

1 Chapter 13 1
2 Translation, Transcription, 2
3 and Transliteration in the Polemics 3
4 of Raymond Martini, O.P.¹ 4
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9 Ryan Szpiech 9
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13 The authority associated with a medieval *auctor* was not usually the product of just 13
14 one particular text but often depended on the authenticity of the whole corpus of 14
15 texts attributed to that *auctor*'s name. The *auctor* was seen as an authority because 15
16 he embodied *auctoritas*, the wisdom to speak well, the authority to speak truly, 16
17 and the believability to be trusted as a source. According to A.J. Minnis, *auctoritas* 17
18 requires two things: intrinsic worth and authenticity. To have intrinsic worth meant 18
19 that what one wrote did not contradict Christian doctrine; to have authenticity 19
20 linked an *auctor* with a true and ancient source.² In polemical writing, the concept 20
21 of *auctoritas*, traditionally based solely on biblical *testimonia*, began in the twelfth 21
22 century to expand noticeably with the introduction of secular texts of philosophy 22
23 that initiated a shift to argument that was based on *ratione et auctoritate*, on reason 23
24 and authoritative textual proof. By the second half of the thirteenth century, this 24
25 expansion of the concept of *auctoritas* in polemical writing, which itself can be 25
26 understood as part of a broader shift in the meaning of the medieval *auctor* in 26
27 light of new Aristotelian ideas about the "effective cause" of a text,³ came to 27
28 involve the invocation as textual *auctoritates* those texts considered authoritative 28
29 by Jews and Muslims, but not Christians, such as the Talmud, Qur'ān,⁴ Midrashic 29
30 exegesis, and collections of Muslim traditions about the sayings of Muḥammad 30
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33 ¹ This research is part of a collaborative project entitled "The Intellectual and 33
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39 ² Alastair Minnis, *Medieval Theory of Authorship*, 2nd ed. (Philadelphia, 1988), pp. 39
40 10–12. Minnis develops the ideas of M.-D. Chenu, "Auctor, Actor, Autor," *Bulletin du* 40
41 *Cange: Archivum Latinitatis Medii Aevi* 2 (1927): 81–6; and idem, *Toward Understanding* 41
42 *St. Thomas*, trans. A.-M. Landry and D. Hugues (Chicago, 1964), pp. 129–32. 42

43 ³ Minnis, pp. 28–39. 43

44 ⁴ Transliteration of Hebrew and Arabic has loosely followed the norms established 44
by the *Journal of Semitic Studies* with simplified Hebrew vowels.

1 known as *ḥadīth*.⁵ This use of non-Christian texts as *auctoritates* evidenced the 1
 2 growing desire by Christian polemicists for authenticity, garnered at the expense 2
 3 of intrinsic worth. 3

4 This use of non-Christian texts as *auctoritates* became a labor dominated by the 4
 5 Dominican order, newly founded in 1215 for combating the heretics of Provence but 5
 6 quickly adapted to other anti-heretical struggles. The Dominicans embraced language 6
 7 study as a key part of their *modus operandi* virtually from their inception: the first 7
 8 Master General after Dominic himself, Jordan de Saxony, stated in 1236 that friars 8
 9 ought to learn the languages of those to whom they preached.⁶ Less than two decades 9
 10 later, Master Humbert of Romans specified that this should include Arabic and 10
 11 Hebrew.⁷ Dominican efforts were organized in Murcia in 1266 to teach Hebrew and 11
 12 Arabic, as well as in Barcelona (1275, Hebrew), Valencia (1280, Arabic), and Játiva 12
 13 (1302, Hebrew and Arabic).⁸ Such efforts can also be connected to the emphasis on 13
 14 rhetorical effectiveness in preaching by Raymond of Peñafort, Master General after 14

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 17 ⁵ On this “expansion” of *auctoritas* in polemical writing, see Gilbert Dahan, *Les* 17
 18 *intellectuels chrétiens et les juifs au Moyen Âge* (Paris, 1990), pp. 440–76; and Ryan 18
 19 Szpiech, *Conversion and Narrative: Reading and Religious Authority in Medieval Polemic* 19
 20 (Philadelphia, 2013), pp. 69–74. The discussion that follows has benefited greatly from 20
 21 Dahan’s analysis of *auctoritas* in Martini’s work and from Brigitte Miriam Bedos-Rezak’s 21
 22 conceptualization of the intersection of *auctoritas* and authenticity in Christian anti-Jewish 22
 23 polemic, “Les juifs et l’écrit dans la mentalité eschatologique du Moyen Âge chrétien 23
 occidental (France 1000–1200),” *Annales. Histoire, Sciences Sociales* 49 (1994): 1049–63. 23

24 ⁶ “Monemus quod in omnibus provinciis et conventibus fratres linguas addiscant 24
 25 illorum quibus sunt propingui [*sic*]” [We order that in all provinces and convents, Friars learn 25
 26 the languages of those around them]. *Acta Capitulorum Generalium Ordinis Praedicatorum ab* 26
 27 *anno 1220 usque ad annum [1844]*, ed. Benedictus Maria Reichert (Rome, 1898–1904), p. 9. 27

28 ⁷ “Curandum est ut aliqui Fratres idonei insudent in locis idoneis ad linguam 28
 29 arabicam, hebraicam, graecam et barbaras addiscendas” [“It should be seen to that some 29
 30 suitable Friars labor (lit. “sweat”) in suitable places in learning Arabic, Hebrew, Greek, and 30
 31 foreign tongues”]. Humbert of Romans, *Opera de Vita Regulari*, ed. J.J. Berthier (2 vols, 31
 32 Rome, 1888–89), vol. 2, pp. 187–8. 32

33 ⁸ On the history of such movements, see José María Coll, “Escuelas de Lenguas 33
 34 Orientales en los siglos XIII y XIV,” *Analecta Sacra Tarraconensia* 17 (1944): 115–38; 18 34
 35 (1945): 59–89; 19 (1946): 217–40, at 17: 121–4 and 18: 76–7; and Robin Vose, *Dominicans,* 35
 36 *Muslims, and Jews in the Medieval Crown of Aragon* (Cambridge, 2009). Such efforts, 36
 37 which can only loosely be called “schools” and represent the efforts of a few very small 37
 38 groups, were contemporaneous with those of Catalan polemicist and savant Ramon Llull, 38
 39 who helped establish chairs in Semitic languages at several universities. Llull, after himself 39
 40 learning Arabic with his Muslim slave for nine years, successfully petitioned king Jaume 39
 41 I of Aragon to support the foundation of the Monastery of Miramar in Mallorca in 1276, 40
 42 where Franciscans could study both Hebrew and Arabic. He went on in 1311 to petition 41
 43 the Pope’s help at the Council of Vienne at which two chairs each in Arabic, Hebrew, 42
 44 and Aramaic were ordered to be established at universities in Bologna, Oxford, Paris, 43
 44 Salamanca, and the Papal Court. On this history, see Sebastián Garcías Palou, *El Miramar* 44
de Ramon Llull (Palma de Mallorca, 1977), pp. 19–36.

1 Jordan, following directly in the tradition of Pope Gregory the Great.⁹ The writing of 1
 2 the Aragonese polyglot Raymond Martini (Ramon Marti, d. after 1284), well-known 2
 3 for its impressive manipulation of non-Christian sources, fits within this trend of 3
 4 Dominican attention to Hebrew and Arabic and, more importantly, within the larger 4
 5 process of the transformation of *auctoritas* that accompanied it. 5

6 This essay examines the evolution of Martini's approach to language over the 6
 7 course of his career as a Dominican from the 1250s to the 1280s, specifically looking 7
 8 at his use of translation, transliteration, and transcription as part of his understanding 8
 9 of "authentic" textual authorities.¹⁰ As Martini focused more exclusively on anti- 9
 10 Jewish rather than anti-Muslim polemic, languages and translation played an ever 10
 11 more important role in his writing. As language came to constitute an essential part 11
 12 of his polemical arsenal against Jews in a way that it had not in his anti-Muslim 12
 13 polemic, Martini grew more concerned with the imagined Jewish responses to 13
 14 his arguments. In response to this anxiety, he developed an increasingly careful 14
 15 and punctilious methodology that corresponded to his mounting anxiety over the 15
 16 authenticity of his sources. As his career progressed, Martini strove to approximate 16
 17 to what he saw as the most authentic and familiar form of his cited authorities, first 17
 18 through translation, then through transliteration, and finally through transcription 18
 19 of original languages and alphabets. I propose that Martini's use of language 19
 20 formed part of a new rhetoric of authenticity in Christian apologetics in which 20
 21 writers aimed to move ever closer to an elusive affirmation of theological identity 21
 22 through the terms of non-Christian difference. In this, the theological expression 22
 23 of Christian identity came to find its most apposite vocabulary in foreignness, and 23
 24 authority increasingly depended, in its justification of that identity, on an appeal to 24
 25 alterity. At the same time, a comparison of Martini's evolving use of sources shows 25
 26 how his appeal to authenticity was constantly in tension with his own interpretive 26
 27 choices in the process of transcribing and translating his sources. 27

28 Before looking at Martini's works, a word on terminology is in order. In this 28
 29 essay, "translation" is used to describe Martini's practice of interpreting and 29
 30 rewriting his source citations in a language other than the original (usually this 30
 31 meant translation from Hebrew or Arabic to Latin, but sometimes Hebrew and 31
 32 Arabic were also languages of translation). This practice is to be distinguished from 32
 33 "transliteration," in which Martini includes representations of sounds or phrases 33
 34 from Arabic or Hebrew sources in Latin characters (or in one case, Hebrew in Arabic 34
 35 characters). Both of these practices are distinguished here from "transcription" of 35
 36 original material in Hebrew and Arabic passages in their most common form (in the 36
 37 37

38 _____ 38
 39 ⁹ Peñafort stated in his highly influential *Summa de Paenitentia*, "Debent, sicut ait 39
 40 Gregorius, tam iudaei quam sarraceni auctoritatibus, rationibus et blandimentis, potius 40
 41 quam asperitatibus, ad fidem christianam de novo suscipiendam provocari" ["Jews as well 41
 42 as Muslims should, as Gregory (the Great) says, be provoked to take up ... the Christian 42
 43 faith with authorities, reasons, and blandishments rather than asperities"] (ed. Xaverio 43
 44 Ochoa and Aloisio Diez [Rome, 1976], p. 309). 44

¹⁰ See Bedos-Rezak, pp. 1061–3, for other examples of the same phenomenon.

1 Hebrew or Arabic alphabets). As we will see below, Martini makes use of all three 1
 2 techniques to varying degrees, often transcribing a passage in Hebrew or Arabic and 2
 3 then translating it into Latin (or translating a Hebrew passage into Hebrew), within 3
 4 which he sometimes intersperses examples of transliterated sounds or words. 4

5 Over the course of Martini's polemical career, which spanned the time between 5
 6 his entrance in the Dominican order (approximately in the late 1230s) until his death 6
 7 sometime after 1284, he composed a spate of polemical and apologetic works that 7
 8 included refutations of Judaism and Islam on the basis of non-Christian texts. His 8
 9 first works, *Explanatio simboli apostolorum* [*Explanation of the Apostles Creed*], 9
 10 composed around 1256/7, and *De Seta Machometi* [*On the Sect of Muḥammad*],¹¹ of 10
 11 unknown date but probably from the same period, draw in various places from the 11
 12 Qur'ān, *ḥadīth*, and Arabic philosophers such as Avicenna, al-Ghazālī, and Averroes. 12
 13 While the *Explanatio* principally contains an apologetic, theological discussion of 13
 14 the foundations of Christian belief into which Martini blended a polemical attack 14
 15 on Islam, the *De Seta* focuses exclusively on anti-Islamic argument and includes 15
 16 an *ad hominem* attack on Muḥammad and his status as prophet.¹² Martini is also 16
 17 often credited with a lengthy Arabic-Latin lexical list known as the *Vocabulista in* 17
 18 *Arabico*, probably composed in the same years, although this attribution continues 18
 19 to be debated and will not be considered in detail here.¹³ 19

20 Despite their different focuses, the *Explanatio* and the *De Seta* contain many 20
 21 similarities and even share some identical passages. Both aim their polemical 21
 22 apparatus against Islam rather than Judaism, making use of citations from Islamic 22
 23 sources to buttress their arguments. More importantly, however, both works cite 23
 24 Islamic sources in Latin translation only, and in some cases they notably change 24
 25 or abbreviate the original text. For example, if we compare the well-known "Light 25
 26 Verse" from the "Surah of Light" (Qur'ān 24:35) with the terse rendition of it in 26
 27 the *Explanatio*, we see how Martini reduces it almost beyond recognition, stating, 27
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30 ¹¹ J. March, "Ramon Martí y la seva *Explanatio simboli Apostolorum*," *Anuari de* 30
 31 *l'Institut d'Estudis Catalans* (1908): 443–96 at 462; and *De Seta Machometi o de origine,* 31
 32 *progressu, et fine Machometi et quadruplici reprobatione prophetiae eius*, ed. and trans. 32
 33 Josep Hernado i Delgado, *Acta historica et archaeologica medievalea* 4 (1983): 9–51. 33

34 ¹² This work repeats many of the Qur'ānic citations of the *Explanatio* and expands upon 34
 35 them, adding more references as well to the *Sīra*, an eighth-century work of biographical 35
 36 lore about Muḥammad by the author Ibn Ishāq, and the *ḥadīth* collections such as the *Ṣaḥīḥ* 36
 36 of al-Bukhārī and that of Muslim Ibn al-Ḥajjāj. 36

37 ¹³ On the *Vocabulista*, see the edition by Celestino Schiaparelli (Florence, 1871), and 37
 38 the studies by David Griffin, "Los Mozarabismos del "Vocabulista" atribuido a Ramón 38
 39 Martí," *Al-Andalus* 23 (1958): 251–338; 24 (1959): 85–124, 333–80; 25 (1960): 93–170; and 39
 40 Federico Corriente, *El léxico árabe andalusí según el "Vocabulista in Arabico"* (Madrid, 40
 41 1989); Federico Corriente, "Notas de lexicología hispanoárabe. I. Nuevos romancismos en 41
 42 Aben Quzmán y crítica de los propuestos. II. Los romancismos del 'Vocabulista in Arabico': 42
 43 addenda et corrigenda," *Vox Romanica* 39 (1980): 183–210; and Federico Corriente, "Notas 43
 44 de lexicología hispanoárabe. III. Los romancismos del Vocabulista. IV. Nuevos berberismos 44
 44 del hispanoárabe," *Awraq* 4 (1981): 5–30.

1 “Dicit in c. *Luminis*, quod Deus est lumen celorum et terre, et similitudo luminis 1
2 eius sicut lampas olei incensa lumine” [“It says in the chapter *Light*, that God 2
3 is the light of the heavens and earth, and the likeness of his light (is) like an oil 3
4 lamp flaming brightly”].¹⁴ As this passage continues, we see that Martini not only 4
5 condenses his sources but sometimes also alters the original sense in subtle but 5
6 significant ways. He continues (citing the “Surah of Abraham,” Qur’ān 14:25): 6
7 “Item in C. *Abraam*: Dicit Deus, secundum credulitatem eorum. Inducit Deus 7
8 similitudines hominibus ad hoc, ut recordentur” [“In the chapter *Abraham*: God, 8
9 according to their (mode of) belief, said, ‘God brings forth likenesses/similes to 9
10 humankind in this (context), in order that they may remember’”] (462).¹⁵ The 10
11 original text reads, by contrast, “Allah sets forth *parables* (*amthāl*) for men, 11
12 in order that they *be admonished / made to remember* (*yatadhakarūna*).” He 12
13 translates the ubiquitous Qur’ānic word *amthāl*, meaning in both places “parables” 13
14 or “analogies,” in its literal meaning as “similitudines” (“likenesses” or “similes”) 14
15 rather than “exempla” (as given in the *Vocabulista*) or “parabolae” (in the Gospels 15
16 and in the *Pugio*).¹⁶ Likewise, Martini’s literal rendering of the final verb removes 16
17 the explicitly admonitory sense of the verse by making men simply “remember” 17
18 rather than be “made to remember.” Although these changes seem slight, they shift 18
19 the focus of the verse to better fit Martini’s discussion of the Trinity according 19
20 to Augustine’s own image of the “analogy” (*similitudo*) of fire and its multiple 20
21 properties.¹⁷ Such changes are, in fact, part of a pattern of translation in Martini’s 21
22 early works, and may reflect the influence of the Arabic anti-Islamic polemic 22
23

24 ¹⁴ J. March, “Ramon Martí,” p. 462. 24
25 ¹⁵ The text reads “recondentur,” which is clearly a scribal error. 25
26 ¹⁶ In the *Vocabulista in Arabico* (which, even if we do not concede it is Martini’s 26
27 work, does shed light on contemporary usage and translation), *mathal/amthāl* are given as 27
28 “exemplum/exempla” and “proverbium/proverbia” (pp. 177 and 541). *Similitudo*, by contrast, 28
29 is the translation of *Shibh* (p. 123). For an example of medieval Arabic translation of the 29
30 Gospels, see Bernard Levin, *Die griechisch-arabische Evangelien-Übersetzung: Vat. Borg.* 30
31 *ar. 95 und Ber. orient. oct. 1108* (Uppsala, 1938). A very clear example of his translation of 31
32 *amthāl* as “parabolas” and not “similitudines” is found in his translation of a passage from 32
33 Maimonides’s *Guide of the Perplexed* (*Dalālat al-Ḥā’irīn*, text established by S. Munk, ed. 33
34 Issachar Joel [Jerusalem, 5691/1930–31]); trans. Schlomo Pines [Chicago, 1963]). He quotes 34
35 the passage from the prologue affirming that the “key” to the meaning of prophecy is “faḥṣ 35
36 al-amthāli wa-ma’nahā wa-ta’wīl alfāzihā” [“an understanding of the parables, of their import, 36
37 and of the meaning of the words occurring in them”] (*Dalālat*, p. 6; *Guide*, p. 10, all emphasis 37
38 mine). Martini translates this passage in the *Pugio* as “intelligere parabolas, atque metaphoras, 37
39 similitudines atque aenigmata” [“to understand parables and metaphors, likenesses and 38
40 enigmas”] (p. 427, emphasis mine). Here Martini first renders *amthāl* as “parabolas” and 39
41 only thirdly associates it with “similitudines.” Moreover, he immediately follows this with a 40
42 translation of Ezek. 17:2, translating the biblical word *maṣāl* (the exact equivalent of the Arabic 41
43 *mathal*) as “parabola.” Elsewhere in the *Pugio* (e.g., pp. 485, 505, 549, 552, etc.) he employs 42
43 “similitudo” to refer to God’s “likeness,” in which man was created, according to Gen. 1:26. 43
44 ¹⁷ Martini’s reference to Augustine in the *Explanatio* comes from his *Sermones ad* 44
Scripturam 117, *Patrologia Latina* 38, ed. Jacques-Paul Migne (Paris, 1844), cols 666–7.

1 known in Latin translation as the *Contrarietas Alfolica* and *Liber denudationis*.¹⁸ 1
2 More importantly, although relatively minor changes in themselves, these details 2
3 reflect a flexible approach to translation in Martini's early works that contrasts 3
4 sharply with his punctilious approach in his later anti-Jewish writing. 4
5 Despite the similarities and repetitions in the *Explanatio* and the *De Seta* 5
6 with regard to their sometimes loose approach to translation, there are important 6
7 differences between the two works that also hint at more significant tendencies that 7
8 develop in Martini's later writing and, because of this, might suggest that the *De Seta* 8
9 was composed after the *Explanatio*. Because the *De Seta* is explicitly polemical, 9
10 whereas the *Explanatio* blends its polemical attack with apologetic explanations of 10
11 Christian belief, *De Seta* cites much more material from non-Christian sources (more 11
12 than twice as many citations as the *Explanatio*), including more references to *ḥadīth* 12
13 as well as citations from Ibn Iṣḥāq's biographical work on Muḥammad, preserved 13
14 in the rendition of Ibn Hishām, the *Sīrat Rasūl Allāh*. Although Martini implicitly 14
15 characterizes Islamic sources as *auctoritates* in the *Explanatio*, this characterization 15
16 becomes explicit in the *De Seta*. In the former, he claims that the incorrupt nature of 16
17 both biblical Testaments can be proven "per auctoritates" [by authorities],¹⁹ among 17
18 which he includes the citations from the Qur'ān, and this implicit characterization 18
19 is also found in the *De Seta* when Martini repeats this passage (52). In the *De Seta*, 19
20 however, he goes one step further and specifically names one citation from the 20
21 Qur'ān as an *auctoritas* (40). This characterization is significant because in his later 21
22 works he does not hesitate to designate his non-Christian sources as *auctoritates*, 22
23 a clear departure from the less explicit language of the *Explanatio*. Along with this 23
24 move to characterize non-Christian sources as *auctoritates*, Martini demonstrates 24
25 an increasing need to show his mastery of those sources by citing more widely from 25
26 them and representing their language more carefully. 26
27 This shift is evident in the way Martini gives the titles of his sources in the 27
28 *Explanatio* as compared with the *De Seta*. When a book of Qur'ān or *ḥadīth* is 28
29 named in the former, there is no explanation of its translation. In the *De Seta*, by 29
30 contrast, Martini regularly follows the title with a brief, explanatory translation. For 30
31 example, in the passage shared by both texts, the book titles are sometimes translated 31
32 and sometimes just transliterated, but no translation is given for the transliteration.²⁰ 32
33 _____ 33
34 ¹⁸ We can find another example of his subtle changes to the Qur'ānic text in his 34
35 translations in his citation of 93:6–7, "Did [God] not ... find you [Muḥammad] astray and 35
36 direct you?" In the *De Seta*, Martini makes an important addition to the text, stating, "Deus 36
37 invenit Machometum erroneum, id est in errore legis Dei et direxit eum" ["God found 37
38 Muḥammad errant, that is, in error (concerning) the law of God, and directed him"] (p. 20). 38
39 Here, Martini not only turns a question into a statement but also adds in the commentary 39
40 explaining "errant" as in error over God's law, placing extra emphasis on Muḥammad's 40
41 alleged "error." Thomas Burman, *Reading the Qur'ān in Latin Christendom, 1140–1560* 41
42 (Philadelphia, 2007), has noted that both the *Explanatio* and the *De Seta* show the influence 42
43 of the *Liber denudationis*, possibly in its original Arabic form (pp. 47–9). 43
44 ¹⁹ March, p. 452. 44
²⁰ March, p. 454; and Martini, *De Seta*, pp. 54–6.

1 In various other citations from Arabic sources in the *De Seta*, by contrast, names 1
 2 are transliterated and then translated. For example, the text introduces its citations 2
 3 with statements such as, “Secundum quod legitur in libro qui vocatur *Ciar*, id est, 3
 4 *Actus Machometi* ...” [“According to what is read in the book called *Siyār*, that is, 4
 5 *The Acts of Muḥammad* ...”] (18); or “Dixit in *Alcorano*, in tractatu *Raharim* [*sic*], 5
 6 id est, *Prohibitionis* ... item ... in tractatu *Zaf* ... id est, *Ordinis* ...” [“It says in the 6
 7 Qur’ān, in the tract *al-Taḥrīm*, that is, *The Prohibition* ... also ... in the tract *al-Ṣaff* 7
 8 (The Row/Rank), that is, *The Order* ...”] (26, and see also 30).²¹ 8

9 Although these added details of transliteration within the translation also seem 9
 10 trivial, they intimate the first glimpse of what will become a much more common 10
 11 practice in Martini’s subsequent polemical works. Understood as part of a trajectory 11
 12 of development toward more precise use of original language sources, these 12
 13 differences point to an increased need to supplement his translations with more 13
 14 untranslated material and also suggest that the *De Seta* was composed later than 14
 15 the *Explanatio*. Between the two texts, Martini begins to focus on what will be a 15
 16 central concern of his later writing: how to characterize the authority of his sources 16
 17 and, more importantly, how to represent that authority in the most “authentic” 17
 18 form. As we have already seen through his burgeoning use of transliteration, the 18
 19 keynote of that evocation of authenticity is the representation of language. 19

20 The *Explanatio* and the *De Seta*, and possibly the *Vocabulista* lexicon, represent 20
 21 the output of an early stage in Martini’s career. A second stage begins in 1267 21
 22 with the anti-Jewish *Capistrum Iudaeorum* [*Muzzle for the Jews*]²² and culminates 22
 23 11 years later with Martini’s largest and best-known work, the *Pugio Fidei* [*The* 23
 24 *Dagger of Faith*],²³ an enormous polemical tome, amounting to more than 700 24
 25 pages in the two seventeenth-century editions.²⁴ In both works, Martini virtually 25
 26 abandons his former polemic with Islam and devotes himself to a refutation of 26

27
 28
 29 ²¹ Burman has observed the importance of these translations of the titles of Qur’ānic 29
 30 books, noting that Martini, like his contemporary Dominican Riccoldo da Monte Croce, did 30
 31 not follow the idiosyncratic reorganization of the books found in the Qur’ān translation of 31
 32 Robert of Ketton (p. 97). 32

33 ²² *Capistrum Iudaeorum*, ed. and trans. Adolfo Robles Sierra (2 vols, Würzburg, 1990). 33

34 ²³ *Pugio fidei adversus Mauros et Iudaeos* (Paris, 1651; Leipzig, 1687; Leipzig ed. 34
 repr. Farnborough, UK, 1967). References here are to the 1687 edition. 34

35 ²⁴ A succinct analysis of the *Capistrum* can be found in Jeremy Cohen, “The *Capistrum* 35
 36 *Iudeorum* of Raymundus Martini [Hebrew],” in Ezra Fleischer et al. (eds), *Me’ah Še’arim:* 36
 37 *Studies in Medieval Jewish Spiritual Life in Memory of Isadore Twersky* (Jerusalem, 2001), 37
 38 pp. 279–96; and Jeremy Cohen, *Living Letters of the Law. Ideas of the Jew in Medieval* 38
 39 *Christianity* (Berkeley, 1999), pp. 342–58. A fuller analysis can be found in Ursula Ragacs, 39
 40 “Mit Zaum und Zügel muss man ihr Ungestüm bändigen.” *Ps 32, 9: Ein Beitrag zur* 40
 41 *christlichen Hebraistik und antijüdischen Polemik im Mittelalter* (Frankfurt am Main and 41
 42 New York, 1997). On the *Pugio*, see Jeremy Cohen, *The Friars and the Jews: The Evolution* 42
 43 *of Medieval Anti-Judaism* (Ithaca, 1982), pp. 136–69; and Robert Chazan, *Daggers of Faith:* 43
 44 *Thirteenth-Century Missionizing and Jewish Response* (Berkeley, 1989), pp. 115–37. For an 44
 overview of the manuscripts and editions of the *Pugio*, see Ryan Szpiech, “Citas árabes en

1 Judaism on the basis of biblical, post-biblical, Talmudic, and midrashic sources. 1
2 Insofar as we can associate Raymond Martini with Raymond of Peñafort, we 2
3 can date the beginning of this turn to Judaism around the time of the Disputation 3
4 of Barcelona in 1263. We can situate Martini's focus on Judaism among other 4
5 Dominican efforts in the decade after the Disputation, such as the harangue of 5
6 Friar Paul Christiani, the Christian protagonist at Barcelona, in Paris in 1272.²⁵ As 6
7 Martini states in the opening lines to the *Pugio fidei*, "Nulla pestis sit efficacior 7
8 ad nocendum quam familiaris inimicus. Nullus autem inimicus Christianae fidei 8
9 magis sit familiaris, magisque nobis inevitabilis, quam Iudaeus" ["No plague may 9
10 be more effective at harming than a familiar enemy. No enemy, moreover, may be 10
11 more familiar to the Christian faith, or more ineluctable for us, than the Jew"] (2). 11
12 In Martini's turn to anti-Jewish writing, his engagement with primary source 12
13 materials intensifies dramatically, and with it, the task of translation becomes more 13
14 than just a window into the sources of his adversaries—it becomes the weapon 14
15 of his own rhetorical self-justification and his primary tool in polemical assault. 15
16 As language became a more central issue in his argumentation, his attention to 16
17 the details of the original text increased and his efforts to show his understanding 17
18 and mastery of such details became more patent. The focusing of his attention on 18
19 the original language of his sources is especially clear if we compare his citation 19
20 of the same text in different works. Although the *Capistrum* is an anti-Jewish 20
21 work, Martini cites a number of primary Arabic sources in translation and repeats 21
22 a few of the same Qur'ān passages previously cited in the *Explanatio* and *De Seta*. 22
23 For example, we can compare his citation of Qur'ān 4:171 in the *De Seta* and the 23
24 *Capistrum*. The original text in Arabic can be translated, "The Messiah Jesus, son 24
25 of Mary, is the messenger of God and [is] his word, which he put into Mary, and 25
26 [is] a spirit from Him." In the *De Seta*, the citation reads, "Christus est verbum Dei 26
27 quod Deus posuit in Mariam et est Spiritus ex eo" ["Christ is the word of God which 27
28 God put in Mary and which is a Spirit from him"] (24). The *Capistrum*, by contrast, 28
29 reads, "Messias est Ijce ibnu Maryam, id est Iesus filius Mariae, nuntius Dei, et 29
30 verbum eius quod deposuit apud Maryam, et spiritus de ipso" ["The Messiah is 'Īsā 30
31 ibn Maryam, that is Jesus son of Mary, messenger of God, and is his word which 31
32 he put into Mary, and a spirit from him"] (1:254). This rendering is more accurate, 32
33 changing "posuit," "he put," as in the *De Seta*, into "deposuit," "he deposited or 33
34 gave to," thus more accurately rendering the Arabic "alqāhā," "He put or said it 34
35 forth." It is also more complete, adding back the detail that the Messiah is "rasūl 35
36 Allāh," God's messenger. Perhaps most importantly, Martini makes an attempt in 36
37 the *Capistrum*, albeit a feeble one, at transliteration by giving the name of Jesus 37
38 phonetically as it is in the Qur'ānic text, "'Īsā ibnu Maryama." 38
39 39
40 _____ 40
41 caracteres hebreos en el *Pugio fidei* del dominico Ramón Martí: entre la autenticidad y la 41
42 autoridad," in *Al-Qanṭara: Revista de estudios árabes* 32.1 (2011): 71–107. 42
43 ²⁵ For the Hebrew account of this debate, see Joseph Shatzmiller (ed.), *La deuxième* 43
44 *controverse de Paris: un chapitre dans la polémique entre chrétiens et juifs au Moyen Âge* 44
(Paris, 1994).

1 This difference is indicative of a larger shift in the *Capistrum* in which Martini 1
 2 cites widely from the Babylonian Talmud and major exegetical midrashim, and 2
 3 in many passages intersperses transliteration of Hebrew and Aramaic with Latin 3
 4 translation. In one example found within his calculations concerning the prophecy 4
 5 within the book of Daniel, he cites a Talmudic passage to support his understanding of 5
 6 the Hebrew words for day and year: “Legitur in Massekhta Ros hasanah in principio 6
 7 ... Wyom ehad hassanah id est dies unus in anno asah snah, id es computatur annus” 7
 8 [“It reads in the beginning of the Tractate *Rosh Ha-Shanah* ... *we-yom ehad ha-šanah*, 8
 9 that is, the first day of the year, ‘*asah šanah*, that is, is calculated as a year”] (1:172).²⁶ 9
 10 In this very simple example, we see that he has moved from a transliteration of the 10
 11 title only to a transliteration of both title and text within his translation. While some 11
 12 of his attempts at transliteration in the *Capistrum* are simple and alternate coherently 12
 13 between original and translation, others involve a dense and sometimes confusing 13
 14 combination of transliteration, translation, and commentary, such as his citation of 14
 15 the gloss of French exegete Solomon ben Isaac (Rashi), on Isaiah 5:15, in which 15
 16 Rashi cites the Aramaic translation *Targum Jonathan* (2:264). In this and numerous 16
 17 other passages, Martini’s text ends up being a garbled combination of transliteration 17
 18 of Hebrew texts and of Aramaic translations from the *Targumim* found within those, 18
 19 all layered on top of his own translations, within which he inserts his own polemical 19
 20 remarks. Among the hundred-odd citations of Talmud and midrash in the *Capistrum*, 20
 21 not to mention the hundreds more from the Hebrew Bible itself, there are dozens of 21
 22 passages that go beyond translation and attempt to evoke the original in this clumsy 22
 23 way by means of interspersed and ever more abundant transliteration. Although the 23
 24 results most often muddle rather than clarify the meaning of the original text, they 24
 25 point to his increasing attention to the language of his citations and his growing 25
 26 dissatisfaction with mere translation into Latin. 26

27 This tendency toward increasing use of original languages in Martini’s work 27
 28 reaches its most developed form in his magnum opus, the *Pugio Fidei*. On the 28
 29 basis of more than 2,000 citations from the Hebrew Bible, as well as hundreds 29
 30 of post-biblical textual *auctoritates* drawn from a dizzying plethora of sources 30
 31 including both Talmuds, most major halakhic and aggadic midrashim, and dozens 31
 32 of works of commentary and philosophy from Jewish tradition, Martini concludes 32
 33 that rabbinical traditions themselves support the notion of Christianity as the New 33
 34 Israel in history.²⁷ (For the cover page and frontispiece of the 1687 Leipzig edition, 34
 35

36 ²⁶ The original Talmudic passage from BT Rosh ha-Shanah 2b reads: “we-yom ehad 36
 37 *ba-šanah hašuv šanah*” (my emphasis). In citing from the edition of Robles Sierra, I have 37
 38 not copied his additions of diacritical marks into the edited text, but have added my own 38
 39 transliteration in the English translation. 39

40 ²⁷ For an index of Martini’s citations from Hebrew texts, see Ch. Merchavia, “Pugio 40
 41 *Fidei*—An Index of Citations” [Hebrew], in *Galut aḥar Golah* (Jerusalem, 1988), pp. 203–34. 41
 42 On Martini’s other sources, see Gorge Hasselhoff, “Some Remarks on Raymond Martini’s 42
 43 (c. 1215/30–c. 1284/85) Use of Maimonides,” *Trumah* 12 (2002): 133–48; and Philippe 43
 44 Bobichon, “La ‘bibliothèque’ de Raymond Martin au couvent Sainte-Catherine de 44
 Barcelone: sources antiques et chrétiennes du *Pugio fidei* (ca. 1278)” (forthcoming).

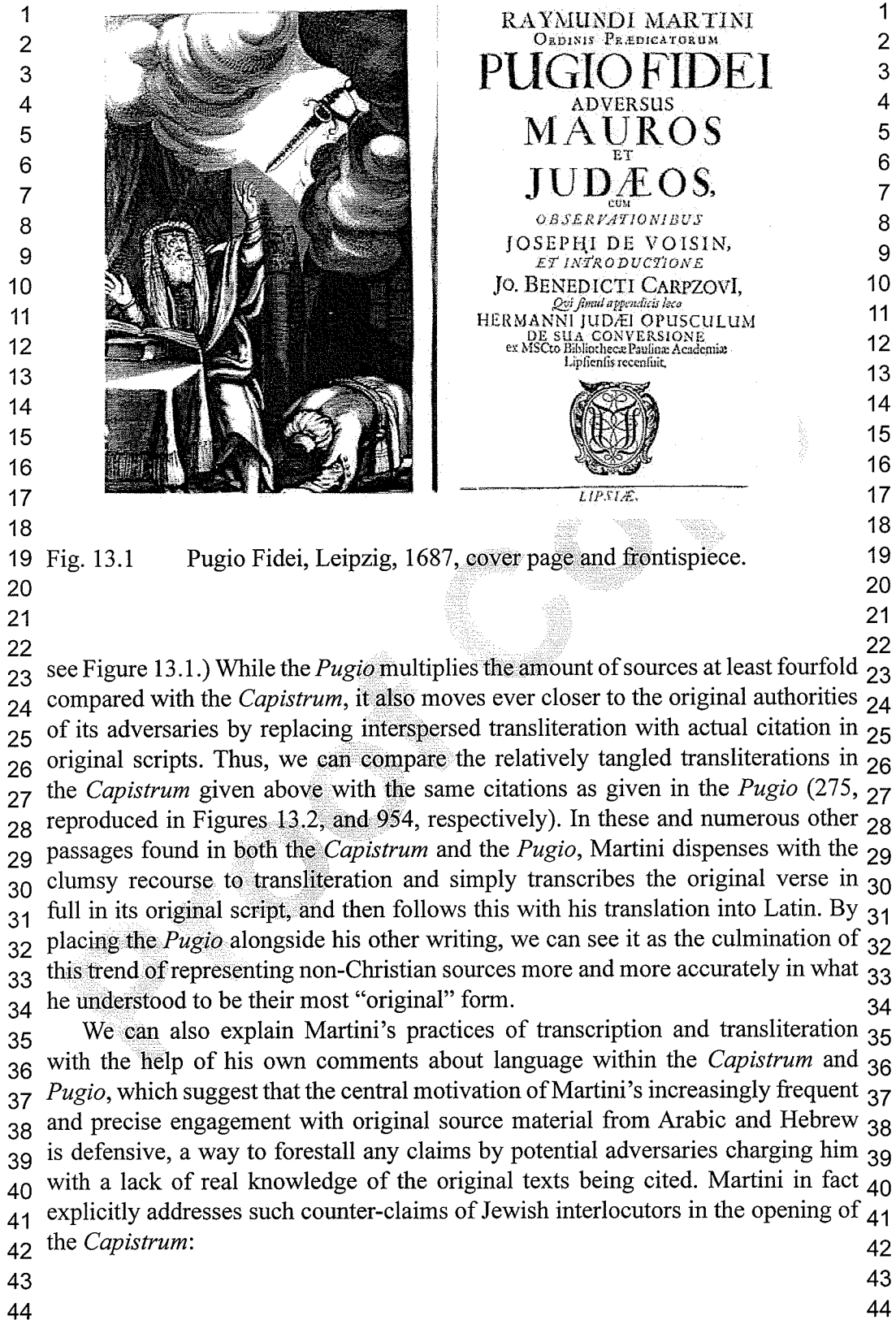


Fig. 13.1 Pugio Fidei, Leipzig, 1687, cover page and frontispiece.

see Figure 13.1.) While the *Pugio* multiplies the amount of sources at least fourfold compared with the *Capistrum*, it also moves ever closer to the original authorities of its adversaries by replacing interspersed transliteration with actual citation in original scripts. Thus, we can compare the relatively tangled transliterations in the *Capistrum* given above with the same citations as given in the *Pugio* (275, reproduced in Figures 13.2, and 954, respectively). In these and numerous other passages found in both the *Capistrum* and the *Pugio*, Martini dispenses with the clumsy recourse to transliteration and simply transcribes the original verse in full in its original script, and then follows this with his translation into Latin. By placing the *Pugio* alongside his other writing, we can see it as the culmination of this trend of representing non-Christian sources more and more accurately in what he understood to be their most “original” form.

We can also explain Martini’s practices of transcription and transliteration with the help of his own comments about language within the *Capistrum* and *Pugio*, which suggest that the central motivation of Martini’s increasingly frequent and precise engagement with original source material from Arabic and Hebrew is defensive, a way to forestall any claims by potential adversaries charging him with a lack of real knowledge of the original texts being cited. Martini in fact explicitly addresses such counter-claims of Jewish interlocutors in the opening of the *Capistrum*:

SECUNDA PARS. CAP. III. 275

ipfe annus est decimus nonus Regis Nebucadnezar... iuxta Babylonis, venit Nabufar-Adan princeps cocorum, fideique coram rege Babelin... Mar dixit, Dies unus in anno computatur quandoque pro anno.

Nec obstat quod primus annus imperfectus est; moris etenim Scripturae sacrae docet Talmud fuisse, non solum septem menses, absque decem diebus, quos annus iste habuit, sed etiam diem unum pro anno quandoque ponere, ut in mallechet Resht basibanab in capite Arka rasfhe Sebanim...

Additaque istis xxvii. annis, quibus Nabuchodonosor post destructionem templi regnasse probatum est viginti tres, quibus regnavit Evilmerodach filius eius, ut supra... M. & D. in propinquiori s. secundum, rei.

VIII. Ceterum satis videtur quod Iudaei, ut vulgo dicitur, si orbum invenirent, fraudulenter comederent cum ipso ficus: quemadmodum enim praefatos viii. annos in oculis hominum insensibiliter surripere nentur; ita quoque de xxx. annis quibus regnavit Cyrus, furim nobis xxvii. subtrahere moliantur: a sed cum Josephus Iudaeus coram historiographis, quem ipsi... M. & D. in propinquiori s. secundum, rei.

Quod vero Cyrus regnavit xxx. annis, ut ab omnibus his dictum est, patet ex eo, quod dicit Josephon abbreviator Josephi in hunc modum... M. & D. in propinquiori s. secundum, rei.

Fig. 13.2 Pugio Fidei, Leipzig, 1687, p. 275.

Duobus autem modis Iudaei circa textum veritatem impugnant, vel subterfugiant, vel suam contra eum ingerunt falsitatem, scilicet, vel dicendo non sic haberi in Hebraeo... vel si forte textum concesserint, dicendo non sic debere intelligi, vel exponi. Auctoritates igitur istas, cum Dei auxilio, verbum ex verbo transferam, et concordias quandoque atque verborum expositionem rabinorum suorum ponam interius, vel exterius, in margine contra primum. Contra secundum vero, collegi in Talmud, et ex aliis libris authenticis apud eos, quaedam dicta magistrorum suorum antiquorum inducentium vel exponentium auctoritates huiusmodi... quae quidem, vel interseram, vel in margine ponam, eadem similiter verbum ex verbo sicut expressius fieri poterit transferendo.

1 [There are two ways that the Jews impugn the accuracy of a text, either by using 1
2 subterfuge or by introducing their own false ideas against it, namely, by saying 2
3 that it is not thus in Hebrew ... or if they concede the text (is thus), by saying that 3
4 it should not be understood or explained thus. With the help of God, therefore, I 4
5 will translate these authorities word for word, and, against the first (point), I will 5
6 sometimes put the commentary on the words of their Rabbis within (my text) 6
7 or outside it in the margin. Against the second (point), I have collected from the 7
8 Talmud and from other books held to be authentic among them certain sayings 8
9 of their ancient teachers who adduce or expound authorities of this type ... like 9
10 these which I will intersperse (in the body of the text) or put in the margin, 10
11 translating them, word for word to the degree possible, in like manner ...] (1:54) 11

12 It is striking that Martini explicitly addresses his use not only of translation and 12
13 placement of the citations (and transliterated passages) but also of the original, 13
14 transcribed language of his sources. As he says, the language itself, not the 14
15 understanding of the polemicist who cites it, is an effective response to the 15
16 counter-arguments of Jews in debate. To counter such alleged Jewish “tricks” 16
17 (“dolos”), “optimum erit si istud opusculum non solum in Latino, sed etiam in 17
18 Hebraeo, et scientia legendi, etsi non intelligendi Hebraicum habeatur” [“It will 18
19 be best if this treatise (be written) not only in Latin, but also in Hebrew, and that 19
20 one have the knowledge of reading Hebrew, even if he cannot understand it”] 20
21 (1:56). Martini thus specifically addresses the role of original language in his 21
22 polemical argumentation, noting that it is a specific technique for responding to 22
23 Jewish ripostes to Christian arguments. He here not only names his post-biblical 23
24 sources as *auctoritates* and specifies that they come *ex libris authenticis apud eos*; 24
25 he also specifically addresses the problem posed by their “authentic” perspective 25
26 of doubt by advocating for both careful, literal (“word-for-word”) translations and 26
27 he recognizes for the first time in his writing the importance of original languages. 27
28 His distinction between the ability to “read” and “understand” Hebrew—that is, 28
29 between knowing how to read a citation out loud and knowing what that citation 29
30 actually says—points to his increasing belief that the cited authorities themselves— 30
31 and their authentic form as transcribed by him in the original languages—are more 31
32 important for a polemical argument than the interpretation or commentary of the 32
33 polemicist. Just as the evolution of his own textual practice suggests, Martini 33
34 understood polemical conflict to be as much a war of words—including their 34
35 sounds and shapes—as one of arguments and ideas. 35

36 The *Capistrum* is not, however, written in Hebrew, but in Latin, and shows that 36
37 Martini clearly felt the need to continue developing his approach in the *Pugio* by 37
38 supplanting transliteration with full transcription of original texts. In the prologue 38
39 to the work, he specifically addresses the need for even more precise translations: 39
40
41 Caeterum inducendo auctoritatem textus ubicumque ab Hebraico fuerit 41
42 desumptum, non septuaginta sequar, nec interpretem alium; et quod maioris 42
43 praesumptionis videbitur, non ipsum etiam in hoc reverebor Hieronymum, nec 43
44 tolerabilem linguae Latinae vitabo improprietatem, ut eorum quae apud Hebraeos 44

1 sunt, ex verbo in verbum, quotiescumque servari hoc poterit,²⁸ transferam 1
 2 veritatem. Per hoc enim Iudaeis falsiloquis lata valde spatiosaque subterfugiendi 2
 3 praeccludetur via; et minime poterunt dicere, non sic haberi apud eos. 3
 4 [Furthermore, in bringing forth the authority of the text, whenever the Hebrew 4
 5 text will be taken up, I will not follow the Septuagint or any other (translation). 5
 6 What will seem even more presumptuous, I will not revere Jerome in this, nor 6
 7 will I avoid the improper use, within tolerable limits, of the Latin language, 7
 8 so that, as often as possible, I will translate the truth, word for word, of those 8
 9 (passages) found in the Hebrew. In this way, the wide and spacious way of 9
 10 subterfuge is precluded to the false-speaking Jews. Hardly will they be able to 10
 11 say that (the text) is not thus among them.] (4) 11

12 Although his biblical citations in Latin do show constant intersection with the 12
 13 Latin Vulgate, they do not, as the text itself implies, adhere only to it. In fact, 13
 14 it regularly deviates in syntax and word order, seemingly in an effort to better 14
 15 render the original Hebrew text.²⁹ As Martini's remarks in both the *Capistrum* and 15
 16 the *Pugio* make manifest, Martini came to see the original language of his proof 16
 17 texts as the most effective response to dissenting arguments in polemical debates 17
 18 with Jews. Although his statements do not prove that Martini's primary focus 18
 19 was, as Chazan and others have affirmed, on "missionizing" rather than a kind 19
 20 of inward-looking apologetic writing that posits an imaginary Jewish reader or 20
 21 listener in purely formulaic terms,³⁰ nevertheless, his focus is increasingly on what 21
 22 he describes as "apud eos authenticus," "authentic among them" (*Pugio* 2, and 22
 23 see also 510, 808, and 859), a virtue interpreted not only in terms of content but 23
 24 also in terms of form.³¹ This focus is in line with the trajectory of use of his source 24

25 _____ 25
 26 _____ 26
 27 ²⁸ Consultation with the earliest manuscripts and consideration of the sense of this 27
 28 passage has led me to emend the Leipzig edition to read "poterit" not "potuit." See also the 28
 29 abbreviation in Adriano Cappelli, *Lexicon abbreviatarum: Dizionario di abbreviature* 29
 30 *latine ed italiane* (Milan, 1979), p. 283, and the marginal note in *Pugio*, p. 4. 30

31 ²⁹ To get an accurate sense of Martini's use of the Vulgate, one must avoid comparison 31
 32 with the seventeenth-century editions, which seem to insert changes back into the text, and 32
 33 instead compare directly with the Sainte-Geneviève manuscript. To give just one example 33
 34 of a change by Martini, we can quote Martini's citation of Proverbs 23:29, which begins, 34
 35 "Who has woe? Who has sorrow?" [*Le-mi 'oi, le-mi 'avoi*, which might be freely translated 35
 36 as "Who has 'alas'? Who has 'alack'?"]. Many medieval Latin versions interpret *'avoi* 36
 37 as a conflation of *'av* [father] and *'oi*, and thus mistranslate this verse as "cui vae cuius 37
 38 patri vae" ["To whom woe? To whose father woe?"]. Martini avoids this distorted reading, 37
 38 translating the text more carefully as "Cui vae cui heu" ["Who has 'woe'? Who has 'oh'?"]. 38
 39 See Sainte-Geneviève MS 1405, f. 8r and cf. Leipzig ed. *Pugio*, p. 199. 39

40 ³⁰ Chazan, p. 115. 40

41 ³¹ On the question of Martini's commitment to "missionizing," see Harvey Hames, 41
 42 "Reason and Faith: Inter-Religious Polemic and Christian Identity in the Thirteenth 42
 43 Century," in Yossef Schwartz and Volkhard Krec (eds), *Religious Apologetics—* 43
 44 *Philosophical Argumentation* (Tübingen, 2004), pp. 267–84; and the recent critique of 44
 Vose. For a discussion of the passages cited above, see Cohen, *Living Letters*, pp. 343–4.

1 material over the course of his career, and his increasing use of transliteration as 1
 2 a supplement to mere translation, and then of transcription as a supplement to 2
 3 transliteration, can be understood within this context. 3
 4 Martini's evolution from rough translation to translation interspersed 4
 5 with transliteration to full transcription led him to make a number of difficult 5
 6 choices about the meaning of "authentic" language in the *Pugio*. For example, 6
 7 although the bulk of Martini's citations in the *Pugio* are from Hebrew sources— 7
 8 considering the Bible alone, Martini cites the New Testament around 150 times, 8
 9 but cites the Hebrew Bible more than 2,300 times—nevertheless, he includes 9
 10 a few citations from the New Testament in which he includes both the Latin 10
 11 Vulgate and a Hebrew translation.³² Even more curious are Martini's Arabic 11
 12 citations of the Qur'ān in the *Pugio*. In the anti-Muslim polemics of the twelfth 12
 13 and thirteenth centuries, including Martini's own *Explanatio* and *De Seta*, it 13
 14 was commonplace to point to Muslim beliefs concerning Jesus and Mary in 14
 15 arguments against Islam. In the growth of anti-Jewish writing starting at the end 15
 16 of the thirteenth century, this attack on Muslim ideas took a strange turn and 16
 17 became, for a short period, part of an appeal to Islamic sources as support for 17
 18 Christian arguments made against Jews. The result is that in Martini's *Pugio*, 18
 19 there appear in parts 2 and 3—the anti-Jewish sections of the text—a handful 19
 20 of citations of the Qur'ān and *ḥadīth* traditions concerning Jesus and Mary. 20
 21 Although these had been previously cited in the *De Seta* against Islam, they 21
 22 are here given as pro-Christian authorities against the Jews.³³ In the citations 22
 23 in part 2 (*Pugio*, pp. 365–6; cf. Sainte-Geneviève MS 1405, f. 65v), he gives 23
 24 only the Latin translation. In the citations in part 3 of the text, however, he 24
 25 gives both the Latin translations and the Arabic original. Even more curiously, 25
 26 in part 3 he does not give these Arabic citations—the only Arabic citations, 26
 27 apart from a single Judeo-Arabic citation from Maimonides (*Pugio* 565), 27
 28 in his entire corpus of writing—in Arabic script, but transliterates them into 28
 29 _____ 29
 30 _____ 30
 31 ³² The examples I have found in the Leipzig edition of the *Pugio* include pp. 772, 31
 32 776, 818, and 825 (also in the manuscript sources), two more examples in the Paris edition, 32
 33 and I have found three other examples in the manuscripts not in either print edition, e.g., 33
 34 Sainte-Geneviève MS 1405, ff. 281r, 282v, and 300r, Coimbra MS 720, ff. 230r (seen in 34
 35 Figure 13.3), 231r, and 242v, and Salamanca, Biblioteca Universitaria MS 2352, ff. 216v, 35
 36 217v, 231r (partly corresponding to Latin passages on 749 and 751 of the print edition). 36
 37 For a full study of these Hebrew citations, see Ryan Szpiech, "The Aura of an Alphabet: 37
 38 Interpreting the Hebrew Gospels in Ramon Martí's *Dagger of Faith* (1278)" (forthcoming). 37
 39 On the differences between the Sainte-Geneviève manuscript and the Leipzig print edition, 38
 39 see Ch. Merchavia, "The Hebrew Version of the 'Pugio Fidei' in the Sainte-Geneviève 39
 40 Manuscript," [Hebrew] *Kiryat Sefer* 51 (1976): 283–8. 40
 41 ³³ Martini repeats a citation used in the *De Seta* from Qur'ān 3:42: "Item quod dixit 41
 42 in Alcorano, in tractatu Abram, quod Deus preelegit et sanctificavit et preelegit beatam 42
 43 mariam super mulieres seculorum" ["Also it says in the Qur'ān, in the book Abraham, that 43
 44 God chose and sanctified and chose the blessed Mary above the women of the world"] 44
 (*De Seta*, 24 and cf. *Pugio*, 750).

1 Hebrew characters with Tiberian vocalization.³⁴ Folio 230v from Coimbra, 1
 2 Biblioteca Geral da Universidade, MS 720, one of three medieval manuscripts 2
 3 containing an example of both the Hebrew translation of the New Testament 3
 4 (Lk. 1:47–8) as well as the transliteration of the Qur’ān into Hebrew characters 4
 5 (but lacking the vocalization), is reproduced in Figure 13.3. 5

6 What sense can we make of these two final examples of translation and 6
 7 transliteration, especially in light of our argument that Martini’s language use 7
 8 reflects his polemical strategy of establishing the authority of his text through his 8
 9 appeal to authenticity? From a literal perspective, neither the Hebrew translations 9
 10 of the New Testament nor the Arabic passages from the Qur’ān transliterated into 10
 11 Hebrew characters represents the most “original” or “authentic” forms of these 11
 12 texts. Nevertheless, both examples do provide examples of Martini’s philosophy 12
 13 of language in the context of his polemical project. In marshaling Arabic 13
 14 authorities against Jews, he chose to give them not in the form most authentic 14
 15 to Muslims, but in that form in which an Arabic-speaking Jew might approach 15
 16 the Qur’ān. Similarly, in offering citations of the New Testament, he conceded 16
 17 more authority to his citations as *auctoritates* by putting them on par with those 17
 18 Hebrew proof texts “authentic among them.” At the same time, the transliteration 18
 19 of the Qur’ān into Hebrew characters might represent an attempt to approximate 19
 20 (in legible, Hebrew letters) a phonetic rendering of the text as it might sound when 20
 21 read aloud. The presence of what look like pronunciation marks in the Sainte- 21
 22 Geneviève manuscript (the *atnah*, *meteg*, and the *sof pasuq*, for example) in both 22
 23 the Hebrew Gospels passages and in the Qur’ān in Hebrew characters offers further 23
 24 support to this interpretation. Equally notable is that Martini even includes some 24
 25 of the original Arabic text—the same text already given in Hebrew characters on 25
 26 the right side of the folio—in *transliterated* form within the Latin translation on 26
 27 the left side, further suggesting the importance of representing the sound of the 27
 28 original text, even within the translation itself.³⁵ 28

29
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 31
 32 ³⁴ The vocalization is not present in Coimbra MS 720, but is only present in Sainte- 32
 33 Geneviève MS 1405 and in the initial lines of Salamanca, Biblioteca Universitaria MS 33
 34 2352. Despite the fact that the Arabic text in Hebrew characters is found in these three 34
 35 manuscript sources as well as the print edition, it has gone virtually undetected by scholars 35
 36 of Martini’s work. It should be noted that these passages do not constitute an example of 36
 37 what is commonly termed “Judeo-Arabic”—a Middle Arabic register or dialect, usually 37
 38 (Qur’ānic) Arabic transliterated into Hebrew letters. For an edition, translation, and study 38
 39 of both the Arabic citations and the Latin translation, as well as the Latin citations given in 39
 40 part 2 of the *Pugio*, see Szpiech, “Citas árabes.” 40

41 ³⁵ The transliterated section, not reproduced in the printed editions but present in 41
 42 various manuscripts, reads “erat ipsa *min alqanitín* id est de illis quae amant silencium” 42
 43 [“She (i.e., Mary) was *min al-qānitīn*, that is, from among those who love silence”]. See 43
 44 Sainte-Geneviève MS 1405, f. 281v, Coimbra MS 720, f. 230v, and Salamanca, Biblioteca 44
 45 Universitaria MS 2352, f. 217r.

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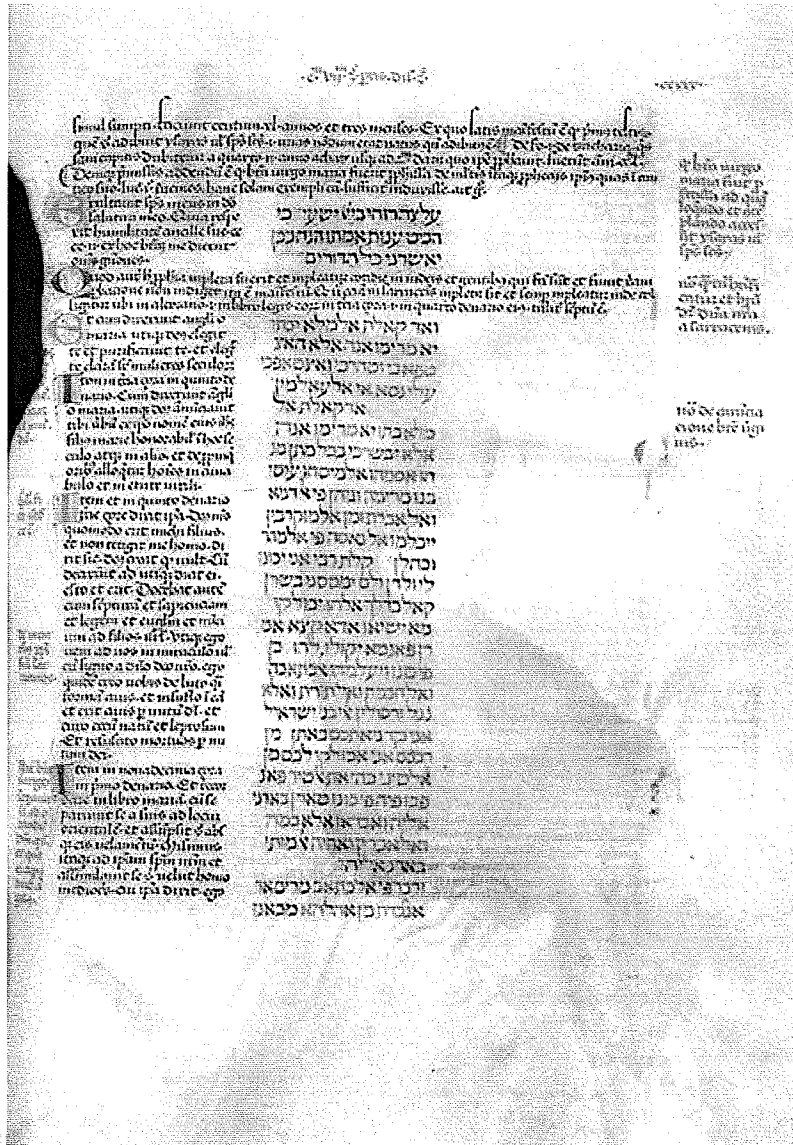


Fig. 13.3 Coimbra, Biblioteca Geral da Universidade, MS 720, f. 230r.

As with these peculiar citations of the Qur'an in Hebrew characters and the New Testament in Hebrew translation, so his citations throughout the *Pugio* are guided by a conception of authenticity that is represented not as an abstract linguistic display, but as an *experience* of an imagined Jewish interlocutor of original Scriptures in seemingly "original" scripts. In his translations, he displays his mastery of the original text. In his transliterations into Latin script, he tries to make the sounds of the original available to Christian readers who might read them aloud to Jews, even if they do not understand them. In his transcriptions, he puts the text itself on display as a proof in service of his Christian polemical argument.

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1 In his translation of Latin into Hebrew and his transliteration of Arabic text 1
 2 into Hebrew characters, he does not only proffer the imagined knowledge of 2
 3 his polemical enemy. By giving these non-Jewish authorities a Hebrew garb, a 3
 4 form that is implicitly non-Christian but still comprehensible, he also aims to 4
 5 approximate the imagined perspective of the imagined Jewish enemy by simulating 5
 6 the authority of an “original” (in this case, non-Latin) text. 6

7 These examples offer, on the one hand, an additional way to think about 7
 8 David Damrosch’s concept of “Scriptworlds,” which he defines as “the power of 8
 9 scripts to cross the boundaries of time, space, and language itself.”³⁶ In this case, 9
 10 script also has the power to evoke identity, and in the context of supersessionist 10
 11 polemic, the invocation of a script constitutes the means for the hijacking of a 11
 12 whole Scripture, and the alphabet itself begins to take the place of the imagined 12
 13 Hermeneutical Jew (or Muslim) as a new theological witness to the historical 13
 14 triumph of Christianity. On the other hand, these two examples evince Martini’s 14
 15 response to a dilemma plaguing his own work and in essence troubling that 15
 16 of the entire Christian movement of appropriation and exploitation of original 16
 17 language sources in the twelfth to the fourteenth centuries: within the medieval 17
 18 Jewish-Christian logomachy over *auctoritas*, the quest for the polemical authority 18
 19 in authenticity required interpretive choices about what authenticity meant, 19
 20 about whether it was to be seen as an absolute, objective rule of translation or 20
 21 a phenomenal, subjective effect of presentation. By making his evocation of 21
 22 authenticity dependent on the ambiguities of translation, Martini begins to ground 22
 23 his entire polemical edifice on a perpetually unsteady foundation, one that makes 23
 24 language, like religious identity premised on abrogative supersession, seem 24
 25 unstable and ultimately untranslatable. Over the trajectory of the evolution of his 25
 26 use of language and translation, transliteration, and transcription, Martini became 26
 27 increasingly aware that, in the zero-sum game of religious polemic, “no plague is 27
 28 more effective at damaging” than a failure to marshal the necessary *auctoritas* and 28
 29 control its potentially undermining ambiguity. 29

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 44 ³⁶ David Damrosch, “Scriptworlds: Writing Systems and the Formation of World 44
 Literature,” *MLQ* 68 (2007): 196–219 at 218–19.