלת אלהים | ר': אלהי' מלת
- 6-7 ולא כן | ר': ח' | מזה | ה': מדת; | ר': ח' | והאל – משה | ה': ח' | האב והאל | ר': אב ורוח
- 7 משה | ר': ח' | אלהיך | ר': אלהים
- 8 אלהי | ה': ח' | ני אלהי | אנכי – כאשר | ר': ח' | אלהי | ה': אלהים | אותן | ר': ח' | האלהים | ה': אלהים
- 9 באלהים | ה': נ' לפי | שלא – המיוחד | ר': ח'
- 10 משם – כמון | ה', ר': ח' | לא יאמר | ה', ר': ח' | יצחקך | ה': יצחקי; | ר': לא אמ' | יצחקי | ה': יצחקך; | ר': יצחק יצחקכם | על שם יחוס | ה': על היחוס; | ר': על יוד' | וכן | ר': ח'
- 11-12 ואלקושי | ר': האלקושי | המקום | נ': הוא | כל יום | ר': כל אלהים | וה"ר – (ספר) | ה': והנני סותר | (ספר) | ר': סתר
- 12 יהויקים | ה': נ' יהויכין | ששמו כך | ה', ר': ח' | ואליקים | ר': אליקים | ואני מצאתי | ה': וגם מצינו; | ר': ואני מיכאל | בסוף | ה', ר': בספר
- 13 שהוא | ה', ר': ח' | לון | ה', ר': נ' אשה
- 14 על היחיד | ר': על לש' יחיד | ומשה | ה': משה | יחיד היה | ר': היה יחיד
- 15 וזה היה | ר': הוא | ור' | ה': והר"ר; | ר': והר"ר | בה"ר | ה': בן הר"ר | בלא אדנות ובלא אלהות | ר': בלא אלהות ואדנות
- 16 עוננו | ר': ח' | ישא | ה': ל[שון] | ולשון – שיש | ה': ובשימ[וש] לשונות נמי יש | ככל הלשונות | ר': בכל מקו[ם]
- 17 שיש | ר': ח' | על היחיד | ה': על לשון יחיד | ויש | ה', ר': ח' | על הרבים | ה': על לשון רבים | נ"ע | ר': ז"ל הסופר | שהוא | ה': ח' | אחד | ר': ח' | בלשון רבים | ה', ר': ח'
- 18 נויץ | ר': נוש | בל[ועזית] | ה': ח'; | ר': בלע"ז שהו[א] | ל[שון] רבי[ם] | ואפ[י] לון | אחת קורין כך | כיוצא | ה': נ' כאילו; | ר': ח'
- 21-22 שאלו – לה"ר | ה': שאלו אל הר"ר; | ר': שאלו להר"ר | שיני | ר': ב' | הק"ה | ה': הקב"ה | ויודע – להיות | ה', ר': ח' | וצפה שרוב | ה': וראה (שוב); | ר': וראה כי רוב | עם | ר': נ' היו | להיות נדחים | ה': לאבד | נדחים | ר': נידחים | המים | ה', ר': מים | וגם – ונאבדים | ה': ח' | לפיכך | ר': לכן
- 23 בהם | ר': בו | בשיני | ה': שני

[תורה]

רעהו ויקשב יי' וישמע ויכתב ספר זכרון [לפניו] ליראי יי' ולחשבי שמו ׀ והיו לי אמר יי' צבאות ליום אשר אני עושה סגולה וחמלתי עליהם] כאשר יחמל איש על בנו ׀ ושבתם וראיתם ב[י]ן צדיק לרשע ב[י]ן עובד אלהים לאשר לא עבדו ׀ הנה [ה]יום בא (ליי') בוער כתנור [עי"ש ג טז-יט] ׀ זכרו תורת משה עבדי אשר (נתתי לו) [צויתי אותן] בחורב [שם ג כב] ׀  
5 זכור יי' לבני אדום את יום ירושלים האומרים ערו ערו עד היסוד בה [תהלים קלז ז] ׀

### הנחמות נשלמות ׀

נחום ״ אל קנא ונוקם י״י נוקם י״י ובעל חימה נוקם י״י לצריו (ובעל חימה לאויבים) [ונוטר הוא לאיביו] [נחום א ב] הנה על ההרים רגלי מבשר משמיע שלום חגי יהודה חגיך שלמי (את) נדריך כי לא יוסיף [עוד] לעבר בך בליעל כלה (בכרת) [נכרת] [שם ב א] ״ כי שב י״י את גאון יעקב כגאון ישראל [שם ב ג] ״

חבקוק ״ על משמרתִי אעמדה ואתִיצבה על מצור ואצפה לראות מה ידבר בי ומה אשיב על תוכחתי ״ ויענני י״י [ויאמר] כת[ו]ב חזון ובאר על הלחות למען ירוץ קורא בו ״ כי עוד חזון למועד ויפח לקץ [ו]לא יכזב אם יתמהמה חכה לו כי בא יבא (ו)לא יאחר [חבקוק ב א-ג] ״ מה הועיל פסל כי פסלו יוצרו מסכה ומורה שקר כי בטח יוצר יצרו עליו לעשות אלילים אלמים ״ הוי אומ' לעץ הקיצה עורי לאבן דומם [הוא יורה] הנה הוא תפוש זהב וכסף וכל רוח אין בקרבו וי״י בהיכל קדשו הס מפניו כל הארץ [שם ב יח-כ] ״

צפניה ״ לכן (חנו) [חכון] לי נאום י״י ליום קומי לעד ״ כי [אז] אהפך אל עמים שפה ברורה לקרא כלם בשם י״י (ו)לעבדו שכם אחד [צפניה ג ח-ט] ״ שארית [ישראל] לא יעשו עולה ולא ידברו כזב ולא ימצא בפייהם לשון תרמית [כי המה ירעו] ורבעו ואין מחריד [שם ג יג] ״ רני בת ציון הריעו ישראל שמחי ועלזי בכל לב בת ירושלים ״ הסיר י״י משפטיך פנה אויבך מלך ישראל י״י בקרבך לא תיראי רע עוד ״ ביום ההוא יאמר לירושלים אל תיראי ציון אל ירפו ידיך [עי"ש ג יד-טז] ״ הנני עשה את [כל] מעניך בעת ההיא (אספה) [והושעתי את] הצולעה והנדחה אקבץ ושמתים לתהלה ולשם בכל הארץ [בשנתם] ״ בעת ההיא אביא אתכם ובעת קבצי אתכם כי אתן אתכם לשם ולתהלה בכל עמי הארץ בשובי [את] שבתיכם לעיניכם אמר [דף 10א] י״י [שם ג יט-כ] ״

זכריה ״ ויען [יהוה את] המלאך הדובר בי דברים טובים [דברים] ניחומים ויאמר אלי המלאך (קום) [הדבר בי] קרא לאמר כה אמר י״י צבאות קנאתי לירושלם ולציון קנאה גדולה וקצף [גדול] אני קוצף על (כל) הגוים השאננים אשר אני קצפתי מעט והמ[ה] עזרו לרעה ״ [לכן] כה אמר [יהוה] שבתי לירושלים ברחמים ביתי יבנה ״ עוד קרא [לאמר] כה אמר [יהוה צבאות] עוד תפוצינה ערי מטוב ״ ונחם י״י [עוד את] ציון ובחר עוד בירושלים [זכריה א יג-יז] ״ ויראני י״י ארבעה חרשים ואומר מה אלא באים לעשות ויאמר [לאמר] אלה הקרנות אשר זרו את יהודה ויבאו אלה לידות [את] קרנות הגוים [עי"ש ב ג-ד] ״ ואשא עיני וארא(ה) והנה איש (ו)בידו חבל מדה ואומר (מדה למה) [אנא אתה הולך] ויאמר [לי] למוד [את] ירושלים [לראות כמה] [ארכה] [רחבה] ו[כמה] [ארכה] [רחבה] [ארכה] ״ והנה [ה]מלאך [הדובר בי] יוצא [ומלאך] אחר יוצא [לקראתו ויאמר [אלו] רץ דבר אל הנער הלז [לאמר] פרזות תשב ירושלם ואני אהיה לה [נאם י״י] חומת אש סביב ולכבוד אהיה בתוכה [עי"ש ב ה-ט] ״ כה אמר י״י [צבאות] אחר כבוד שלחני (י״י) אל [כל] הגוים השוללים (בכם) [אתכם] כי הנוגע בכם (כ)נוגע בבבת עינו ״ כי הנני מניף [את] ידי עליהם והיו שלל לע(ו)בדיהם וידעת[ם] כי (אני) י״י צבאות שלחני (אליך) [שם ב יב-יג] ״ רני ושמחי בת ציון כי הנני בא ושכנתי בתוכך [נאם י״י] ״ ונלוו גוים רבים אל י״י ביום ההוא [שם ב יד-טו] ״ ונחל י״י את יהודה חלקו על אדמת (ישראל) [הקדש] [שם ב טז] ״ כה אמר י״י [צבאות] עוד [אשר] יבאו עמים (רבים) ויושבי ערים רבות והלכו יושבי אחת אל אחת לאמר נלכה (הלוך) לחלות את פני י״י (ו)אלכה גם אני ובאו עמים לבקש [את] י״י צבאות בירושלם [עי"ש ח כ-כב] ״ בימים ההם[ה] [אשר] (והחזיקו) [יחזיקו] עשרה אנשים מכל לשונות הגוים והחזיקו בכנף איש יהודי לאמר נלכה עמכם כי שמענו אלהים עמכם [שם ח כג] ״ גילי מאד בת ציון (ו)הריעי בת ירושלים (ו)הנה מלכך יב[ו]א לך צדיק ונושע הוא עני ורוכב על חמור ועל עיר בן אתונות [שם ט ט] ״ גם את בדם בריתך שלחתי (אסירים) [אסיריך] מבור [אין] מים [בו] ״ שובו לבצרון אסירי התקוה גם היום מגיד משנה אשיב לך ״ כי דרכתי לי יהודה קשת [מלאתי אפרים] ועוררתי בניך ציון על בניך יון ״ וי״י עליהם יראה ויצא כברק חצו וי״י אלהים בשופר יתקע והלך בסערות תימן [שם ט יא-יד] ״ י״י צבאות יגן עליהם [שם ט טו] והושיעם י״י אלהיהם [ביום ההוא] כצאן עמו [שם ט טז] ״ על הרועים חרה אפי כי פקד י״י צבאות את עדרו את בית יהודה [שם י ג] [דף 10ב] ואת בית יוסף אושיע [שם י ו] ״ אשרקה להם ואקבצם ואזרעם בעמים ובמרחקים יזכרוני וחיו את בניהם ושובו [עי"ש י ח-ט] ״ כה אמר י״י [אלהי] רעה [את] צאן ההריגה אשר קוניהן יהרגון ולא יאשמו(ו) ומוכריהן יאמר ברוך י״י ואעשיר ורועיהם לא יחמול עליהן [שם יא ד-ה] וארעה [את] צאן ההרגה לכן עניי [הצאן] ואקח לי שני מקלות [שם יא ז] ביום ההוא אשים [את] אלופי יהודה ככור אש בעצים וכלפיד אש בעמיר ואכלו על ימין ועל שמאל [את] כל העמים סביב וישבה ירושלים עוד תחתיה [בירושלם] והושיע י״י (עוד) [את] אהלי יהודה [שם יב ו-ז] והיה הנכשל בהם [ביום ההוא] כדו[י]ד ובית דו[י]ד כאלהים כמלאך י״י לפנייהם [שם יב ח] ושפכתי על בית דו[י]ד [ו]על יושב[י] ירושלים רוח [חן] ותחנונים והביטו אלי את אשר דקרו [שם יב י] ביום ההוא יהיה מקור נפתח לבית דו[י]ד וליושבי ירושלים לחטאת ולנדה [שם יג א] ״ ביום ההוא [נאם יהוה צבאות] אכרית [את] שמות העצבים מן הארץ ולא יזכרו עוד [שם יג ב] ״ ביום ההוא יצאו חיים מירושלם [שם יד ח] ״ והיה י״י למלך על כל הארץ [שם יד ט] ״ יגף י״י את (כל) הגוים אשר לא (יעלה) [יעלו] לחג את חג הסכות [שם יד יח] ״

מלאכי ״ [ו]לא ישחית לכם [את] פרי האדמה ולא תשכל לכם הגפן [מלאכי ג יא] ״ הנני שולח מלאכי ופנה דרך לפני ופתאום יב[ו]א אל היכלו האדון אשר אתם מבקשים ומלאך הברית אשר אתם חפצים [שם ג א] ״ וערבה לי״י מנחת יהודה וירושלים [שם ג ד] ״ אני י״י לא שניתי ואתם בני יעקב לא כליתם [שם ג ו] ״ אז נדברו יראי י״י איש (אל) [את]

הם האוכלים בשר החזיר ומרק פגולים כליהם [שם] הנה כתובה לפניי ושלמתי (אל) [על] חיקם [עיי"ש סה ו] כה אמר  
י"י כאשר ימצא התירוש באשכל ואמר אל תשחיתוהו כי ברכה בו כן אעשה למען עבדי [לבלתי] השחית (לבלתי) [הכל]  
והוצאתי מיעקב זרע ומיהודה יורש הרי וירשוהו בחירי [שם סה ח-ט] כה אמר [אדני] י"י [הנה] עבדי (יעקב) יאכלו  
ואתם תרעבו [שם סה יג] ולעבדיו יקרא שם אחר [אשר] המתברך [בארץ] יתברך באלהי אמן כי נשכחו הצרות  
5 [הראונות] וכי ונסתרו מעיני [עיי"ש סה טו-טז] [כי] הנני בורא [את] ירושלם גילה ועמה משוש [שם סה יח] הנער בן  
מאה שנה ימות [שם סה כ] ונטעו כרמים ואכלו פרים [שם סה כא] ומעשה ידיהם יבלו בחירי [שם סה כב] זרע ברוכי  
י"י המה [שם סה כג] טרם יקראו ואני אענה [שם סה כד] זאב וטלה ירעו כאחד ואריה כבקר יאכל תבן ונחש עפר  
לחמו לא ירעו ולא ישחיתו בכל הר קדשי [שם סה כה] כי מלאה הארץ דעה את י"י [שם יא ט] כה אמר י"י השמים  
כסאי [שם סו א] סמחו את ירושלם וגילו בה כל אוהביה שישו אתה משוש [שם סו י] הנני נוטה אליה כנהר שלום  
10 [סם סו יב] כאיש אשר אמו תנחמו כן אנכי אנחמכם [שם סו יג] וראיתם ושש לבכם ועצמותיכם כדשא תפרחנה  
[שם סו יד] המתקדשים והמטהרים אל הגנות [שם סו יז] והביאו [את] כל אחיכם [מכל הגוים] מנחה (חדשה) לי"י  
[שם סו כ] כי כאשר השמים החדשים והארץ החדשה [אשר אני עשה] עומדים לפניי [נאם י"י] כן יעמד זרעכם ושמכם  
[שם סו כב] ויצאו וראו בפגרי האנשים (המורדים) הפושעים בי [שם סו כד] וגו'  
תרי עשר הושע והיה מספר בני ישראל כחול הים אשר לא ימד ולא יספר והיה במקום אשר יאמר להם לא עמי  
אתם יאמר להם בני אל חי [הושע ב א] וכן אמרו לאחיכם עמי ולאחותיכם רחמה [שם ב ג] והיה ביום ההוא [נאם  
15 י"י] תקראי (לי) אישי ולא תקראי [לי] עוד בעלי [שם ב יח] וקשת וחרב ומלחמה אשב[ו]ן מן הארץ [שם ב כ] ו  
וארשתוך לי לעולם וארשתוך [שם ב כא] וגו' כי מים רבים [ישבו בני] (ל) ישראל [שם ג ד] אחר ישוב בני ישראל  
ובקשו את י"י אלהיהם ואת דוד מלכם (אשר אקים להם) [שם ג ה] ונשובה אל י"י יחינו מיומים [עיי"ש ו א-ב] לא  
אעשה חרון אפי (ו)לא אשוב (להשחית) [לשחת אפרים] כי אל אנכי [ולא איש] בקרבך קדוש [ולא] אב[ו]א בעיר [שם יא  
20 ט] ואנכי י"י עוד אושיבך באהלים [שם יב י] אחרי י"י ילכו והושבת[ים] (אל) [על] בתיהם [עיי"ש יא י-יא] ארפא  
משובתם אוהבם נדבה [הושע יד ה]  
יואל ואכלתם אכ[ו]ן[ל] ושבע [דף 9א] והללתם את שם י"י ולא יבשו עמי לעולם [עיי"ש יואל ב כו] והוה אחרי כן אשפוך  
[את] רוחי על כל בשר ונבאו בניכם [שם ג א] ונתתי מופתים בשמים ובארץ [שם ג ג] והיה כל אשר יקרא בשם י"י  
ימלט [שם ג ה] בימים ההם [ה] אשיב את שבות יהודה וירושלם וקבצתי את כל הגוים אל עמק יהושפט ונשפטתי  
25 עמם על עמי אשר פזרו בגוים ואת (ארצם) [ארצו] חלקו [עיי"ש ד א-ב] מה אתם לי צר וצידון הגמול אתם משלמים  
עלי מהרה אשיב גמולכם בראשיכם אשר כספי (זוהבם) [זוהבי] לקחתם ומחמדי הבאתם להיכל[ים] [עיי"ש ד ד-ה] ו  
(את) בני יהודה מכרתם ל[בני] ה[יונים] למען הרחיקם (מאדמתם) [מעל גבולם] [עיי"ש ד ו] (לכן) הנני מעירם מן  
המקום אשר מכרתם [שם ד ז] ומכרתי [את] בניכם ו[את] בנותיכם (לבני) [ביד] בני יהודה ומכרום לשבאים (לגוי) [אל  
גוי] רחוק כי י"י דבר [שם ד ח] כנו אתיכם לחרבות ומזמרותיכם לרמחים החלש יאמר (אני גבור) [גבור אני] [שם ד  
30 י] ובאו כל הגוים שמה הנחת [יהוה] גבוריך [עיי"ש ד יא] ויהוה מציון ישאג ומירושלים יתן קולו ורעשו שמים וארץ וי"י  
מחסה לעמו [שם ד טז] ביום ההוא יטפו ההרים עסיס ומעיין מבית י"י יצא [עיי"ש ד יח] מצרים לשמ[מ]ה תהיה  
ואדום למדבר שממה [תהיה] מחמס בני יהודה אשר (שפט) [שפכו] דם נקי[א] בארצם [שם ד יט] ויהודה (ישב)  
[לעולם תשב] ונקיתי (ואת) דמם לא נקיתי וי"י שוכן בציון [עיי"ש ד כ-כא]  
עמוס על שלשה פשעי אדום ועל ארבעה לא אשיבנו על רודפו בחרב אחיו ושחת (את) רחמיו ויטרף לעד אפו וערבתו  
35 שמרה נצח [עמוס א יא] ושלחתי אש בתימן [שם א יב] ביום ההוא אקים את סוכת דוד הנופלת [שם ט יא] הנה  
ימים באים [נאם יהוה] ונגש ח[ו]ן[רש בקוצר ודורך (ענוים) [ענבים] במשך הזרע ושבתי [את] שבות עמי ונטעתים על  
אדמתם ולא (ינגשו) [ינתשו] עוד אמר י"י [עיי"ש ט יג-טו]  
עובדיה כה אמר י"י לאדום הנה קטן נתתיך בגוים בזוי אתה מאד [עיי"ש עובדיה א-ב] אם תגביה כנשר ואם בין כוכבים  
שים קנך משם אורידך נאם י"י [שם ד] והאבדתי חכמים מאדום [שם ח] וחתו גבוריך תימן למען יכרת איש מהר עשו  
40 מקטל [שם ט] מחמס אחיך יעקב תכסך בושה [שם י] והיה בית יעקב אש ובית יוסף להבה ובית עשו לקש ודלקו  
בהם ואכלום ולא יהיה שריד לבית עשו [שם יח] ועלו מושעים בהר ציון לשפוט את הר עשו [שם כא]  
מיכה אסף אסף יעקב כלך [קבץ] אקבץ [שארית] ישראל יחד [שם ב יב] עלה הפורץ לפניהם וי"י בראשם [עיי"ש ב  
יג] והיה באחרית הימים יהיה הר בית י"י נכון [שם ד א] והלכו [דף 9ב] גוים רבים ואמרו לכו ונעלה אל הר י"י [ו]אל  
[בית] אלהי יעקב וירנו מדרכיו [שם ד ב] ביום ההוא [נאם יהוה] אוספה הצולעה והנדהה אקבצה ושמתי [את]  
45 הצולעה לשארית ומלך י"י עליהם בהר ציון [עיי"ש ד ו-ז] והיה שארית יעקב בקרב עמים [רבים] כטל [מיכה ה ו]  
רעה [עמר] בשבטך צאן נחלתך שכני לבדד יער בתוך כרמל ירעו בשן וגלעד כימי עולם כימי צאתך מארץ מצרים  
אראנו נפלאות [שם ז יד-טו] יראו גוים ויבשו ישימו יד על פה (ו)אזניהם תחרשנה [עיי"ש ז טז] ישוב ירחמנו (ו)יכבש  
עונותינו ותשליך במצולות ים כל חטא[ו]נתם [שם ז יט]

בנגשי[ה]ם [שם יד א-ב] ״ משא דומה אלי קורא משעיר שומר מה מלילה שומר מה (שומר) מליל אמר שומר אתא בקר וגם לילה אם תבעיו[ן] בעיו שובו אתיו [שם כא יא-יב] ומחה [אדני] י״ דמעה מעל כל פנים וחרפת עמו יסיר [שם כה ח] ואתם תלוקטו לאחד אחד (בית) ישראל [שם כז יב] והיה ביום ההוא יתקע בשופר גדול ובאו האובדים בארץ [שם כז יג] וגו״ והיה אור הלבנה כאור החמה ואור החמה יהיה שבעתים כאור שבעת הימים ביום חבוש י״ את [שבר] עמו ומחץ מכתו ירפא [שם ל כו] ״ חרב [ל] י״ מלאה דם הודשנה [מחלב] מדם (אבירים) מחלב [כליות] אילים ״ כי זבח ל״י בבצרה וטבח גדול בארץ אדום וירדו ראמים עמם ופרים עם אבירים [ע״ש לד ו-ז] ״ כי [דף 7ב] יום נקם ל״י שנת שילומים לריב ציון [שם לד ח] ונהפכו נחילה לזפת [שם לד ט] וירשוה קאת וקופד [שם לד יא] ״ שם הרגיעה לילית (ו) [שם נקבצו דיות [ע״ש לד יד-טו] ״ דרשו מעל ספר י״ [וקראו] אחת מהנה לא נעדרה [שם לד טז] ״ ישושום מדבר וציה ותגל ערבה ותפרח [כ]חבצלת [שם לה א] אף גילת (ירגן) [ורגן] [שם לה ב] ״ הנה אלהיכם נקם יב[ו]א [שם לה ד] ״ אז ידלג כאיל פסח ותרון לשון אלם [שם לה ו] ״ פדויי י״ ישובון ובאו (ב) ציון [ב]רנה [שם לה ז] ״ נחמו נחמו עמי [שם מ א] ״ הרימי בכח קולך מבשרת ירושלם [הרימי אל תיראי] אמרי לערי יהודה הנה אלהי[כ]ם [שם מ ט] כרועה עדרו ירעה בזרעו יקבץ טלאים ובחיקו ישא עלות ינהל [שם מ יא] ״ ואתה ישראל עבדי יעקב (בחרתי בו) [אשר בחרתיך] זרע אברהם אוהבי [שם מא ח] ״ אל תירא כי (אתך) [עמך] אני אני עזרתך [ע״ש מא י] ״ יבושו ויכלמו כל הנחרים [ברך] יהיו כאין ויאבדו אנשי ריבך [שם מא יא] ״ אל תירא עבדי יעקב וישורון בחרתי בו כי אצק רוחי על זרעך וברכתי [על] צאצאך [ע״ש מד ב-ג] ״ זה יאמר ל״י אני זה יקרא בשם יעקב וזה יכתב ידו ל״י ובשם ישראל יכנה [שם מד ה] ״ רנו שמים כי עשה י״ הריעו תחתיות ארץ פצחו הרים רנה יער וכל (אשר) [עץ] כי גאל י״ (את) יעקב ובישראל יתפאר [שם מד כג] ״ התשכח אשה עולה מרחם בן בטנה גם (אני) [ואנוכי] לא אשכחך [ע״ש מט טו] ״ כולם נקבצו באו לך כי כלם (בעדי) [כעדי] תלבשי [ע״ש מט יח] ״ אשא אל גוים ידי והביאו בניך (בחוסן בחוצץ) [בחוצן] ובנותיך על כתף תנשאנה [ע״ש מט כב] ״ והיו מלכים אומניך (ושרותיהן) [ושרותיהם] מ״ניקותיך אפים ארץ ישתחוו לך ועפר רגליך ילחכו [שם מט כג] ״ את יריבך [אנכי] אריב ואת בניך [אנכי] אושיע ״ והאכלתי [את] מוניך את בשרם וכעסים דמם ישכרון [שם מט כה-כו] ״ אי זה ספר כריתות אמכם אשר שלחתיה או מי מנושי אשר מכרתי אתכם לו [שם נ א] ״ אנכי אנכי הוא מנחמכם מי את ותיראי מאנוש ימות ומבן אדם חציר ינתן [שם נא יב] ״ את קבעת כוס חמתי לא תוסיפי לשתותה עוד ושמתיה ביד מוגיך [שם נא כב-כג] ״ עורי עורי (ציון לבשי עז) [לבשי עזך] ציון [לבשי] לא יוסיף (לבא) [יבא] בך עוד ערל וטמא [ע״ש נב א] ״ כה אמר י״ חנם נמכרתם ולא בכסף תגאלו [שם נב ג] ״ סורו צאו משם כי לא בחפזן תצאו ובמנוסה לא תלכו[ן] כי הולך לפניכם ומאסיפכם (קדוש) [אלהי] ישראל [שם נב יא-יב] ״ רני עקרה לא ילדה פצחי רנה [שם נד א] ״ הרחיבי מקום אהלך ויריעות משכנותיך יטו [שם נד ב] ״ כי ימין ושמאל תפרוצי (וזרעו) [וזרעך] גוים יירש [שם נד ג] ״ וכל בניך למודי י״ ורב שלום בניך [שם נד יג] ״ כי בשמחה תצאו ובשלום תובלון [שם נה יב] ״ ובא לציון גואל [שם נט כ] ״ קומי [דף 8א] אורי כי בא אורך [שם ס א] ״ הלכו גוים לאורך [שם ס ג] ״ לי איים יקוו להביא בניך מרחוק כספם וזהבם אתם ״ לשם י״ [אלהיך] ולקדוש ישראל כי פארך ובנו בני נכר חומותיך ומלכיהם נהוגים [ע״ש ס ט-יא] ״ כי הגוי והממלכה אשר לא יעבדוך יאבדו והגוים חרוב יחרבו [שם ס יב] ״ והלכו אליך שחוח בני מעניך והשתחוו על כפות (על) רגליך כל מנאציך וקראו לך עיר י״ ציון קדוש ישראל ״ תחת היותך עזובה (ושערורה) [ושנואה] ואין עובר ושמתי[ך] לגאון עולם משוש דור ודור ״ וינקת חלב גוים ושוד מלכים תינקי וידעת כי אני י״ [שם ס יד-טז] ״ תחת הנחשת אביא זהב [שם ס יז] ״ לא ישמע עוד [חמס בארצך] שוד ובשר בגבוליך [שם ס יח] ״ לא יהיה לך עוד השמש לאור יומם ולנוגה [ה]ירח לא יאיר לך והיה (י״ לך) [לך יהוה] לאור עולם [שם ס יט] ״ ועמך כולם צדיקים לעולם ירשו ארץ [שם ס כא] ״ הקטן יהיה לאלף [שם ס כב] ״ רוח [אדני] י״ עלי יען משח י״ אותי לבשר ענוים לקרא (דרור לשבויים) [לשבויים דרור] שנת רצון ל״י ויום נקם (לאלהים) [לאלהינו] לנחם (לאבלים) [כל אבלים] (לתת) לאבלי ציון [לתת להם] פאר תחת אפר ״ (וקראו) [וקראו] להם אילי [ה]צדק מטע י״ ובנו [חרבות עולם] שוממות ראשונים [יקוממו] וחדשו ערי חורב [ע״ש סא ד] ״ ואתם כהני י״ חיל גוים תאכלו ובכבוד(כ)ם תתימדו תחת בושתכם [משנה] (וכלימתכם) [וכלימה] ירנו חלקם משנה ירשו שמחת עולם [ע״ש סא ו-ז] ״ ונודע בגוים זרעם וצאצאיהם בתוך העמים כל רואיהם יכירום כי הם זרע ברך י״ ״ שוש אשיש ב״י (ו)תגל נפשי באלהי [שם ס ט-י] ״ וראו גוים צדקך ו[כל] מלכים כבודך וקורא לך שם חדש [שם סב ב] ״ לא יאמר לך עוד עזובה ״ כי לך יקרא חפצי בה ״ כי חפץ י״ בך ״ (כמשוש) [ומשוש] חתן על כלה ישיש עליך אלהיך [ע״ש סב ד-ה] ״ מי זה בא מאדום חמוץ בגדים מבצרה [שם סג א] ״ (פורה) [סורה] דרכתי לבדי ויז נצחם על בגדי [ע״ש סג ג] ״ כי יום נקם בלבי [ו]שנת גאולי באה [שם סג ד] ״ ואבוס עמים באפי ואשכרם בחמתי ואוריד לארץ נצחם ״ חסדי י״ אזכיר [תהלת יהוה] כעל כל אשר גמלנו [יהוה] ורב טוב לבית ישראל [שם סג ו-ז] ״ בכל צרתם לו צר ומלאך פניו (הושיעו) [הושיעם] (באברתו) [באהבתו] ובחמלתו הוא גאלם (וינשאם וינטלם) [וינטלם וינשאם] (כימי) כל ימי עולם [שם סג ט] ״ נדרשתי ללא שאלו(ני) נמצאתי ללא בקשוני אמרתי הנני הנני אל גוי לא קורא בשמי [שם סה א] ״ העם המכעיסים אותי ״ זובחים בגנות ומקטרים על הלבנים היושבים בקברים [שם סה ג-ד] ״ הם האומות דורשים אל המתים ״ ובנצורים [דף 8ב] ילינו [שם סה ד] ״ פ״א אמנת הנוצרי פ״י ומי

לאדום ׀ שמעו עצתי י״י אשר יעץ (על) [אל] אדום ומחשבותיו [אשר חשב] אל יושבי תימן אם [ל]אן יסחבום צעירי הצאן [ירמיה מט כ] ׀ והיתה אדום לשמה כל עובר עליה(ם) ישום וישרוק [שם מט יז] ׀ וכת' והיה לב גבור[י] אדום [ביום ההוא] כלב אשה מצ(י)רה [שם מט כב] ׀

5 יחזקאל ׀ כה אמר [אדני] י״י בקבצי את [בית] ישראל (מכל) [מן] העמים אשר נפצו (שם) [בם] ונקדשתי בם לעיני הגוים וישבו על אדמתם [יחזקאל כח כה] ובנו בתים ונטעו כרמים וישבו לבטח בעשותי שפטים בכל השאטים אותם [שם כח כו] ׀ וכת' בן אדם נהה על המון מצרים והורידהו אל הארץ תחתי[ו]ת (אל) [את] יורדי בור [ע"פ שם לב יח] רדה והשכבה את ערלים [ע"פ שם לב יט] ׀ וכת' שמה אדום [מלכיה] וכל נשיאיה [שם לב כט] ׀ ישראל המולים אינם שם ׀ וכת' כה אמר [אדני] י״י הנני (על) [אל] הרועים ודרשתי [את] צאני מידם [שם לד י] ׀ אשר נפוצו על פני כל הארץ ואין דורש [ע"פ שם לד ו] ׀ והשבתי[ם] (הרועים) מרעות צאן והצלתי צאני מפיהם ולא (יהיה) [תהיין] להם לאכלה [ע"פ שם לד י] ׀ במרעה טוב ארעה אותם [ו]בהרי מרום ישראל (יהיו נוהים) [יהיה נוהם] [שם לד יד] ׀ כה אמר [אדני] י״י [הנני אני ו]דרשתי [את] צאני ובקרתים כבקרת רועה עדרו והצלתי אתהם מכל המקומות אשר נפצו שם והוצאתים מן העמים (אשר [שף 6ב] נפצו שם) [וקבצתי מן הארצות] והביאותים אל אדמתם [ע"פ שם לד יא-יג] ׀ את האובדות אבקש ואת הנדחות אשיב ולנשברת אחבש ו[את] החולה אחזק [שם לד טז] ׀ הם אומות העולם ׀ [את] השמנה ו[את] החזקה אשמיד [שם לד טז] ׀ (ושפטתי) [והנני שופט] בין שה לשה לאילים ולעתודים ׀ המעט מכם [ה]מרעה הטוב תרעו ויתר מרעיקם תרמסו ברגליכם (וצאני מרסם) ומשקע מים תשתו (והנותר) [ואת הנותרים] (תרפשו ברגליכם) [ברגליכם תרפשו] וצאני מרסם רגליכם תרעינה (ומרפס רגליכן) [ומרפס רגליכם] תשתינה [ע"פ שם לד יז-יט] ׀ [לכן] כה אמר [אדני] י״י ושפטתי בין שה ברי(א)ה (לשה) [ובין שה] רזה ׀ בצד ובכתף תהדפו ובקרנ[י]כם תנגחו עד אשר הפיצותם אותנה [אל החוצה] והושעתי [ל]צאני ולא (תהיה) [תהינה] עוד לבז ׀ ושפטתי בין שה לשה [ע"פ שם לד כ-כב] ׀ והקימותי עליהם רועה אחד ורעה (אותה) [אתה] את עבדי דו[י]ד הוא ירעה אותם [שם לד כג] ואני [יהוה] אהיה להם לאלהים (ודוד עבדי) [ועבדי דוד] נשיא בתוכם [שם לד כד] ׀ וכרתי להם ברית שלום והשבתי חיה רעה מן הארץ וישבו במדבר לבטח (וישבו) [וישנו] ביערים [שם לד כה] וידעו כי אני י״י אלהיהם [אתם] והמה עמי בית ישראל [שם לד ל] ׀ (ואתנה) [ואת] צאני (ו)צאן מרעיתי אדם אתם ׀ אני (י״י) אלהיכם [שם לד לא] וגו' ׀ הנני (עליר) [אליך] הר שער (עמך) [עריך] חרבה אשים ואת[ה] שממה תהיה [ע"פ שם לה ג-ד] יען היו[ת] לך איבת עולם ותגר (לבני) [את בני] ישראל על ידי חרב [ע"פ שם לה ה] לכן חי אני נאם [אדני] י״י כי לדם אעשך ודם ירדפך [שם לד ו] ׀ והכרתי (ממך) [ממנו] עובר ושב ומלאתי[ו]ן [את] הריו חלליו [שם לה ז-ח] יען אמרך [את] שני הגוים ו[את] שני הארצות לי תהי[נ]נה וירשונה [ו]י״י שם היה [שם לה י] ׀ לכן חי אני נאם [אדני] י״י ועשיתי (באפ') [כאפך] (ובקנאתי) [ובקנאתיך] משנאתי[ך] בם ונודעתי בם כאשר אשפטך [ע"פ שם לה יא] שמעתי [את] כל נאצותיך אשר אמרת על הרי ישראל [שם לד יב] ותגדילו עלי בפיקם והעתרתם עלי דבריכם אני שמעתי [שם לד יג] וגו' ׀ כה אמר [אדני] י״י (יען נשמה) [כשמח] כל הארץ שממה אעשה לך (בשמחתך מנחלת) [כשמחתך לנחלת] בית ישראל על אשר (שממו) [שממה] כן אעשה [לך] שממה תהיה הר שער וכל אדום כו[לה] [וידעתם] [וידעו] כי אני י״י [שם לד יד-טו] ׀ כה אמר [אדני] י״י יען אמר האויב עליכם האח [שם לו ב] וגו' ׀ אם לא בא(י)ש קנאתי דברתי על שארית הגוים ועל אדום (כולה) [כלא] אשר נתנו את ארצי (לממשה) [להם למורשה] (בשמחה) [בשמחת] כל לבב [שם לו ה] ׀ לכן הנבא על אדמת ישראל [ואמרת] להרים ולגבעות לאפיקים (ולגאות) [ולגאות] [כה אמר אדני יהוה] (הנה) [הנני] בקנאתי ובחמתי דברתי יען כלמת (ה)גוים נשאתם [שם לו ו] ׀ המה ישאו כלימתכם ׀ ואתם הרי ישראל ענפי(י)כם (תשאו) [תתנו] ופריכם [דף 7א] (תתנו) [תשאו] [שם לו ח] (וישבו) [ונשבו] (הערים) [עריכם] [ו]החרבות והושבתי אתכם (בקדמודתכם) [כקדמותיכם] והטבתי (אתכם) [עיי"ש לו י-יא] והבאתי אתכם אל אדמתכם וזרקתי עליכם מים טהורים [שם לו כד-כה] וגו' ׀ בן אדם אמור לצפור כל כנף האספו על זבחי הגדול אשר אני זובח על הרי ישראל ואכלתם בשר ושתייתם דם בשר גבורים תאכלו ודם נשיאי הארץ תשתו אילים כרים עתודים פרים מריאי בשן [עיי"ש לו יז-יח] ׀ אחר מפלת גוג הנני אשיב את שבות יעקב ורחמתי [כל] בית ישראל [שם לו ט] ׀ וקבצתי אותם מארצות ונסתי[ם] על אדמתם ולא אסתיר עוד פני מהם [עיי"ש לו טז-כז] ׀ וכת' ערל לב וערל בשר לא יב[ו]א אל מקדשי (לשרתי) [שם מד ט] וגו' ׀ והנה מים מפכים (מכתף) [מן הכתף] הימנית [שם מז ב] ׀

ישעיה ׀ ואשיבה שפטיך כבראשונה [ישעיה א כו] והיה באחרית הימים נכון יהיה הר בית י״י בראש ההרים ונשא מגבעות [שם ב ב] ׀ ואמרו לכו ונעלה (בהר) [אל הר] י״י אל בית אלהי יעקב ויורנו מדרכיו ונלכה באורחותיו [שם ב ג] ׀ (וכתתי) [וכתתו] חרבותם לאתים [שם ב ד] ׀ בית יעקב לכו ונלכה באור י״י [שם ב ה] ׀ ביום ההוא יהיה צמח י״י לצבי ולתפארת לפליטת ישראל והנותר [עיי"ש ד ב-ג] וגו' ׀ ויצא חוטר מגזע ישי ונצר [שם יא א] ׀ ושעשע יונק על חור פתן [שם יא ח] ׀ ונשא נס לגוים ואסף נדחי ישראל [שם יא יב] ׀ והחרים י״י את לשו[ו]ן ים מצרים והכהו לשבעה נחלים [עיי"ש יא טו] ׀ והיתה מסילה לשא[ר] עמו [שם יא טז] ׀ צהלי ורני יושבת ציון [שם יב ו] ׀ כי ירחם י״י את (בית) יעקב ובחר עוד (בירושלים) [בישראל] והניחם על אדמתם ונלוה הגר עליהם (והיו להם לעבדים) והיו שובים לשוביהם ורדו

לשון הרב ר' אליהו עד התחלת בראשית כי משם ואילך תשובות הר' יוסף בה"ר נתן האופ[יציאול] ותשובות אביו הר' נתן ושאר הנזכרים כאשר על שמם מבוארים}

5 ראו קראתי בשם החבור יוסיף המקנא והנה בשמים עד כי לא להתגדר מלאני לבי לסדר הסדר אך מפני שני דברים האחד כי קנא קנאתי לאלהי ישאל ועל אשר ראיתי בני פריצי עמינו עוזבים מקור מים חיים ויטו אחרי ההבל ומתנשאים להעמיד נביאי האמת להקים שם המת [רות ד י] לשעות (דברי על) [על דברי] שקר והכל חוקר יצימיתם לבוקר ובע"ה אגלה את נבלותם והשני בעבור כי זקנתי ושלט אל ישראל שר של שכחה ולא ידעתי עשות נכחה להעתיקו ולנתקו ולשבור הקו מעלי תרתי בלבי [קהלת ב ג] במעוט לבי לתוות תיו ולנטות קיו על הולכי אחרי צו להיות לי לטוטפות ולזכרון תמיד לשמיד עויינינו מונינו שוללינו ומפיל אני תחינתי [ירמיה לח כו] בעוד בי נשמתי לכל רואי חבור זה אם ימצאו בו שגגה סועה או נסוגה שידינוני לזכות ולהם תחשב צדקה ולא מלבי אספתי אך מישישי התבוננתי ושמתי הדברים יחד פן אשכח מה שעתה אני זכור להיות שקוד להשיב לאפיקורוס ואם על לב איש יעלה להשיב על הכתוב פה יצפה צפה אם העומד לנגדי ידום אל יקשה בעיניו אם הכי[תי] אויבי בקש ואם בדברי נוקש כי ללצים נליץ ודבריהם פרי כחש ועם עקש תתפל [ש"ב כב כז] מנהגם להביא משלים להעמיד התולים ואני אבחר בתעלולים וזריתי פרש על פניהם מעונה אלהי קדם [דברים לג כז] חזקני ואמצני כי בחוקיך שעשעתי ובתורתך הקדושה והטהורה האמתית כי דבר אלהים יקום לעולם ועליו אין להוסיף וממנו אין לגרוע [קהלת ג יד] אך בדרך ברורה וגלויה יש לדעת לכל אנשי לב אחרי אשר מצאתנו התלאה אשר נבאו עלינו הנביאים דרשו מעל ספר [יהוה וקראו] אחת מהנה לא נעדרה [ישעיה לד טז] יש לדעת ולהאמין ולא נטה שמאל וימין כי הנחמות תפרחנה ויתלבנו ויצרפו והמשכלים יבינו ובאחרית הימים תתבוננו בה [ירמיה כג כ] לכן תחזקנה ידינו ואל ירח לבבינו מפני בני עוננה המונים אותנו לאמר איה מלככם וצור מעזכם והופכים דברי [דף 5ב] אלהים חיים על כן [סעיפי] [שעפי] ישיבוני [איוב כ ב] וחזות (השם) [קשה] הוגד לי [ע"פ ישעיה כא ב] אם לא אקום לחבר מכתב יושר דברי אמת להיות לנו לעדה מזקנים אתבוננן ואשר שמעתי וידעתי אכתוב בשם אומרו כאשר תשיג ידי ונצטונו מאת רבינו הקדוש הוי שקוד ללמוד מה שתשיב אפיקורוס ואנן שכיחין גביהו ולפיכך רמינן אנפשינן לחפש לפי היכלת ולהרים מכשול מדרך עמי ולהכשיל מדרך עמי הרשעים האומ' הלא בגלות מצרים ובבל היו לכם נביאים ומנחמים אתכם להחזיקכם באמונתכם ועתה על מי נשענתם הלא אין לכם לא נביא ולא כהן ולא מורה ולא מלך על כן שמתי לבי תחילה לכתוב כל הנחמות ודרכם (על פניהם) [אל פניו] אויב [עי' איוב יג טו]

25 הראשון משה רבינו אמ' אחרי אשר הוכיח אותנו ואף גם זאת בהיותם בארץ אויביהם לא מאסתים ולא גלעתים לכלותם להפר בריתי אתם [ויקרא כו מד] ובסוף ספרו אמ' והיה כי יבאו הברכה והקללה [ע"פ דברים ל א] ושב י"י אליהך את שבותך ורחמך ושב וקבצך מכל העמים אשר הפיצך שמה [ע"פ שם ל ג] וכת' אם יהיה נדחך בקצה השמים [שם ל ד] וכת' ונתן י"י אלהיך את כל האלות (הכתובות) [האלא] על אויביך אשר רדפוך [שם ל ז] וכל זה אמ' מפי הגבורה והנה בלעם הרשע נביא שלהם אמ' לא איש אל ויכזב [במדבר כג יט] וירד מיעקב [במדבר כד יט] וענתה השירה הזאת [לפניו] לעד כי לא תשכח מפי זרעו [ע"פ דברים לא כא] ושמואל הנביא כתב וגם נצח ישראל לא ישקר ולא ינחם כי לא אדם הוא להנחם [ש"א טו כט]

30 ירמיה אמ' הנה ימים באים נאם י"י [ו]לא יאמר עוד חי י"י אשר העלה ישראל מארץ מצרים כי אם חי י"י אשר העלה ואשר הביא את ישראל מארץ צפון ומכל הארצות אשר הדיחם שם [ה] [ירמיה טז יט] ואני אקבץ את שארית צאני מכל הארצות אשר הדחתים [ו] ופרו רבו והקימותי להם רועים ורעום [ו] ולא יראו עוד ולא יחתו [ע"פ ירמיה כג ג-ד] שישי ושמחי בת אדום וישבת בארץ עוץ גם עליך תעבר כוס תשכרי ותתערי [איכה ד כא] הנה ימים באים נאם י"י והקימותי לדוד צמח צדיק [בימים] [בימיו] תושע יהודה וישראל ישכן לבטח וזה שמו אשר יקראו י"י צדק[ינו] [ע"פ ירמיה כג ה-ו] ואתה אל תירא עבדי יעקב נאם י"י ואל תחת ישראל כי הנני מושיעך מרחוק ואת [דף 6א] זרעך מארץ שבים ושב יעקב ושקט ושאנן ואין מחריד כי אתך אני (להושיעך נאם י"י) [נאם י"י להושיעך] כי אעשה כלה בכל הגוים אשר (הדחתך) [הפצותך] שם (ואותך) [אך אתך] לא אעשה כלה ויסרתך למשפט ונקה לא אנקך [ירמיה ל י-יא] כל אוכליך יאכלו וכל צריך [כלם] בשבי ילכו [שם ל טז] כי אעלה ארוכה לך וממכותיך ארפאך [נאם י"י] כי נדחה קראו לך ציון [היא] דורש (ומבקש) [אין לה] [ירמיה ל יז] כה אמר י"י הנני שב (את) שבות [אהלי] יעק[וב] (ומשכנותיך) [ומשכנותיו] ארחם ונב[נ]תה עיר על תילה וארמון על משפטו ישב [ירמיה ל יח] ויצאו בקול תודה [ויצא מהם תודה וקול] [ובמחו] מסחקים [ירמיה ל יט] ופקדתי על כל [לוחציך] [לוחצינו] [ירמיה ל כ] והיה אדירו ממנו ומשלו מקרבו יצא [שם ל כא] והייתי להם לאלהים והמה יהיו לעם [שם ל לב] באחרית הימים תתבוננו [בה] [שם ל כד] כה אמר י"י מצא חן במדבר [ירמיה לא א] אהבת עולם אהבתיך על כן משכנ[נ]תיך חסד עוד אבנך ונבנית בתולת ישראל עוד תעדי [תופים] [תפריך] ויצאת במחול משחקים [שם לא ב-ג] כה אמר י"י נותן (ה)שמש לאור יומם (וחקות) [חקת] ירח וכוכבים לאור לילה [שם לא לד] אם ימוש החוקים האלה מלפני (אמר) [נאם] י"י גם זרע ישראל ישבתו מהיות גוי [שם לא לה] וכת' וששת[י] עליהם להטיב [אותם] ונטעתים בארץ [הזאת] באמת [ירמיה לב מא] וגו'

45



פעם אחת היה {אדוני} הר' נתן נ"ע רוכב אצל הגמון משנץ בדרך ירד ההגמון מעל הסוס נגד סנה אחד להטיל מים ראה אותו א[דוני] א[בי] ירד גם הוא מעל סוסו נגד תועבה והטיל מים עליה וראה ההגמון והקפיד א"ל אין נכון לעשות כן להבאיש שתי וערב השיב לו אבי אדרבה הסכלת עשו סנה שלא השרה הקב"ה שכינתו {בו} אלא לישועה הטלת מים נגדה זה כי אתם אומרים שנתלבט בו יראתכם והטרח בו ונתקלקל דין הוא (הוא) שהייתם פוערים בה ונפנים עליה

לב.	ויבא יש"ו לתלמידיו	
לג.	ויבא אליו איש כורע על ברכיו	
לד.	ויאמר לתלמידיו אל תדאגו	
לה.	ויבא שומרון ויעף	
לו.	ויעש חופה בגליל	
לז.	מפני מה הוצרך יוסף	5
לח.	האב והבן והרוח שלשתן	[דף 4ב]
לט.	בשעת מיתתו מחל לו	
מ.	שתבא השעה שהנקברים	
מא.	החוטא באב יתכפר לו	
מב.	אדם הראשון שנפח	10
מג.	מה שעשו לו היהודים	

		עמי בעצו ישאל	צא.
איכה		עמוס	
צפו מים על ראשי אמר[תי] נגזרתי	קל.	על שלשה פשעי	צב.
פני השם חלקם לא יוסיף	קלא.	על מכרם בכסף צדיק	צג.
		ואתה בית לחם אפרתה [ספר] מיכה	צד.
איוב		לכן חכו לי נאם י"י [ספר] צפניה	צה.
אכילת לויתן	קלב.	כי עוד חזון למועד [ספר] חבקוק	צו.
		גילי מאד בת ציון [ספר] זכריה	צז.
דניאל		גם את בדם בריתך	צח.
ואחרן לא איתי בר אנש	קלג.	ואקח לי שני המקלות	צט.
די התגזירת אבן די לא בידין	קלד.	וישקלו את שכרי שלשים	ק.
יכרת משיח ואין לא	קלה.	ושפכתי על בית דוד רוח	קא.
(וראיה) [ורוה] דרביעיא דמי לבר	קלו.	מה המכות האלה בין ידיך	קב.
אלהין		ובכל מקום מוקטר מוגש [ספר]	קג.
וארו עם ענני שמיא כבר אנש	קלז.	מלאכי	15
		וגם אני נתתי אתכם שפלים	קד.
עון גליון		הנני שולח לכם את מלאכי	קה.
א. בן יולד אשה נתעלה גדול מיוחנן	א.	זכרו תורת משה עבדי	קו.
ב. בנשואי ארטקלין מלך	ב.	למה רגשו [ספר] תילים	קז.
ג. אמר לירושלים ירושלים ירושלים	ג.	עד מה כבודי לכלימה	קח.
ד. האוכל בשר ושותה יין	ד.	עצת עני תבישו	קט.
ה. כמו שהנשמה והבשר יחד	ה.	כספו לא נתן בנשך	קי.
ו. כאבה נשמתו עד מות	ו.	כי לא תעזב נפשי לשאול	קיא.
ז. החפרפירות מקום יש להם	ז.	י"י בעזך ישמח	קיב.
ח. האב לא נזרע	ח.	אלי אלי למה עזבתני	קיג.
ט. החוטא באב יתכפר לו	ט.	חטאתי אודיעך	קיד.
י. שצעק לאב כשהיה צלוב	י.	רחש לבי דבר טוב	קיטו.
פגע בשמרונת ההולכת	[כא] [יא]	אל אלהים י"י	קיז.
אדוניכם טמא היה ושקרן	יב.	כי לא תחפץ זבח ואתנה	קיח.
הלל עצמו ואמ' בן אדם יזרע	יג.	יקום אלהים ונות בית תחלק	קיט.
כל מה שיכנס בפה אדם	יד.	ולשלמה אלהים משפטיך למלך תן	קכ.
היכולים אתם לשתות	טו.	משכיל לאסף אותותינו לא ראינו	קכא.
יְקוֹפֵא הוּלִיד יוֹסֵף בֶּעַל חֲרִיא	טז.	[דף 4א] אמת מארץ תצמח	קכב.
אחר שהעיד והלך המלאך	יז.	ולציון יאמר איש ואיש ילד בה	קכג.
לא באתי בעבור החסידים	יח.	כסאו כשמש נגדי כירח יכון	קכד.
גזלן היה כשירד לגהינם	יט.	נאם י"י לאדני שב לימיני	קכה.
היאך אתם אומ' שהוא אלוה	כ.		
יוסף אישה של מרים	כא.		
ויהי כאשר שבו המלאכים	כב.		
אז יצאו יושבי ירושלים	כג.	משלי	
ברדת יש"ו מן ההר הלכו עם	כד.	להבין משל ומליצה	קכו.
שאמ' ישו לבעל השדה	כה.	מי עלה שמים וירד	קכז.
ויעבר יש"ו נהר פרת	כו.		
לשועלים יש חפורות	כז.	שיר השירים	
אם עשה האות לבעל השדה	כח.	בעטרה שעטרה לא אמו	קכח.
שאמ' לו הסופר אלך אחריך	כט.		
וימצאוהו בהר הגליל	ל.	קהלת	
ויקרא יש"ו לתלמ[ו]דיו	לא.	טוב ילד מסכן וחכם	קכט.

א.	בראשית ברא אלהים	מט.	לא תשיך לאחריך נשך [פר'] תצא
ב.	מפני מה לא נאמ' כי טוב בים שני	נ.	אומ' כי אבדה תוחלתינו [פר'] נצבים
ג.	נעשה אדם	נא.	הם קנאוני בלא אל [פר'] האזינו
ד.	בצלמנו כדמותנו	נב.	אשר ידעו פנים אל פנים
ה.	ויכלא להים ביום השביעי		נביאים
ו.	וירא אלהים את כל אשר עשה והנה	נג.	שלוש שמות [ספר] יהושע
ז.	ועץ החיים בתוך הגן	נד.	אנו נושאים בת אח [ספר] שופטים
ח.	לא תאכל ממנו	נה.	מנשים באהל תבורך
ט.	ביום אכלך ממנו מות תמות	נו.	בעלת אוב [ספר] שמואל א
י.	באשה נתקלקל העולם ובה נתקן	נז.	פרץ עזא
יא.	וינחם י"י כי עשה את האדם	נח.	בטרם אצרך בבטן ידעתיך
יב.	כירק עשב נתתי לכם את כל [פר'] נח	נט.	העבד ישראל
יג.	והנה שלשה אנשים	ס.	ואתם תהיו לי לעם
יד.	ומלכי צדק מלך שלם הוציא לחם [פר'] לך	סא.	לא כאלה חלק יעקב
טו.	אל תשלח ירך אל הנער	סב.	לא יאמר עוד חי השם אשר העלה
יו.	מכרה ביום את בכורתך לי [פר'] תולדת	סג.	וזה שמו אשר יקראו השם צדקנו
יז.	איך רמה יעקב לבן בתנאי [פר'] ויצא	סד.	עד מתי תתחמקין הבת השובבה
יח.	איך רמו השבטים בני שכם [פר'] וישלח	סה.	וכרתי להם ברית חדשה
יט.	כי ארד אל בני אבל שאולה	סו.	הנני אליך זדון נאם י"י אלהים
כ.	צדקה ממני [פר'] וישב		יחזק[א]ל
כא.	שכל את ידיו [פר'] ויחי	סז.	פוקרים על הדמיונות
כב.	ולא יסור שבט מיהודה	סח.	כמראה אדם מלמעלה
כג.	עד כי יבא שילה	סט.	ומכשול עונו ישא לנוכח
כד.	מפני מה נגלה הק' בסנה	ע.	הנפש החוטאת היא תמות
כה.	שה של פסח [פר'] בא	עא.	האמר תאמר אל אני לפני הרגך
כו.	ויסר את אופן מרכבותיו [פר'] בשלח	עב.	ערל לב וערל בשר
כז.	ובני ישראל הלכו ביבשה		ישעיה
כח.	ויורהו השם עץ	עג.	חדשיכם ומועדכים שנאה
כט.	לא תעשה לך פסל [פר'] יתרו	עד.	רחצו הזכו
ל.	זכר לאברהם [פר'] תשא	עה.	סבאך מהול במים
לא.	וישא ידיו אל העם ויברכם [פר'] שמיני	עו.	הוי מושכי העון
לב.	שמנה שרצים	עז.	קדוש קדוש קדוש
לג.	אשה כי תזריע וילדה זכר [פר'] תזריע	עח.	תשמן לב העם הזה
לד.	איש איש כל שאר בשרו [פר'] אחרי	עט.	המה העלמה הרה
לה.	והביט אל הנחש וחי [פר'] חקת	פ.	כי ילד ילד לנו
לו.	ודם חללים ישתה [פר'] בלק	פא.	ויצא חטר מגזע ישי
לז.	דרך כוכב מיעקב	פב.	לא למראה עיניו ישפט
לח.	היאך נושאים [פר'] פנחס	פג.	הנני יסד בציון אבן
לט.	ונפש אדם מן הנשים [פר'] מטות	פד.	הנה ישכיל עבדי
מ.	כל הורג נפש	פה.	נדרשתי ללא שאלו
מא.	אוכל בכסף תשבירני [פר'] דברים	פו.	בטרם תחיל ילדה
מב.	שמע ישראל [פר'] ואתחנן	פז.	כי אתם לא עמי תרי עשר [ספר] הושע
מג.	ובתים מלאים כל טוב	פח.	ועמי תלואים למשובתי
מד.	לא מרבכם מכל העמים	פט.	כי אל אנכי ולא איש
מה.	פסל לך [פר'] עקב	צ.	לא אוסיף אהבתם
מו.	למען תחיון וירשתם		
מז.	ואת החזיר [פר'] ראה		
מח.	נביא אקים להם מקרב אחיהם [פר'] שפטים		



והחמישי שגם מפ[ורש] שם שיצאו מים חיים מן המקדש כמו שמבאר שם עד ויהיה עד שפתי ההוא מפה ומפה עץ פרי פריו יהיה למאכל וגו' ובימי בית שני לא היה מכל זה כלום ולא עוד אלא שרבותינו העתיקו לנו שלא היה מאלה הדברים בבית שני כלום"

- 5 והחמשה אשר מ[מראית העין] הראשון נאמ' על ידי הנביאים כי אז יהיה כל (הנביאים) [בני אדם] מאמינים בי"י שנ' והיה י"י למלך על כל הארץ ביום ההוא יהיה י"י אחד ושמו אחד [זכריה יד ט] ועכשיו הגוים הולכים במעשיהם הרעים ועושים כמו שהיו עושים מקדם"
- 10 והשיני נאמר על ידי הנביאים כי כל ישר' יהיו בהשקט ובשלום מעל מלכויות ומשעבודם ולא יצערו עוד לא בחירוף ולא בגידוף ולא יאכלו עוד את לחמם ואת יגיעם ולא ישתו אויביהם את מי תירושם שנ' נשבע י"י בימינו ובזרוע עוז(ו) אם אתן את דגנך עוד מאכל [דף 2ב] לאויביך [ישעיה סב ח] ועדיין אנו נותנים מס ונושאים בעול' והג' אמרו הנביאים כי לא תהיה מלחמה בעולם לא חרב ולא חנית ולא תלחם אומה עם חבירתה שנ' ולא ישאו גוי אל גוי חרב [ישעיה ב ד] וגו' ועדיין נלחמים זה עם זה והורג איש חברו ואם יטעוך שזו המלחמה אינה מלחמת הרשות אבל היא מלחמת הדין נאמר והלא הם היום מריבים ומתעצמים יותר מימי קדם"
- 15 והרביעי הודיענו הנביאים שירעה הזאב עם הכבש ויהיה הארי אוכל תבן כבקר לפי ששנאתם תסתלק ושהיונק ישחק עם הפתן שנ' ושעשע יונק על חור פתן [ישעיה יא ח] והם מזיקים עכשיו כמ[ו] בראשונה ואם יטען שזה השכר נאמר על ר(י)שעי ארץ שיעזבו חמסם וישלימו זה עם זה נשיב להם והלא הם גוזלים וחומסים יותר ממה שהיו בראש[ו]נה"
- 20 והחמישי אמר הנביא שארץ סדום תבנה לכמו שהיתה למבראש[ו]נה ככתוב ושבתי את (שבותם ו) [שביתיהן] (ו)את שבות סדום ובנותיה [יחזקאל טז נג] ועוד אמ' ואחותיך סדום ובנותיה [שם טז נה] וגו' והתורה אמרה שמבראש[ו]נה היו מימי סדום מתוקים וכי היו אנשים שותים מהם ומשקים את השדות כמה שנ' וישא לוט את עיניו וירא את כל ככר הירדן כי כולה משקה [בראשית יג י] ועוד נאמר כגן י"י כארץ מצרים [שם] וזה על דרך נהר יוצא מעדן להשקות את הגן [בראשית ב י] והיום הזה ארץ סדום חריבה ומימיה מלוחים הלכך אלו העניינים מודיעים שכל הנחמות עדין עתידין להיות וכל דבר ודבר שהקנצנו על אלו האנשים כבר הם חייבים להקנץ על הנוצרים הערלים"

[דף 1ב] אחר הדברים האלה אזכיר קצת הדברים אשר שמעתי שקצת בני אדם אומ' כי אלו הנחמות והבשורות כבר עברו וחלפו ובבית שיני נהיו ולא נשאר מהם אפילו נחמה אחת ויש להם על הדבר הזה מליצות ופלפולים רעועים אשר עליהם יסדו את קנציהם ומשכו מהם ראיותיהם וכן אמרו כל הנחמות והבשורות על תנאי הם אמורים כמו לא יב[ן]א עוד שמשך [ישעיה ס כ] וגו' וכגון לא ינחש ולא יהרס עוד לעולם [ירמיה לא מ] ועוד אמרו כי זה דומה (למע) [למה] שאמ' משה רבינו למען ירבו ימיכם [דברים יא כא] וכיון שחטאו ירדו מגדולתם כך בבית שיני היו קצת מאלו הנחמות וכיון שחטאו חרב הבית ובטלו הנחמות וכשמעי אלו הדברים בדקתי קנציהם ומצאתים רעועים מכמה פנים אחד מהם ראיתי והנה כלל הנעימות אשר אמר אותם משה פירש בהם התנאי כמו אם שמר תשמרון את כל המצוה הוריש יי את כל הגוים [ע"פ דברים יא כב-כג] ועוד אמ' כי אם שמע תשמעו(ו) בקלו [שמות כג כב] ואומ' והיה עקב תשמעון [דברים ז יב] אבל באילו הנחמות אין כאן שום תנאי בעולם אבל הם בשורות טובות מיוחדות ונפרדות ועוד שאני מקישים אלו הנחמות אל הגזירות הנגזרות אחר המבול שהוא נשבע שלא להביא מבול פעם שנית אבל אם יחטאו פעם אחת וכיון שנשבע כבר בטילה הגזירה ואי אפשר להיות מבול פעם שנית אבל אם יחטאו בני אדם כאשר חטאו קודם המבול ידיכם בדבר אחר וכן אמ' באמצע הנחמות כי מי נח לי [ע"פ ישעיה נד ט] וגו' להודיענו שכשם שהוא עושה (עושה) עם באי עולם (כך הוא עושה עם באי עולם) כך הוא מקיים לישראל[אל] שאם ח"ו יחטאו בימי הגאולה שלא יסור מלכותם אבל יהיו נכונים בדבר אחר וכאשר נשבע שלא יהיה מבול כך נשבע שלא תמוט ה' הישועה ולא תמוש הגאולה ועוד הודיענו הקב"ה שכולם יהיו צדיקים וחסידים והוא יודע האותיות קודם היותם לפיכך אי אפשר שיהיה ביניהם חטא ועון וכיון שאין להם עוונות נמצאות אפילו היו כל הנחמות נאמרות על תנאי לא היינו חוששים מן התנאי מפני שכולנו צדיקים ולא עוד אלא שבימי משה גזר גזרות אחרות וקיימם ובלי ספק כיון שקיימם כבר הוא (תקיים) [יקיים] זו הגזירה שגזר על הנחמות גזירה גמורה שנ' כי אשא אל שמים ידי [דברים לב מ] וגו' הרנינו גוים עמו [שם מג] וכיון שנתבררו הקנצים ובטלו שפיקותיהם ואשיב על דברים ט"ו תשובות אחרות חמש מן הכתב וחמש מן הקבלה וחמש מן מראית העין

פתרון החמש אשר מן הכתב הראשון מהם כך כתוב באילו הנחמות כי כל ישר' יקובצו מד' כנפות הארץ לבא אל ירושלים ולא ישאר אפילו אחד מהם בארץ נכריה שנ' וכנסתים [דף 2ב] על אדמתם ולא אותיר עוד מהם שם [יחזקאל לט כח] וגו' ובימי בית שיני לא נתקבצו מישר' רק ככתוב כל הקהל כאחד ארבע ריבוא אלפים שלש מאות וששים [נחמיה ז טו]

והשני נאמר בנחמות שישר' יקובצו בימי הישועה מאיי הים שנ' מעילם ומשנער ומחמת ומאיי הים [ישעיה יא יא] ובימי הגלות הראשונה לא מצינו שגלה איש אחד מישר' לאיי הים קל וחומר שיקובצו משם והשלישי נזכר בנחמות ציון ובנו בני נכר חומותיך [ישעיה ס י] ובבניין בית שני לא רצו שתבנה החומה אפילו על ידי ישר' אלא תמיד היו נלחמים עמם בעבור הבניין שנ' באחת ידו עושה במלאכה ואחת מחזקת בשלח [נחמיה ד יא] והרביעי כתוב בנחמות ופתחו שערייך תמיד [ישעיה ס יא] ובימי בית שיני כתוב אשר לא יפתחו שערי ירושלים עד חם השמש ועד הם עומדים יגיפו הדלתות [נחמיה ז ג]

והחמישי כי נאמר בנחמות כי הגוי והממלכה אשר לא יעבדוך יאבדו [ישעיה ס יב] ובימי בית שיני היו משועבדים תמיד למלכות הגוים ככתוב הנה אנחנו היום עבדים והארץ אשר נתתה לאבותינו לאכול פריה ואת טובה הנה אנחנו עבדים עליה [נחמיה ט לו]

והחמש(ו) ראיות מן הקבלה הראשון מהם כך אמרו הנביאים שבימי מלך המשיח יהיו דולקים את עצי השלח של גוג מגוג בשבע שנים ולא יצטרכו בימים ההם לחטוב עצים מן היערים אלא יהיו דולקים מעצי הנשק והשלח שנ' כי בנשק יבערו [יחזקאל לט י]

והשיני אמרו בנביאים כי בימי מלך המשיח ייבש שיחור נהר במצרים במקום אחר ונהר פרת יחרב ויבש בשבעה מקומות למען אשר תהיה דרך לעבור גאולים שנ' והחרים יי את לשון ים מצרים [ישעיה יא טו] והיתה מסלה לשאר עמו [שם יא טז] וגו'

והשלישי אמרו הנביאים שבימי משיח יבקע הר זיתים מחציו מרוח מזרחית וממערבית ויחלק לשני חצאין חצי האחד יהיה לרוח צפון וחצי אחר יהיה לצד דרום וביניהם יהיה נהר גדול שוטף שנ' ונבקע הר הזיתים מחציו מזרחה וימה [זכריה יד ד] וגו' עד והיה ביום ההוא יצאו חיים מירושלים [שם יד ח] והרביעי מפורש ביחזקאל שיבנה הבית ביופיו ובצורתו ותכונתו

## Key to the Symbols in the Critical Apparatus

פ' : Manuscript Paris 712 (taken as specimen of collation)

ה' : Manuscript Hamburg 187

ר' : Manuscript Rome Or. 53

[ : end of quotation from text

| : mark separating different variants on a single line

ה' : חסר (absent)

נ' : נוסף (addition, after the word cited)

( ) : incorrect reading

[ ] : emendation

{ } : marginal or interlinear note in the manuscript

- : an indication that the quotation extends from the word before the dash to the word following it

#1, #2 etc. : the indication shows which word we are referring to in case of identical reading on the same line (counting from right to left);



