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# Translating between the Lines: Medieval Polemic, Romance Bibles, and the Castilian Works of Abner of Burgos/Alfonso of Valladolid

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## Abstract

The Hebrew works of convert Abner de Burgos/Alfonso de Valladolid (d. ca. 1347) were translated into Castilian in the fourteenth century, at least partly and probably entirely by Abner/Alfonso himself. Because the author avoids Christian texts and cites abundantly from Hebrew sources, his writing includes many passages taken from the Hebrew Bible and the Talmud. The Castilian versions of his works translate these citations directly from Hebrew and do not seem to make any direct use of existing Romance-language Bibles (although his work might have relied indirectly on Jewish Bible translations circulating orally in the fourteenth century). Given the abundance of citations, especially in Abner/Alfonso's earliest surviving work, the *Moreh šedeq* (*Mostrador de justicia*), his writing can serve as a significant source in the history of Hebrew-to-Romance Bible translation in the fourteenth century. The goal of this article is to consider the impact of polemical writing on Bible translation in the Middle Ages by analyzing these citations in Abner/Alfonso's Castilian works.

## Keywords

Abner de Burgos/Alfonso de Valladolid – Bible translation – Romanceamientos – *Moreh Šedeq/Mostrador de justicia* – Fourteenth century – Christian-Jewish polemic

## Introduction

A late-fourteenth-century copy of the large anti-Jewish polemical treatise, *Pugio fidei* (*Dagger of Faith*, 1278) by thirteenth-century Catalan Dominican Ramon Martí (d. after 1284) contains a fascinating detail: the manuscript, from ca. 1400 or slightly earlier, is copied in three columns, but the far right column is almost entirely blank leaving an empty space running alongside the other two columns of text given in vocalized Hebrew and Latin translation, respectively. This codex, University of Coimbra MS 720, is one of a handful of medieval manuscripts of the *Dagger of Faith* to contain Hebrew text alongside Latin. Although the Paris manuscript (Sainte-Geneviève MS 1405), is the only truly complete copy of the work from the Middle Ages, including all Latin and Hebrew text, the later Coimbra manuscript is the only one that contains this curious empty column.<sup>1</sup>

What was supposed to fill this space? The answer can be found on the first two folios, which contain the beginning of a text that was to continue through the rest of the manuscript but was never finished: a Castilian translation of the thousands of biblical passages cited throughout the work. The Hebrew passages that are translated on the first folio—twice-translated, first into Latin, and then again into Castilian—are from 1Kings 12:28 and 2Kings 17:16–20. Just as Martí's Latin is translated directly from the Hebrew and differs in numerous places from the Vulgate and known Vetus Latina versions (biblical texts in Latin dating from before Jerome),<sup>2</sup> so the Castilian translation is also based directly

1 On the manuscripts of the *Dagger of Faith*, see Ryan Szpiech, "Citas árabes en caracteres hebreos en el *Pugio fidei* del dominico Ramón Martí: entre la autenticidad y la autoridad," *Al-Qanṭara* 32.1 (2011): 71–107 at 76–80; Ryan Szpiech, "The Aura of an Alphabet: Interpreting the Hebrew Gospels in Ramon Martí's *Dagger of Faith* (1278)," *Numen* 61 (2014): 334–363 at 354–355; Görg Hasselhoff, "Towards an Edition of Ramon Martí's *Pugio fidei*," *Bulletin de philosophie médiévale* 55 (2013): 45–56 at 53–56. On a new fragment of the *Dagger* not included in this discussion, see Mauro Perani, "Giovanni Spano e gli ebrei. Due manoscritti ebraici della sua collezione donati alla biblioteca universitaria di Cagliari e nuove scoperte sulla Sardegna Judaica," *Materia giudaica* 14.1–2 (2009): 35–62 at 57–59.

2 Martí's Latin text for 1 Kings 12:28 in the Coimbra manuscript reads: "Nolite ultra ascendere in Iehrusalem. Ecce dii tui israel qui te fecerunt ascendere de terra mizraym *id est* egipti." Coimbra, Universidade de Coimbra, Biblioteca Geral MS 710, fol. 2r. Martí's Latin text for 2Kings 17:16–20 reads: "Et derelinquerunt omnia *praecepta domini* dei sui et fecerunt sibi conflatorum duos uitulos & fecerunt lucum et adorauerunt uniuersam miliciam celi et coluerunt baal traduxeruntque filios suos et filias *per* ignem et diuinauerunt diuinaciones et auguriati [*sic*] sunt et uendiderunt se ad faciendum malum in oculis *domini* ad prouocandum eum et iratus est dominus uehementer in israel et abstulit eos de superficie sua nec remansit

on the Hebrew. It does not exactly match any existing Romance-language Bible version, although it has features in common with earlier Hebrew-to-Castilian Bibles as well as the later Ferrara Bible, published in 1553 but reflecting a tradition of Jewish Bible translation stretching back to the thirteenth century. The text in the Coimbra manuscript may be a totally new Romance translation or may possibly draw from a lost source common to the Ferrara Bible and other medieval Hebrew-to-Romance translations circulating in the late Middle Ages.<sup>3</sup> In my view, the first possibility is more likely.

This little fragment in the Coimbra manuscript is only a taste of a Romance translation of biblical and post-biblical material given in Hebrew that never actually came to be filled into the manuscript. In its place, an unfilled column runs for hundreds of folios, and signals, albeit only through its lack, an important point that is often overlooked in the study of medieval Bible translations: the role of polemical writing as a catalyst for the translation of the Bible, and in

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nisi tribus Iuda sola. Porro iuda non custodiuit mandatum domini dei sui et ambulauit in statutis israel quae fecerunt. Reprobauitque dominus omne semen israel et humiliauit eos. tradiditque eos in manu diripiencium usquequo proiecit eos a facie sua." (fols. 2r–v).

- 3 The Castilian version of 1Kings 12:28 reads: "Aconseiosse el rey & fizo dos bezeros de oro & dixo a ellos abasta a vos de sobir a iehrusalem ahe tus dioses israel que te subieron de tierra de egipto." Coimbra, Universidade de Coimbra, Biblioteca Geral MS 710, fol. 2r. The Castilian version of 2Kings 17:16–20 reads: "E dexaron a todas las encomiendas del señor su dios & fezieron a ellos tempraçion dos vezeros & fizieron aladrea & omillaron se a todo el fonsado de los çielos & seruieron al ydolo & fizieron passar a sus hijos & a sus fijas enel fuego & megaçiaron megaçias & agoraron & descongnoscieron se para fazer el mal en los oios de adonay para lo fazer ensannar. E ensannose adonay mucho en israel & arredolos de sobre sus fazes. Non remanescio si non el tribu de iuda solo. Tambien Iuda non guardo las encomiendas de adonay su dios & andudieron enlos fueros de israel que fezieron. & aborrescio adonay en toda la simiente de israel & quebrantolos & diolos en mano de refolladores fasta que los echo de sus fazes" (fols. 2r–v). Both texts have now been included in the corpus available online at <http://www.bibliamedieval.es> (last accessed 05/3/2016). I have previously offered reflections on this manuscript in relation to the field of digital humanities in Ryan Szpiech, "Cracking the Code: Reflections on Manuscripts in the Age of Digital Books," *Digital Philology* 3.1 (2014): 75–100. A new study of this translation by Alexander Fidora and Eulàlia Vernet i Pons, who compare the text to the E3 Bible in the Escorial and the Ferrara Bible, is forthcoming in a volume edited by Fidora and Görg Hasselhoff. See Alexander Fidora and Eulàlia Vernet i Pons, "Translating Ramon Martí's *Pugio fidei* into Castilian," forthcoming. I am grateful to the authors for sharing a copy of their work ahead of publication, and to Alexander Fidora in particular for encouraging me to consider the possibility of a lost common source for this and other Hebrew-to-Romance translations.

particular, for translation of the Bible into Romance vernaculars.<sup>4</sup> Even if the full *romanceamiento* of the biblical text is ultimately lacking in the Coimbra manuscript of the *Dagger of Faith*, this lack was more than made up for by the abundant material found in the contemporary translations of the anti-Jewish polemical works by the convert Abner of Burgos/Alfonso of Valladolid (d. ca. 1347). Abner/Alfonso's work, especially his *Moreh Şedeq* (*Teacher of Righteousness*), written in Castile about forty years after the *Dagger of Faith* and subsequently translated from Hebrew into Castilian, contains abundant citations from the Hebrew Bible. It is the purpose of this article to analyze the biblical citations found in the Castilian translations of Abner/Alfonso's work. After summarizing the extent of the material, discussing its date and the evidence supporting its use of a Hebrew original, I will argue that Abner/Alfonso's many biblical citations actually represent a new, unrecognized source for Hebrew-to-Romance translation in the fourteenth century. Taken together in the works of Abner/Alfonso, these citations represent an important example of medieval Romance Bible translation, one that should not be left out of any discussion of the history of *romanceamientos*.

### Polemic and Translation

Polemical writing would seem to be a logical place to look for examples of biblical material because the Hebrew Bible is the central focus of polemical writing by both Jews and Christians. However, most material of this kind from before the twelfth century is of very limited use in discussing the translation of the Bible in the Middle Ages, because Jewish polemics naturally cite the text in Hebrew, while Latin texts generally rely on the Vulgate and do not often add their own Latin translations.<sup>5</sup> The first signs of a change in the approach to the

4 On the use of the Bible in Jewish-Christian polemics, see A. Sapir Abulafia, "The Bible in Jewish-Christian Dialogue," in *The New Cambridge History of the Bible. From 600 to 1450*, ed. Richard Marsden and E. Ann Matter (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 616–637. On the Bible in Christian-Muslim encounter, see the following chapter in that collection, David Waines, "The Bible in Muslim-Christian Encounters," *The New Cambridge History of the Bible. From 600 to 1450*, 638–656.

5 Earlier polemical works do contain biblical material translated into Arabic, such as the anti-Christian *Qişşat Mujādalat al-Usquf* (*Account of the Disputation of the Priest*), which may date from the mid-ninth century and which contains citations of the Bible in Arabic. The *Qişşa* does not seem to have made use of existing Arabic Bibles translated by Jews or Christians, but offers its own translations. For a text and study of *Qişşa* and its later Hebrew translation, see Daniel Lasker and Sarah Stroumsa, eds., *The Polemic of Nestor the Priest: Qişşat Mujādalat al-*

Hebrew Bible, including the use of the Hebrew text itself as the basis of a new translation into Latin at the hand of the author, is evident in the anti-Jewish *Dialogus* (*Dialogue*) of Petrus Alfonsi.<sup>6</sup> This new interest in translation directly from Hebrew can likewise be seen in later twelfth-century writers such as the Victorines (Hugh and Andrew of St. Victor) and the author of the *Ysagoge*, an unknown figure named Odo.<sup>7</sup> However, this interest in translation directly from Hebrew, which is roughly contemporaneous with the twelfth-century interest in translation from Arabic in the Iberian Peninsula, was limited to Latin writing. It did not lead to the production of Romance texts, even though the vernacular did play a role in some twelfth-century translation activity in the Iberian Peninsula as an oral medium through which Arabic was passed into Latin.<sup>8</sup>

Spoken Romance dialects continued to loom in the background of polemical activity in the thirteenth century. The mid-thirteenth-century attacks on the Talmud in Paris spearheaded by the converted Jew Nicholas Donin, as well as the Disputation of Barcelona in 1263, yielded only Hebrew and Latin documents. Nevertheless, it is possible—and in my opinion very likely—that the

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*Usqif and Sefer Nestor Ha-Komer*, 2 vols. (Jerusalem: Ben-Zvi Institute for the Study of Jewish Communities in the East, 1996).

- 6 Petrus Alfonsi, writing in the twelfth century, is notable for beginning to deviate from this reliance on the Vulgate. As the Jewish voice Moses requests of the Christian voice Petrus, “If you introduce some authority from the Scriptures, you chose to do this according to the Hebrew truth.” See Petrus Alfonsi, *Diálogo contra los Judíos* (Huesca: Instituto de Estudios Altoaragoneses, 1996), 10; trans. in *Dialogue against the Jews*, trans. Irvén M. Resnick (Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press, 2006), 44. Nevertheless, the text does frequently cite the Vulgate, although it also includes some of its own original translations as well. See the remarks of John Tolan, *Petrus Alfonsi and His Medieval Readers* (Gainesville, FL: University Press of Florida, 1993), 14 and 214–215, n.3.
- 7 On this interest in Hebrew, see Anna Sapir Abulafia, *Christians and Jews in the Twelfth-Century Renaissance* (New York, NY: Routledge, 1995), 94–106; Aryeh Grabois, “The Hebraica Veritas and Jewish-Christian Intellectual Relations in the Twelfth Century,” *Speculum* 50 (1975): 613–34; Michael Signer, “Polemic and Exegesis: The Varieties of Twelfth-Century Hebraism,” in *Hebraica Veritas? Christian Hebraists and the Study of Judaism in Early Modern Europe* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004), 21–32; and the classic study by Beryl Smalley, *The Study of the Bible in the Middle Ages*, 2nd ed. (Notre Dame, IN: Notre Dame University Press, 1964).
- 8 On the role of Romance in the translation activity in twelfth-century Toledo, see Carlos Alvar, *Traducciones y traductores. Materiales para una historia de la traducción en Castilla durante la Edad Media* (Alcalá de Henares: Centro de Estudios Cervantinos, 2010), 60–63; David Romano, “Hispanojudíos traductores del árabe,” *Boletín de la Real Academia de Buenas Letras de Barcelona* 43 (1991–1992): 211–232 at 223–226.

oral confrontations themselves took place in spoken Romance. In fact, hints of Romance speech can be discerned within the accounts of the Barcelona Disputation.<sup>9</sup> In the surviving Hebrew account, Nahmanides is represented as stating, “We have a third book called Midrash, meaning *sermones* (שרמ”וניש)... We also call [the Midrash] the book of Hagadah, meaning *Razionamiento* (ראסייונאמינטו).”<sup>10</sup> Even if this is not taken to reflect the real nature of the language used in the event, it demonstrates the growing prominence of Romance within polemical texts. In addition, the thirteenth century already saw the composition of one of the first Iberian religious polemics in a Romance language, the “Disputa entre un cristiano y un judío,” a short polemical dialogue that has been dated, on the basis of its language, to the middle of the thirteenth century.<sup>11</sup> Despite its brevity, the “Disputa” contains a hand-

- 9 The Hebrew account of the disputation of Barcelona has traditionally been attributed to Nahmanides. In his study of the text, Jaume Riera i Sans has argued that the text dates from the fifteenth century and that this attribution to Nahmanides is erroneous. However, his argument is called into question by the fact that Abner of Burgos/Alfonso of Valladolid refers to the text in the *Teacher of Righteousness* (ca. 1321–1324) and attributes it to Nahmanides. He states: “E he este Rrabi Mosse mismo dixo en el ‘Libro de la su Disputaçion’...” referring to a passage found in the Hebrew account of the disputation attributed to Nahmanides. See Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS Espagnol 43, fol. 288v, edited in Alfonso of Valladolid, *Mostrador de justicia*, ed. W. Mettmann, 2 vols. (Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag, 1994, 1996) (hereafter “*Mostrador*”), 2:340. For Riera i Sans’s comments, see *La Disputa de Barcelona de 1263 entre mestre Mossé de Girona i fra Pau Cristià*, estudio introductorio de Jaume Riera i Sans, trans. Eduard Feliu (Barcelona: Columna, 1985). The text is also named at the Disputation of Mallorca in 1286. See *Die Disputationen zu Ceuta (1179) und Mallorca (1286): Zwei antijüdische Schriften aus dem mittelalterlichen Genua*, ed. Ora Limor, Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Quellen zur Geschichte des Mittelalters 15 (Munich: Monumenta Germaniae Historica, 1994).
- 10 Ramban (Nahmanides), *Writings and Discourses*, ed. and trans. Charles B. Chavel, 2 vols. (New York, NY: Shilo Publishing House, 1978), 2:669; original in Moses ben Nahman, *Kitvei Rabbenu Moshe ben Nahman*, Ed. Ch. B. Chavel, 2 vols. (Jerusalem: Mosad ha-Rav Kook, 1963), 1:308.
- 11 On the “Disputa,” see the edition by N. Salvador Miguel, *Debate entre un cristiano y un judío: un texto del siglo XIII* (Ávila: Caja de Ahorros de Ávila, 2000), 14, which dates the text on linguistic and contextual grounds to 1250–1280. See Américo Castro, “Disputa entre un cristiano y un judío,” *Revista de filología española* 1 (1914): 173–180, which proposes an earlier date; G. Giménez Resano, “Anotaciones lingüísticas a la ‘Disputa entre un cristiano y un judío,’” in *Actas Terceras Jornadas de estudios Berceanos* (Logroño, 1979, 1981), 91–100; A. Salvador Plans, “Disputa entre un cristiano y un judío: estudio lingüístico.” *Glosa* 1 (1990): 59–97, which proposes a date of ca. 1250; Enzo Franchini and Ángel Gómez Moreno, “Debates medievales castellanos,” in *Diccionario filológico de literatura medieval española. Textos y transmisión*, ed. Carlos Alvar and José Manuel Lucía Megías (Madrid:

ful of citations from the Hebrew Bible in Romance, including a mix of direct translations that use a few individual words in Hebrew and show the influence of the Hebrew text (for example, “Cados, cados, cados Adonay Sabaoth” for Isaiah 6:3,<sup>12</sup> or “Eloe Abraam, Eloe Ysaac, Eloe Jacob” for Exodus 3:6),<sup>13</sup> as well as a few other Latin citations that match the Vulgate (“Oculi Domini super iustos et a[ures] e[ius] i[n] p[reces] e[orum]” for Psalm 33:16 and “Quo ibo a spiritu tuo? Et quo a facie tua fugiam?” for Psalm 138:7).<sup>14</sup> This text, despite its brevity, heralds a shift in the approach of polemical writing to include Romance languages and translations of biblical material not entirely dependent on the Latin Vulgate or Vetus Latina translations. This shift in polemical writing is contemporary with the earliest examples of biblical excerpts in Castilian, for example those passages found in *La fazienda de ultramar*—a description of travel to the Holy Land containing many Bible passages—that has been dated to the late twelfth or early thirteenth century and that was copied in a single manuscript around 1230.<sup>15</sup>

The dating for these first translations of the Bible into Romance languages is rather late among vernacular Bibles, at least in comparison with the Old English, Slavonic, and Gothic translations that appeared many centuries before.<sup>16</sup> Such a difference in the emergence of a tradition of biblical

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Castalia, 2002), 376–390; and Enzo Franchini, *Los debates literarios en la edad media* (Madrid: Ediciones del laberinto, 2001), 81–84. See also Eleazar Gutwirth’s remarks on this text in his essay in this special issue. For a broad study of polemical or apologetic writing in Romance languages, see Walter Mettmann, *Die volkssprachliche apologetische Literatur auf der Iberischen Halbinsel im Mittelalter* (Düsseldorf: Opladen Westdeutscher Verlag, 1987); and Carlos Sainz de la Maza, “Consecuencias sociales de las conversiones y literatura de controversia en romance,” in *La sociedad medieval a través de la literatura hispanojudía. VI Curso de Cultura Hispano-Judía y Sefardí de la Universidad de Castilla-La Mancha*, ed. Ricardo Izquierdo Benito and Ángel Sáenz-Badillos (Cuenca: Ediciones de la Universidad de Castilla-La Mancha, 1998), 305–328.

12 Salvador Miguel, *Debate*, 48.

13 Salvador Miguel, *Debate*, 49.

14 Salvador Miguel, *Debate*, 50.

15 On the *Fazienda* and Bible translation, see David Arbesú, *Texto & Concordancias de la Fazienda de Ultramar*. (New York, NY: Hispanic Seminary of Medieval Studies, 2011), available online at <http://www.lafaziendadeultramar.com>, which also provides a full bibliography. See also the earlier study and edition of Moshe Lazar, *La fazienda de Ultramar; Biblia romanceada et itinéraire biblique en prose castillane du XII siècle* (Salamanca: Universidad de Salamanca, 1965).

16 On the fourth-century Gothic (or Wulfila) Bible, the earliest Saxon glosses of the Bible from the seventh, and the early Saxon translations of biblical Books from the tenth and eleventh centuries, see the overview of David Daniell, *The Bible in English* (New Haven,

translation can easily be explained by the dominance of Latin in Romance-speaking areas. It is thus no surprise that, despite many earlier fragments, the earliest independent and more-or-less full translation of the Bible into Old French did not occur until ca. 1220–1260, with early Italian translations following around the turn of the fourteenth century.<sup>17</sup> The Iberian Peninsula is thus not, generally speaking, later than its neighbors in translating the Bible, although all Romance-speaking regions lagged far behind non-Romance areas to the north and east.

In Iberia, some fifteen significant manuscripts survive containing biblical material in Castilian, many in the library of El Escorial, and some half a dozen more (apart from psalters and fragments) in Catalan. None of the Castilian manuscripts is fully complete and most copies date from the fourteenth or fifteenth centuries. The earliest extensive translations are those found in El Escorial MS I.I.6 (hereafter “E6”), a thirteenth-century product based on Latin versions. It is assumed that El Escorial MS I.I.8 (hereafter “E8”), from the turn of the fifteenth century, represents a copy of a somewhat early manuscript, and that both E6 and the source of E8 were copied from a single thirteenth-century translation pre-dating the reign of Alfonso X (reg. 1252–1284). Similarly, Alfonso X’s universal history, *General Estoria*, contains abundant biblical quotations, also from Latin. Of those translated from Hebrew directly and not from the Latin Vulgate, the Castilian Psalms in E8 (fols. 221ra–236vb), which run up to Psalm 70, were made partly on the basis of the Hebrew text, in a translation dubiously attributed to the scientific translator Hermannus Alemannus.<sup>18</sup> Other later texts<sup>19</sup> include portions of translations of biblical books made

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CT: Yale University Press, 2003), 21–55. On early translations in Slavonic, see Henry R. Cooper, Jr., “The Bible in Slavonic,” in *The New Cambridge History of the Bible. From 600 to 1450* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 179–197.

17 On Old French translation of the Bible, see Clive R. Sneddon, “The Bible in French,” in *The New Cambridge History of the Bible. From 600 to 1450*, 251–267. On Italian translations, see Lino Leonardi, “The Bible in Italian,” in *The New Cambridge History of the Bible. From 600 to 1450*, 268–287.

18 On this text, see María Wenceslada de Diego Lobejón, *El Salterio de Hermann el Alemán* (Valladolid: Universidad de Valladolid, 1993).

19 El Escorial MSS I.I.2 (hereafter “E2”), I.I.3 (hereafter “E3”), I.I.4 (hereafter “E4”), I.I.5 (hereafter “E5”), I.I.7 (hereafter “E7”), and I.I.19 (hereafter “E19”), Lisbon Biblioteca da Ajuda MS 52-XIII-1 (hereafter “Aj”), Évora Biblioteca pública MS 124 (hereafter “Ev”), Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional MSS 10288 (hereafter “BNM”) and 9556, and Madrid, Real Academia de la Historia MS 87 (hereafter “RAH”), and the Biblia de Moses Arragel (hereafter “Alba”). For a full list and analysis of these texts, see Gemma Avenoza, “The Bible in Spanish and Catalan,” in *The New Cambridge History of the Bible. From 600–1450*, 288–306; Francisco Javier Pueyo Mena, “Biblias Romanceadas y en ladino,” in *Sefardíes. Literatura y lengua*

from Hebrew to Castilian, although most, if not all, were probably made for Christian use (not only E5/E7, but also E3, etc.). These may well have been translated before the fifteenth century, but they only survive now in copies from 1420 or later.

### *The Teacher of Righteousness*

It was approximately a century after the “Disputa entre un cristiano y un judío” and the copying of the *Fazienda de ultramar* that another polemical text was written that serendipitously came to contribute significantly to the corpus of medieval Romance Bibles—the Hebrew *Moreh Şedeq* (*Teacher of Righteousness*) of Alfonso of Valladolid, surviving now only as the Castilian *Mostrador de justicia*. As I will show, this text was translated directly from Hebrew without any copying from Romance Bibles. Because the manuscript copy can be dated with confidence to the fourteenth century (I will discuss this dating in more detail below), the Castilian *Teacher* in fact represents a new corpus of medieval Romance Bible material, one hitherto unmentioned, as far as I know, in the discussions of medieval *romanceamientos*. Moreover, it exceeds the earliest sources in quantity: not only does it include, in piecemeal, what amounts to some full chapters of biblical books (such as all of Isaiah 6). In the sheer number of verses, it also amounts to more total translated material than what is found in the *Fazienda de ultramar* and the seventy Psalms in E8 put together.

When Abner of Burgos finally embraced Christianity sometime around 1320 after what he describes as twenty-five years of spiritual doubt, intense

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*de una nación dispersa. xv Curso de Cultura Hispanojudía y Sefardí*, ed. E. Romero et al. (Cuenca: Universidad de Castilla-La Mancha, 2008), 193–263; and Gemma Avenzoa and Andrés Enrique-Arias, “Bibliografía sobre las biblias romanceadas castellanas medievales,” *Boletín bibliográfico de la Asociación Hispánica de Literatura Medieval. Cuaderno bibliográfico* 28 (2005): 411–451, which is updated on the [www.bibliamedieval.es](http://www.bibliamedieval.es) website. On the role of Jews in particular in translating and transmitting the biblical text, see Gemma Avenzoa, “Jews and the Copying of Books in the Iberian Peninsula in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries,” in *Patronage, Production, and Transmission of Texts in Medieval and Early Modern Jewish Cultures*, ed. Esperanza Alfonso and Jonathan Decker (Turnhout: Brepols, 2014), 341–359. For a study of the evolution of lexical elements in late-medieval Romance bibles, see F. Javier Pueyo Mena and Andrés Enrique-Arias, “Innovación y tradición en el léxico de las traducciones bíblicas castellanas medievales: el uso de cultismos y voces patrimoniales en las versiones del siglo xv,” *Anuario de Estudios Medievales* 45.1 (2015): 357–392.

study, and repeated dream visions of a “great man” resembling Jesus, he began a career, under the new name of Alfonso, as an anti-Jewish polemical writer that would span the subsequent twenty-five years, until his death around 1347. Numerous vicissitudes of fortune distinguish Abner/Alfonso’s career and work, but most telling of his significance are the responses to him from other Jewish writers. His wide impact, at least among Jewish polemical writers, is certainly due to the fact that Abner/Alfonso wrote his works not in Latin but in Hebrew, and then translated at least some of his own work into Castilian. This fact makes his oeuvre utterly unique—even the friars of the thirteenth century who often quoted works in Hebrew, such as Ramon Martí, did not *compose* anti-Jewish treatises in any language besides Latin. One might think, by comparison, of Martí’s younger contemporary, the Mallorcan polymath Ramon Llull, who is alleged to have composed some works in Arabic, although this question is still being debated. In any case, although Llull was later translated into Arabic,<sup>20</sup> no original Arabic text written by Llull has survived, and Llull’s literary oeuvre is in Catalan and Latin. Abner/Alfonso, by contrast, wrote virtually all of his major works in Hebrew first. At the same time, the translations of his writing are among the early substantive examples of anti-Jewish polemical literature in Castilian, although earlier short texts such as the “Disputa entre un cristiano y un judío” do exist.

Although Abner/Alfonso wrote in Hebrew and translated into Castilian, his writings now survive in a tangled, multilingual miscellany of original texts in Hebrew, contemporary translations in Castilian, and fifteenth-century citations in Latin.<sup>21</sup> Some texts survive in both Hebrew and Castilian, such as his response to his former colleague, Isaac Pollegar, known as the *Teshuvot la-Meharef*, or *Responses to the Blasphemer*, as well as three of his letters.<sup>22</sup>

20 See Joseph Moukarzel, “Raymond Lulle en arabe,” *Studia Lulliana* 50 (2010): 3–20.

21 On Abner/Alfonso’s bibliography, see Dwayne Carpenter, “Alfonso de Valladolid,” *Diccionario filológico de literatura medieval española. Textos y transmisión*, ed. Carlos Alvar and José Manuel Lucía Megías (Madrid: Castalia, 2002), 140–152; and Ryan Szpiech, “Abner of Burgos/Alfonso of Valladolid,” *Christian-Muslim Relations. A Bibliographical History IV. 1200–1350*, ed. David Thomas and Alex Mallett (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 955–76. This summary is drawn from Ryan Szpiech, *Conversion and Narrative: Reading and Religious Authority in Medieval Polemic* (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013), 146.

22 The Hebrew original is found in Parma MS 2440/De Rossi 533, ff. 8r–65r, ed. and trans. in Jonathan Hecht, “The Polemical Exchange between Isaac Pollegar and Abner of Burgos/Alfonso of Valladolid according to Parma MS 2440 ‘Iggeret Teshuvat Apikoros’ and ‘Teshuvot la-Meharef,’” (PhD diss., New York University, New York, NY, 1993). The Castilian translation is found in Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica MS Vat. Lat. 6423, fols. 41ra–89rb, ed. in Walter Mettmann, *Teshuvot la-Meharef. Spanische Fassung* (Opladen: Westdeutscher

Others survive only in Castilian, such as the *Teacher*, his philosophical meditation *Minḥat Qena'ot* (*Offering of Zeal*), or *Ofrenda de Zelos*,<sup>23</sup> and his short treatise *Libro de la ley* (*Book of the Law*).<sup>24</sup> Still others survive only in Hebrew, such as his response to the Jewish replies to his three letters.<sup>25</sup> In addition to these extant works, at least ten more are believed to have been written but are now lost and at least five more beyond these have been tentatively attributed to Abner/Alfonso.<sup>26</sup> Of all of his undisputed surviving writing, the *Teacher* is the longest—with over 350 000 words, as compared to 280 000 words of Latin text in Ramon Martí's *Dagger of Faith*. It is also his most developed and the most important, because virtually all of Abner/Alfonso's subsequent writings draw on and develop ideas first presented there.

Abner/Alfonso's writing, especially his *Teacher*, which takes the form of a dialogue between a Christian *Moreh*, or teacher ("Mostrador"), and a Jewish *Mored*, or rebel ("Rebelle"), includes abundant citations from a wide variety of rabbinical sources such as Talmud and midrash, including some halakhic works (*Sifre* on Deuteronomy, *Sifra*, etc.). In it, Abner/Alfonso also cites from many medieval authors such as Saadya Gaon, Rashi, Maimonides,

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Verlag, 1998), and in Carlos Sainz de la Maza, "Alfonso de Valladolid: Edición y estudio del manuscrito 'Lat. 6423' de la Biblioteca Apostólica Vaticana" (PhD diss., Universidad Complutense, 1990), 542–730.

23 Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica MS Vat. Lat. 6423, fols. 11a–41a, edited as *Ofrenda de Zelos (Minḥat Kēna'ot) und Libro de la Ley*, ed. Walter Mettmann (Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag, 1990).

24 Paris BNF, MS Esp. 43, fols. 1r–10v/*Ofrenda*, 87–118.

25 The text is found in Parma MS 2440, ff. 110r–137r, ed. in Judah Rosenthal, "Sefer Teshuvot ha-Meshubot," in "From the Hebrew Writings of Abner of Burgos" (in Hebrew), *Mēḡqarim u-Meqorot*, 2 vols. (Jerusalem: Rubin Mas, 1967), 1:324–367.

26 While some of these—including the mathematical treatise *Meyasher 'akov* (*Straightening the Curve*) and a single Hebrew poem—are generally accepted as authentic despite slim evidence, others—including the *Libro declarante* (or *Libro de las tres creencias*, *Book of the Three Faiths*), the *Tratado contra las hadas* (*Treatise against Chance/Luck*), and the *Sermones contra los judíos y moros* (*Sermons against Moors and Jews*)—have been contested. Ruth Glasner is currently preparing a new edition and translation of the *Meyasher*. On the *Meyasher*, see Ruth Glasner, "Hebrew Translations in Medieval Christian Spain: Alfonso of Valladolid Translating Archimedes?" *Aleph* 13.2 (2013): 185–199; and Gad Freudenthal, "Two Notes on *Sefer Meyasher 'Aqov*," in Gad Freudenthal, *Science in the Medieval Hebrew and Arabic Traditions* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005), ix. For a recent discussion of the *Libro contra las hadas*, see Carlos del Valle, "Atalaya del judaísmo hispano v," *Iberia Judaica* 8 (2016): 220–225 (section on "El libro de las fadas, de Abner de Burgos). On these works, see Carpenter, "Alfonso," 141–142; and Ryan Szpiech "Abner of Burgos/Alfonso of Valladolid," 967–976.

Nahmanides, Abraham bar Ḥiyya, David and Joseph Qimḥi, and numerous others. The analysis of much of this material is still a scholarly desideratum. The most abundant of his cited material, however, comes from the Hebrew Bible.

### Biblical Citations in the *Teacher of Righteousness*

What is the extent of Abner/Alfonso's biblical material? If we judge by the limited index prepared by Walter Mettmann in his 1994–1996 edition of the text, Abner/Alfonso cites over two thousand different verses from the Hebrew Bible (roughly nine percent of the total volume of the Tanakh). Mettmann's index, while extremely useful, is a faulty guide, however, because Abner/Alfonso also includes constant allusions to and citations of the Bible and Talmud within his text without naming the verses he is drawing from. This sort of allusion is to be expected in polished Hebrew prose, but the fact that the text only exists now in Castilian makes the proper identification of such allusions a tricky exercise in reading as it were through two or three lenses at the same time. It is often challenging to distinguish between an actual citation and a simple allusion, and Mettmann's index is useful as a starting point for identifying the most unambiguous passages. Nevertheless, it falls short of being an exhaustive reference, leaving out many citations and virtually all the more oblique allusions. Such considerations, however, cannot be left out of a thorough study of Abner/Alfonso's corpus of *testimonia*.

To give an example of such unidentified citations, we can consider a passage found in the middle of the text, in which the Teacher states to the Rebel:

If you are not used to studying the books of the sciences and knowing all that ancient books said about these profound and subtle things achieved by the studies of the great sages, *remove ill from your heart and pluck malice from your flesh and make your ear like a mill hopper* in order to receive and give yourself over to those who know more than you, and *incline your ear and hear the words of the sages, and put your heart according to my understanding*, and do not continue to argue and contradict their understandings, and *behold the honor of God*, because *the place where you are standing is holy*.<sup>27</sup>

27 "E ssi tú non huseste a estudiar en los libros de las sciencias e ssaber todo lo que los antigos dixieron en estas cosas ffundas e sotiles, ado llegaron los estudios de los mayores sabios, rriedra sanna de tu coraçon e tuelle malicia de tu carne e ffaz a tu oreja como la

In Mettmann's edition, only one biblical reference is glossed and indexed from this section—the last phrase “the place where you are standing is holy,” which are God's words to Moses at the burning bush in Exodus 3:5. But the text is clearly alluding to at least five other passages. When Abner/Alfonso mentions “these profound and subtle things” (*estas cosas ffundas e sotiles*), he seems to be referring to Daniel 2:22, where Daniel says that God “reveals deep and hidden things.” When he says, “remove ill from your heart and pluck malice from your flesh” (*riedra sanna de tu coraçon e tuelle maliçia de tu carne*), he is quoting Ecclesiastes 11:10, “Banish anxiety from your mind and put pain away from your body.” When he urges the Jew to “make your ear like a mill hopper” (*effaz a tu oreja como la tolva del molino*), he is quoting the sage advice of the Babylonian Talmud, tractates Ḥagigah 3b and Ḥullin 89a, in which the rabbis recommend to “make your ear like a hopper and acquire an understanding heart.” When Abner/Alfonso says, “incline your ear and hear the words of the sages, and put your heart according to my understanding,” he is quoting Proverbs 22:17 directly. By the phrase “Behold the honor of God,” *cata a la honra de Dios*, he is probably rendering the expression *Hine kavod Adonai*, as in Exodus 16:10. This single example makes clear the extent of the oversight at not identifying such constant allusions. Leaving aside vague or partial allusions, it is fair to make the general estimation that Abner/Alfonso directly cites at least 1000 more verses than are identified in Mettmann's index. For this rough estimate to be approximately accurate, it would only be necessary to identify one or two unidentified citations per folio side, while the example given above includes five in a single paragraph.

Without a doubt, the Hebrew Bible plays a much more important role in the text than the Christian New Testament. Abner/Alfonso directly cites the New Testament only fifty-four times, according to Mettmann's index (which is more accurate in regard to the New Testament because Abner/Alfonso does not include indirect allusions to it, which would mean little to a Jewish reader). This equates to an average citation frequency of once per twelve or thirteen folios sides. Whereas he quotes multiple times from every book in the Hebrew Bible, fifty-two of his fifty-four New Testament quotes are from the Gospels. He quotes only once from the epistles of Paul (1 Corinthians), and once from Revelation. His almost exclusive focus on the Hebrew Bible is similar to the

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tolva del molino para rreçebir e asufrirte sobre los que saben más que tú, e acuesta tu oreja e escucha palabras de los sabios, e tu coraçon pon a mi entendimiento, e non allegues adelante para porfiar e contradzir a sus entendimientos dellos, e cata a la onrra de Dios, ca el logar sobre que estás santo es.” See Paris, BNF MS Esp. 43, fol. 184v/*Mostrador*, 2:98.

approach to biblical texts in the *Dagger of Faith* of Ramon Martí, who equally favors the Hebrew Bible over the New Testament.<sup>28</sup>

Not surprisingly, Abner/Alfonso cites all of the verses most popular among medieval anti-Jewish polemicists, such as Genesis 49:10 (“The scepter shall not depart from Judah...”), Isaiah 7:14 (“Look, the young girl—*‘almah*—is with child and shall bear a son”) and 52–53 (“See, my servant shall prosper...”), Ezekiel 37–39, Zechariah 12–14, Malachi 3:19–24 (or 4:1–6), Daniel 7–9 (“Daniel had a dream...”), etc.<sup>29</sup> Abner/Alfonso actually shows little innovation in his use of biblical verses, quoting most frequently from Genesis, Psalms, the major prophets, and Daniel. Although he quotes more verses from the book of Isaiah than any other book (followed in order by Psalms, Genesis, Deuteronomy, and Exodus), and although he quotes Isaiah more times (including repetitions) than Daniel, Abner/Alfonso quotes more of the total volume of the book of Daniel than any other biblical book (he includes nearly a third of the book in his text). Of the ten most-cited biblical verses in the *Teacher* (cited ten times or more), six out of nine are from Daniel, the rest are from Psalms, Isaiah, and Ezekiel.<sup>30</sup> These verses of repair directly serve Abner/Alfonso’s discussion of the messianic prophesy in the Bible and its fulfillment in history. Two key messianic issues are discussed on the basis of these books: From the book of Isaiah, the exegesis of the Suffering Servant in books 52–53 plays a crucial role in Abner/Alfonso’s discussion of the incarnation of the Messiah, treated above all in book six of the *Teacher*. From the book of Daniel, the vision of the four beasts supports Abner/Alfonso’s calculations of the chronology of the world and the coming of the Messiah, which form the basis of book eight.<sup>31</sup> There are relatively few surprises in Abner/Alfonso’s polemical use of biblical *auctoritates*.

Based on references to the *Teacher* made in Hebrew works by other authors, as well as the similarity of the Castilian *Teacher* to Abner/Alfonso’s other Castilian works for which a Hebrew original also survives, there is no doubt that the original text of the *Teacher* was written in Hebrew. Citations of the

28 On Martí’s citations of the New Testament, which include a handful of translations of the text from Latin into Hebrew, see Szpiech, “The Aura of an Alphabet.”

29 For an overview of the typical verses cited in Jewish-Christian polemic, see Abulafia, “The Bible”; and Gilbert Dahan, *Les intellectuels chrétiens et les juifs au Moyen Âge* (Paris: Cerf, 1990), 391–392.

30 Abner/Alfonso’s most cited verses (ten times or more) include Isaiah 51:4 (13 times); Psalms 87:5 (13×), Daniel 8:13 (13×); 9:24 (11×); 24–5 (11×); 9:26 (10×); 9:27 (10×); 12:10 (11×), Ezekiel 37:25 (10×).

31 For a brief consideration of the “standard verses” of most Christian polemical texts, see Dahan, *Les intellectuels chrétiens*, 386–422.

Hebrew Bible were obviously given in their original languages (usually Hebrew and occasionally Aramaic), as they are given in Abner/Alfonso's surviving Hebrew works.<sup>32</sup> Moreover, there is no doubt that the original Hebrew *Moreh Sedeq* was the basis for the Castilian *Mostrador de justicia* and that a Latin copy was not used as a bridge between the two in the translation process. The first proof of direct Hebrew-to-Castilian translation is the presence of abundant Hebraisms in the *Teacher*. Not only does the Castilian text include frequent words in Hebrew, such as the names of Hebrew letters and other key words, but it also shows its reliance on Hebrew in its form and syntax, including the elision of the definite and indefinite articles, the omission of conjunctions, the frequent use of present participles, frequent paronomasia (word play) typical in literary Hebrew prose, and constant use of the characteristically biblical infinitive construct verb. Many of the same examples of such Hebraisms found in the Castilian translation of the *Responses* can be found in the *Teacher* as well.<sup>33</sup>

In light of the traditional discussion of the Bible in Romance within Iberian Jewish communities, it is fruitful to compare the Romance versions in Abner/Alfonso's works to Ladino Bibles published in the sixteenth century. For the sake of brevity, I will consider here only the Ferrara Bible, published in Ferrara, Italy, in 1553. Despite its late date and non-Iberian publication, the Ferrara Bible is, in fact, the first Bible ever published in Castilian, and it reflects medieval traditions of Hebrew-to-Castilian translation developed among Iberian Jews and then preserved in exile after the expulsion of 1492.<sup>34</sup> Abner/Alfonso's biblical translations have much more in common with those preserved in the

32 Abner/Alfonso quotes a number of verses from the Aramaic sections of Ezra, and many from books 2–7 of Daniel and makes frequent use of the Aramaic *Targumim*, discussed below.

33 Many of the very same examples cited by Sainz de la Maza in the *Responses* were written first in the *Teacher*, such as Exodus 31:6, “en coraçon de todo sabio” (Paris, BNF MS Esp. 43, fol. 228v/*Mostrador*, 2:193), Zechariah 5:3, “sobre faz de toda la tierra” (240v/2:221), Psalms 84:12 “ca sol e escudo es Domino” (287r/2:336), Ezekiel 12:27, “he casa de Isrrael dizientes” (259r/2:267), Genesis 2:17, “morir morrás” (99v/1:188), etc. The examples are much more abundant overall in the *Teacher*, given its length (seven times that of the *Responses*) and its more abundant biblical citations (five times as many as the *Responses*).

34 The best introduction to the Ferrara Bible is found in *Introducción a la Biblia de Ferrara. Actas del simposio internacional. Sevilla, noviembre de 1991*, ed. Iacob M. Hassán (Madrid: Ediciones Siruela, 1994). The Bible itself is now available in a facsimile edition (Madrid: Sefarad 92, Universidad de Sevilla y CSIC, 1992) and a critical edition, *The Ladino Bible of Ferrara [1553]*, ed. Moshe Lazar (Culver City, CA: Labyrinthos, 1992). On the connection of the Ferrara Bible with medieval Romance translations, see Margherita Morreale,

sixteenth century in the Ferrara Bible than, by comparison, those translations made from Latin that are preserved in Alfonso x's *General Estoria* in the thirteenth. In the examples that follow, the corresponding text from the Ferrara Bible will be given in the notes for the sake of comparison. Although Abner/Alfonso's texts reflect many of the same characteristics as the Ferrara Bible and other Ladino Bibles, since all developed from a single tradition of Jewish Bible translation among Sephardic Jews, they are different from these in many key details and merit consideration as a unique fourteenth-century witness.

A clear example of Hebraism in the *Teacher* can be found in the citation of Ezekiel 28:9 ("Will you still say 'I am God' in the presence of those who kill you, though you are but a mortal and no god in the hands of those who wound you?").<sup>35</sup> In the *Teacher*, this verse is rendered, "Si dezir diras yo sso Domino entre tus matadores, e tú omne e non dios en mano de tus desonrradores."<sup>36</sup> Various details point to a direct translation from Hebrew: As in most Hebrew-to-Romance translations, Abner/Alfonso's phrase "si dezir diras" preserves the emphatic infinitive absolute in the opening (*he-amor tomar*).<sup>37</sup> Apart from this, however, Abner/Alfonso's text does not match any of the other translations based on Hebrew or Latin. It is distinguished by the use of an equational sentence, lacking the verb to be ("e tú omne e non dios" to render *ve-atah adam ve-lo' el*, "you are but a mortal and no god"). All other *romanceamientos*, if they translate this phrase at all, insert "to be" in their translation: "e tú eres omne e non dios" (E3, E5, BNM, RAH), "*estando ombre tu e non dios*" (E6), or "tu omne *seyendo* & non dios" (Alba). In addition, the vocabulary choice for *be-yad mehaleleikha* ("in the hand of those who slay you") does not match any other translation, which read "los/aquellos que te materen" (E3, E4, E5, E6), "tus quebrantadores" (BNM, RAH), or "los que te enconaren" (Alba). Abner/Alfonso's choice, "tus desonrradores," seems rather strange, but actually makes good sense upon looking at the Hebrew: the verb *chalal* does mean "to stab, wound or slay," but it also means "to profane, to defile." There is no Latin rendering of this nuance of meaning, and this passage in the Latin Vulgate reads "in manu

"La Biblia de Ferrara y los romanceamientos medievales: 2SM 22 y ps 18," in *Introducción a la Biblia de Ferrara*, 69–139.

35 הָאָמַר תֹּאמַר אֱלֹהִים אֲנִי לְפָנֵי הַרְגָה וְאַתָּה אָדָם וְלֹא־אֵל בְּיַד מַחֲלֵיחָ.

36 The Ferrara Bible reads, "Si diziendo diras Dio yo delante tu matador y tu hombre y no Dio en mano de tus matantes" (246rb).

37 Other translations read either "sy dezir dirás" (E3, BNM, RAH, Alba) or "si dicho dixieres" (E4, E5), whereas the pre-Alfonsine Latin translation in E6 simply reads "fablarás," "you will speak." All citations from medieval Castilian Bible manuscripts are based on the corpus of texts available at <http://www.bibliamedieval.es>, where the manuscripts can be consulted directly.

occidentium te” (“in the hands of those who kill you”). Abner/Alfonso’s choice of “desonrradores,” those who dishonor or defile, could only be made on the basis of the Hebrew.

Another pair of verses that show Abner/Alfonso’s use of rare Hebraisms (or his willingness to coin new words) are Genesis 1:11 and 1:20, “Let the earth put forth vegetation” and “Let the waters bring forth swarms of living creatures,” which in Hebrew are plays on words based on the similarity of verb and noun (*tadshe’/deshe’, yishreṣu/shereṣ*).<sup>38</sup> Abner/Alfonso seems to invent new forms here, “Eruielleçca la tierra eruiellos e yeruas” and “Serpiençan las aguas serpiençias.”<sup>39</sup> To my knowledge, none of the other translations use these words, rendering Genesis 1:11 with the Judeo-Spanish word “hermollecer” (“hemollesca la tierra hermollo yerva,” in E3 and Aj) or the more common “enverdecer,” (“enverdescase la tierra de uerdura” in E4) and rendering 1:20 with the common verb “engendrar” (“engendren las aguas engendramiento” in E3, E4, Aj). Abner/Alfonso’s translations seem to coin some new terms, and his word use shows his total independence from other translations.

Other facts that show the unique nature of Abner/Alfonso’s translations can be gathered by comparing the repetition of citations within the *Teacher* and also across Abner/Alfonso’s other works. When repeating a citation, the Castilian text frequently offers different versions in different places, even within the same chapter. In translating Genesis 3:5 (“For God knows that when you eat of [the tree] your eyes will be opened and you will be like God, knowing good and evil”),<sup>40</sup> the *Teacher* includes no less than six Castilian versions, changing “sabe Dios” to “sabe Elohym” and “seredes como dioses” to “seredes como Dios” to “seredes como Elohym” and “seredes como Elohim.” This same verse is changed yet again when cited in the *Responses*.<sup>41</sup> All of these versions

38 יִשְׂרְצוּ הַמַּיִם שֶׁרָצָה וְתִדְשֶׁא הָאָרֶץ דָּשָׂא.

39 Paris BNF, MS Esp. 43, fol. 128v/*Mostrador*, 1:246. Mettmann suggests that these words are neologisms of Abner/Alfonso’s (*Mostrador*, 1:246 n. 250). The Ferrara Bible reads, “hermollesca la tierra hermollo de yerua asimentan simiente” (1ra) and “sierpan las aguas serpiente de alma biua” (1ra).

40 כִּי יֵדַע אֱלֹהִים כִּי בַיּוֹם אֲכַלְכֶם מִמֶּנּוּ וְנִפְקַחוּ עֵינֵיכֶם וְהִייתֶם כְּאֱלֹהִים יָדְעֵי טוֹב וְרָע.

41 Examples in the *Teacher* (omitting repetitions) include: “Que ssabe Dios que al dia que comieredes del arbol, abrirse-an uestros ojos e sseredes como dioses ssabidores de bien e de mal” (Paris, BNF MS Esp. 43, fol. 74v/*Mostrador* 1:138); “Que sabe Elohym que quando comerdes del arbol, abrisse-an uestros ojos e sseredes como Elohym” (76r/1:141); “Sseredes como dioses sabidores de bien e de mal” (83r/1:154); “En el dia que comerdes del arbol, abrisse-an uestros ojos e seredes como Elohym sabidores de bien e de mal” (92r/1:172–173); “Sseredes como Dios sabidores de bien e de mal” (98v/1:186); “Sseredes como Elohim sabidores de bien e de mal” (101v/1:192). This verse is also cited in the

differ from existing Romance Bibles. Despite these changes, however, the different versions also all reflect constant Hebraisms. In his citation in the *Teacher* of Numbers 34:3 (“Then your south quarter shall be from the wilderness of Zin along by the coast of Edom”), the text reads “será a uos tierra a parte de Meridion desdel desierto de Çim a oriella de Edom.”<sup>42</sup> The translation of *yad* as “oriella” (shore) is unique among Romance translations and reflects a particular meaning of the word that is only conveyed in Hebrew. Abner/Alfonso’s citation of this same verse in one of his polemical letters changes the translation slightly but preserves this particular reading.<sup>43</sup> One verse, Jeremiah 23:24, which is cited in three of Abner/Alfonso’s Castilian works (the *Teacher*, *Responses*, and *Book of the Law*), varies slightly in each citation, and all versions, while based on the Hebrew, are different from all other *romanceamientos*.<sup>44</sup> Such variant translations can even be found within the *Teacher* itself, even in translations of relatively straightforward verses such as Isaiah 6:3, “Holy, Holy, Holy is the Lord of Hosts, the whole earth is full of his glory.”<sup>45</sup> Such comparison of Abner/Alfonso’s citations consistently reveals that the translator, whom I assume to be Abner/Alfonso himself (as I discuss in more detail below), translated the text without copying any existing Romance translation, and that the translations were all made directly on the basis of the Hebrew text.

Accepting this, it is still necessary to explain the presence of a few Latin passages in the Castilian text of the *Teacher*. Of the notably few citations in Latin in the text (I have counted eleven in the *Teacher* and two in the *Responses*),

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*Responses*, which survives also in Hebrew: “Ca sabe Dios que en dia que comiredes de arbol, abrisse-an uuestros oios e seredes como diosses” (*Těshuvot la-Měharef. Spanische Fassung*, 40). The Ferrara Bible reads, “Que sabe el dio que en dia de vuestro comer del y abrir sean vuestros ojos y seredes como angeles sabientes bien y mal” (1vb).

42 אָדוֹם וְהַיָּם לְכֶם פְּאַת־בְּרָצִין עַל־יַד־יְרֵדוֹם The Ferrara Bible reads, “Y sera a vos rincon de Meridion de desierto de zin cerca terminos de Edom” (79va).

43 “Será a vos a rencón de meridió del desierto de Çim a oriella de Edom.” See Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica ms Vat. Lat. 6423, fol. 91vb, ed in Amparo Alba and Carlos Sainz de la Maza, “La primera epístola de Alfonso de Valladolid,” *Sefarad* 53:1 (1993): 157–170 at 165.

44 In the *Teacher*, the citation is given three times: “Los çielos e la tierra yo los incho” (Paris, BNF MS Esp. 43, fol. 122r/*Mostrador*, 1:232). “El cielo e la tierra yo lo incho” (125r/1:239). “El çielo e la tierra yo lo yncho.” (151r/2:27). In *Book of the Law*, it reads: “Los çielos e la tierra, yo lo implé” (10v/*Ofrenda*, 272). In the *Responses*, it reads: “Cierto, el çielo e la tierra yo lo incho.” (Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica ms Vat. Lat. 6423, fol. 50c/ *Těshuvot la-Měharef. Spanische Fassung*, 35).

45 “Santo, santo, santo Domino Deus Sabaod.” (Paris, BNF MS Esp. 43, fol. 126r/*Mostrador*, 1:241); “Santo, santo, santo Domino Sabaod” (131v/1:252; 265r/2:280; 266v/2:284); “Santo, santo, santo Dominus Sabaod” (132r/1:254); “Santo Domino Sabaod” (132v/1:256).

only four are from the Hebrew Bible, all from Psalms: Psalm 51:6 and 10:16 in the *Teacher* and Psalm 50:1 and 10:16 in the *Responses*.<sup>46</sup> For Psalm 51:6, the Latin reads “ut iustificeris in sermonibus tuis,” which corresponds to the Latin but points to an oral rather than written basis for citation by the addition of a cedilla to the “c.” In Psalm 10:16 in the *Teacher*, Abner/Alfonso cites it first in Castilian (“Domino rrey sienpre jamas perdersse-an gentes de ssu tierra”) and a few folios later repeats it half in Castilian, half in Latin (“Domino regnará para ssecula sseculorum”). Neither citation corresponds to the rendering in the Vulgate (“Dominus regnabit in aeternum et in saeculum saeculi” or “Dominus rex saeculi et aeternitatis”).<sup>47</sup> If we compare this version of Psalm 10:16 to its citation in the Castilian version of the *Responses*, we can see that the translations are similar but not exactly the same.<sup>48</sup> All of this suggests that these Latin citations were included from memory according to an oral familiarity with the Psalter in Christian prayer. It also confirms that Abner/Alfonso’s Hebrew-to-Castilian translations were made *ad hoc* on the basis of the Hebrew, and even if they were influenced by oral traces recalled from liturgical use of Latin, they were not copied systematically from any source. This avoidance of Latin is, moreover, in line with Abner/Alfonso’s intention in the work itself, where he claims, in a voice echoing the twelfth-century polemic of Petrus Alfonsi, that “I did not take verses according to how they are translated into Latin among Christians, but rather according to how they are understood in the Hebrew language. This is because my words and arguments here are not with Christians, but with contrary Jews.”<sup>49</sup>

46 The notable instances of citation of Latin in the *Teacher* are in the following paragraphs: chapter 111:1 (Daniel 3:57/Prayer of Azariah 35), IV:26 (Athanasian creed), V:4 (“Gloria patri” and John 1:1), V:18 (Athanasian Creed), VI:4 (John 1:12–13 and Athanasian creed), VI:7–8 (Athanasian creed), VI:33 (John 6:51–52), VI:34 (St Augustine), VII:7 (Ps 51:6), VII: 41 (Apostle’s creed and Athanasian creed), IX:50 (part of Psalm 10:16), X:11 (“Primo dierum” from Sunday Matins). In the Castilian *Responses*, the only examples seem to be 47ra (Psalm 50:1) and a few words on 65rb. In the *Offering* and the *Book of the Law*, and the polemical letters, there is no use of Latin beyond the occasional word “dominus.”

47 Paris, BNF MS Esp. 43, fol. 246v/*Mostrador*, 2:235; fol. 288v/*Mostrador*, 2:340.

48 The *Responses* adds “para” and reduces the quote to include only one Latin word, to read “Domino rrey para sienpre jamas” (Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica MS Vat. Lat. 6423, fol. 77b/ *Těshuvot la-Měharef. Spanische Fassung*, 104).

49 “Non tomé los viessos ssegund que sson trasladados al latin entre los christianos, ssinon segunt que sson entendudos en lengua del ebrayco. E esto es porque mis palabras e mis rrazones aqui non son con los christianos, ssinon con los judios contradezidores” (Paris, BNF MS Esp. 43, fol. 151v–152r/*Mostrador*, 2: 28). For a comparison of Abner/Alfonso and Petrus Alfonsi, see Ryan Szpiech, “Petrus Alfonsi . . . Erred Greatly’: Alfonso of Valladolid’s

### A Fourteenth-Century *Romanceamento*

A key issue in establishing the importance of Abner/Alfonso's biblical translations is the dating of the text to the fourteenth century, because this establishes the text as an earlier witness than many surviving Romance Bibles. The most important fact to consider in the history of the translations is the provenance of the two principal manuscripts containing Castilian works by Abner/Alonso, both of which can be dated to the fourteenth century.<sup>50</sup> Although not, as far as I can judge, from the same hand—and the Vatican manuscript seems to have been copied by at least two different hands—they are both copied by professional or practiced scribes in a Castilian *gótica redonda*, or *semigótica* style, which flourished in Spain in the fourteenth and early fifteenth century, and which can be observed in any of the privileges granted at the court of Alfonso XI of Castile.<sup>51</sup> Sainz de la Maza has suggested that, based on the remains of an illumination at the opening of the manuscript and the care with which it was copied, it “seems to have been copied for someone of importance.”<sup>52</sup> Moreover, the Paris manuscript of the *Teacher* appeared in a catalogue of the library at Avignon made in 1375 (but did not appear in the 1369 catalogue).<sup>53</sup> This copy can be followed from Avignon to Peñíscola (in 1403), then to Foix (ca. 1428),

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(d. ca. 1347) Imitation and Critique of Petrus Alfonsi's Dialogus,” In *Petrus Alfonsi and his Dialogus: Background, Context, Reception*, ed. Carmen Cardelle de Hartmann and Philipp Roelli, *Micrologus' Library* 66 (Florence: Sismel Edizioni del Galluzzo, 2014), 321–348.

50 On Paris, BNF MS Esp. 43, see Eugenio de Ochoa, *Catálogo razonado de los manuscritos españoles existentes en la Biblioteca Nacional de París* (Paris, 1844), 26, which dates the manuscript to the fourteenth or beginning of the fifteenth century; Alfred Morel-Fatio, *Catalogue des manuscrits espagnols et des manuscrits portugais* (Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1892), 7 (notice 28), which lists the manuscript as fourteenth century, a dating repeated by Sainz de la Maza, “Alfonso de Valladolid,” 208–216, and by Walter Mettmann in his edition, *Mostrador*, 1:11.

51 On *gótica redonda/semigótica*, see Augustín Millares Carlo, *Tratado de paleografía española*, 3rd ed., 3 vols. (Madrid: Espasa Calpe, 1983), 1:211–214. Mettmann has suggested that despite the change in hands in the Vatican manuscript, the text seems to have been produced at a single scriptorium. See *Těshuvot la-Měharef. Spanische Fassung*, 9.

52 See Sainz de la Maza, “Alfonso de Valladolid,” 209, 234, n. 48.

53 It appears as, “liber intitulatus *Mostrador de iustitia contra Iudeos*, in vulgari, et in papiro, coopertus de albo.” For the catalogue list of 1375, see Francisco Ehrle, *Historia Bibliothecae Romanorum Pontificum tum Bonifatianae tum Avenionensis* (Rome, Typis Vaticanis, 1890), 559 (No. 1648), compared with the earlier catalogue of 1369 indexed on 438–50.

and finally to Paris (1680), and it is undoubtedly the same copy now held in the Bibliothèque Nationale today.<sup>54</sup>

We can similarly trace the Vatican manuscript to the fourteenth century, for it too was held in the papal library in Avignon, appearing in the 1369 catalogue list.<sup>55</sup> This explains how the *Teacher* manuscript ended up in Paris and the manuscript of the remaining Castilian works ended up in the Vatican, because many of those manuscripts that were not taken by Pedro de Luna/Benedict XIII from Avignon to Peñíscola in 1403 (as was the *Teacher*) were eventually acquired by the Vatican.<sup>56</sup> Given the fourteenth-century Castilian origins of both the Vatican and Paris manuscripts, it is thus not at all surprising that the language in Abner/Alfonso's works shows many characteristics that were most

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- 54 Carlos Sainz de la Maza has found the same item ("liber intitulus *Mostrador* . . .") listed in the 1424 inventory of the library of Pedro de Luna, (the Avignon-based papal contender Benedict XIII), which he took to Peñíscola in 1403. See P. Galindo Romeo, *La biblioteca de Benedicto XIII (Don Pedro de Luna)* (Zaragoza: La Académica, 1929), 71; P. Martí de Barcelona, "La biblioteca papal de Peníscola," *Estudios Franciscanos* 28 (1922): 331–341, 420–436; 29 (1923): 88–94, 266–272, in particular vol. 28 (1922) at 422 (No. 124). See also Josep Perarnau i Espelt, "Els inventaris de la Biblioteca Papal de Peníscola a la mort de Benet XIII," *Arxiu de textos catalans antics* 6 (1987): 7–48; and again Sainz de la Maza, "Alfonso de Valladolid," 209, 234, n. 48. The work was available for consultation at the Disputation of Tortosa in 1413–1414. Five years after Pedro de Luna's death in 1423, his library at Peñíscola was acquired by Pierre de Foix, and later formed part of the Collège de Foix de Toulouse, before entering the Royal Library in 1680. It is known that the copy preserved today in the Bibliothèque Nationale de France was given to the library by J.B. Gail, who was professor of Greek literature at the Royal College of France and also curator of Greek and Latin manuscripts in the Royal Library in the early nineteenth century.
- 55 It appears in the 1369 list as "Item quidam liber parvus papireus, in romancio scriptus, coopertus corio albo impresso, qui incipit in nigro: *Libro de zelo*, et finit: *con el*." ["also a certain small paper book, written in Romance, bound in blindstamped white leather, which begins in black: *Libro de zelo*, and ends: *con el*."] See Ehrle, *Historia Bibliothecae*, 372 (No. 1121). This description matches the Vatican manuscript exactly, because the *Offering* begins "Libro del zelo de Dios," and the end of the Abner/Alfonso's third and last polemical letter, which ends the manuscript, reads, ". . . por la malquerencia de deballe que avian con Él." See Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica MS Vat. Lat. 6423, fol. 1ra, ed in *Ofrenda*, 13; and fol. 98vb, ed. in Amparo Alba and Carlos Sainz de la Maza, "La epístola tercera de Alfonso de Valladolid," *Anuario Medieval* 2 (1990): 7–22 at 18.
- 56 For a concise overview of the library at Avignon, see Cathleen A. Fleck, "Seeking Legitimacy: Art and Manuscripts for the Popes in Avignon from 1378 to 1417," in *A Companion to the Great Western Schism (1378–1417)*, ed. Joëlle Rollo-Koster and Thomas M. Izbicki (Leiden: Brill, 2009), 239–302, especially 269–275.

common in the fourteenth century, not only in its vocabulary and orthography but also in its grammatical structures.<sup>57</sup>

Although we know definitively that the two main manuscripts containing Abner/Alfonso's Castilian works date from the fourteenth century, we are less certain about the identity of the translator or translators. It is likely that Abner/Alfonso himself was the translator of the *Teacher*, and may have possibly translated his other works as well. One piece of information suggesting Abner/Alfonso's own hand in the translation of the *Teacher* is provided by Abner/Alfonso's earlier work, the *Sefer Milhamot Adonai*, or *Book of the Wars of the Lord*, written in Hebrew a few years before the *Moreh/Teacher*, (ca. 1320–1321). Although in 1432 the convert Pablo de Santa Maria/Solomon Halevi wrote that a Castilian version of this work "can be found today in house of the Preachers of Valladolid," the work is now lost. Nevertheless, according the sixteenth-century traveller Ambrosio de Morales, who claims to have seen the work there in 1572, it was "A book in parchment of very old writing" whose incipit read: "This is the Book of the Wars of the Lord which Master Alfonso, convert, who used to have the name Rabbi Abner when he was a Jew, composed, and he translated it from Hebrew to the Castilian language by order of the Infanta Doña Blanca, Lady of the monastery of Las Huelgas de Burgos."<sup>58</sup> Given that Blanca died in 1321 and that the *Teacher* was written immediately after in ca. 1321–1324, it is easily conceivable that Abner/Alfonso himself translated it at this time as well, perhaps during or immediately after writing the original

57 A full linguistic study of the text is beyond the scope of this article. However, it is possible to point to a few key examples. On the level of vocabulary: the alternation of "maguer" and "aunque," with a preference for the former; use of "luenga" for "larga"; Regular use of "ca," "guisa," "aver," and "otrossí." On the level of grammar: occasional use of imperfect forms ending in -ie; alternation of "y" and "alli"; contrary-to-fact conditional forms that alternate between "si fuesse . . . fuera" and "si fuesse . . . seria"; regular use of "sso" for "soy" and "do" for "donde" and "doy"; use of subjunctive forms such as "fueres"; On the level of orthography: regular use of doubled consants in initial and medial positions (sse, sso, ffueres, ffiziese, uiesso, etc); "logar" for "lugar"; alternation of "oy" and "hoy," "uso" and "huso"; persistence of a strong bilabial fricative /b/ in words such as "cibdad" and "dubda," which also occasionally appear as "ciudad" and "duda"; alternation of "no" with "non" and "ni" with "nin." I am grateful to my colleague Steve Dworkin for sharing his opinion on this question with me.

58 "Un Libro e pergamino, de letra harto antigua, y tiene este titulo: *Este es el Libro de las Batallas de Dios, que compuso Maestre Alfonso, Converso, que solia haber nombre Rabbi Abner, quando era Judio, è trasladolo de Hebraico en lengua Castellana por mandado de la Infanta Doña Blanca, Señora del monasterio de las Huelgas de Burgos.*" Ambrosio de Morales. *Viaje a los reinos de León, y Galicia, y Principdo de Asturias.* [1572], ed. facsímil de la de E. Flórez (1765) (Oviedo, Biblioteca Popular Asturiana, 1977), 9.

Hebrew version. There is, in any case, a strong precedent for supposing Abner/Alfonso is the translator of the *Teacher*.

A few other points support this hypothesis: First, although the *Wars* is now lost in both Hebrew and Castilian, a few sections of it have been preserved in Latin in the works of Pablo and Alonso de Espina in the fifteenth century. These preserved sections include content reproduced exactly in the *Teacher*, suggesting that if he translated the *Wars* himself, he had already finished some of the translation of the *Teacher*. Secondly, given that translating the text would have required an advanced knowledge of Jewish languages and traditions, and that the text would have been considered offensive and even dangerous to most Jews, any translator would very likely have been an educated and polemically minded convert like Abner/Alfonso. Such a convert would have been likely to leave a trace of some kind. The fact that no translator or scribe is ever mentioned (although we lack the colophon of the manuscript of the *Teacher*) supports the possibility that Abner/Alfonso himself was the source.

Finally, the Castilian of the *Teacher* is virtually indistinguishable in its style, orthography, and syntax from that of Abner/Alfonso's other Castilian works (the *Responses to the Blasphemer*, *Book of the Law*, *Offering of Zeal*, and the three polemical letters). Numerous passages coincide between the *Teacher* and the texts in the Vatican manuscript, including curious translation choices that would not be made by two different translators working independently. One example can be found in the translation of a curious phrase from Daniel, 12:11 ("From the time that the regular burnt offering is taken away and the abomination that desolates is set up, there shall be one thousand two hundred ninety days").<sup>59</sup> In particular, the phrase "the abomination that desolates" (*shiqquš shomem*), which echoes an epithet used for Zeus, *Baal Shamen* ("lord of heaven"), is difficult to translate. Abner/Alfonso quotes this phrase at least five times in the *Teacher*, where it is always translated as "enconamiento assolado."<sup>60</sup> This translation is unique, appearing, as far as I know, in no other known Romance translation of the Bible, whether from Hebrew or Latin. It is thus telling that the same phrase is used in Abner/Alfonso's other Castilian works, including both the *Responses* and also the third polemical letter.<sup>61</sup> Moreover, Abner/Alfonso actually discusses his choice of this

59 וּמֵעַתָּה הוֹסֵר הַתְּמִיד וְלִתְּת שְׁקוּץ שָׁמַיִם יָמִים אֶלְף מֵאַתָּתִים וְתִשְׁעִים.

60 See Paris BNF, MS Esp. 43, fol. 188r/*Mostrador*, 2:106; also 194r/2:120, 195v/2:125, 199r/2:134, 249r/2:241. The Ferrara Bible reads, "Y de hora de ser tirado el continuo (sacrificio) y de dar enconamiento fazien admirar: dias mil y dozientos y nouenta" (343rb).

61 For the second epistle, see Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica MS Vat. Lat. 6423, fol. 94vb, ed. in Amparo Alba Cecilia and Carlos Sainz de la Maza, "La segunda epístola de Alfonso de

translation in both the *Teacher* and the *Responses*, in the former stating that “the word *asolado* means ‘unprotected [*desamparado*] and without a sustainer,’” and in the latter stating that “In Hebrew, this word *asolado* is said for ‘unprotected’ [*desanparado*] and cast off.”<sup>62</sup>

Abner/Alfonso offers a different translation for the word *sheqes*, “detestable things,” a word for unclean food that is closely related to *shiqqus*, and this translation choice is even more telling. *Sheqes* appears in only a handful of verses in the Hebrew Bible, in various places in Leviticus 11, and once in Isaiah 66:17 in the expression “the flesh of pigs, *vermin*, and rodents.” Evidence from other medieval Romance Bible translation uses a variety of words, including, in the context of Leviticus 11, “enconadas” (E3, Aj, E7, E9, Alba), “ponçona” (E19), “suzias” (E8, E19, E7), “fidiondo” (E7), and “aborryda” or “aborrecida” (E19). In the context of Isaiah 66:17, the term is translated “habumjnciones” (RAH, Alba), “aborrecimiento” (E6), “vedado” (Alfonso x’s *General Estoria*), and “enconamiento” (E3, E4, E5, BNM).<sup>63</sup> Abner/Alfonso’s decision to translate this term with the rare word “serpençias” (serpents, the same word noted above in Abner/Alfonso’s citation of Genesis 1:20), is striking, and its use in both the *Teacher* and the *Responses* links these translations definitively.

These are only a few of the unique passages that appear in both the text of the *Teacher* as well as in the *Responses* and Abner/Alfonso’s other polemical letters.<sup>64</sup> They are, however, sufficient to show that the various works share the same translator. Given that no name of a translator is mentioned in any of the texts, and, as we already saw, that Abner/Alfonso himself translated the *Wars* into Castilian, it seems very likely that he was the translator of all of his works as well. This conclusion would make the surviving biblical corpus in Abner/Alfonso’s Castilian works valuable among Romance bibles for another reason: Not only can it be dated with relative certainty (ca. 1325–1375 for the

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Valladolid,” *Sefarad* 51:2 (1991), 389–416 at 400. For the *Responses*, see fol. 68ra/*Tēshuvot la-Mēharef. Spanische Fassung*, 83.

62 “Ca el uierbo ‘asolado’ quiere dezir ‘desanparado de ssin mantenedor’ (Paris BNF, MS Esp. 43, fol. 195v/*Mostrador*, 2:125); “Ca assi es dicho en el ebrayco tal uierbo ‘assolado’ por ‘desanparado’ e desechado.” (Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica MS Vat. Lat. 6423, fol. 68a/*Tēshuvot la-Mēharef. Spanische Fassung*, 83).

63 These translations are all drawn from www.bibliamedieval.es. The Ferrara Bible phrase in Isaiah 66:17 reads, “carne del puerco y el enconamiento y el raton” (206va). In Leviticus 11, the only word used in the Ferrara Bible for *Sheqes* is “abominacion” (50rb–vb).

64 See Paris BNF, MS Esp. 43, fol. 65r/*Mostrador*, 1:117) and Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica MS Vat. Lat. 6423, fol. 80d/*Tēshuvot la-Mēharef. Spanische Fassung*, 112.

*Teacher*, ca. 1335/1340–1369 for the *Responses* and other Castilian works); it can be attributed by name to a specific person.

One final issue to consider in surveying Abner/Alfonso's Romance translations of the Bible are his citations of the *Targumim* (Jewish translations into Aramaic of biblical books made in the late centuries BCE and early centuries CE in Palestine and Babylonia). Abner/Alfonso only cites two *Targumim* by name, *Onkelos* (translation of the Torah) and *Jonathan* (of the Prophets). Abner/Alfonso only mentions the *Targum Onkelos* of the Torah four times, citing from it twice, whereas he refers to *Jonathan* over thirty times.<sup>65</sup> Many of these references are to the book of Isaiah, and most express a messianic theme or cite a translated passage in which *Jonathan* interprets the text as an explicit reference to the Messiah. All of his citations of *Jonathan* roughly match the Aramaic text, except for a few that he cites as *Jonathan* but that actually derive from the *Targum Yerushalmi* (also called the Pseudo-Jonathan in some medieval sources).<sup>66</sup> Elsewhere, Abner/Alfonso also refers to this translation by name as "la trasladaçion de Jerusalmi" of Psalm 45:8, and his citation matches the *Targum* of Psalms on the verse in question. The few confused or unclear references that appear in the *Teacher* could be due to transmission of these texts up to the present, and may not be actual errors on Abner/Alfonso's part.<sup>67</sup>

Especially interesting are places where, in the Hebrew text, Abner/Alfonso cited these verses first in Hebrew and then in Aramaic, because in his Castilian

65 Only one of those citations of *Onkelos* (Paris BNF, MS Esp. 43, fol. 238v/*Mostrador*, 2:216), referring to Numbers 24:24, actually matches the original text of *Onkelos*.

66 The *Targum Yerushalmi* was often confused with Jonathan in the later Middle Ages because of a misreading of the abbreviation of the title of the former (ר"ת), which is identical with the abbreviation for the *Targum Jonathan*. It is interesting that he still attributes the text to Jonathan ben Uzziel, because in the *Ofrenda* (Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica MS Vat. Lat. 6423, fols. 34rb–35va/*Ofrenda*, 67) and in *Libro de la ley* (Paris BNF, MS Esp. 43, fol. 6r–v/*Ofrenda*, 101), he recounts the legend from T.B. *Megilla* 3a in which Jonathan confesses to having translated the prophetic books, and is told to desist in his desire to translate the writings. It seems Abner/Alfonso knew that Jonathan did not translate the Torah, but still attributed the *Targum* of Numbers 23:2 (Paris BNF, MS Esp. 43, fol. 169r/*Mostrador*, 2:65) and 34:6 (256r/2:259) to him.

67 For Psalm 45:8, see Paris BNF, MS Esp. 43 fol. 179v/*Mostrador*, 2:89. The other mistaken reference to *Targum Jonathan* (Paris BNF, MS Esp. 43, fol. 256r/*Mostrador*, 2:259) refers to the "big sea" mentioned in Numbers 34:6, and Abner/Alfonso's citation matches the *Targum Pseudo-Jonathan* and can be found in the *Targum Neofiti* and Fragmentary *Targumim* as well. The textual history behind these quotations and misquotations is difficult to sort out and, given that most citations come from Jonathan on Isaiah, they are of little consequence.

rendition, we can see two slightly different translations side by side.<sup>68</sup> To give one example, we can look at a reference to part of Zechariah 3:8 (“For behold, I am going to bring my servant the branch.”)<sup>69</sup> Abner/Alfonso quotes this at least five times in the *Teacher*. Each is translated slightly differently, with no translation matching existing Romance Bibles. The first reads: “Ca he yo aduré mi sieruo cogollo.”<sup>70</sup> The use of “cogollo” for “branch” is unique here, and it is this word that is interpreted with the help of *Targum Jonathan* as a reference to the Messiah. After his first citation, Abner/Alfonso adds, “Thus Jonathan translated to Aramaic as if to say, “Behold I will bring to my servant the Christ.”<sup>71</sup> Every other time he mentions this verse, he alludes to this messianic interpretation without citing *Targum Jonathan* directly. The translations of passages from the *Targumim*, like those of the Talmud and midrash that can be found throughout Abner/Alfonso’s works, represent a unique source of material in Romance and provide abundant evidence of great interest for further work in historical linguistics and the history of translation.

There are other texts that could be brought into this discussion, including those titles tentatively attributed to Abner/Alfonso such as the *Libro de las tres creencias* and *Sermones contra los iudios e moros*, both of which contain abundant biblical citations. While such material is surely relevant to this study, its inclusion here is complicated by pending questions of authorship and by the fact that these texts include rough transliteration of Hebrew (and in a few places, Arabic) texts alongside biblical material in Romance. To treat these issues appropriately would require more attention than is possible here, and thus these texts are best left to be taken up in a separate study.<sup>72</sup> Such a study could put these works in the context of other fourteenth-century

68 In the original *Moreh*, his citations of the *Targumim* were naturally in the original, as they are in the Hebrew text of the *Responses* (Parma MS 2440/De Rossi 533, fols. 27r, 32v, and 51v/Hecht, “The Polemical Exchange,” 377, 389, and 432).

69 בִּי־הִנְנִי מְבִיא אֶת־עֶבְדִּי צֶמַח.

70 Paris, BNF MS Esp. 43, fol. 158v/*Mostrador*, 2:42. Subsequent citations read: “He yo aduré a mi sieruo, el cogollo” (229r/2:195); “que yo ffaré venir a mi ssieruo el cogollo” (269v/2:292); “Ca he yo ffaré uinir a mi sieruo el cogollo” (270r/2:293); “Ca he yo faré venir a mi sieruo el cogollo” (275v/2:307).

71 “Assi trasladó Jonatan al calleo como ssi dixiessi: ‘He yo aduré a mi sieruo el Christo’” (158v/2:42). The *Targum Jonathan* for this text reads: אֲרִי הָאֲנָא מִיְתִי יֵת עֶבְדִּי מְשִׁיחָא וְיִתְגַּלֵּי “Behold I will bring my servant the Messiah and he will be revealed.”

72 On these texts, see Carlos Sainz de la Maza, “La reescritura de obras de polémica anti-judeía. El ‘Libro de las tres creencias’ y unos ‘Sermones sorianos,’” *Cahiers d’Études Hispaniques Médiévales* 29 (2006): 151–172; and Szpiech “Abner of Burgos/Alfonso of Valladolid,” 967–976. See above, n. 26.

polemical writing, especially that known to have been directly influenced by Abner/Alfonso's writing. The *Coloquio entre un Cristiano y un judío*, a Castilian polemical dialogue from 1370, is one such text. However, as the editor of the text Aitor García Moreno has noted, the author of the *Coloquio* drew virtually all of his rabbinical sources directly from Abner/Alfonso's work, but did not copy any biblical quotations from him, but instead translated them directly from the Latin.<sup>73</sup> The example of the *Coloquio* suggests that although Abner/Alfonso's works did have some small influence among Christian writers later in the fourteenth century (although nothing comparable to his significant impact on polemical Jewish writers), the influence of his biblical translations on subsequent *romanceamientos* was negligible.

However, even without discussion of the *Coloquio* or of the spurious works attributed to Abner/Alfonso, the evidence presented here is sufficient to show that his Castilian works represent a unique and abundant cache of biblical verses in Romance that provides useful information about the vocabulary, grammar, and orthography of fourteenth-century Hebrew-to-Castilian biblical translation. Even though the Romance translation that was to appear in the first folios of the Coimbra manuscript of the *Dagger of Faith* was ultimately left out—an omission dramatically memorialized by the manuscript's empty third column—the earlier writing of Abner/Alfonso more than made up for this lack, pointing to the importance of medieval polemical texts as sources of linguistic, cultural, and historical information, and offering us a rich new source of material for the study of medieval Romance Bibles.

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73 On the biblical translations of the text and the use of Abner/Alfonso, see Aitor García Moreno, “Las fuentes citadas en el *Coloquio entre un cristiano y un judío* (1370),” *Romance Philology* 59 (2006): 265–294 (at 289–290). The text is edited as *Coloquio entre un cristiano y un judío*, ed. Aitor García Moreno (London: Department of Hispanic Studies, 2003).