

The Latin Talmud and *Liber Krúbot*: The Religious Hymns of Benjamin bar Samuel in MS Paris BNF Lat. 16558 *

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The study of translation activities from Hebrew and Aramaic into Latin during the thirteenth century, by means of which parts of the Babylonian Talmud (predominantly known as *Extractiones de Talmud*) became available for Christian readership, leads to a reconsideration of medieval Christian-Jewish relations from a historical and theological perspective.¹ One outstanding corpus of Talmudic citations is extant in a manuscript at the Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS Lat. 16558, with the unique insertion of Latin excerpts from Hebrew hymns under the heading *De Libro Krúbot*. This exceptional title is not without reason: what follows is a series of texts extending to six folios reflecting parts and pieces from Hebrew prayers and poems which must have been within reach of the translator(s)/copyist(s) as a suggested complete source with the name *Liber Krúbot*, *Book of Hymns*. In this essay we shall discuss what the designation of hymns as *Krúbot* actually means.

In the field of medieval Jewish hymnology there are hardly any instances of Hebrew compositions translated into other languages. This has much to do with the original goal of creating Hebrew religious poetry. Since ancient times Hebrew psalms and hymns were intended to be additional to standard synagogue liturgy, in some cases to replace standard synagogue liturgy but the latter is not a primary option. Hebrew hymns are inserted in all segments of Jewish liturgy from the late antique period until early modern days, a vast period of time in which hymns are created and selected and transmitted. Moreover, Hebrew hymnology originated in Palestine but soon spread to neighbouring countries and developed into a history of Jewish hymnography with distinctive main schools of poetic activity: Palestinian, Babylonian or Iraqi, Andalusian, Italian, Provençal-French, and French-German. In advance we can state that the translation of hymns in our Paris MS leads us to a layer

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1. These translation activities were developed against the background of Christian-Jewish disputations and the Paris Talmud trial of 1240 with the consequence of the burning of Talmud manuscripts in 1241-1242, see Schreckenberg, *Die christlichen Adversus-Judaeos-Texte und ihr literarisches und historisches Umfeld (13.-20. Jh.)*, pp. 98-105; Hoff et al., *The Trial of the Talmud*; Capelli, ‘Nicolas Donin, the Talmud Trial of 1240, and the Struggles between Church and States in Medieval Europe’. For a recent evaluation of the medieval Christian-Jewish debate in a broader context: Ben-Shalom, *Medieval Jews and The Christian Past, Jewish Historical Consciousness in Spain and Southern France*.

of poetry from the Franco-German school, defined as Ashkenazic but this does not exclude the transmission of much older compositions from sixth or seventh-century Palestine which gained great popularity in Europe.²

One individual name is unconditionally attached to the trend in Ashkenaz to accept Palestinian hymns which acquired fame in North-West European synagogues, and that is Eleazar birabbi Qilir, in early research better known as Kalir.³ In medieval times he was supposed to be a tenth-century composer of songs and poems for each holiday in the Jewish calendar: his extensive oeuvre consists of lengthy and fancy Hebrew verses for the festivals and special Sabbaths. Nowadays we recognise that he was a composer who can be dated back to the early seventh century during a period of incisive transformation of power and organisation with great impact on the Palestinian Jews, the final period of the Byzantine Empire and the advent of the Arabs as well as the introduction of Islam. Kalir seems to be a witness to these dramatic times, and wrote about them, or at least, scenes from a final battle have been described in biblical and apocalyptic fashion on his behalf (Kalir or Pseudo-Kalir).⁴ These pieces were lost quickly – they had little or no liturgical status – and could only be restored on the basis of Genizah fragments, but many other Kalirian works achieved so much popularity that they were often copied and ultimately incorporated in medieval European, that is to say, Ashkenazic prayer rituals: some of them are supposedly detected in the Paris manuscript.⁵

Let us first turn to hymnological terminology either taken from the headings in medieval manuscripts or adopted in modern scholarship since the nineteenth century. Conspicuously, the general term for Hebrew hymnology is *Piyyut*, a rather intercultural term clearly derived from Greek *poietes*. Therefore one occasionally encounters the noun *paytas* in the manuscripts, liturgical poet or composer. This noun is adapted to *paytan*, with an Aramaic ending, denoting a professional liturgical cantor-poet. The earliest recordings of single liturgical compositions for regular synagogue worship reflect a number of generic divisions: *avodah* is reserved for a lengthy poem describing the sacrificial acts of the High Priest on Yom Kippur or the Day of Atonement; the term *yotzer* is used for all poems that are to be inserted in the morning prayer of Deut. 6:4, *qeri'at Shema*. The term *qedushta* is a definition of the poem that has to be inserted in the Prayer of the Eighteen Benedictions (תפילת שמונה עשרה or עמידה) containing the *Qedushah* text, the nucleus of which is

2. Heil, 'Ashkenazic Piyyut: Hebrew Poetic Prayer in a Latin Environment (The Tenth to the Twelfth Centuries)'.
3. His original name is Qeler or Keler, a derivation from Greek *klēros*, see Yahalom, 'A Paytan Papyrus for the Winter Festivals and its Meaning for the Origins of Settlement in the Land of Israel at the End of the Byzantine Period', esp. p. 9, footnote 6.
4. See van Bekkum, 'Jewish Messianic Expectations in the Age of Heraclius'.
5. Kalir's *qerovah* for *Shabbat Sheqalim* is apparently mentioned because of the gigantic measurements of the Torah (fol. 206va), a recurring theme in the Latin translations and in the *qerovah* of Benjamin bar Samuel discussed in this article, see also Elizur, 'On the Early Extent of Parashat Shekalim'; also Urbach, "פירוש לסילוק הקלירי לפרשת שקלים" אז ראית וספרת".

Is. 6:3: קדוש קדוש קדוש ה' צבאות מלוא כל הארץ כבודו (*qadosh, qadosh, qadosh, Hashem Tzevaot, melo khol ha-aretz kevodo* – ‘Holy, holy, holy, is the Lord of hosts, the fullness of all the earth is His glory’), parallel with the threefold repetition in the Syriac *Qurbana Qadisha* liturgy, the Greek *Trishagion*: Ἅγιος ὁ Θεός, Ἅγιος ἰσχυρός, Ἅγιος ἀθάνατος, ἐλέησον ἡμᾶς (*Hagios ho Theos, hagios ischuros, hagios athanatos, eleèson hèmās* – ‘Holy God, Holy Strong One, Holy Immortal One, have mercy on us’) in the Byzantine-orthodox liturgy⁶ or the *Sanctus* in Catholic ritual (*Sanctus, sanctus, sanctus, Dominus Deus Sabaoth, pleni sunt coeli et terra gloria tua*).⁷

It is unclear when and why the noun *qerovah* started to substitute for the term *qedushta*. Ancient evidence for this term can be found in Rabbinic literature: the Aramaic verbal form *qerav* (with several connotations: ‘to come or bring close’, ‘to offer’, ‘to sacrifice’, ‘to present’) is understood as a reference to prayer, and therefore the cantor or leader of the congregation is denoted as a *qerova*, with an aleph, the presenter of a *qerovah*, a poetic prayer.⁸ In a systematised prayer collection from the mid-ninth century, the *Siddur of Rav Amram Gaon*, we read the following sentence:

ואם ירצה צבור לומר קרובה אומר כמו אשען במעש אזרחי (*we-im yirtzeh tzibbur lomar qerovah omer kmo eshsha'en be-ma'as ezrachi* – ‘And if the audience wishes to say a *qerovah*, he [the cantor] could say [recite] something like ‘Let me rely on the deed(s) of the Ezraite’).⁹

Notably, this *piyyut* is clearly destined for insertion in the Musaph prayer on Yom Kippur, composed by the eighth-century Palestinian *paytan* Yohanan ha-Kohen ben Yehoshua. It seems reasonable to ask if the term *qerovah* retained its sacrificial connotation, and is therefore applied to Musaph, the prayer substitute for Temple sacrifices, but other sources seem to contradict such a narrowed definition. In the introduction to the Italian *Mahzor* Sabtay Donolo writes about Kalir:

ורבי אלעזר ברבי קליר זכר צדיק לברכה פייט בקרובה המתחלת אור חמה ולבנה (*we-Rabbi El'azar birabbi Qalir zekher tzaddiq li-verakhah piyyet bi-qerovah ha-matchelet or chammah u-levenah* – ‘And Rabbi Eleazar birabbi Qalir, the name of this righteous man be blessed, wrote poetry in a *qerovah* which begins with the words ‘The light of sun and moon’).¹⁰

6. In the alternate version of John Chrysostom and St. Basil based on Is. 6:3: *hagios hagios hagios Kurios Sabaoth, plèrès ho ouranos kai hè gè tèš doxèš sou* – ‘Holy, Holy, Holy is the Lord of Hosts, the heaven and the earth are full of His honour’).
7. See Tuschling, *Angels and Orthodoxy*, esp. pp. 177-196.
8. See *Midrash on Psalms*, par. 19: *chazzana di-qerav we-amar* (‘a cantor who presented and recited’).
9. אשען במעש אזרחי is a well-known composition in different versions within the Rumanian and Italian traditions.
10. Goldschmidt and Cohen, *Samuel David Luzzatto*, p. 30.

This is indeed an intriguing astrologically oriented poem by Kalir for a special Sabbath, but not for Yom Kippur. This is congruent with the observation made in a treatise from the days of the Geonim (tenth century) called *Chemdah Genuzah* ('Hidden Treasure'): הללו קרובות שאומרין החזנים בשבתות ויום הכפורים (*halalu qerovot she-omrin ha-chazzanim be-shabbatot we-yom ha-kippurim u-ve-yamim tovim* – 'These are *qerovot* which the cantors say [recite] on Sabbaths and Yom Kippur and holidays'), as well as in *Teshuvot ha-Geonim*: המתפלל קרובות בחול ובימים טובים (*ha-mitpallel qerovot ba-chol u-va-yamim tovim* – 'The one who prays *qerovot* on weekdays and holidays').¹¹

The Provençal grammarian and exegete David Kimhi (1161-1235) describes in his *Sefer Shorashim* ('Book of Roots') the various ways of using the term:

כמו שעשו קצת בני עמינו הנקראים בשם פייטים בקרובות (*kmo she-'asu qetzat bney 'ammeynu ha-niqra'im be-shem payyatim bi-qerovot* – 'This is what some of our people do who are called composers in *qerovot*').

Similarly, Kimhi employs in his *Sefer Mikhlol* ('Comprehensive Book') the appellation בעל השירים בקרובה (*ba'al ha-shirim bi-qerovah* – 'The compiler of songs in *qerovah*[-form]'). Gradually one detects a steady use of the noun *qerovah* in the manuscripts for a single but specific *piyyut*, identical to *qedushta*.

Finally, Rabbenu Gershom Me'or ha-Golah ('the Light of the Exile', eleventh century) concisely surveyed the history of Hebrew liturgical poetry with use of the term in a most generalised way:

וגם יש לנו ללמוד מן הפייטנים הראשונים שהיו חכמים גדולים הרי ר' ינאי שהיה מן החכמים הראשונים ופייט קרובות לכל סדר וסדר שלכל השנה וגם ר' אלעזר ברבי קליר היה מן החכמים הראשונים ופייט קרובות לכל הרגלים והזכיר באבות וגבורות דברי אגדה ועניינים הרבה וגם רבנו קלונימוס זצ"ל שהחכם גדול היה ופייט קרובות לכל הרגלים והזכיר במ אגדה ועניינים הרבה ור' משולם בנו ידענו שהחכם גדול היה ופייט קרובה לצום כפור ובתוך הברכה אמר עניינים הרבה ובסוף סמוך לחתימתה הזכיר מעין ברכה (*we-gam yesh lanu lilmod min ha-paytanim ha-rishonim she-hayu chakhamim gedolim harey R. Yannai she-hayah min ha-chakhamim ha-rishonim u-fiyet qerovot le-khol seder we-seder she-lekhol ha-shanah we-gam R. Elazar birabbi Qalir hayah min ha-chakhamim ha-rishonim u-fiyet qerovot le-khol ha-regalim we-hizkir be-Avot u-Gevurot divrey Aggadah we-'inyanim harbeh we-gam Rabbenu Qalonimos ztz"l she-chakham gadol hayah u-fiyet qerovot le-khol ha-regalim we-hizkir bam Aggadah we-'inyanim harbeh we-R. Meshullam beno yada 'nu she-chakham gadol hayah u-fiyet qerovah le-tzom kippur u-ve-toxh ha-berakhah amar 'inyanim harbeh u-ve-sof samukh la-chatimatah hizkir me'eyn berakhah we-yesh lilmod mehen we-lo levattel qerovot she-hen shevach le-Ha-Qadosh Barukh Hu*): 'We also have to learn from the early hymnists who were great sages, see R. Yannai who was among the early sages, and he composed *qerovot*

11. *Chemdah Genuzah*, par. 146 (R. Isaac bar Jacob Gaon).

for the entire year. Also R. Eleazar birabbi Qalir was one of the early sages, and he composed *qerovot* for all the holidays, and he mentioned in [his piyyutim for] *Avot* and *Gevurot* [the first two benedictions of the ‘*amidah*’] many Aggadic themes. Also our Rabbi Kalonimos was a great sage, and he composed *qerovot* for all the holidays, and he mentioned in them Aggadah and many things. And his son R. Meshullam, we know that he was a great sage; he composed a *qerovah* for the Fast of Yom Kippur, and within the blessing he said many things. Close to its end he mentioned a kind of [own] blessing, and one can learn from them; one should not suspend them because they are a praise to the Holy One, blessed be He’.¹²

This is an outstanding *Responsum* by Rabbenu Gershom who defended the ancient tradition of *qerovot* with the stipulation that they comprise great wisdom and should be revered as praise songs. Any compilation of *qerovot* was in France apparently known as ‘les qeroves’, turning into the peculiar Hebrew term *qerovetz*; until modern times *qerovetz* was a current term for prayer-book and appeared as such in East-European printed editions.

When we look for a parallel term in Syriac, then we come across the noun *qurava* which means cultic prayer or ritual prayer in connection with a sacrificial act. This is an interesting form because of the vocalisation in the Paris manuscript: *Liber Krúbot, De Libro Krúbot*, returning on fol. 211ra: ‘In mane cotidie dicunt hanc krúba id est oracionem: Pater noster, pater pietatis miserans, miserere nostri’, etc. I have no doubt that the terminology has been derived from a direct source in which *krúbot* in all probability referred to poetic compositions exclusively, but in the MS we encounter extracts from both prayer texts (in the case of fol. 211ra to be compared with אבינו אב הרחמן המרחם רחם עלינו ותן בלבנו להבין להשכיל לשמוע ללמוד וללמד (לשמור ולעשות ולקיים את כל דברי תורתך באהבה) and *piyyutim*. The copyist took the term *krúbot* as the title of an already existing compilation and left it untranslated. Additionally, the phrase *krúba id est oracionem* may well allude to the term *oratio* with the meaning of prayer or ceremonial speech, suggesting that *Liber Krúbot* was a mix of poetry and prayer for outstanding Sabbaths and festivals, a contemporary *Mahzor*. Of course, the translator/copyist was not interested in a complete rendering of the original nor did he preserve the sequence of lines and strophes or retain devices like alphabetical acrostics, rhyme schemes or metrical schemes – his translations are prosaic. He has primarily chosen these parts and pieces which should demonstrate Jewish superstition or false beliefs. However, occasionally he was carried away by his translation activities and presented larger pieces of one and the same composition.

Our exploration of these textual segments in the Latin version leads us straight to an intriguing researcher and scholar in modern times: Chen-Melekh or Hain Merhavia from Jerusalem (1910-2003) who in 1970 published both a book and a number of articles about the Paris manuscript.¹³ Merhavia was born in Bialystock,

12. Eidelberg, *The Responsa of Rabbenu Gershom Meor Hagolah*, pp. 56-57.

13. Merhavia, *The Church Versus Talmudic and Midrashic Literature, 500-1248*, pp. 291-315, 420, 421-463;

Poland, and was involved in various Zionist movements, but became a prominent representative of Beitar, the revisionist Zionist youth movement founded in 1923 in Riga, Latvia, by Vladimir Zhabotinsky. He immigrated to Palestine in 1930 and became secretary of the Hebrew Gymnasium Rehavia in Jerusalem. Among his many different activities as a historian, journalist, opinion-maker, and public thinker, Merhavia occupied himself with *Midrash Tehillim*, mystical studies (*Sefer ha-Razim*), and Ramon Martí's *Pugio Fidei*.¹⁴ In 1968 one of his articles was about an anti-Talmudic fragment from the mid-sixteenth century when the burning of the Talmud was decreed in various Italian cities (decree of 1553).¹⁵ This fragment specifically discusses the burning of the Talmud in Cremona in 1559. In 1980 Merhavia published an article about Nicholas Donin questioning his role of instigator of the Fulda blood libel.¹⁶

Let us therefore focus on Merhavia's discoveries of Hebrew original texts in *Liber Krúbot* which obviously were linked to his 1965 Ph.D. thesis on the *Extracciones de Talmud* as 'a polemical source against Jewish Law in the Middle Ages'. Based on his doctoral studies of the translated fragments in the Paris manuscript, Merhavia supplied a source list of Hebrew prayers and *piyyutim* which is not congruent with what he found and published some time later: a majority of these *piyyutim* belong to an identifiable *paytan* with the common name Benjamin bar Samuel who supposedly was born mid-eleventh century in Coutances in the Normandy.¹⁷ However, Ezra Fleischer doubted his French origins and described him

id., 'The Latin Translations in the Margins of the Talmud in MS Firenze and MS Paris 16558'; id., 'Talmudic Terms and Idioms in the Latin Manuscript Paris B.N. 16558'; id., 'Some Poems of Rabbi Benjamin bar Samuel in a Latin Translation', id., 'A Spanish Latin MS Concerning the Opposition to the Talmud at the Beginning of the 15th Century'; id., 'On the Transcription of Hebrew Words in a Latin Manuscript from the Thirteenth Century'.

14. Merhavia, 'On the Hebrew Versions of *Pugio Fidei* in MS Ste. Geneviève'; id., '*Pugio Fidei* – An Index of Citations'.
15. Merhavia, 'An Anti-Talmudic Pamphlet from the Period of the Burning of the Talmud in Italy'.
16. For a more recent discussion of this issue, see Eisenberg, *Reading Medieval Religious Disputation*; also Bobichon, *Controverse judéo-chrétienne en Ashkenaz (XIIIe siècle), Florilèges polémiques*.
17. Golb, *The Jews in Medieval Normandy*, pp. 131-132: Benjamin b. Samuel was once lauded by a contemporary (perhaps the teacher of the eminent Rashi of Troyes) as 'a wise and holy one, our elder, master Benjamin bar Samuel of QWSTNY'. According to the *Responsum* of the Levite, no other name is given, quoted in Rashi's *Sefer ha-Pardes*, fol. 143, col. d. Also quoted by Landshut, *Amude ha-Abodah*, p. 53, and by Gross, *Gallia*, p. 553. This term is sometimes identified (during the nineteenth century by Graetz), with Constance, on the lake of that name in South-Western Germany. Yet, as both L. Zunz and H. Gross demonstrated long ago, the circle of early scholars familiar with Benjamin or his writings was entirely French. The place-name is closely akin to the old designations for Coutances, such as the Latin Constantia, and afterwards, Constances and Cosedia. Golb engages into a discussion of other scholars like Fleischer who did not mention the toponym and left his origins undecided. Haim Brody (*Mivchar ha-Shirah ha-Ivrit*, p. 210) and Merhavia already perceived that the considerations advanced by Zunz and Gross are fundamental to the issue of his environment and natal home. In Normandy a tragic dimension of cultural loss lying behind Guibert of Nogent's observation that his learned friend William, plucked during his childhood from the arms of his parents, had to be transferred to Latin from the Hebrew tongue in which he had originally be trained: 'grandiusculus ergo cum foret, ab hebraicis, quibus imbui coeperat, ad latinas

as an Ashkenazic hymnist who used to sign his compositions with a name acrostics in combination with nouns like *ha-poyetan*, the poet, *ha-sofer*, the scribe or the author, *ha-metargem*, the translator (!). One of his better known poems is a lament in memory of R. Samson the Martyr who was burned at the stake in the imperial city of Metz in the year 1276.¹⁸

Before we go any further, we have to consult Leopold Zunz's unsurpassed work *Literary History of Synagogue Poetry*, even in our times the most important source for any obscure Hebrew composer from the past.¹⁹ Zunz adduced an entire entry on Benjamin bar Samuel, who was older than Rashi and wrote poems for the three holidays Pesach, Shavuot, and Sukkot, as well as for Rosh ha-Shanah and Yom Kippur. Zunz rightly observed that Benjamin was very Kalirian in his language and style, an epigone of Kalir who followed or imitated classical patterns.²⁰ On the other hand, 'seine Arbeiten erheben sich nicht selten zu dichterischer Schönheit' ('His works often rise to poetic beauty'). This can be asserted, although his language is far from easy. However, either French or Ashkenazic, either conventional or original, the oeuvre of Benjamin bar Samuel fits well into the transmission history of Hebrew hymns in the West although this is a Diaspora track of its own: parts and pieces of his compositions are found in France and in Greece, and sporadically in Poland. One of Benjamin's compositions is a lengthy *qerovah* for Shavuot which was well known to Zunz and reconstructed by Israel Davidson in his *Thesaurus of Mediaeval Hebrew Poetry*.²¹ Davidson adduced ten different *piyyutim*, all belonging to the same *qerovah Arukkah me-eretz* ('The measurement of the Torah is longer than land'). Here is his list:

ארכה מארץ (חתימה: ים הגדול)
 תשע מאות (חתימה: בקול שופר)
 באלפי שנאן (אקרוסטיכון: בנימן בר שמואל סופר)
 אל נא אהלים וקורקסיהם
 אנכי אל מעוזך (עשרת הדברות)
 פזמון אראלים חמשה

litteras traditus, brevi coaluit [...]'. Golb's observation is that in the early twelfth century, literature of Norman Jews largely perished after the great destruction of 1096, so that only scattered Hebrew creations of the liturgical poet are still extant; see Weinberger, 'Shirim Hadashim me-ha-Tequfah ha-Bizantinit'.

18. Doniach, 'Le Poème de Benjamin le Scribe sur R. Samson le Martyr'; Einbinder, *Beautiful Death*, pp. 105-107; Offenber, 'Mirroring Samson the Martyr: Reflections of Jewish-Christian Relations in the North French Hebrew Illuminated Miscellany'.
19. Zunz, *Literaturgeschichte der synagogalen Poesie*, pp. 115-120; on the biography of Benjamin bar Samuel, see also Fleischer (ed.), 'The Azharot of Rabbi Benjamin ben Samuel paytan'; Rau, 'Qerobat Agan ha-Sahar'; see for a newer critical edition of the same piyyut: Goldschmidt, *Mahzor le-Yamim Nora'im, Rosh ha-Shanah*, pp. 175-176.
20. This *qerovah* of Benjamin bar Samuel may have been inspired by Kalirian compositions for Shavuot, for instance, חוץ פילצה אימה ('Fear shocked the ends of the [earthly] horizon'): Elizur, *Rabbi El'azar birabbi Kiliri, Hymni Pentecostales*, p. 18, pp. 143-205 (edition).
21. Davidson, *Thesaurus of Mediaeval Hebrew Poetry*, vol. I, p. 347, entry 7639א.

(ובכן ה' קנני) אדני רגובה
 (סדר הדברות) וירד אגור בין שלולה ושבויה
 (סלוק) בששה בחדש נתנו לישראל
 (קדושה) וחיות בוערות לכס לויות²²

Thanks to a comparison with the critical texts on the website of the Historical Dictionary *Ma'agarim* we can assert that most of Davidson's reconstruction is correct with the exception that the attribution of the tenth and last *Qedushah* hymn (*wechayyot bo'arot le-khes lewayyot* – 'Fiery Hayyot-angels accompany the throne') to this *qerovah* is doubtful. This *piyyut* is now being classified separately but usually one cannot escape from conclusions drawn by Zunz who is ever more right than wrong. The definite sequence of hymns within this *qerovah* is as follows:

מגן: ארוכה מארץ
 מחיה: תשע מאות, חתימה
 משלש: באלפי שנאן, הכינוי סופר
 פיוט ד: אהולים וקורקסיהם
 פיוט ה: אנכי אל מעוזך, פיוט על עשרת הדיברות
 שני פיוטים נוספים בין פיוט ה לבין סדר עולם
 עיר גבורים חכם עלה
 כהגבלתנו סביב הר
 פיוט ו: סדר עולם אדני רגובה
 פיוט ז: סדר דיברין אגור בין שלולה
 פיוט ח: סילוק בששה לחודש

The compiler(s) of *Liber Krúbot* were aware of this specific composition, and may have been astonished by the rich imagination and captivating fantasies of its creator. Was this a part of Jewish liturgy and did Jews really believe all these stories? The exalted atmosphere of Shavuot revived in contemporary poetry and prayer which professed to give a detailed account of the divine revelation on Sinai with all the accompanying midrashic explanations and legends, but to the Christian reader all this seemed superstitious and blasphemous. No wonder that some of the polemicists turned to *Piyyut* in order to select more evidence of *stultitia Iudaeorum*, the 'folly of the Jews', thereby attempting to prove the falsehood of Jewish sources in favour of Christian truth. *Piyyut* in general is a highly relevant though often neglected source of information for both Jewish literary history and the history of Christian-Jewish polemics.

Following the sequence of quotations in the folios of the Paris manuscript we can illustrate our estimation of *Liber Krúbot* with one instructive example, also mentioned by Merhavia among many other parallels.²³ The behaviour of the mountains

22. Composed by Benjamin bar Samuel for Yom Kippur.

23. Merhavia, 'Some Poems of Rabbi Benjamin bar Samuel in a Latin Translation', pp. 206-207.

Carmel and Tabor in contest with the mountain Sinai for receiving the honour of divine revelation is told in fol. 209ra:

montes autem et valles commoti sunt quasi filii ovium venit Thabor inter montes et Carmelus ex adverso et dixit unus vocatus sum et alius vocatus sum et quando audiverunt vocem domini conversi sunt et fugerunt exivit vox prima ego deus deus tuus [...]

Lines 38-44 in hymn VIII refer to this tradition from *Midrash on Psalms* (68,9, 159b), but the phrase *ובא כרמל מאספמיה* (*u-va Karmel me-Aspamyā* – ‘And Carmel came from Spain/Panyas/Banyas’) is replaced by a different explanation, as if each name represents a different mountain: Carmel, Aspamyā, and Tabor.

The allusion to the well-known traditional idea of the Torah being handed down in seventy languages occurs in fol. 207va: ‘Quando veniet dies in qua verba legis glosari debentur in lxx linguis’. Benjamin bar Samuel has a reference to the seventy languages in line 66 of hymn VIII as well as in a composition for the fast day of Seventeenth Tammuz:

דהר ציר עם אבירים, הוריד מהם לוחות מחוברים, ועליהם עשרת הדברים, זוהרם בשבעים לשון מבוארים (*dahar tzir ‘im abbirim, horid mehem luchot mechubbarim, wa-‘aleyhem ‘asseret ha-devarim, zoharam be-shiv‘im lashon mevo‘arim* – ‘The messenger [Moses] rushed along mighty [angels], he brought down from them the joined tables, on them the Ten Words, their splendour explained in seventy languages’).²⁴

Only few *qerovot* have been consulted by the translator/copyist that are not composed by Benjamin so that we can assume that *Liber Krúbot* contained a substantial part of his hymnody. This assumption corroborates with the title *Liber Krúbot*, a compilation of poetic texts and liturgical pieces following the calendar of Sabbaths and festivals. Apart from the above-mentioned *qerovah Arukkah me-eretz* there is a mix of liturgical, talmudic, midrashic, exegetical, mystical, and other piyyutic quotations (all of which Merhavia tried to indicate in his reference list). After all, we cannot rely on the translator/copyist who extracted and manipulated the original redaction for the sake of his polemical agenda, neither are we able to make any relevant guess whether the original source existed as one entire booklet or a set of booklets copied by one or by more hands. A logical liturgical sequence must be assumed but cannot be shown. What is left is this unique series of *piyyutim* which in their selected translations are kept in an original order.

Liber Krúbot contains many more surprises than the sequence of translations selected from the extensive *qerovah* by Benjamin bar Samuel. Firstly, for a wider perspective beyond the segments of poetry one can refer to fol. 206va: ‘Mytraton Enoch offert exenium solio excelso de semine sepultorum in Hebron, id est Abra-

24. A *qerovat shemoneh ‘esreeh* with the opening words *Agan ha-mezeg eykh chaser*; Davidson, *Thesaurus of Mediaeval Hebrew Poetry*, vol. I, p. 23 (446s).

ham Isaac et Jacob'. Parallel traditions for the equation of Henoah with Metatron can be found in III Enoch, Ben-Sira, and *Me'or 'Eynayyim* by Azariah de Rossi.²⁵ Moreover, the relation between Scripture and poetry is indicated in fol. 207ra: 'Et zyz saday mecum pulcritudo agri mecum est, de piscibus Leuithan de animalibus Behemoth, qui depascit mille montes in die et singulis diebus renascitur herba'. A poetic elaboration of this same tradition can be found in a *yotzer* composition for the Sabbath in the week of Sukkoth by an unknown composer Yehudah who lived around the year 1050:²⁶

יחיד כשברא עולמו, וכיללו במינים כנאמו, כשיצר לויתין וזוגתו, כן עש זיו שדי והורתו, ומרעהו אלף
 הרים ואשתו (yachid ke-she-bara 'olamo, we-khillelo be-minim ki-ne'umo, ke-she-
 yatzar Liwyatan we-zugato, ken 'as Ziz Shadday we-horato, u-mar'ehu elef harim
 we-ishto – 'When the One God created His world, and completed the species accord-
 ing to His utterance; when He formed Leviathan and his spouse, then He made Ziz
 Shadday and his conceiver, and his cattle on a thousand mountains <Ps. 50:11>, and
 his wife').

The reference to Ex. 15:16 with extensions in fol. 207rb:

Omnibus afflictionibus nostris congregatis fac cadere super eos timorem, et pauorem
 ad commouendum corda eorum, ciphum ire tue misce inter eos, timor et angustia
 veniant in eos vertigo discrecionis in cordibus suis, tremor et consummatio in lumbis
 eorum, concussio et paralis in omnibus membris suis [...]

recurs in a *qerovah* for Pesach by the tenth-century hymnist Moses ben Kalon-
 ymos:

תפל עליהם אימתה ופחד. למען למוג לבביהם, כוס חמתך מסוך ביניהם, יראה ורעד יבא בהם, טירוף דעת
 (tipol 'aleyhem eymatah wa-fachad. Lema'an lamug levaveyhem, kos chatkha mesokh beyneyhem, yir'ah wa-ra'ad
 yavo bahem, teruf da'at bi-levaveyhem, chalchalah u-ma'ad be-motneyhem, zeya'
 we-retet be-khol eyveryhem – 'Terror and dread fall upon them. So to dissolve their
 hearts, pour out the cup of Your anger among them, fear and tremor will come upon
 them, there will be insanity in their hearts, panic and failure in their loins, sweating
 and trembling in all their limbs').

Parallel to the cursing of Israel's enemies in the previous example one encoun-
 ters in fol. 210va-210vb the phrases

25. See Orlov, *The Enoch-Metatron Tradition*; *Toldot Ben-Sira*: 'Henoah is Metatron, and he has seventy names'; De Rossi, *Me'or 'Eynayyim*, fol. 46a: 'This is what the Tosaphists mentioned in chapter 141 of (tractate) *Yebamoth* about Henoah who is Metatron'.

26. The opening line is *Afa'er le-Elohey ma'arakhah*: Davidson, *Thesaurus of Mediaeval Hebrew Poetry*, vol. I, p. 323 (71018).

[...] offende eos et destrue illos, dirue domos goym, discinde pulcritudinem goym, calca torcular inter goym, exalteris iudex super superbos et dicent dues et rex super goym, vilifica regnum goym, scope et destrue goym, videbunt magnolia tua et confunduntur goym, comminue destrue goym, preliare contra reges goym, dominator regnum tuum manifesta super goym, dissipa in ira tua omnes goym, conculca Seyr et omnes goym, fac vlcionem in goym, effunde iram tuam super goym, destrue ossa goym, fundibula congregaciones goym, offensam prebe in goym, effunde furorum tuum super goym, irruat super goym formido et pauor [...]

These words literally recur in an unknown piyyut for Yom Kippur:

יי מלך אבדו גוים, בלע בתי גוים, גדע קרן גוים, דרוך פורה בתוך גוים, הנשא שופט על גוים, ויאמרו יי מלך על גוים, זעום באלופי גוים, חלל ממלכות גוים, טאטא להשמד גוים, יראו פליאיך ויבושו גוים, כתת חרב גוים, לחום במלכי גוים, מלכותך מושל (בגו) תגלה על גוים, נתוץ בהרוגך כל גוים, סלף שעיר וכל גוים, עשה נקמה בגוים, פזר חרוגך בגוים, צרור צבאות גוים, קלע קהילות גוים, רוגז תתן בגוים, שפוך חמתך על הגוים, תפל אימתה ופחד על גוי

The combination of a rabbinic tradition and its piyyutic transmission can be illustrated by ‘the seven things which preceded the creation of the world’ in fol. 208rb: ‘Septem fuerunt antequam terra [...]’ in full concurrence with the *Sidrey Divrin* of Eleazar birabbi Kalir for Shavuot:

וירד משה מן ההר אל העם, אתו מצות וחוקים, ייי קנני ראשית דרכו, אלפים שנה נמתקתי בחכו, מקדמי ארץ, מקודמי ארץ, דברים שבעה קדמו לארץ, כסא רם ונישא קדם לשמי ערץ, כסא ישראל קדם לממלכות הארץ, אבות העולם קדמו למוסדי ארץ, שם משיח קדם לשמות אשר בארץ, גן עדן קדמה לענוי ארץ, ערוך מאתמול קדם לרשעי ארץ, ישראל והתשובה קדמו ליושבי ארץ, ואני להם קדמתי מקד(ו)מי ארץ

With regard to the extent and contents of the Latin quotes vis-à-vis piyyutic as well as midrashic sources further exploration will contribute to our understanding of what has been and what has not been included, given the intentions of the translator(s)/copyist(s) who wished to show the folly of Judaism and the superstition of the Jews.

Appendix I

These and other illustrations of Hebrew originals that have been retrieved in translation from medieval Latin MSS can be added to the larger excerpts taken from Benjamin's *qerovah Arukkah me-eretz*. The entire *qerovah* consisting of eight piyyutim with two original additions between piyyut V and piyyut VI is presented in English for the first time.²⁷ Within this comprehensive piyyutic representation of the Sinai event Benjamin bar Samuel exploited and versified numerous midrashic components. He may have received his inspiration from an earlier composition for Shavuot by Eleazar birabbi Kalir but he surely added many original details in his own language and style.²⁸ Hymns I, II, III keep close to the scriptural readings and associated verses, whereas the opening strophe introduces the main themes of the entire composition: the Torah is an immeasurable gift of heaven, containing multiple secrets for the people of Israel; at the giving of the Torah heaven and earth were shaking; the revelation of God's presence is for humans too hard to bear, therefore Moses is placed between God and Israel as a mediator. Most conspicuous throughout the entire composition is the role of the angels: they appear in myriads to support the divine appearance, and they have to comply with the decision of God to entrust the well stored heavenly Torah to Israel. Hymn IV emphasises God's initiative to offer the Torah to the world, but only Israel accepted and promised to obey the divine law. Hymn V is based on the Ten Commandments, whereas hymn V.1 describes the angels fiercely opposing Moses and subsequently giving in. Hymn V.2 can be considered as a praise song for God who created all the good conditions for Israel to receive and keep the Torah (without mentioning Moses). Hymn VI specifies the roles of God and Torah: God took delight in 'her' for two thousand years, 'she' was His companion during creation and 'she' contains all wisdom and morality. The Torah was to be offered to man, but no one seemed fit: neither Adam nor Noah nor Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, only Moses could be entrusted with the assignment to climb on Sinai and receive the Torah. Interestingly enough, the Torah herself joins in the discussion to whom to be offered.²⁹ Hymn VII consists of eleven couplets interconnected by *anadiplosis*

27. This division, numbering, and translation is based on the critical edition of *Arukah me-Eretz* by Yonah Fraenkel in *Mahzor Shavuot*, pp. 314-364; see also Scheindlin, 'The Ascension of Moses in a Poem by Amittai ben Shefatiah'; a detailed study of the midrashic accounts of Moses' ascension is found in: Halperin, *Faces of the Chariot*, pp. 289-322.
28. Kalir's compositions were known in the French branch of Ashkenazic Jewish liturgy; for the wider context of *sidrey 'olam* for Shavuot, see Rand, 'Was *Mahzor Eretz Israel – A Geniza Codex* Indeed Used in Eretz Israel? New Fragments of the Codex and their Contribution to an Understanding of the Nature of its Liturgical Rite', esp. pp. 533-534; for translations of Kalir's poetry into French vernacular: Einbinder, 'Exegesis and Romance: Revisiting the Old French Translation of Kallir'; ead. and Rosenberg, 'A Hebrew Piyyut and Its Old French Translation'; for traces of Kalir's poetry in Southern France and Spain, see Rand, 'Surviving Fragments of the Qillirian Heritage in Provence/Catalonia and in Spain: In the Wake of New Materials from the Genizah'.
29. The deprecatory judgment of Adam, Noah, and the three Patriarchs as being unfit for the reception of the Torah was controversial in both liturgical tradition and modern scholarship. This was already observed

(the last word of each couplet is the opening word of the next one) and based on Ex. 20:1-14. Finally, hymn VIII is the *silluq*, the transitional hymn to the *Qedushah* with long couplets equally interconnected by *anadiplosis* with descriptions of God's glory and Israel's suitability for fulfilling the commandments of the Torah. The *silluq* concludes with the myriads of angels who mention the threefold holy Name.

I.

The measure of the Torah is longer than the earth and broader than the sea,
When You explained her secrets to the multitude of descendants,
The heavenly abode shook, and the dry land trembled,
Winged angels were flying like fiery flames.

- 5 You made radiant those who accepted the Torah, You made them shining when they went out from amidst the Egyptians,
As You saw their fractured and amputated feet and hands,
You considered: How will I hand over the Torah to these cripples?
You have sent your glowing angels to cure them on the earth below.³⁰

- 10 You manifested yourselves on day fifty, the sixth day of the third month,
You presented to each nation the reward and punishment of the Torah,
Its rules and its details, but the [nations] did not wish to learn it,
You set them ablaze with a fatal blow that caused their complete destruction.

- 15 From Mount Paran You shone forth to Your people,
You made the earth and its fullness sound like the trees of the forest,
You stretched above them Mount Sinai like a pail,
You went on high to present the captive Torah.

- 20 When You opened Your mouth to explain both strict and lenient commandments,
They stood there and listened in fear and trembling,
When speaking the first commandment, Your voice split into seven voices,
Inviting the whole nation to stand up.

by Mishcon, 'The Suppressed Parts of a Shabu'ot Piyyut'. Christian polemicists may have been aware of this type of criticism of the great Jewish ancestors in Ashkenazic communities, as has been argued by Mintz-Manor, 'Towards a Solution of the Censorship Question Regarding the Shavu'ot Piyyutim'. However, the explanation of Christian-Jewish polemics as the main reason for omitting this *seder 'olam* does not solve the question. Translation activities against the background of Christian-Jewish controversy served other goals, whereas this specific piyyut does not feature in *Liber Krúbot*: Yahalom, 'An Unknown 'Hashem Qanani' Pentecost Sequence', esp. pp. 77-78; see id., 'Shi'ur Qomah in a Misidentified Qalirian Poem for Pentecost'.

30. When Israel went out of Egypt, there were many who had lost their hands or feet as the result of hard labour; they had to be healed first so that the Torah could be given to a perfect people (*Tanhuma*, *Yitro* 8).

You have placed between You and them a third one [Moses] as a mediator,
 You planted the root for the birth from the three [tribes],
 You entrusted them to a third-born [Moses] for the sake of a three-fold people [priests, Levites, Israel],
 A perfect Torah in the third month.

- 25 As it is written: ‘In the third month after the people of Israel left Egypt, on that day they came into the wilderness of Sinai.’ <Ex. 19:1>

And it is said: ‘The Lord gives the command; great is the host of those who bore the tidings.’ <Ps. 68:12>

And it is said: ‘You did ascend the high mount, leading captives in Your train, and receiving gifts among men, even among the rebellious, that the Lord God may dwell there.’ <Ps. 68:19>

And it is said: ‘The Lord came from Sinai, and dawned from Se‘ir upon us, he shone forth from Mount Paran, he came with myriads of holy ones, with flaming fire at His right hand.’ <Deut. 33:2>

And it is said: ‘He stood and measured the earth; he looked and shook the nations; then the eternal mountains were scattered, the everlasting hills sank low. His ways were as of old.’ <Hab. 3:6>

- 30 And it is said: ‘Have I not written for you thirty sayings of admonition and knowledge?’ <Prov. 22:20>

And it is said: ‘The kings of the armies, they flee, they flee! The women at home divide the spoil.’ <Ps. 68:13>

And it is said: ‘Its measure is longer than the earth, and broader than the sea.’ <Job 11:9>

The great sea He filled up to its limit, and the sun’s shining force increased,
 When [Moses] inherited the trustworthy stronghold [Torah], for the beloved nation, guarded in His shelter.

II.

Nine hundred seventy-four generations,
 Before all creations You rejoiced in the delight [Torah],
 Until You descended like a column of smoke, to give it to the people,
 Your voice from amidst the fire sounded powerful.

- 5 A faithful messenger to those who send him [Moses] is like the cold of snow in the time of harvest,
 They were frightened to hear Your commotion, O Creator of all creatures,
 ‘You [Moses] speak to us, lest we perish at the gleaning when the vintage is done’,
 They told their protector and prominent messenger [Moses].

They bounced back and forth,

- 10 Two hundred and forty miles they were moving back and forth,
 At each utterance [of a commandment] twenty-four miles were counted,
 You have sent fiery angels to come to their aid and support.

- Together they stated when standing before You,
 The phrase 'We will do and we will hear', they replied to You,
 15 You made them cling like a waistcloth to Your loins,
 This Torah was for them because they kept its ordinances.

- When You revealed Yourself at Sinai like an Ancient One full of compassion,
 Your glory covered the heaven and Your praise filled the earth below,
 You said: Who like Me will call forever?
 20 The greatness of Your deeds is to be exalted exceedingly.

- Amidst an abundance of thundering and lightning,
 In fogs of clouds and burning sparks,
 You proclaimed Your teaching to a people of redeemed ones,
 Who travelled to the wilderness of Sin from Rephidim.
- 25 As it is written: 'And when they set out from Rephidim and came into the wilderness of Sinai, they encamped in the wilderness; and there Israel encamped before the mountain.' <Ex. 19:2>
 And it is said: 'Now when all the people perceived the thundering and the lightnings and the sound of the trumpet and the mountain smoking, the people were afraid and trembled; and they stood afar off.' <Ex. 20:15>
 And it is said: 'God came from Teman, and the Holy One from Mount Paran *selah*. His glory covered the heavens, and the earth was full of His praise.' <Hab. 3:3>
 And it is said: 'Like the cold of snow in the time of harvest, is a faithful messenger to those who send him, he refreshes the spirit of his masters.' <Prov. 25:13>
 And it is said: 'And as the sound of the trumpet grew louder and louder, Moses spoke, and God answered him in thunder.' <Ex. 19:19>
- 30 By the wondrous force of His voice he thundered, therefore the soul of the beloved ones departed (BNYMN = Benjamin),
 And He drew the dew of revival near to the great and noble ones; He recovered the breath of those hidden in rocks [the dead].³¹

III.

- (B) With angels and chariot, thousands upon thousands,
 (N) You revealed Yourself to those who stay among the sheepfolds [Israel],
 (Y) The circle of the earth feared and was still with all its limitations,
 (M) When You who are dwelling on high appeared with two Torahs.

31. Merhavia, 'Some Poems of Rabbi Benjamin bar Samuel in a Latin Translation', p. 199.

- 5 (Y) You have founded Your bulwark by the mouth of babes and infants,
 (N) The sayings were given by one shepherd to those who lay hold of them,
 (B) In a furnace on the ground, seven times purified,
 (R) cure and healing for those who are hurt.
- (SH) Three-hundred and sixty-five negative commandments,
 10 (M) Two-hundred and forty-eight positive commandments,
 (W) And thirteen rules of interpretation,
 (‘) Light and strict prescripts, to get at what is forbidden and what is permitted.
- (L) The weight of the stone tablets is forty *se’ah*,³²
 What is (S) disclosed and (W) open, their (P) particularities and their (R) generalities,
 15 Forty-nine gates of understanding to become wise,
 You decorated Your messenger with them as an inheritance to the world.

Who is able to speak of His greatness?

To you belongs power and rule,

When You wished to hand over the gift of the bride [Torah],

- 20 You invited Heber [Moses] to go up to You, and he went up.

As it is written: ‘And Moses went up to God, and the Lord called to him out of the mountain, saying: Thus you will say to the house of Jacob, and tell the people of Israel.’ <Ex. 19:3>

And it is said: ‘The words of the Lord are words that are pure; like silver refined in a furnace of clay, purified seven times.’ <Ps. 12:6>

And it is said: ‘On a mighty chariot, twice ten thousand, thousands upon thousands, the Lord came from Sinai into the holy place.’ <Ps. 68:18>

And it is said: ‘The Lord will reign forever, your God, O Zion, to all generations.’ <Ps. 146:10>

- 25 ‘Yet You are holy, enthroned on the praises of Israel.’ <Ps. 22:4>

IV.

EL NA

Until You spread the heavens like a tent, and set their pins,
 And at first fixed the foundations of the earth over stormy waters,

Two thousand years You spent with her [Torah] in Your care,

- 5 Until after one thousand generations You revealed her secrets,
 At that moment she shocked the earth to its very ends,
 Each place and dwelling You shook like a reed in the water,
 First You offered her to seventy nations,
 Because they refused to accept her, You struck them in Your anger,

32. Merhavia, ‘Some Poems of Rabbi Benjamin bar Samuel in a Latin Translation’, p. 199.

- 10 With myriads of holy ones You appeared to the descendants of Your friend [Abraham],
 Big and little, You brought them all to Sinai,
 On the back of the mountain You leaned Your heavens,
 Like the smoke of a kiln You spread the smoke all around,
 Amidst thunders and lightning You announced Your flaming Law,
 15 And You offered the explanation of its punishment and reward,
 In accordance with Your wish, You were obeyed:
 ‘We will do and we will listen’, You attended and You heard,
 You placed two crowns on the head of every one,
 You moved the divine Presence from among Your advising angels into their congregation,
 20 From then on to be acquainted and known by all,
 Exposing dread and fear of You to everyone in the world,
 You made every knee and every eminence bow,
 Also every tongue will swear by Your Name,
 You have invigorated Your Almightyness and made it strong like a rock.
 25 [God] is living and enduring, awesome, lofty and holy

V.

- I AM God, Your stronghold, taking you from the womb,
 Gathering you amidst mighty waters, with strings of jewels around your neck.
 DO NOT MAKE disgusting images, man-made and in the shape of a man,
 Seek the Name glorified among angels, do not desecrate Him by sculptures.
 5 DO NOT TAKE the good and pleasant Name, distinguished by seventy names,
 To Him all secrets are known, His powerful Presence is in the heavens.
 REMEMBER the day of rest and repose, because He rested from the work of creation on that day,
 Put aside what you want to do, and reduce idle talk, then you will prosper in every way.
 HONOUR those who carry you on their arms, who raise you with much effort,
 10 For your sake they cry for help, to the God of salvation.
 DO NOT KILL the ones crowned with My glory, who have dominated over My work,
 I gave him understanding through My concealed secret; do not murder him, lest I will be appalled.
 DO NOT COMMIT ADULTERY, bitter as wormwood in the dark; you will lose your life,
 Beware yourselves of the flaming fire [of hell], because My eyes range through everything.
 15 DO NOT STEAL the possessions of your fellow man, lest you be exploited in return,
 Spend your minutes and hours with studying My Law; she will adorn you and bring you wealth.
 DO NOT speak in vain against your fellow man – you may perish forever,
 Await the Radiant and Ruddy [God], strong and mighty and glorious.
 DO NOT COVET anything in possession and deposit, the goods of seller and buyer,
 20 Praise My holy Name in public song: You will call upon Me, and I will answer.
 Please, O God, forever may You be revered, and forever may You be sanctified!

V.1.

- A wise man scales the city of the mighty,
 And he [Moses] brought down an exquisite pearl [Torah];
 [God is] Awesome and Holy.
 Five angels stood up against Avigdor [Moses],³³
- 5 When he went up to take the gift after one thousand generations;
 They rebuked him: ‘What are you doing in this abode?’
 They intended to burn him with their vain mouths;
 A thresher with teeth was put before him [as a protection];
 He was protected by the throne of the Mighty in deed.
- 10 This is my God, sitting in delight because of His power;
 When He saw the lamb [Moses] fighting furiously,
 He was struggling to and fro like a bull attacking with his horns.
 Together, they [the angels] were filled with anger against him,
 When they could not prevail, they fled hastily,
- 15 He notified the people, when he descended.
 From then onward the angels thanked and praised the Mighty to save,
 They said: ‘How excellent is Your Name’, they rushed to him like a pupil to his master.
 Each one [of the angels] revealed his work to him [Moses],
 When you struck him with a bad illness, you healed him from it,
- 20 The divine Name, the oath, and the appellation are his.
 Also the Angel of Death approached with a gift,
 He told him the cure for plague and death,
 Put incense in a bowl, then death will stop.³⁴
 [God,] who planted us firmly like a tree,
- 25 Will give us the Law, the tree of life,
 And there is safety in a multitude of counsellors.
 Let my prayer be counted like a cloud of incense,
 May my meditation be pleasing, and let blessing be plenty,
 You will wear a crown of might and glory.

V.2.

Just as You set bounds for us around the mountain, for anyone to see in broad daylight,

33. Merhavia, ‘Some Poems of Rabbi Benjamin bar Samuel in a Latin Translation’, p. 200; Elizur, *Rabbi El'azar birabbi Kiliri, Hymni Pentecostales*, pp. 148-152.

34. Num. 16:46-48; there is a large number of plague tracts in Latin and Italian from a later date, which prompted Jewish doctors and Kabbalists to write their own Hebrew treatises, often with detailed instructions for incense ceremonies. Benjamin, however, may have well been aware of Galenic medical prescriptions and the theories of Avicenna, both taught in the Paris university, that plague or pestilence due to corruption of the air (*miasma*) should be treated by burning incense and fragrant woods.

You will listen to the ascension of a prayer from the heap of wheat [Israel]; Awesome and Holy.
 Just as You have proclaimed the Ten Commandments,
 You will make heard the feet of the one who brings good tidings, of salvation and consolation;
 Holy.

- 5 A little sister [Israel] about whom You became wrathful,
 You watched her suffering on the soil of the Putim [Egyptians],
 You led her by the cords of compassion, and You crowned her with benevolence,
 Hurry to bring freedom now as of old.

- You made them encircle Mount Horeb to inherit the ancient [Torah],
 10 You set on its back the entire heaven,
 You obliged them to keep Your secrets, so that their path would be righteous,
 Life for those who do [Torah], and death for those who loathe her.

- Good judgment and knowledge You taught to the beloved,
 More precious than fine gold and sweeter than drippings of the honeycomb,
 15 A crown of glory for those who strengthen their heart,
 A fair garland for the head and pendants for the neck.

- A curtain of majestic clouds You drew over them,
 A sparkle of glowing fire You unfolded for them,
 Fiery serpents are burned and stoned on their paths,
 20 Until they come to the pleasant land, the place of their desire.

Rivers and streams flowing with honey and curds,
 You poured out for the lame and the cast off [Israel];
 Her hand found her adversaries like a nest,
 She completely broke their radiant arrows.

- 25 The singers in front, the minstrels last,
 The faithful people will offer a gift for the One who is to be feared,
 As of old You will bring back their exiled from the four corners,
 Make them renowned and praised above all strong nations.

- Just as You set bounds for us around the mountain, for anyone to see in broad daylight,
 30 You will listen to the ascension of a prayer from the heap of wheat [Israel]; Awesome and Holy.

VI.

And so, the Lord created me at the beginning of His work, the first of His acts of old.

As long as the fundamentals of the earth of clods were not yet laid,

- As long as the high skies were not yet stretched out,
 As long as the desolate gloom was not yet disclosed,
 5 As long as the full moons did not yet appear,
 As long as the deep rivers did not yet break forth,
 As long as the chariot of Tarshish did not start to move,
 As long as the four winds of the world were not quadrupled,
 As long as fire and hail and snow were not known,
 10 As long as what is in the ear and in bud were not sown:
 [God] took delight in the pure words [of the Torah] over two thousand years.

- He saw in the beginning what was to wake up in the end,
 He watched the childhood of His hosts, the branches of the palm tree [Israel],
 The ones who study the general and the particular in Mishnah and Gemarah,
 15 Who are familiar with inferences *a minori ad maius* and analogy,
 In seventy ways they interpret the secrets of the precious [Torah],
 In fifty gates of insight they are robed with strength,
 In two Sanhedrin courts their round-shaped [seating arrangement] is magnificent,
 Because of them [God] was roused to finish footstool [earth] and ceiling [heaven],
 20 From the ancient work [Torah] He took advice before He created:
 I will build the world and put creatures in it.

- The woman at home [Torah in heaven] took delight in issuing insight,
 She taught the words of the Rock by the answer of her tongue,
 Who will understand His glorious deeds, the eternal God is a refuge,
 25 Great in counsel and mighty in deed and insight,
 I was glad about Your [revelation of the] secret; I rejoiced and was pleased by Your advice,
 With majesty and dignity, with glory and splendour, You clothed Your word to be confirmed,
 Spread the roof of the high heaven, and set the world on its foundations,
 Your shapeless creatures whose slumber and sleep You were able to remove,
 30 To elucidate the treasure of the Torah, Your pleasure for two thousand years:
 Fill the soul with desire to sharpen the study of Your testimonies.

- First was the word of the Torah, compared to a tree of life,
 She leapt and bound to speak to the living God:
 ‘Beloved, Your Name is living and eternal, and in Your power are death and life,
 35 Give the flaming Law at Your right hand to those who lay hold of her in life,
 Get the groups of angels to study the precepts of life by Your and my example,
 These [angels] who do not die and live forever,
 Lest You will make me like people who are sad, full of trouble, and not of life,
 Extinguished and quenched like a wick, even when their soul is still alive,
 40 Their blood is spilled and their dead body is trodden, because they are not alive:
 My word will be accepted before You; My pearls are set before the living [angels].’

Give her, O Awesome, a right answer,

- How can I inherit Your secret without being killed for it?
 Does understanding You not mostly pertain to the explanation of human matters?
 45 Is what is too difficult for you injustice, injury and murder?
 Moving a dead man, being in a tent with him, touching a slain man, pierced by an arrow,
 Men of uncleanness for a discharge and emission of semen, sent outside the camp,
 People with white and reddish-white spots, bold-headed and with bald forehead,
 Also the counting of seven days when mourners put away the dead behind a rolling stone:
 50 I will affix all these rules to the oaks of righteousness [Israel] who are hosted in Your tent:
 Turning right or left, Your deeds are the best proof.

- The delightful [Torah] foresaw future matters,
 Answering in the presence of the One who rides on swift clouds,
 Man who is born in the appearance of Your image is the first among all born,
 55 From one end to the other end his existence, albeit bones and muscles, is preferable,
 You made him little less than sons of God, hosts of fire [angels],
 You bring down Your proud foot upon him when he transgresses commandments,
 He would cause him to give up his spirit and be gathered with all who are born,
 If You would not have applied to him the measure of justice,
 60 He would have been instantly dead like void and treacherous men:
 He would not have other delight in My garden than by the love of telling [My] teachings.

- If he defiles his path [with sins],
 And his moral behaviour is seized by evil, moist and dry,
 I have summoned balm and cure [Torah] to heal his illness,³⁵
 65 Sown before Me is the light of repentance, which preceded My creation,
 This is the power of the repentant, no curtain is closed in front of him,
 This one breaks through a wall and repairs a breach forever without punishment,
 He purifies his body by the water of the upper Gihon until he is immersed up to his neck,
 Seventy weeks he will chastise his soul because of his guilt,
 70 The proud of heart and those who bend the right path will find a cure to soothe him:
 when she [the Torah] heard [all this], she agreed.

- Half the Name (YAH) He drew out in the making of the entire creation,
 The place of two worlds by cutting the word in half,
 Fires and waters He mixed into the upper heaven, and stretched it like a garment,
 75 He girded the round waist of the earth with the pins of the high heaven, and joined them by a word,
 He signed east and west and south with His highly exalted Name,

35. Deut. 29:19 ('to add drunkenness to thirst'), applied here to a really interesting medical image. In lines 63-64 a connection is assumed between a person's moral stature and his humoral imbalance, signified by a combination of qualities. This gives additional meaning to the expression 'moist and dry' as a poetic hendiadys and as one of the medical primary qualities derived from Aristotelian natural philosophy. Similar assumptions are found in Galenic texts and commentaries, used in the curriculum of the Paris medical faculty from the late thirteenth century on, see O'Boyle, *The Art of Medicine*, pp. 24-25.

He took care of the remaining north to abash and to shame those who walk in darkness [disbelievers],
 He shaped two fires, and called them darkness and light to shine upon the ends [of the earth],
 He ordered and appointed with them stars and constellations in their nightly course,
 80 He assigned seven planets which make circles and turn back:
 You have created [the world] You love; You finished and completed a precious [world].

The blueprint of the main creature in the world made from dust occurred to His mind,³⁶
 He stirred blood and water together and shaped His image into a figure,
 Before He made him breathe, his unformed substance was stretched out,
 85 He explored the chambers [of his heart] with the lamp of his soul,
 He gave him intelligence and insight to succeed in naming His creation,
 He proceeded to add to his stature within the limitations of his figure,
 By the cover of ten tabernacles He set up his canopy,
 He let fiery princes [angels] dance before him to delight him with the female [Eve],
 90 He adorned and glorified him from one end to another in all his activity:
 To tell His goodness and His faithfulness and to extol His praise.

The eternal Rock wished to bequeath the precious [Torah] to him,
 He favoured the uprightness of her words of truth,
 I made him with My own hand, and I filled His body with a spirit of understanding and counsel,
 95 I strongly emphasised his beauty and his strength because of you [Torah],
 [Adam] is the only and first one like Me, to be found as the first of each creature,
 I made his hand rule over the cattle of My fields, and [over the birds] covered with feathers,
 He suits You and You consider him fit to scatter Your springs abroad [to study Torah],
 He fights Your battle in discussing and explaining Your secrets,
 100 He refrains from his sleep for learning about You in sitting and walking:
 Make known to me Your will, if You please.

When He completed His speaking, then she [Torah] replied to Him:
 Your throne is established from of old, God who carries out what He ordains,
 How will I proclaim my general and particular rules to the one who is formed from clay?
 105 You made him little less than the image of God to be exalted above all,
 You brought him into the garden of Eden to till it and to keep it,
 When You demanded of him not to taste the fruit, lest he be finished off,
 He disgracefully did taste and became like the cattle that has to be driven forth,
 He would have perished by Your anger, had You not bleached the stains of his guilt like wool,
 110 Can the Ethiopian change his skin and the leopard his spots:
 Therefore Your word was not to be delivered to him.

36. Merhavia, 'Some Poems of Rabbi Benjamin bar Samuel in a Latin Translation', p. 202; Elizur, *Rabbi El'azar birabbi Kiliri, Hymni Pentecostales*, p. 180.

- At the time of the generations [after Adam], the Feared in the council of the holy ones tried
 To single out the wheat from the straw for inheriting the Law as a possession.
 Those who continually mocked were fruitful and multiplied, a perverse and crooked generation,
 115 A sharp tongue like that of deaf adders,
 After ten generations He presented a man who brought relief to mankind,
 The word HeN (grace) in reverse order is called NoaH in the council of ancient wisdom,
 He taught the perplexed to straighten their false ways,
 To bring forth the precious and not the worthless; an entire year he planted cedar trees,
 120 God spoke to the woman at home [Torah] about his indulgence in halakhic interpretations:
 Free of all faults and errors and punishments.

- There is no [obstacle] between me and him, replied the delightful [Torah],
 To find grace and affection before me,
 He pulled him and dragged him from among the diluted with the bonds of love,
 125 Because of Your anger and Your wrath You stored him in the ark,
 You exterminated all existence but You protected him and he was hidden in Your secrecy,
 He rejoiced afterwards that the vine began to give fruit,
 Mixed wine was his drink when his discernment also grew weak,
 His nakedness was revealed, and he was cut off like the head of grain without hope,
 130 He prevented him from begetting a fourth son, and he cursed the fourth son in retaliation:
 The loss of wisdom did not make him rush to seek understanding [Torah].

He who created (B) the world by a word; night (N) and day He tried to tempt her [Torah],
 He waits (Y) for the moment (M) that this is acceptable for her (Y); the shoot (N) of His planting
 will inherit [her].

- The light of the Ezrahite [Abraham] came from beyond,
 135 His radiance was strongly shining like the rising sun,
 Clean of hands and free from sinful thoughts in purity and innocence,
 He forgot and put his parents aside, he demolished the house of idols and shattered it to pieces,
 He turned his heart and obeyed the One who prepares the steps of a man,
 He tested him ten times, and he passed them all, and [God] was favourable to him,
 140 He planted a tamarisk tree for eating, drinking and companionship, to host any passer-by,
 God made known his gentle goodness to the stronghold [Torah] to be associated with him,
 He said: 'Will you ever find a pure man like him, without sin, in any corner or direction?'
 Sweeten him softly with the dripping of your honeycomb.

- In reply to his prayer she [Torah] intended to speak,
 145 An old man whom she praises to grant him grace,
 A young branch [Isaac] who was pardoned when his strength decreased in his [Abraham] old days,
 After all, You decreed about him to be slaughtered before You like a one-year old lamb,
 He [Abraham] arranged the rows of sticks and ignited the willow branches; he was accounted
 merciless,
 He trusted Your commands and stretched his hand holding a sharp knife,

150 When he placed a sword on the neck You told him ‘do not destroy’ from the heavenly abode,
 He did not refuse but he wished to set a prayer and a supplication:
 You had mercy on me, have mercy on him and reward him because of my faith:
 Almighty, were it not for Your mercy, he would have slaughtered a blooming youth at that time.³⁷

He [God] lifted his barrenness by a holy branch when he was one hundred years old,
 155 He appeared like a tree of life, a fruitful righteous one, when he was born,
 A boy resembling his father in uprightness and honesty, detesting pride and [being] proud,
 The same one he handed over at the age of thirty-seven to complete destruction,
 He counselled his father, saying ‘bind my hand and foot’, like a lamb brought to the slaughter,
 Decide, lest I do wrong and defile the commandment of ‘honour’ in sin and transgression,
 160 The Garden of Eden adopted him and he was hidden for three years until his young wife would
 come,
 Arise, [Torah,] created of old, and move into your hiding place, and show him the face,
 He is pleasant for Me like a fragrant smell more than any being or creature:
 He feared My word and did not become haughty.

She [Torah] opened her mouth in wisdom before the Creator,
 165 She held a dispute with Him in conversation and response:
 You let out his praises and covered his sins by which he was dishonoured,
 At one time innocent, at another time wicked; he cannot abide with me,
 Only when his work is right, from head to heel he will encamp in my tent,
 He preferred an evil man [Esau], portraying a figure, an image of jealousy and provoking jealousy
 [Christianity],
 170 You hated him physically, and You laid waste his mountains,; he [Isaac] enabled him to get children,
 He broke from him the yoke of the beloved who desired to live in Your shadow [Jacob],
 His wantonness caused his light to dim, and the hardness of his countenance is changed:
 He was afraid of Your will, You whose presence is in a thorn-bush.

The image of the threefold cord [Jacob] was shining like a star,
 175 Bright as the noonday is the life of the one who resembles brilliance,
 His appearance is engraved and sealed on the throne of the clear heaven,
 His soul longed to study the words of the Law before she was shown on the mountain,
 His Rock called him god to increase his importance and to exalt him, but he was not haughty,
 Chariots of angels who immersed in the river Rigyon³⁸, descended to see his image,
 180 His stem brought forth branches [the twelve tribes], strong like an elm-tree,
 Shout and sing for joy, O princess [Torah], for you he is destined to be married,
 All who preceded him had to be tested, but after him this was unnecessary:
 From the day he was born he rushed to do justice and performed what pleases Me.

37. Elizur, *Rabbi El'azar birabbi Kiliri, Hymni Pentecostales*, p. 185.

38. A heavenly river of fire, comparable with *nehar di-nur: Pesiqta Rabbati* 20.

Expansive and established, the [Torah] cried aloud about him [Jacob],
 185 She charged [him] in front of his defendants, and those who acquit him [turned into accusers],
 He rushed to the pens, seized two young goats in accordance with the Halakah,
 He quickly cut their throats and covered his hands with their skins,
 He presented delicacies in shrewdness and falseness, and he received the blessing,
 Those who came forth from his loins, they too deceived him, measure for measure,
 190 They took a young goat, and killed him with a stick to befoul the long robe with sleeves,
 They were insolent, and they reported to him [Jacob] ‘we found a rejected robe’,
 They tore it apart in vain as if they had seen him [Joseph] on a death bed:
 Whoever claims his right by deceit will not profit from his possession.

When a long period of twenty-six [generations] was completed,
 195 The image of a bridegroom of blood [Moses] rose in the world,
 Torah was excited: ‘Behold, my end has come and my time is fulfilled’,
 His name is noted as Heber who united companions [Israel] for their King and Redeemer,
 When he saw an Egyptian beating a Hebrew his neck gained strength,
 A faithful shepherd for a people that has not been forsaken; he straightened their path,
 200 He rushed to seize you [Torah] and said: ‘I will not leave you until you forgive their injustice’,
 My ordinances are worthy to be given to him [Moses] for specific explanation,
 Allow him to ascend to the city of mighty [angels] and to catch the spoil [Torah]:
 I saw him and I chose him for the sake of My Name forever.

When [God] listened to the built Torah (B), He calmed down (N),
 205 The day (Y) of giving (M) His Torah, He spoke (N) and made known to the faithful of His house.

He uprooted Mount Sinai from its surroundings,³⁹
 He let upper and lower heavens lean on its back,
 The counsellors’ [angels] presence and the glorious throne dwelled upon it
 Twenty-two thousand chariots of fire around Him,
 210 Angels made the sound of an earthquake, and wheels were whirling in its midst,
 They were asking each other ‘why is today such an earth-shattering day?’
 The eternal living and holy God answered them and said in His pleasant kindness:
 ‘There is My people; I will arise and reveal My Torah and her interpretations to be heard,
 Nine hundred and seventy-four generations I concealed her because of [the mountain]:
 215 Be off and go away! I will give My insightful [Torah].’

He tested the readiness of her recipients, and He called the one drawn from the boiling water
 [Moses],
 He let him know His testimony, and brought her explanation to his attention,
 Innocent people [Israel] made her known, and before they heard her, they kept her ordinances,
 The curls of their hair were adorned, and they were embellished with precious crowns,

39. Merhavia, ‘Some Poems of Rabbi Benjamin bar Samuel in a Latin Translation’, p. 203.

- 220 Their image was shining and their radiance was luminous like the light of the lamps [sun and moon],
 Praise and fame He gave them, and beautified them among all exalted beings,
 The foundation of the world was firmly laid on lasting fundamentals,
 The earth was calmed down and brought back to stillness in all its four corners,
 The wild seas had reached their limits and were held back to their coasts:
 225 The human beings below and the angels above cheered and rejoiced.

VII.

And so, Moses descended from the mountain to the people

- Collected insight, looted and exiled; told and taught in thunder and lightning,
 Fenced and confined, suspended like a vessel; appreciating and healing the gloomy soul,
 Is she not built as a strong building? Is she not powerful, tied and braced to strength?
 5 She is likened to a stream flowing to a lower place; she contains heavenly ordinances,
 She is hidden in the navel [Sanhedrin] of those who carry her [sages]; preciously adorned both left and right,
 She is [more than] three thousand and two hundred times [wide]; *counted* to be studied with four traits.

Counted as high as the highest heaven, she was revealed to a desiring people: *And God spoke*.
 The fundamentals of heaven shook and trembled at His voice; His footstool was quaking and shaking,

- 10 His human creatures shuddered; the cover of fear surrounded them because of His might,
 His wheeling angels were flying and gliding before Him [and Moses] his faithful messenger, to defend him and protect him,
 They cried out to each other to bring him down; he began to shiver, and he was very frightened,
 The One who reigns and rules answered them in His speaking; [Moses is] the messenger of the holy people who were assembled because of him [Moses],
 From the beginning I longed to him for giving him the insightful [Torah]; be joyful about those who learn from his *power*.
- 15 I have increased his *power* [Moses] to shed light upon you; I illuminated the splendor of your children: *I am God, your God*.
 The God of gods and the Lord of lords; probing and interpreting secret matters,
 Placing the sand as the limit of the stormy seas; they knock on the door and do not change the Law,
 Esteemed in the council of the upper beings [angels]; sanctified and lauded among ten thousands below [Israel],
 Lifting the humbled and humbling the haughty ones; exploring what is behind and what is ahead,
 20 Flying on wings of fire of angelic beings; knowing the terms of all human creatures,
 I bent My throne [heaven] towards you [earth] properly; you did not observe two *images*,

- Cease to shape *images*; abhor any statue in your destined land: *You shall not make for yourself*.
 The handwork of carpenters and artisans; cut and carved from the wood blocks of cypresses,
 Carried on the shoulders of men; they do not see with eyes and do not feel with hands,
 25 Lame and crippled and mute and deaf; [their] form is weak with little power,
 Their places of idol worship are made like them,
 The smell of burnt-offerings neither adds nor detracts,
 They lose their way, they err and cause confusion; they advance their defeat and their destruction,
 Their vigour is worthless and their work is for the fires; set your heart on knowing Me, *O holy ones!*
- 30 *O holy ones*, sons of the patriarch who was tested [Abraham]; by the high and lofty Name: *You shall not misuse*.
 Your tongue will cleave to the jaws if you do not remember Him,
 The feared and miraculous Name in His glorious majesty,
 Impressive and ineffable, in seventy names is His remembrance,
 Setting the three winds is sealed by His binding [Name],
 35 The bundle [with His Name on it] was sunk into a great depth because of its clarity,
 He shatters mountains and cleaves rocks when He passes by,
 Over the fire [the Name] was mentioned, and then it abated for its sake,
 The Reed [Sea] became dry and dried up by his reproach; written with the crown letters YOD HE,
 Read with ALEF DALETH [Adonay] to keep it confidential and secret,
 40 Whoever curses or insults it is wiped out from the world; whoever uses it idly, *his Creator* will
 not hold him guiltless.

His Creator will guard you as the apple of His eye; a delight if rest is taken: *Remember the Sabbath day*.

- The relaxing rest of His Sabbath, the Master of deeds; when He finished His work on the sixth day [of the first week],
 The unique soul in the walking man [Adam] was saved; before sunset he praised [the first Sabbath],
 A forced exemption for the prisoners of Hell; ‘remember’ and ‘keep’ are said by the change of a word,
 45 The obligation of its order is two sheep as a sacrifice; whoever desecrates it intentionally is sentenced to stoning,
 Its corn [manna] was doubled in the wilderness for the exquisite people; a boundary was set between you and consuming fire,
 A soothsayer cannot conjure [the dead]; glorify Him in your house, and you will gain strength *Selah*.

Selah I will rescue your bones; when you keep the fear of parents: *Honour your father and your mother*.

- They place in your mouth nourishments and drinks; bringing out breasts to nurse you,
 50 The smell of juices to sweeten your palate; thickening and strengthening the weakness of your arm,

They support your step and do not cause stumbling; they cry and offer a prayer for your sake,
 When a bone hurts you, their heart shrinks,
 They rush and rub with eyewash and wound plaster,
 They straighten and pave your path; they affix a nice wife to your side,
 55 When death covers them, they leave you with their goods,
 Pay their reward as long as they are on *earth*.

Earth you will inherit for eternity; if you hold back your hand from killing: *You shall not kill*.
 I mould and bend his image like My image; I gave his soul five names,
 I set his hand to rule the entire creation; I ordered [them] to procreate with ‘be fruitful and multiply’,
 60 I did not make it easy to forgive his murderer; his light will be extinguished in My wrath,
 The fool who hit the two commanders of My community (I Kings 2:5); whoever holds the horns
 of the altar is My help,
 I have handled his sentence in detail: he will be cut off from his status so that you learn about My
 revenge,
 I handed over his blood into the hands of an avenger; I Myself am his witness, *I formed* his body,

I formed his light – you shall not oppress; lest you suffer great anger: *You shall not commit adultery*.
 65 [An unfaithful woman] is a consuming destructive fire; she burned many in her fiery flames,
 Those who come to her she sentences to death, and she deprives them, leading them on slippery
 ways,
 Whoever follows her she leads like an ox to the slaughter; like one in the fetters of a fool,
 She weakens and consumes the fornicators; she sweetens the palate but poisons the intestines,
 She trims her nails and colours her eyelids; by the wayside she sets a snare [of temptation],
 70 A soul falls in the trap like a bird in the net; adulterers have no hope or *expectation*.

Expectation you will find without the catching; if you do not tail after her: *You shall not steal*.
 Go and learn from the first man; he was ordered to guard and work in the garden with the desirable
 tree,
 He was corrupt, and stole, and was removed from his status; the world was affected because of
 him and he was destroyed by death,
 The menstruating [Rachel] stole the precious household gods,
 75 Those who follow her erroneous path do not learn from this,
 The curse [of Jacob] ‘he will not live’ (Gen. 31:32) dwelled on her, and was attached to her,
 Her spirit took flight on the way; [however,] the son coming from inside her [Joseph], was pre-
 cious,
 Also the Zerahite coveted objects from the spoil (Josh. 7:21),
 An estimated thirty-six [men] fell because of him,
 80 A hill was erected and established forever; he was eliminated and because of his rebellion *he was*
paid back.

He was paid back and eradicated; explore My commandments meticulously: *You shall not bear*
false witness against your neighbour.

- Prevent your mouth from speaking obscenities; put a lock on your mouth and be firm in your truth,
 Abhor slander and show your anger [about it]; acquire honest words and stay loyal to them;
 Keep your tongue far from lying so that your success will increase; lest I become angry and furious
 at you,
- 85 If you speak with a lying tongue, it will not last long; a truthful lip will endure and be received
 with kindness,
 Those who spied out (Canaan) were foolish and they were put to death,
 The evil report about the land was summoned before the One who speaks uprightly [God],
 The limbs of two hundred and forty-eight [spies] were full of worms by the plague and *the pest*.
- The pest* lest it find you to destroy; beware and stand before Me: *You shall not covet*.
- 90 Do not desire the goods of your fellow human being; vineyard and corn heap and standing corn
 and dwelling-place,
 Hope for Me all your days and nights; look for My good judgment which has been commanded to
 you,
 The abundance of My blessing will enrich you without any grief; the seed of your loins I will make
 like a watered garden,
 Desiring the goods of a neighbour what is valuable to him; the hand of the vexed and sullen [Ahab]
 was scorched so that he would not be entirely burned,
 The dumb [dogs] licked his blood to satiation; beware of your body and guard it lest you will be
 equal to him,
- 95 Give heed to My sayings, then I will release you from grievance; learn these commandments and
make them public,
Make public My wondrous deeds in awe; for I have taught you agreeable prescriptions: all the
 people saw.

VIII.

And so, for You, holiness will excel, because He is the holy and redeeming [God of] Israel

- On the sixth of the month the ten commandments were given to Israel,⁴⁰
 At the end and completion of one thousand generations,
 At the moment that He wished to go forth with her [Torah] from among the secrets,
- 5 You shone forth and appeared for Esau and Ishmael and Ammon to instruct,
 He sent angels of flaming fire to the entire multitude of creatures,
 They all refused to listen and to receive the words,
 Then He revealed Himself to the holy people in great glory,
 With Him were ten thousands of chariots and mighty angels were flying,
- 10 Twenty-two thousand chariots were shining in flashing fire,
 Each single chariot which Ezekiel saw in the atmospheres,

40. Merhavia, 'Some Poems of Rabbi Benjamin bar Samuel in a Latin Translation', pp. 204-207.

Will descend to annihilate the world, until all is air,
 In the space of the world [the angels] fly like storks with wings,
 The world cannot contain them because each one is a third of the world [in size],
 15 When He descended with them the entire existence raged, hills and rocks were split,
 All the kings of the world, and all the countries, were clothed in great fear,
 Those in the East and in the West were appalled; horror seized them,
 They convened with the wicked Balaam from all towns and citadels,
 They asked him ‘Maybe a watery flood will sweep away all mortals’,
 20 He replied to them: ‘You fools, it has been sworn that the waters of Noah will not cross in anger’,
 They answered: ‘Maybe a fiery flood will burn us in a conflagration’,
 He said to them: ‘Neither a water flood nor a fire flood,
 Because God will give strength to His people [in] *pure words*.

Pure words, when the Guardian of the faithful gave them to the people,
 25 He bent the heavens below and the most high heavens above,
 And stretched them on the back of Mount Sinim [Sinai],
 Like someone who properly stretches a pillow on the bed,
 The mountain was torn off from its place, and the Lord of lords revealed Himself upon it,
 Skylight opened in the firmament, and the top of the mountain reached up to hide in it,
 30 Darkness and fog covered the mountain in thick gloom,
 The King of kings was sitting upon the throne of glory, set on high from the beginning,
 Above the fog the treads of His feet were standing firmly,
 And from Sabbath eve a holy nation stood arrayed and in order,
 With the men apart and the women apart, great multitudes,
 35 All stayed there, with one heart, with one speech, with one council,
 Because from the day that they went out from the forced labour of the Zoanites [Egyptians],
 They were quarrelling and fighting while journeying and encamping,
 Until they came to Sinai, a *many-peaked mountain*.

Many-peaked mountains and hills danced like the rams of the flocks,
 40 Carmel came, and Aspamya, and Tabor from the plains,
 One said ‘I have been called’, and the other said ‘I have been called’,
 When they heard ‘I’, they turned and rolled from their place,
 Instantly the one drawn [from the water] ascended to the high clouds spread like a tent,
 His feet stood on the mountain but all his [body] was in the heavenly abode,
 45 Conversing face to face with *the God of gods*.

The God of gods sent him to testify to the people in clarity,
 About the prevention of the impurity of sexual intercourse,
 He said ‘Thus you shall say to the house of Jacob’, first to the women,
 Because the men will rush to follow [the opinion of] their women,
 50 After that you will talk to the men of Israel,
 He went and found them asleep, both young and old,
 Because of the short night and the long and sunny day,

Their sleep was pleasant until two hours on the day [they were] resting,
 Get up now, and rise, and take up your arms,
 55 Because the Mighty wishes to bequeath to you the Law as a heritage,
 To reveal to you her teachings, warnings, and punishments,
 To be for Him a kingdom of priests and *a nation of holy ones*.

A nation of holy ones presented itself together at the foot of the mountain,
 Pure and cleaned from all stains,
 60 Among them there was nobody who was lame or deaf or blind or deformed,
 And the Ruler of the world spoke to the faithful of His house ‘Go down unto the congregation of
 the innocents’,
 Because if you do not go down, they will think and say:
 ‘The son of Amram chose a cloudy winter day on which there is lightning and thunder,
 When he heard this, he went down and threatening fire came from the mountain,
 65 [The fire] approached the cloud, and he shouted ‘God will speak with you in speech’,
 The first [commandment] resounded ‘I am your God who brought you out from the sufferance of
 the Anamites [Egyptians],
 The voice was divided into seven voices, and from seven voices to the seventy languages of the
 nations,
 On that day no tree was rocking, no bird was chirping, no ox was mooing, all were silent,
 But valleys and heights were shaking and moving and fell prostrate and fled,
 70 Mountain and hill were bowing, and all the high and lofty cedars of the Lebanon kneeled,
 And the dead of Israel were alive, and the living died because of the sound of enormous thunders,
 The second [commandment] resounded, and they stood on their feet, alive and enduring,
 They said to the faithful ‘Speak you with us, and we will enjoy listening’,
 They said so rightly before the supreme God,
 75 He sent for Michael and Gabriel, the beloved commanders of the hosts [of angels],
 They took hold of the two hands of the one drawn from the streams [Moses],
 They brought him inside the three compartments of dark clouds and dense fog:
 By his mouth the ten commandments were heard by *those who are sealed by blood* [circumcised].

Those who are sealed by blood, You showed them the fire, a fire devouring fire,
 80 On the day of giving [the Torah] all was fire,
 The Torah herself was [made] of fire,
 The high and lofty King, the Law of fire is at His right hand,
 His host of serving [angels] were blazing, fiery coals,
 As for Moses, his face also turned to fire,
 85 The mountain was burning in fire halfway to heaven,
 At the time that the Word wished to go out by fire,
 He first proclaimed and shouted before the compartments of fiery angels:
 ‘Get out of the way because of the utterance, lest the fire burn you’,
 So they moved to one side in panic because of the fire,
 90 He brought out the utterance like as a flashing fire to the house of Jacob,
 Hanging on their ears like ear-rings announcing: ‘You will receive the Law of fire,

Positive commands and prohibitions are inscribed in her; do not despair [to fulfil them]’,
 They replied ‘Let us do and let us hear – all that the High and Lofty spoke, is judged by fire’,
 The utterance came of itself and kissed them on their mouths with kisses of fire,⁴¹
 95 And if you are surprised, how one can receive fire from fire,
 Look what is written, and you heard His words out of the fire:
 He is the One who gives you power to sustain the flame of *fire*.

Accept the *fire* of His Law in love and affection,
 Unto them [Israel] you [Moses] made loud the voice of the Outstanding among ten thousand,
 100 They succeeded in becoming like the beings who are hewn from blazing fire [angels],
 He gave them a weapon to their exaltation,
 Inscribed on it the Ineffable Name to the regret [of the angels],
 All the time that it was in the hand of the black and comely [Israel],
 The Angel of Death could not hold sway over their bodies,
 105 Nor did they experience any abominable pollution,
 And when they passed away, no worm prevailed over them,
 Happy are they, and happy is their destiny in this and in the coming [world],
 They praised and made [the angels] praise the Awesome in the great council of holy ones,
 The glorified and praised [God] in a host of ten thousands [angels],
 110 In the council of fiery Seraphim the speaking is pleasant,
 Signed by twenty-two letters, a signature of fire,
 Those who are created every morning anew [angels] speak about His greatness,
 While they are standing above Him, and posit themselves beneath,
 From two sides they fly towards the throne of the chariot,
 115 When they fly they recite ‘Hear, O Israel’ with a willing spirit,
 After three words [holy, holy, holy] they mention the Name shivering and shuddering,
 Between them there is no quarrel and no fight,
 All of them, tens of thousands, are allotted [a place], each by his own standard,
 They glorify and respect the Name of the One who knows each thought,
 120 His threefold holiness they sanctify for listening.

41. Merhavia, ‘Some Poems of Rabbi Benjamin bar Samuel in a Latin Translation’, p. 211.

Appendix II. Edition of *De Libro Krubot*

Ed. by Görge K. Hasselhoff, Technische Universität Dortmund*

P = Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, MS Latin 16558, ff. 206rb-211rb*Z* = Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine, MS 1115, ff. 383r-390v*C* = Carpentras, Bibliothèque Inguimbertaine, MS 153, ff. 65va-67vb*G* = Girona, Arxiu Capitular, MS 19b, ff. 71vb-73vb

		[<i>P</i> f. 206rb; <i>Z</i> f. 383r] <u>De libro krubot</u> ¹
1	goy	[<i>P</i> f. 206va; <i>C</i> f. 65va; <i>G</i> f. 71vb] Tu domine es super omnes principes tu elegisti hanc gentem super omnes alias respice eam deus et fac dominarij super omnes alias illos ² qui abominantur ³ illam pone in commocionem ⁴ capitis et ipsius exalta caput ⁵ .
2 ⁶		Dixit deus patri prophetie et ostendit ei quasi formam cunei ignej
	stult.	<u>glosa salomonis</u> hic ⁷ est moyses qui est pater in lege pater in sciencia pater in prophetia et in tribus fuit Moyses durus quia ⁸ non poterat aduertere, donec deus ostendit ei digito ⁹ et que fuit ¹⁰ illa ¹¹ ? candelabrum et siclus ¹² et nodus philacteriorum ¹³ et dixit ¹⁴ deus Moysi tale dabunt pro se, <u>scilicet siclum</u> et per hoc inuenient misericordium coram me et ¹⁵ angustiatores eorum macerabuntur et gens mea per [<i>Z</i> f. 383v] hoc habundabit bonis et erit digna uidere gloriam meam, et hoc merito expellet multos, et <u>infra</u> angustiatores eius minorentur,
	no. goy	et deficiant ¹⁶ et super colla illorum corroborentur.
3	stult.	Mytraton <u>Enoch</u> ¹⁷ offert exenium solio excelso de semine sepultorum in Hebron ¹⁸ , <u>id est Abraham Isaac</u> [<i>G</i> f. 72ra] et <u>Jacob</u> .
4	Nu xi ¹⁹ goy	Labor omnis ²⁰ filiorum Israel ²¹ denunciatus fuit Moysi, ad sustinendum et ad ²² loquendum pro eis, iusticiam, et ad dandum aliis populis ²³ infernum, in quo comburentur ²⁴ in eternum.

* The criteria of the edition are the same that I employed in the edition of the excerpts from Rashi, see Hasselhoff, 'Rashi's Glosses on Isaiah in Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. lat. 16558', p. 126. – The edition was prepared within the European Union's Seventh Framework Programme (FP7/2007-2013/ERC Grant Agreement n. 613694) ('The Latin Talmud and Its Influence on Christian-Jewish Polemic' at the Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona, Bellaterra); I would like to thank Ulisse Cecini and Óscar de la Cruz Palma (both Bellaterra) for helpful remarks on the edition and to Wout van Bekkum (Groningen) for the collaboration on this article.

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|---------------------------|--------------------------------|----------------------------|
| 1. <i>Om. CG</i> | 9. <i>C degito</i> | 17. <i>P enohc C hnoch</i> |
| 2. <i>Om. Z</i> | 10. <i>CG fuerunt</i> | 18. <i>PG ebron</i> |
| 3. <i>CG abhominantur</i> | 11. <i>CG ei</i> | 19. <i>Z Nu xi v. 23</i> |
| 4. <i>G comocionem</i> | 12. <i>C stillus G sciclus</i> | 20. <i>CG honoris</i> |
| 5. <i>C capud</i> | 13. <i>CG filacteriorum</i> | 21. <i>Om. G</i> |
| 6. <i>bMeg 13a</i> | 14. <i>CG dicit</i> | 22. <i>Om. PZ</i> |
| 7. <i>CG hoc</i> | 15. <i>Om. Z</i> | 23. <i>Om. Z</i> |
| 8. <i>CG quod</i> | 16. <i>C deficiet</i> | 24. <i>Z comburentur</i> |

5	prou iii ²⁵	Lex maior est toto mundo bis millesies quadringentesies et data est seculo pro sanitate et medicina longitudo dierum in dextera ²⁶ eius et in sinistra illius diuicie et gloria et fecit scire omnia verba abscondita et imposuit omnes thesauros ²⁷ [P f. 206vb] et inuestigauit numerum ²⁸ hominum, et ²⁹ numerum angelorum superiorum et fecit nos scire quod ³⁰ vnus ab alio in altitudine ³¹ diuersificatur aliqui sunt qui ita magni sunt ³² sicut magnitudo maris mag[C f. 65vb]ni et aliqui sunt qui ita magni sunt ³³ sicut totus mundus et aliqui sunt qui duobus volatibus transuolant mundum et aliqui qui vno volatu <u>glosa salomonis</u> sicut legimus in brakot ³⁴ quod Michael vno volatu, Gabriel duobus, et inuenimus in macecta heguigua ³⁵ quod cendalfon ³⁶ alcior ³⁷ est ³⁸ omnibus aliis ³⁹ quingentis annis itineris.
6	goy	Deus manutene nos ⁴⁰ et da malum gentibus pro animabus notris ⁴¹ exalta gentem tuam, quia tempus miserendi eius quia venit tempus, fac obliuisci nominis ⁴² delicate, <u>id est Edom id est ecclesie</u> de omni loco et omni angulo, et reuerti facias regnum ad dominum suum ⁴³ , <u>id est ad Israel</u> .
7	goy ps.	Memor esto domine filiorum Edom [Ps 137:7] qui destruxerunt domum tuam angustiatorum qui eradicauerunt muros [Z f. 384r] et usque ad fundamentum eruerunt ⁴⁴ , et non sit coram te traditum ⁴⁵ obliuioni offense eorum in seculum non ⁴⁶ obliuiscaris quia nescierunt ⁴⁷ facere veritatem sigilla ⁴⁸ cartas eorum <u>sue dampnacionis</u> ⁴⁹ in die angustie in die qua venies ad disputandum ⁵⁰ cum illis.
8	goy	Visita et ⁵¹ rememorare ⁵² ad turbandum dolorem angustiatoris nostri et ad obs-truendum os eius ad commouendum ut ebrium.
9	tal.	Quando Moyses intellexit mysna et deum dicentem quod raby Elyezer ⁵³ dicit quod ⁵⁴ vaca ⁵⁵ [P f. 207ra] duorum annorum et vitula vnus anni tunc rogauit deum quod ille magister de sua stirpe nasceretur deus docuit tunc Moysen illa halakod
	stult.	et quando dixit ei quod homo mundus acciperat ⁵⁶ cineris ⁵⁷ combustionis et mitte-ret ⁵⁸ aquas vinas super eos, et ex eis aspergeret ⁵⁹ in mundum die tercio, et die septimo, et sic mundaretur, mitatus ⁶⁰ est Moyses dicens quid mundabitur a polluto?
	numer. 19 ⁶¹	Cinis vitule rufe eciam ⁶² mundum polluit, et quomodo tollet speciem pollutionis respondit deus: legem statui, quid laboras scire? profundior est inferno quomodo scires? veniat ⁶³ cinis vitule, ad ⁶⁴ mundandum sordes vituli, ut ⁶⁵ sit mundacio Israel qui vocatur vaca lasciuens, omnes vace finientur et ⁶⁶ tua semper durabit.

25. Z Prou 3.16

26. C dextera

27. P thōs C thesauros

28. G numerorum

29. Om. CG

30. CG et

31. Z om. in altitudine

32. G qui sunt ita magni

33. CG qui sunt infra magni

34. Z brachot

35. Z beguigua; CG henguina

36. C cendabbo G cendab-
b(er)o

37. CG alcioorem

38. Om. CG

39. P ilus

40. CG eos

41. C vestris

42. C omnes G omnis

43. C deum suum

44. CG errauerut

45. CG traditorum

46. C no Z ne

47. CG nesciunt Z nescierum

48. C sigillas G sigillas

49. C dapnacionis

50. CG disceptandum

51. P et et

52. CG memorare

53. C eleasar G elizer

54. Om. CG

55. G corr. ex vasa

56. C accipet G acciperet

57. CG cineres

58. C micteret

59. C sprageret

60. CG miratus

61. Z Num 19.3

62. C in

63. CG veniet

64. C add. in marg. inferno ...
ad

65. C et

66. C in

10	goy No	Deus spiritum ⁶⁷ maior omni laude conuerte ⁶⁸ aurem tuam ad preces nostras ⁶⁹ affligentes nos precipita in infernum, et anime nostre letabuntur.
11	blasph	Affligentes vitam meam ⁷⁰ angustia ⁷¹ <u>afflige</u> relinquentes deum veritatis ad dandum coronam mortuo <u>Ihesu Xristo scilicet</u> .
12		Vinum custoditum in racemis suis creauit ex ipsis deus, ad reseruandum <u>glosa</u> Salomonis de omni specie rerum quas deus creauit reseruauit pro seculo futuro, iustis de arboribus reseruauit vitem in qua vinum conseruatur in racemis suis, a sex primis diebus de aibus reser[Z f. 384v]uauit ziz ⁷² sicut scriptum est:
	ps	Et ⁷³ ziz ⁷⁴ saday ⁷⁵ mecum, <u>pulcritudo agri mecum est</u> [Ps 50:11], de piscibus Leuiathan, de animalibus Behemoth, qui depascit mille montes in die et singulis [P f. 207rb] diebus renascitur herba.
13	in ka- zassim Gen i	Deus quando creauit solem et lunam fuerunt eiusdem claritatis aperuit luna os [G f. 72rb] suum ad accusandum socium suum et ait: Non decet duos reges seruire in vna corona et sanctus benedictus si ⁷⁶ ipse reddidit ei [C f. 66ra] mercedem suam et dixit ⁷⁷ illi vade et ⁷⁸ minorate ipsam et quando deus vidit quod erat minorata misertus est eius et fecit ⁷⁹ stellas in auxilium eius ⁸⁰ et dixit quod iusti suo nomine vocarentur.
14	stult. ys 27	Behemot qui depascit ⁸¹ mille montes ⁸² statuit deus victum suum posuit serpentem vectem in profundum maris, reseruati que sunt vsque dum visitet ⁸³ super eos, qui loquitur iusticias in gladio suo duro et ⁸⁴ forti [Is 27:1], <u>glosa Salomonis sanctus benedictus sit ipse occidet illos</u> .
15	goy No	Omnibus afflictionibus nostris congregatis fac cadere super eos timorem, et pauorem ad commouendum corda eorum, cifum ⁸⁵ ire tue misce ⁸⁶ inter eos, timor et angustia veniant ⁸⁷ in eos vertigo ⁸⁸ discrecionis in cordibus suis, tremor ⁸⁹ et consummatio in lumbis ⁹⁰ eorum concussio et paralis in omnibus membris suis et corruant ⁹¹ in seipsis et a seipsis dolor super dolorem veniat super eos muti ⁹² sedeant ⁹³ in locis suis, tot repleantur angustiis quod ⁹⁴ non possint ⁹⁵ creari ⁹⁶ , donec filii tui transeant ad metas suas in terram quam iurasti dare patribus eorum.

67. CG spiritum magis

68. CG mite

69. CG meas

70. C affligentes vitam meam
affligentes vitam meam71. G affligentes vitam meam
angustia affligentes vitam
meam angustia72. P reseruauit zibz C re-
seruauit et azisadai G
reseruauit et a zyzsada

73. CG psalmo

74. P zyb; Z zib

75. CG zizsada

76. CGZ sit

77. Z dixi

78. Om. CG

79. CG eius inferat

80. CG in adiutorium illius

81. C depacit

82. Om. P

83. CG uidisset

84. P add. supra lineam; om.

Z

85. CG ciphum

86. C mixte G mixce

87. CG venient

88. Z ferigo.

89. Z timor

90. Z labiis

91. CG cor inanet

92. CG commuti

93. Z muri scindant

94. CG et

95. CG possit

96. CG curari

16	goy ps No	Nisi quia dominus erat in nobis etc. [Ps 124:1] in omni ore denotauerunt nos et iugum suum aggrauauerunt super nos donec dominus mictat spiritum sanctum de alt(er) ⁹⁷ superno i.e. (?) ⁹⁸ ad consolandum nos ⁹⁹ et in Edom ¹⁰⁰ <i>ecclesia</i> det uindictam suam per manus [P f. 207va] nostras, quia festum Esau veniet super eum quando visitabit eum consumet semen illius ¹⁰¹ et vicinorum et amicorum suorum [Z f. 385r] et fecibus calicis soporis potabit illos et si exaltauerit ¹⁰² vt Aquila nidum suum inde detrahet eum in peste et ¹⁰³ sanguine iudicabit eum sicut subuersionem Sodome et Gomorre vertet illum vindictam sanguinis eorum ¹⁰⁴ seruorum suorum dabit super goym ¹⁰⁵ coram oculis nostris et sicut audiimus de Egypto ¹⁰⁶ eis ¹⁰⁷ faciat nos audire de inimicis nostris Ysmael et Edom et omnibus afflictoribus nostris.
17	fab.	Deus quando voluit creare ¹⁰⁸ mundum accepit licenciam a lege et detexit ei omnia occulta et ait illi si bonum est in oculis tuis ego creabo mundum quia per hoc diffundetur honor tuus in seculum et ad lumen tuum ibunt omnes venientes in mundum. Quis enim laudaret pulcritudinem tuam nisi esset mundus? Respondit lex:
	Nu xiiii ^o	magnificetur ¹⁰⁹ fortitudo tua [Num 14:17] ¹¹⁰ quid tibi placet domine fac quis dicit ¹¹¹ tibi: quid est quod facis? et si retrahente ¹¹² ab hoc opere, quomodo inuenirem gratiam coram te? Quando audiuit hoc lusit cum verbis legis, que duobus milibus annorum fuerant occultata ¹¹³ cum illo et ¹¹⁴ sperabat dicens: Quando veniet dies in qua verba legis glosari debentur ¹¹⁵ , in lxx ^{ta} linguis? Iterum loquutus est deus cum ista ¹¹⁶ , ad placandum ¹¹⁷ eam tu es pulcra visu nec est qui te uideat, tu es bone gracie, et nullus te aduertit, tu es preceptis plena ¹¹⁸ , nec est cui imponam te, tu misericordia coronata es decens ut sponsa, pulcra et adulta, super [C f. 66rb] ¹¹⁹ omnia decora, nec est sponsus, aut nupcie, dixit que illi qui creauit ipsos duos [P f. 207vb] fac tibi seruientes, et ego ero in consilio ipsorum custodient enim me, pro toto posse suo et respondit deus:

97. *G* at(er)o98. *G* eciam (?)99. super nos ... nos: *P* super nos ad consummandum nos; *Z* super nos ad confirmandum nos100. *C* eadem101. *C* ipsius102. *C* exaltauit103. *Z* inpestet104. *Om. PZ*105. *CG* goy106. *C* egito egito107. *Om. PZ*108. *C* curare *G* corr. in marg. ex curare109. *G* corr. ex magnificentur110. *CG* add. num(er)i xvi111. *CG* dicet112. *C* retrahente113. *CG* occulta114. *CG* quia115. *CG* debent116. *CG* deus ita117. *C* plantandum118. *CG* plena preceptis119. *C* add. super

Nu xix	<p>in te scriptum est, ista¹²⁰ est lex hominis¹²¹ [Num 19:14], hic est qui de terra creatus est, quasi diceret non debes tradi angelis sed hominibus, quando igitur¹²² deus creavit Adam¹²³ fecit, illum ad enarrandum laudem suam formavit que illum¹²⁴ in ymagine¹²⁵ et similitudine sua¹²⁶, et in orto¹²⁷ voluptatis posuit illum, et ait legi, isti dabo te, [Z f. 385v] respondit que lex, principium verborum meorum impediit et contempsit et transgressus est. [G f. 72va] Non furaberis et non concupisces ecce eum¹²⁸ hinc, quia nolo illum deinde in¹²⁹ x^a generatione fuit Nohe iustus et rectus, et dixit deus¹³⁰ legi, iste inuenit gratiam in oculis meis, et¹³¹ tu ipsa vocaris additamentum gracie, bonum est quod gracia sit additamentum gracie, dixit lex coram deo: si inueni gratiam in oculis tuis¹³², nec hoc mihi respondeas inebriauit¹³³ se vino et redegit filium suum in seruitutem et ait maledictus Chanaan.¹³⁴ Non ero illi, nec ipse me recipiet. In xx^a generatione fuit Abraham filius trium annorum. Cognouit deum excelsum et abhominatus est ydola, et comminuit et confregit et ait deus legi pro isto et pro¹³⁵ filiis suis, creavi ego te, tu es eorum pulcritudo et gloria¹³⁶, de isto volo quod te suscipiat, respondit lex habitanti in excelso, scio bene¹³⁷ quod bonus sit et vie eius perfecte sed de vnigenito suo¹³⁸ non rogauit ipse te¹³⁹, immo extendit manus suas, sicut homo peregrinus ad ipsius sanguinem ad¹⁴⁰ effundendum et [P f. 208ra] hoc totum fecit ad faciendum¹⁴¹ voluntatem tuam corde perfecto, et confidebat in hoc quod plenus es misericordie¹⁴² deberet te rogasse de custodiendo vnigenito suo ab igne carbonum¹⁴³ post Abraham venit Ysaac, et ait deus legi iste mansuetus est quasi agnus iste libenter custodiet ritus tuos, consensit enim pergere ad ignem, et exponere corpus suum propter me et ambulauerunt corde perfecto pater et filius ad faciendum bene placitum meum, et ita¹⁴⁴ appreciatur¹⁴⁵ coram me quasi esset combustus, respondit lex¹⁴⁶ nolo¹⁴⁷ eum tu enim odisti Esau, et ipse dilexit eum, quia dolus fuit in ore illius¹⁴⁸ magis dilexit eum quam fratrem suum et benedixit ei vt viueret in gladio suo. Ideo nolo ei dari surrexit Iacob simplex et dixit dominus legi, iste accipiet verba mea in tentorio suo ad docendum quia integer natus est in [Z f. 386r] circumcisionis gladio, et in solio meo est ipsius figura sigillata, placet¹⁴⁹ mihi si uis, ut indote tua sigilletur, respondit lex decepit patrem suum quando pellibus edorum¹⁵⁰ circumdedit manus, et hoc idem fecerunt ei filij sui¹⁵¹ qui¹⁵² tunicam Ioseph tinxerunt in¹⁵³ sanguine edi¹⁵⁴, transierunt duo milia cccc xlvij anni, et venit Moyses et ait lex habitanti in celo, istum volo qui iustissimus¹⁵⁵ hominum est, et qui te rogaturus [C f. 66va] est, ut dimittas populo suo¹⁵⁶ noxam suam aut¹⁵⁷</p>
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120. *CG* ita121. *CG add.* Numa xix122. *Z* sibi123. *CG* hominem124. *CG* eum125. *C add.* sua126. *Om.* *C*127. *Z* horto128. *Z* est129. *CG* et130. *CG* deus dixit131. *Om.* *CG*132. *C* cuius *G corr.* ex tuis133. *C* inebriantur *G corr.* ex inebriatur134. *C add.* filius trium an-

norum, cognouit deum

excelsum et ab

135. *Om.* *CGZ*136. *C* gloriam137. *Om.* *Z*138. *Om.* *Z*139. *C* de *G corr.* ex de140. *Om.* *PZ*141. *CG* faciendam142. *CG om.* et ... misericordie143. *Z* crarbonum144. *CG* add. ei145. *C* preciatu *G corr.* ex preciatu146. *C* deus lex147. *C* volo148. *C* ipsius149. *Z* placuit150. *C* eos edorum *Z* odorum151. *Om.* *CG*152. *CG* quia153. *Om.* *CG*154. *Z* haedi155. *PZ* mittissimus156. *Z* tuo157. *C* an *G corr.* ex au

	exo 32	deleas eum ¹⁵⁸ de libro tuo, quem scripsisti [Ex 32:32], tunc sumpsit ¹⁵⁹ deus Moysen et [P f. 208rb] eleuauit eum ¹⁶⁰ in celum et extendit super eum nubem suam et docuit eum precepta et ceremonias et gausus est gaudio magno deus, et dixit legi, venit dies leticie tue inualuit leticia coram deo, et extendit celos et descendit et dixerunt angeli: quare diuariata est ista dies? et respondit deus: ego do lasciuam meam quam duobus milibus annorum custodiui, venite ad eius leticiam quia venit dies eius et exultabimus et cantabimus ¹⁶¹ ista die quia ¹⁶² super omnes dies desiderauit hanc diem tunc exultauit ¹⁶³ rex meus ¹⁶⁴ in sanctuario et respenderit et venit in x milibus millenariis sanctorum et cum ipso angeli diuersi et cursus millenariorum sanctorum ¹⁶⁵
	exo 19	et venerunt in Synai sancto [cf. Ex 19:18] ad dandum in hereditatem scripturam ¹⁶⁶ legis.
18	er.	Septem fuerunt antequam terra fieret solium excelsum et eleuatum fuit ante celos, solium Israel ¹⁶⁷ fuit ante regna terre ¹⁶⁸ , patres seculi anticipauerunt fundamenta terre. Nomen messye fuit ante nomina ¹⁶⁹ que sunt in terra. Ortus ¹⁷⁰ voluptatis fuit antequam simplices terre, infernus anticipauit impios terre ¹⁷¹ , Israel et premia anticipauerunt omnes habitatores terre lex autem ante omnia, sonitus buccine paulatim crescebat in maius ¹⁷² .
19 ¹⁷³	exo xix stul	Moyses loquebatur et dominus ¹⁷⁴ respondebat ei in voce fortitudinis [Ex 19:19] mirabilia facta sunt, exierunt de forulis ¹⁷⁵ <u>corporibus</u> ¹⁷⁶ anime amicorum et deus fecit [Z f. 386v] ¹⁷⁷ pluere rorem vite super eos, et reuixerunt diuites ac pauperes.
20 ¹⁷⁸	er.	[P f. 208va] Decem creata fuerunt in vespere ¹⁷⁹ sabbati in ipso ¹⁸⁰ crepusculo: os putei, ¹⁸¹ os terre, os asine, yris, manna, baculus <u>Moysi</u> , samyr <u>lapis de quo supra</u> scriptum ¹⁸² et scriptura et tabule et aliqui dicunt quod eciam ¹⁸³ demones et sepulcrum Moysi et aries Abraham ¹⁸⁴ .
21 ¹⁸⁵	stult	Tabule lapidee habebant pondus xl sextariorum.
22 ¹⁸⁶	er	Angeli v ¹⁸⁷ steterunt [G f. 72vb] supra Moysen quando <u>Moyses</u> ¹⁸⁸ ascendit in celum ad recipiendum legem, clamauerunt que ad eum: Quid tibi in ista habitacione? putauerunt que ¹⁸⁹ eum ¹⁹⁰ comburere in hanelitu ¹⁹¹ oris sui ipse autem fugit et adhesit sedi dei, omnes simul cucurrerunt ad offendendum ipsum ¹⁹² , quando ¹⁹³ vero non potuerunt ¹⁹⁴ eum vincere fugerunt celeriter et laudauerunt saluatorem.

158. Z illum

159. Z scripsit

160. *Om. CG*161. *Om. PZ*162. *C add. est*163. *G exaltauit*

164. Z intus

165. *C om. et cum ... sanctorum*166. *C add. in marg.*167. *C add. eleuatum*168. *CG terrena*169. *CG omnia*

170. Z Hortus

171. *PZ om. infernus anticipauit impios terre*172. *PZ om. sonitus buccine paulatim crescebat in maius*

173. Cf. Merhavia, 'Some

Poems of Rabbi Benjamin

bar Samuel in a Latin

Translation', p. 199.

174. *CG deus*175. *C forulas*176. *G corpibus*177. *Z add. Deus*

178. Avot 5,8

179. *CG om. Decem ... vespere*180. *CG populo*181. *C add. et*182. *C add. est*183. *C eciam quod*184. *CG add. patris nostri*

185. Cf. Merhavia, 'Some Poems of Rabbi Benjamin

bar Samuel in a Latin

Translation', p. 199.

186. Cf. Merhavia, 'Some

Poems of Rabbi Benjamin

bar Samuel in a Latin

Translation', p. 200.

187. *CG* Quinque angeli188. *Om. CG*189. *Om. CG*190. *Om. CG*191. *CG* anelitu192. *CG* ad ipsum offendendum193. *G* qu(omod)o194. *Z* potacerunt

23 ¹⁹⁵	er.	Quando ascendit in montem dei creare hominem accepit sanguinem et aquam et decoravit similitudinem suam antequam insufflaret animam in forma erat inpressa, similitudo ipsius, laboravit inuestigare thalamos ¹⁹⁶ eius ¹⁹⁷ in lumine anime sue.
24 ¹⁹⁸	er.	Radices montis Sinay ¹⁹⁹ eradicavit deus ²⁰⁰ de ²⁰¹ loco suo celos sursum et deorsum inclinavit desuper,
	exo 19	posuit super eum gloriam suam [cf. Ex 19:18] in monte currus ²⁰² sui xxij milia curruum ardebant ²⁰³ contra illum angeli tremebant et ²⁰⁴ celi voluebantur ²⁰⁵ coram eo et dicebant: Quid isti diei inter dies, ut commoueatur ²⁰⁶ totus mundus in ipso? respondit deus ²⁰⁷ volo detegere legem meam et exaltare populum meum quia reseruaueram ²⁰⁸ legem meam pro ipsis nonagentis et ²⁰⁹ lxxiii ^{or} generacionibus ²¹⁰ .
25 ²¹¹	No fab	In sexta die junij data fuerunt ²¹² Israel x verba post mille generaciones et quando deus [P f. 208vb] voluit dare legem illuxit [C f. 66vb] et resplenduit Esau et Ysmael, et Amon, et misit angelos ignis flammeos ad omnes creaturas, et renuerunt recipere legem, tunc misit ad homines sanctos ²¹³ , et cum eis currus x milium ²¹⁴ millenariorum angelorum [Z f. 387r] et xxij m ^a curruum in igne inflammatorum et accensorum, et quilibet currus qualis ille quem uidit Ezechiel ²¹⁵ descenderunt que ad destruendum totum mundum et intra concauitatem mundi volabant
	er	sicut cyconia cum alis, et totus mundus non capiebat eos quilibet eorum ²¹⁶ continebat terciam partem illius et quando deus descendit cum ipsis commote sunt omnes creature et saxa fissa ²¹⁷ fuerunt et contremuerunt omnes reges terre et omnes generaciones ²¹⁸ et conuenerunt post Balaam impium de omnibus villis et quesierunt ab eo: est hoc diluuium aquarum quo deus vult submergere omnes habitatores terre? Qui respondit: stulti ²¹⁹ deus iurauit Nohe quod ultra non induceret aquas diluuij ²²⁰ super terram et dixerunt forte diluuium ignis vult adducere ad comburendum ²²¹ omnes? et respondit nec est aque diluuium neque ²²² ignis ²²³ sed deus uult dare populo suo verba munda quando dedit ea genti, custodienti veritatem submisit celos desuper et celos deorsum et extendit super ²²⁴ Syna ²²⁵ quasi homo [cf. Ex 19:18] qui extendit stramentum super lectum aperuit que fenestram in celo

195. Cf. Merhavia, 'Some Poems of Rabbi Benjamin bar Samuel in a Latin Translation', p. 202.

196. *C calamos*

197. *Om. CG*

198. Cf. Merhavia, 'Some Poems of Rabbi Benjamin bar Samuel in a Latin Translation', p. 203.

199. *PZ syna*

200. *Om. Z*

201. *CG in*

202. *CG cursus*

203. *G ardebat*

204. *Om. CG*

205. *CG voluebant*

206. *C comouatus G comouaturus*

207. *C eos*

208. *P reseruaram*

209. *Z id est*

210. *CG nonagentis generacionibus et lxx et xl*

211. Cf. Merhavia, 'Some Poems of Rabbi Benjamin bar Samuel in a Latin Translation', p. 204-211.

212. *CG fuerunt data*

213. *Om. CG*

214. *CG millium x currus*

215. *C ezech(iele)m Z Ezechias*

216. *C illorum*

217. *CG fusa*

218. *Z gentes*

219. *CG add. in marg.*

220. *CG aquarum diluuij*

221. *P comborendum*

222. *C nec*

223. *Z in igne*

224. *Om. CG*

225. *Om. CG*

exo	et ²²⁶ intrauit illud ²²⁷ montis cacumen et caligo et tenebre operuerunt ²²⁸ montem, et rex regum sedebat super solium ²²⁹ honoris excelsum, et super caliginem passus pedum suorum subnixi et a feria vj ^a [P f. 209ra] steti ²³⁰ gens sancta per ordines viri seorsum et mulieres seorsum et omnium cor ²³¹ vnum ²³² consilium vnum ²³³ et verbum vnum montes autem et valles commoti sunt quasi filii ouium venit Thabor inter montes et Carmelus ex aduerso et dixit vnus vocatus sum et alius vocatus sum et quando audierunt vocem domini conuersi sunt et fugerunt ²³⁴ exiuit uox prima
exo 20	ego deus deus ²³⁵ tuus, qui eduxi te de terra Egypti [Ex 20:2], diuisa fuit uox in septem et de vij in septuaginta linguas illa die arbor non floruit, auis non ganniuuit bos ²³⁶ non mugiiit quia omnia fuerunt in silencio, et commota sunt ab illo, et fugerunt excelsa et valles et omnes [Z f. 387v] arbores excellenciores ²³⁷ et mortui Israel resuscitati ²³⁸ sunt, et viui mortui sunt. Quando vero exiit uox secunda reuixerunt et steterunt, super pedes suos et dixerunt ad Moysen: loquere tu nobis et audiemus et ²³⁹ ait deus bene omnia loqui ²⁴⁰ sunt tunc misit Mychael et Gabriel duos principes exercituum pietatis, et acceperunt Moysen per duas manus, et detulerunt eum ultra tres [G f. 73ra] muros, ante deum caliginem ²⁴¹ nubem et tenebras, per os eius audita fuerunt x verba sigillata ²⁴² in sanguine <u>circumcisionis silicet</u> sigillatos sanguine fecit intelligere ignem comburentem ignem in die qua lex data fuit totum fuit ignis, ipsa ²⁴³ lex fuit ignis et scriptura eius fuit de igne, rex excelsus et eleuatus et ²⁴⁴ dextera ²⁴⁵ eius, ignea lex, et exercitus seruicium ei flammantes ut [P f. 209rb] carbones et ipsa eciam facies Moysi ignea fuit, et quando verbum domini debuit [C f. 67ra] prodire in ignem ²⁴⁶ , prece preuenit et clamauit coram angelis ignis amouete uos? Ne uos comburat ignis tunc substraxerunt se ad partem pre timore ignis et verbum ²⁴⁷ venit per se ad Israel et ²⁴⁸ osculatum est eos ²⁴⁹ osculo ignis considerate quomodo potuerunt recipere ignem per medium ignis ²⁵⁰ et uidete quod scriptum est ²⁵¹
deut 4	vocem eius audiuius de medio ignis ²⁵² [Dtn 4:36], quia hic est deus tuus qui dedit tibi potestatem sustinendi flammam ignis ignem ²⁵³ legis sue receperunt in amore fecitque eos audire vocem suam auribus suis, et dedit eis arma ad perpetuam corroboracionem, confixum fuit super eam, nomen dei, et scriptum in manifesto, omnibus diebus quibus fuit in manu nigre et formose non potuit malaach mauez ²⁵⁴ , <u>angelus mortis</u> , appropinquare ad corpora ²⁵⁵ ipsorum nec dominata est eorum gutta fedi humoris in abominacionem ²⁵⁶ , et in uestibus suis non habuit vermis ²⁵⁷ potestatem, benedicti sint ipsi et benedicta sint eorum corpora in presenti seculo et futuro.
26	goy Quomodo ²⁵⁸ scietur quod tu sis redemptor Israel? angustiatur qui affligit eos agrauat super eos ²⁵⁹ iugum suum sanctifica eos in die occisionis et congrega eos quasi gregem ad victimam.

226. *Om. CG*227. *CG* illuc ad228. *C* operierunt *G* operuerint229. *C* solium illium230. *C* ertetit (?)231. *C* *add.* et232. *G* *add.* et233. *Om. C*234. *C* fugierunt235. *Om. Z*236. *Z* os237. *CG* excelsiores238. *C* resucitati239. *Om. CG*240. *C* locuta241. *CG* *add.* et242. *CG* a sigillatis243. *Z* quia244. *CG* *add.* in245. *C* desteram246. *C om.* in ignem247. *C* deus *G* deus *corr.* ex us248. *G* *corr.* in ex et249. *CG om.* osculatum est eos250. *Z om.* per medium ignis251. *CG* *add.* deu v252. *CG* *add.* hic253. *CG* legem254. *CG* malach mauec255. *Z* corpus256. *CG* abhominacione257. *Z* vlterius258. *C* Quando259. *CG* illos

27	blas	[Z f. 388r] Similes ²⁶⁰ facti sumus onocrocalo, solitudinis quia assimilatus est mortuus ²⁶¹ <u>Christus</u> viuo deo ²⁶² , et responsum est mihi verbum. Quid paleis ²⁶³ ad triticum? [P f. 209va] triticum quamdiu dilexi dilexit me et quando elegi malum reliquit me, quando offendi eum offendit me,
	blas	<u>hoc dicit propter illos qui de synagoga conuersi sunt ad Christum.</u>
28		Repleti ²⁶⁴ sunt nequicia et consiliati sunt nomen meum delere, ad seruiendum mortuo a deo viuo tollere partem meam fodiunt ²⁶⁵ nobis foueas quando audiui eorum blasphemias cilicium posui ²⁶⁶ vestem meam blasphemauerunt me inimici mei domini possiderunt ²⁶⁷ nos absque ²⁶⁸ te dissipauerunt dissipaciones ad mutandum gloriam suam in nichilum.
29	tal.	Decorem legis tue <u>talmu</u> ²⁶⁹ combuxerunt, veh ²⁷⁰ isti dolori perfecti ²⁷¹ , operibus non sunt nobis ad curacionem huius plage.
30	blas.	In die tribulacionis mee clamaui ad te ne calumpnientur ²⁷² me iniqui derelinquentes legem et ad retribuendum ²⁷³ eis meritum suum sede et ²⁷⁴ inuestiga, iudicium impij totum ²⁷⁵ ad plenum ²⁷⁶ redde illis qui cogitant facere ²⁷⁷ obliuisci tui ²⁷⁸ sancti nominis et honorati et assuefacere nomini pollucionis uilis ²⁷⁹ et seruilis iudicium malum induc ²⁸⁰ super illos ²⁸¹ et condempna eos ²⁸² graui consumpcione ²⁸³ partem calicis ²⁸⁴ eorum compedes angustie fac ²⁸⁵ pluere ²⁸⁶ super eos redde eis in septuplum vindictam federis et consumma illos.
31	goy	Gentem tuam ²⁸⁷ amabilem affligit angustiator qui dstringit eos commutare spem suam in suspenso creato, dentes eorum in puluerem contere, erige desolatos et illos dissipa, effunde sanguinem eorum ad conculcandum in ²⁸⁸ terra ²⁸⁹ vsquequo ²⁹⁰ in tribulacione inuocabo te? responde mihi in latitudine quia non est abbrevi[P f. 209vb]jata manus tua ²⁹¹ , si peccata mea diuiserunt inter me et te et ²⁹² si murus clausus est ante preces meas creator fac foraminam ²⁹³ in sede glorie tue, per quod clamor meus ad antes ²⁹⁴ tuas perueniat.

260. CG Silens

261. C add. est G est

262. Om. CG

263. CG paleam

264. C Replecti

265. P fodeint; Z foderunt

266. G corr. ex posuisti

267. PZ possederunt C possiderunt

268. C asque

269. CG talmud

270. P dohe cum rasura C beh G veh Z Dohe

271. Z præsertim

272. C calupnientur

273. C tribuendum

274. Om. CG

275. CG cogum

276. CG plene

277. G face

278. C Cui

279. C uil

280. Z viduæ

281. CG eos

282. CG illos

283. C assupcione

284. CG partis calicem

285. Z sue

286. CG puluerem

287. CG suam

288. Om. CG

289. CG uitam

290. CG sic quoque

291. G add. manus tua

292. Om. CG

293. CG foramen Z foramina

294. CG aures

32	blas goy No	Effunde iram tuam super offenden[C f. 67rb]tes te ²⁹⁵ qui assimilant corpus mortuum illi qui gloriose magnificatus est contrierunt ²⁹⁶ [G f. 73rb] in lacu ²⁹⁷ vitam meam ²⁹⁸ in aqua ²⁹⁹ fumi ³⁰⁰ et immundicie <u>baptismo</u> [Z f. 388v] polluciones suas fecerunt me comedere loca ³⁰¹ mundi dominos meos <u>magistros legis</u> , occiderunt super sanctificatione fidei tue ³⁰² honoratos meos traxerunt in lutum ³⁰³ et immundiciam defecit spiritus meus pro lege exaltata, <u>talmut</u> ³⁰⁴ , quam ³⁰⁵ vidi dissipatam diruptam et igne crematam ³⁰⁶ turbatum est gaudium cordis mei et contritum pro ira magna clamat et rugit hereditas tua misera si sustinebis super hoc gentem ³⁰⁷ istam pollutam? faces tuas ³⁰⁸ in virtute tua tu ³⁰⁹ proice ³¹⁰ , super illam inebria ³¹¹ sagittas tuas, sanguine illius, et gladium adipe ³¹² illius ³¹³ , et carnibus satura vulturem, et miluum et populum tuum eleua ³¹⁴ super omnes gentes.
33	blas no	Reliquias iugi regni tui affligit inimicus et dissipat et destruit ad dirupendum iugum tuum de super gentem tuam et ad recipiendum formam despectam ³¹⁵ , <u>id est vilem hominem in deum</u> ³¹⁶ .
34	blas	Inimici populi tui nolunt ³¹⁷ auferre sanctificationem nominis tui et relinquere viuum pro mortuo <u>Xristo</u> auerte a nobis ne assimilemur ³¹⁸ eis, <u>viuum scilicet et mortuum equiparemus</u> , blasphemabimus super mortuum eciam ³¹⁹ oculum habuit erutum et hoc scriptum est in uerbo ueritatis.
35	blas goy	[P f. 210ra] Calumpniatores offendunt super palmite adulterij <u>Xristo</u> misceatur in eis spiritus ³²⁰ vertiginis et sint in decisionem ³²¹ redime amicos tuos a finicione protege eos ab angustiatiore et fac eos valere precepe saluacionem sperantibus in te in prece destrue in ira tua, sperantes in suspenso redde septuplum in sinu offendencium me, inebria sagittas tuas sanguine affligencium me.
36	blas goy	Polluti qui dicunt hereditatem tuam dissipatam gloriam tuam commutandam et post stulticiam eorum errandum palmitem abhominatum et putridum <u>Xristum</u> habendum pro domino ³²² , et fidem tuam sanctam ³²³ relinquendam, et deturpandam in amore tuo et misericordia tua excelse et eleuate in fatua consilium ³²⁴ et impedi cogitationes ipsorum magnam consummacionem iace ³²⁵ inter eos et angelum peregrinum impellentem et impingentem ³²⁶ .
37	blas	[Z f. 389r] Derelicti sumus gens tua ³²⁷ parua inter spinas abominatas ³²⁸ oculi nostri deficiunt nec inuenimus redempcionem ³²⁹ contingentes ³³⁰ populum tuum in mortuo <u>Xristo</u> sperantes ³³¹ mane ³³² et vespere prosperantur insurgunt contra nos et loquuntur cum ira, confracti in quo sperabis? habitans eternitatem et sancte respice in pudorem suspirancium qui confidunt in misericordiis tuis magnis.

295. *Om. CG*296. *C* construerunt *G* construerunt297. *C* lacum298. *Z* *add. et*299. *CG* qua300. *C* summus *G* sumus301. *CG* loco302. *CG* tue fidei303. *C* luctum *Z* lectum304. *CG* talmud305. *Z* quoniam306. *Z* armatam307. *C* gructem308. *C* meas309. *PZ* om.310. *P* prohice *Z* proiice311. *CG* inebrias312. *CG* adhibe313. *CG* illi314. *CG* eleuas315. *Z* desperatam316. *CG* despectam in deum, id

est in vilem hominem

317. *CG* volunt318. *CG* assimilemus319. *C* et320. *Z* spiritum321. *Z* derisionem322. *CG* deo323. *Om. CG*324. *CG* consicclium325. *C* iacere326. *CG* impingentem327. *Om. PZ*328. *C* h(ab)itatas329. *C* Redepcionem330. *C* affligentes *G* confligentes331. *CG* separantes332. *C* magne

38	stul	Si exiuit fatum ad dissipandum habitantes in terra respice in facie Iacob, que confixa est in solio tuo et in archa que sub te clausa est ³³³ et in ³³⁴ animabus ³³⁵ iustorum que sunt intra archam, et in corona que est in capite [P f. 210rb] tuo que roborata est ³³⁶ et circumdata similitudine sceptrorum Israel.
39	oratio in ros hasana ³³⁷	Sicut inuestigat pastor gregem suum et facit transire oues, sub virga sua, ita transire facias, et numeres animas omnium viuorum ³³⁸ et disponas cibum omnibus creaturis tuis et scribas predestinationem iudicii sui:
	Leui 16	In hac prima die anni scribetur et in ieiuniis expiacionis [cf. Lev 16:30?] sigillabitur quot transibunt et quot creabuntur, quis uiuet ³³⁹ et quis [C f. 67va] morietur, et ³⁴⁰ quis est in fine suo, et quis non in fine quis in aqua et quis in igne, quis in gladio et quis in fame quis in tomitruo ³⁴¹ et quis in peste, quis quiescet et quis commouebitur, quis erit in pace et quis in doloribus quis exaltabitur et quis humiliabitur quis ditabitur ³⁴² et quis depauperabitur ³⁴³ .
	Leui xvi	<u>In uespere expiacionis fit protestacio sequens ut obligaciones tocius anni: Non valeant.</u>
40	No er	Omnes promissiones et obligaciones et iuramenta et ³⁴⁴ omnia vota et omne domino consecratum et sanctificatum que ³⁴⁵ promitemus et iurabimus et uoebimus et ³⁴⁶ consecrabimus et sanctificabimus et quibus obligabimus animas nostras ab ista die, expiacionis usque in diem expiacionis,
	leui 16	qui venit super nos omnia ista de quibus penitebit nos, sint nobis soluta, dimissa impedita non teneantur nec consumentur ³⁴⁷ , promissiones nostre ³⁴⁸ non sint promissiones ³⁴⁹ nec obligaciones nostre obligaciones, nec iuramenta nostra ³⁵⁰ sint iuramenta ³⁵¹ , et reputentur quasi testa ³⁵² confracta [P f. 210va] que reparari non possit ³⁵³ ,
	Nu. xi°	[Z f. 389v] sicut scriptum est dimittetur vniversa plebi filiorum Israel et aduenis qui peregrinantur inter eos, quoniam ³⁵⁴ culpa est omnis ³⁵⁵ populi propter ³⁵⁶ ignoranciam [G f. 73va] et ³⁵⁷ ista ter debent dici.
41	Er gen i	In Kruba ³⁵⁸ <u>magni sabbati dicitur</u> quando deus posuit partem aquarum superius et partem inferius [cf. Gen 1:7], inferiores fleuerunt quia deus ³⁵⁹ vilificauerat ³⁶⁰ eas et ipse ad pacificandum illas ³⁶¹ concessit eis ³⁶² quod primo cantarent et hoc est quod scriptum est
	ps	eleuauerunt flumina ³⁶³ vocem suam [Ps 93:3].
42	No blas.	Goym imponunt super humeros suos cauillam suspensi ³⁶⁴ sui <u>crucem</u> et qui te nouarunt incurantur tibi ³⁶⁵ implicaturis iuncturarum suarum.

333. CG est clausa

334. Om. CG

335. CG animas

336. Z om. que roborata est

337. Z ros hana

338. CG illorum

339. Z finet

340. Om. PZ

341. G tonitruo

342. C dictabitur

343. C depaupertabitur

344. Om. G

345. Z quod

346. Om. CG

347. CG confirmentur

348. C vestre

349. C add. in marg. vestre

non sint promissiones

350. C uestra

351. CG iuramenta sint

352. C tecta

353. Z poterit

354. C qui

355. Z omnes

356. C per

357. Om. CG

358. G Cruba

359. C om. quia deus

360. C muficauerat G mu(ni)

ficau(er)at

361. Z eas

362. CG illis

363. P eleua.[uerunt] fl.[umina]

364. C supenssi

365. Om. Z

43	blas.	Goym cognouerant ³⁶⁶ sanctitatem tuam infanti ³⁶⁷ de adulterio et eleuati abhorrent calefactam mulieris fornicarie.
44	blas.	Goym formam similitudinis ³⁶⁸ ³⁶⁹ putrefacti faciunt deum et populus tuus testificatur, quoniam tuus ³⁷⁰ es deus deorum.
45	blas.	Goym corpus abhominatum acceleracio sceleris eorum, <u>glosa Salomonis</u> ³⁷¹ : ex hoc patet quod credunt xristianos esse goy ³⁷² , goym credunt in Ihesu noceri <u>Nazareno</u> , qui est corpus abhominatum et proiectum de fouea sua.
46	blas.	Goym inclinant illi, qui saluare non potest nec valere ³⁷³ et amici tui, confidunt in te, qui doces eos valere.
47	goy	Goym falsitas nec habent fidem iusti, veritatem tuam in synagoga sua dicunt.
48		Goym emyn zazumyn cedar edomyn <u>xristianos</u> absorbe eos fundibula eos ³⁷⁴ conculca eos et fac obmutescere ³⁷⁵ , goym gomer, magog ³⁷⁶ aschanaz ³⁷⁷ , <u>hyspanos</u> et romym <u>romanos</u> comminue eos et percute, offende eos et destrue illos, dirue ³⁷⁸ domos goym, discinde pulcri[P f. 210vb]tudinem goym, calca torcular inter goym, exalteris iudex ³⁷⁹ super superbos et dicent deus et rex super ³⁸⁰ goym vilifica regnum goym ³⁸¹ , scopa et destrue goym, videbunt magnalia tua et confundentur goym, comminue destrue goym, preliare contra reges goym, dominator regnum tuum manifesta ³⁸² super goym dissipa in ira tua omnes goym, conculca Seyr et omnes goym, fac vlcionem in goym, effunde iram tuam super goym, destrue ossa goym, ³⁸³ fundibula congregaciones ³⁸⁴ goym offensam [Z f. 390r] prebe in goym, [C f. 67vb] ³⁸⁵ effunde furorum tuum super goym, irruat super goym formido et pauor, congrega dispersos Israel redime deus Israel, gloria indue Israel, da vindictam tuam in Edom per manum Israel vere tu es saluator Israel ³⁸⁶ calca torcular affligentibus Israel detege regnum Israel benedictus deus Israel.
49	goy	Naciones ³⁸⁷ Seyr <u>xristianorum</u> disperde quod vltra non sit in eis dominus ³⁸⁸ cui seruiatur, et restitue nobis regnum ³⁸⁹ sicut ³⁹⁰ facies quando resuscitabis ³⁹¹ tabernaculum Daud.
50	er	Aliqui angeli sunt, qui c vlnas habent in altitudinem ³⁹² , et aliqui cc ^{tas} et aliqui ccc ^{tas} et aliqui nonagentas, et aliqui sicut totus mundus, aliqui eorum reges sunt xvi seculorum aliqui ccc ^{torum} et x et aliqui sunt ³⁹³ quorum missio est ccc ^{torum} et xxxvj seculorum et magna pax inter eos, nec odium est inter eos, ³⁹⁴ nec contencio inter partes ipsorum nec inuidia in tabernaculo suo, nec sompnus ³⁹⁵ est in accubitu eorum nec in palpebris ³⁹⁶ dormitacio, nec in cordibus mala voluntas, nec malus oculus <u>fascinacio</u> in habitaculo ³⁹⁷ eorum.

366. C conouerant

367. C instanti

368. P corr. ex pulcritudinis

369. CG add. est

370. CG tu

371. Om. PZ

372. CG om. ex hoc ... goy

373. Z valet

374. fundibula eos P add. in marg.

375. C omuscere

376. CG magoch

377. CG aschanar

378. G Dirrue

379. CG vide

380. Z et

381. Om. Z

382. C magnifesta

383. PZ om. effunde ... ossa goym

384. Z cogitationes

385. C add. va- Effunde iram tuam super goym destruende ossa goym -cat

386. P add. vere ... Israel supra lineam

387. CG Nasciones Ysrael

388. G add. in marg.

389. C Regumque

390. C add. non (?)

391. CG restitues

392. Z altitudine

393. Om. C

394. Z om. nec odium ... eos

395. C somnus

396. C alpebris

397. CG tabernaculo

51	tal.	[P f. 211ra] <u>In mane cotidie</u> ³⁹⁸ <u>dicunt hanc kruba id est oracionem</u> : Pater noster pater pietatis miserans ³⁹⁹ miserere nostri ⁴⁰⁰ et da in corde nostro aduertere et intelligere et audire et discere ⁴⁰¹ et docere, et ⁴⁰² custodire et ⁴⁰³ facere, et tenere omnia uerba talmut ⁴⁰⁴ legis tue in amore ⁴⁰⁵ . <u>In uespere autem dicunt</u> : amor seculi domum Israel gentis tue dilexisti, legem mandata et consuetudines nos docuisti ideo que ⁴⁰⁶ domine deus noster accumbendo ⁴⁰⁷ et surgendo loquimur in consuetudinibus tuis, et gaudebimus et exultabimus in uerbis talmut ⁴⁰⁸ legis tue, et ⁴⁰⁹ in mandatis tuis ⁴¹⁰ in eternum et ⁴¹¹ ultra, quoniam ista sunt iura eterna ⁴¹² , et prolongacio dierum meorum ⁴¹³ et in eis meditabimur ⁴¹⁴ die ac nocte.
52		<u>In kruba</u> ⁴¹⁵ <u>eciam scriptum est</u> qui uidet sompnum ⁴¹⁶ et anima ipsius terretur ⁴¹⁷ , faciet illud ⁴¹⁸ bonum coram tribus et dicet [Z f. 390v] ter sompnum ⁴¹⁹ bonum uidi etc. ⁴²⁰
53	stult. exo 14	<u>Item legitur in krubot</u> extendisti manum tuam et d[ivid]e ⁴²¹ e.[st] ⁴²² [cf. Ex 14:16] terra ⁴²³ mare et terra contendebant inuicem mare dixit ⁴²⁴ terre recipe [G f. 73vb] filios tuos, terra dixit mari recipe occisos ⁴²⁵ tuos, nec terra nec mare recipere uoluerunt eos terra timuit patrem suum de celis ne repeteret ⁴²⁶ illos in futuro seculo et statim aperuit terra ⁴²⁷ os suum et deglutiuit eos.
54	blas.	<u>In kruba sabbati de vitula rufa dicit</u> : In hora qua Mosse ascendit in excelsum audiuit dominum sedentem, et studentem in perec <u>capitulo</u> de vitula rufa ⁴²⁸ [Num 19:2], et dicentem Raby Eleazar dicit
	leui (?) 16	vitula vnus anni et vacca duorum et ait Mosse domine seculi superiores et inferiores in potestate tua et tu sedes et dicis halaka ⁴²⁹ <u>id est talmut</u> ⁴³⁰ in ⁴³¹ nomine carnis et sanguinis? et dixit ei ⁴³² deus: venturus est quidam iustus ⁴³³ qui darsabit ⁴³⁴ <u>glosabit capitulum istud Raby</u> [P f. 211rb] <u>Eleazar</u> ⁴³⁵ <u>scilicet</u> ^{436 437} .

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|--------------------------------|-------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| 398. Z quotidie | 412. CG nostra | 425. CG occises |
| 399. CG insimileris | 413. C nostrum | 426. C rep(er)teret |
| 400. CG nobis | 414. Z ditabimus | 427. Om. PZ |
| 401. C discernere | 415. CG krubod | 428. CG De uitulo ruffo |
| 402. Om. PZ | 416. C sopnium | 429. C alaka |
| 403. Om. CG | 417. Z territor | 430. CG talmud |
| 404. CG talmud | 418. C id | 431. CG et |
| 405. CG legis in amore tuo | 419. C sopnium | 432. CG eis |
| 406. CG quia | 420. CG add. Quare supra ple- | 433. CG in uis |
| 407. C accelendo G accelerendo | nus in krubod | 434. CG darlacum |
| 408. CG talmud | 421. Z deus rabit | 435. G relazar |
| 409. Om. CG | 422. Z eos | 436. Om. CG |
| 410. CG tu es | 423. P t(er); C tr. G t. | 437. Z add. Finis excerptorum |
| 411. CG add. non | 424. Z dicit | de Krubot |

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