

Sous la direction de
FRÄNZ BIVER-PETTINGER
ERAN SHUALI



TRADUIRE LA BIBLE *hier & aujourd'hui*

TRANSLATING THE BIBLE
Past & Present



TRAVAUX DU CERIT

*Collection du Centre d'Études et de Recherches Interdisciplinaires
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The First Hebrew Translation of the Four Gospels (Vat. ebr. 100): A Fifteenth-Century Translation from Catalan

Pere CASANELLAS

Associació Bíblica de Catalunya, Corpus Biblicum Catalanicum

I. Medieval Translations of the New Testament into Catalan

I.1. The Beginnings of the Translation of the Bible into Catalan

The Catalan language offers a wide number of medieval translations of the Bible. By the early decades of the thirteenth century, Romance language translations of biblical texts were already in circulation in Catalan-speaking territories, although it is unclear as to whether these would have been in Catalan or Occitan, or how common they were. Either way, the ban pronounced by King James I and the ecclesiastical parliament of 1235 on owning books of the Old and New Testaments “in romancio,” and the subsequent order to burn any such texts that might be found, in obedience to the papal bull of 1232, make it clear that these texts did in fact exist:

Item, statuimus ne aliquis libros veteris vel novi Testamenti in romancio habeat. Et si aliquis habeat, infra VIII^o dies post publicacionem huiusmodi constitutionis a tempore sciencie, tradat eos loci episcopo comburendos. Quod nisi fuerit, sive clericus fuerit, sive laycus, tanquam suspectus de heresi, quousque se purgaverit, habeatur¹.

Before the fifteenth century, the subsequent bans prohibiting translations of the Bible tended to be imposed during times of crisis, as a means of protecting society against heretical movements, but it seems that there was special tolerance as to

1. This decree is quoted frequently with other dates (1233 or 1234) and with some lack of precision as to the kind of assembly that approved the decree. We have followed what seems to be the best edition: Gener Gonzalo i Bou, ed., *Les Constitucions de Pau i Treva a Catalunya (segles XI–XIII)*, Barcelona, Departament de Justícia, “Texos Jurídics Catalans. Lleis i Costums” II/3, 1994, doc 27, 176.

prayer books. This can be seen in a decree issued in 1318 by the Provincial Council of Tarragona:

Statuimus et ordinamus quod nullus begunus vel beguna teneat, habeat et legat libros theologiae in vulgari, nisi libros in quibus solum orationes continentur; et habentes praedictos volumus quod ad tradendum ipsos dioecesis per censuram ecclesiasticam compellantur².

This exception made for prayer books is interesting because it explains why translations of the Book of Psalms were regarded with a certain amount of tolerance, even at times of general intolerance towards vernacular translations of the Bible. In fact, the first extant translation into Catalan that contains at least one of the books of the Bible is a psalter (that is to say, a book of prayers), attributed to the Dominican Romeu Sabruguera (translated around 1285–1295)³, and at least seven more psalters (in addition to those included in the general translations of the Old Testament) have been translated and copied in extant manuscripts. Only one of these psalters was translated from Hebrew⁴, whereas the others were translated from the Vulgate⁵.

As to the other books of the Bible, these prohibitions explain why we must wait until the second half of the fourteenth century to have translations containing at least one of the books of the Bible. Prior to this time only fragments have been preserved until our times: John 12:1–14:23, ca. 1300–1310⁶, which belonged to a community of Beguines, according to Josep Perarnau⁷; Luke 1:46–56 and John 1:1–14, ca. 1301–1350⁸.

2. Giovanni Domenico Mansi, *Sacrorum conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio*, Venice, Antonius Zatta, 1782, vol. 25, p. 628.

3. Seville, Biblioteca Capítular y Colombina, ms. 7-7-6, ff. 202a–228d. This manuscript is dated to ca. 1350–1370. Vicenç Beltran, Gemma Avenzoa and Lourdes Soriano, eds., *BITECA: Bibliografia de textos antics catalans, valencians i balears*, Berkeley, University of California, 2011, manid 1065. http://bancroft.berkeley.edu/philobiblon/biteca_ca.html. Here and in some of the following footnotes, we use the identifier *manid* (“manuscript finder”) in order to facilitate searches for manuscript descriptions in this database. Type, for example, “manid 1620” (with straight double quotes) in the field “Simple search” of the “Manuscript/Edition” Search; then use the “Find” feature to locate precisely the specific record.

4. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, ms. esp. 244. *BITECA*, manid 1954.

5. On these eight Psalters, some other Psalms contained in Jewish prayer books for the use by *conversos*, and also on the other medieval translations of the Bible into Catalan, see Pere Casanellas, “Medieval Catalan Translations of the Bible,” in Xavier Terrado and Flocel Sabaté, eds., *Les veus del sagrat*, Lleida, Pagès Editors, 2014, p. 20–30; and idem, “Bible Translation by Jews and Christians in Medieval Catalan-Speaking Territories,” *Medieval Encounters* 26, 2020, p. 393–405.

6. Barcelona, Biblioteca de Catalunya, ms. 750. *BITECA*, manid 1620.

7. Josep Perarnau i Espelt, “Aportació al tema de les traduccions bíbliques catalanes medievals,” *Revista Catalana de Teologia* 3, 1978, p. 32, 35.

8. Barcelona, Biblioteca de Catalunya, ms. 2017. *BITECA*, manid 1560.

I.2. Medieval Translations of the New Testament into Catalan

Apart from fragments, the medieval Catalan translation of the New Testament was included in two complete Bibles, one of them printed, and in a manuscript containing only the four Gospels. The study of the extant fragments reveals that at least one other translation of the New Testament did exist.

I.2.1. The New Testament of the Fourteenth-Century Bible

The so called “Fourteenth-century Bible” was copied in the only medieval Catalan manuscript that contains the entire Christian Bible, that is to say, in the three-volume manuscript called *Peiresc*, dating back to ca. 1460 and kept in the Bibliothèque nationale de France. It was translated from the Vulgate, although in some books influences from the Hebrew text can be detected⁹.

Three other manuscripts also contain the same version:

✠ *Marmoutier* ms., dating back to the second half of the 14th century and kept in the Bibliothèque nationale de France. It contains the whole New Testament¹⁰.

✠ *Egerton* ms., dated to 1465. It is kept in the British Library and contains half of the Bible, from Genesis to Psalms¹¹.

✠ *Colbert* ms., dated to 1461 (or perhaps 1471: “anno... millesimo quadringentesimo sextimo [*sic*] uno”). It is kept in the Bibliothèque nationale de France and also spans from Genesis to Psalms¹².

These last two manuscripts do not always have the same version as *Peiresc*: in some books of the Bible or in some chapters, the text from other versions has been copied in the manuscript; in some cases, the version copied has been translated from the Hebrew original of the Old Testament and not from the Vulgate.

I.2.1.1. Availability of the Fourteenth-Century Bible

This version would have been widely available. Evidence of this can be seen not only in the existence of the four main manuscripts already mentioned, but in the fact that the version is also found in various fragments of biblical manuscripts:

✠ Madrid, Archivo Histórico Nacional, *Inquisición* section, bundle no. 1588 box 4, file 15, parchment strip cut vertically from a folio to be used as a sewing

9. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, ms. esp. 2, 3 and 4. *BITECA*, manid 1063, 2745 and 2746.

10. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, ms. esp. 486. *BITECA*, manid 1140: Joan Costa Català, *Nou Testament (Ms. Marmoutier, s. XIV). Introduccio i transcripcio*, Valencia, RACV, 2002.

11. London, British Library, ms. Egerton 1526. *BITECA*, manid 1061.

12. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, ms. esp. 5. *BITECA*, manid 1060.

guard. It contains: Hebrews 11:11–14, 23–28, 35–38; 12:5–9. Ca. 1320. Discovered January, 2012.

✠ Girona, Arxiu Diocesà, stuffing or padding for the covers of the volume Sant Feliu, Aniversaris, Clàusules de testaments 1401–1407. It contains Luke 10:22–40. Mid-fourteenth century.

✠ Madrid, Archivo Histórico Nacional, *Inquisición* section, bundle no. 1807, file 10, remains of a parchment bifolium: one folio numbered cccxiii and a strip cut vertically from the following folio to be used as a file guard. It contains 1 Maccabees 6:2–60; 7:18–30. Ca. 1351–1410. Discovered in 2018 by Gemma Avenozza.

✠ Seville, Biblioteca Capitular y Colombina, ms. 5-5-26, f. 58r–85v. It contains 3 Kgdms 5:10–4 Kgdms 25:29 and 1 Chr 1:1–2 Chr 11:1. Beginning of the fifteenth century.

✠ Valencia, Arxiu del Regne de València, Grems, book 196 (“Llibre de claveria” of 1556–1557), cover parchment. It contains 4 Kgdms 23:27–25:24. Mid-fifteenth century. Published by J. Escartí.

✠ Vilanova i la Geltrú, Biblioteca Museu Víctor Balaguer, ms. with no number. It contains Luke 20:45–22:4 and 23:35–24:31, with some small lacunae. Fifteenth century.

The Fourteenth-century Bible was also used as the source text for the oldest known complete translation of the four Gospels into Hebrew, which will be the subject of the second part of this paper.

1.2.1.2. Publication

Prior to the beginning of the Corpus Biblicum Catalanicum, two publications of some books of the Fourteenth-century Bible did exist:

✠ Raymond Foulché-Delbosc, *Cant dels Cants* (Barcelona: Serra Germans y Russell, 1906). Transcription according to the Peiresc manuscript.

✠ Joan Costa Català, *Nou Testament (Ms. Marmoutier, s. XIV)* (Valencia: RACV, 2002), vol. 1: introduction and transcription of the text; vol. 2: facsimile.

Three volumes of the Old Testament have been published in the Corpus Biblicum Catalanicum (according to the Peiresc, Egerton, Colbert and Seville manuscripts): Exodus–Leviticus and 1–2 Kings and 1 Paralipomena (1 Chronicles)¹³. The New

13. *Biblia del segle XIV: Èxode. Levític*, transcription by Jaume Riera i Sans, with critical apparatuses, notes and a glossary by Pere Casanellas i Bassols, and an introductory essay by Armand Puig i Tàrrach, Barcelona, Associació Bíblica de Catalunya, Publicacions de l'Abadia de Montserrat, “Corpus Biblicum Catalanicum” 3, 2004; *Biblia del segle XIV: Primer i segon llibre dels Reis*, transcription and glossary by Jordi Bruguera i Talleda, with notes and introductory essays by Pere Casanellas and

Testament is completely transcribed and the volumes will be published in the following years¹⁴.

1.2.2. The Palau Gospels or Palau Codex

Dating back to the first half of the fifteenth century we have a manuscript containing a version of the four Gospels, known as the “Palau Gospels” or “Palau Codex” because it comes from the former Palau Reial Menor in Barcelona (demolished in 1859, with the exception of the chapel). The translator appears to be familiar with the fourteenth-century version of the Bible and produces a translation of the Gospels more in line with the Vulgate, with a certain preference for literalism, although he does also make slight additions to the text and employs pairs of synonyms¹⁵.

The text was published in 1911 by Josep Gudiol and has been newly transcribed by Jaume Riera and Joan M. Furió for the *Corpus Biblicum Catalanicum*, and hopefully will be published soon¹⁶.

1.2.3. The Printed Valencian Bible or Fifteenth-Century Bible

The Valencian Bible or Fifteenth-century Bible or Bible by Boniface Ferrer was printed in Valencia in 1478. Catalan was, therefore, the second Romance language and the fourth European language, after German (1466), Tuscan (1471) and Dutch (1477) to have a printed version of the full Bible, much earlier than French (1530), English (1535), Swedish (1541), Danish (1543) and Spanish (1553: the Ferrara Bible, with just the Old Testament, and 1569: “the Bear Bible,” with both the Old and the New Testament).

The colophon of this Bible explains that the translation was made by Boniface Ferrer, brother of Saint Vincent Ferrer, “and other singular men of science,” at the Porta Coeli Charterhouse (near Valencia). If this is so, the translation should have

Jordi Bruguera i Talleda, and collation of Catalan and Languedocian Vulgates by Núria Calafell i Sala, Barcelona, Associació Bíblica de Catalunya, Publicacions de l'Abadia de Montserrat, “*Corpus Biblicum Catalanicum*” 6, 2011; *Biblia del segle XIV: Primer llibre dels Paralipòmens*, edition by Pere Bescós and Jaume de Puig Oliver, introductory essays, notes and glossary by Pere Casanellas and Pere Bescós, collation of Catalan and Languedocian Vulgates by Núria Calafell i Sala and Pere Bescós, and edition of the prologue to the Paralipomena by Pere Bescós and Pere Casanellas, Barcelona, Associació Bíblica de Catalunya, Publicacions de l'Abadia de Montserrat, “*Corpus Biblicum Catalanicum*” 9, 2021.

14. For further information, see *Corpus Biblicum Catalanicum (CBCat)*: <http://cbcat.abc.cat/> [Catalan and English versions].
15. Sant Cugat del Vallès, Arxiu Nacional de Catalunya, ms. ANC1-960-T-5294 (fons Requesens-Palau). Formerly: Sant Cugat del Vallès, Centre Borja, Arxiu Històric de la Companyia de Jesús a Catalunya, ms. A (II) (Palau Codex). *BITECA*, manid 1239.
16. Josep Gudiol i Cunill, *Una antiga traducció catalana dels quatre evangelis (Còdex del Palau)*, Vic, Fulla dominical, 1911.

been produced between 1396 and 1402, since Boniface Ferrer entered the monastery in 1396 and from 1402 onwards he held positions that would have prevented him from working on the translation. The colophon also explains that the nobleman Berenguer Vives de Boil contributed a manuscript containing this version and that it was examined and corrected by the Master of Theology and Inquisitor of the Kingdom of Valencia, the Dominican Jaume Borrell. The result was a “very true and Catholic Bible.”

This was a period in which the Inquisition had begun to act against the “false” Bibles and this may explain why the colophon insists that this Bible is “very true and Catholic,” reminds us that the text has been corrected by an inquisitor and attributes the translation to Boniface Ferrer. In any case, we know through the Inquisition documentation studied by Jordi Ventura, that the supposed translation by Boniface Ferrer was revised with the utmost care, above all by the Jewish convert Daniel Vives, under the supervision of the inquisitor Jaume Borrell, to ensure that the text adhered as closely as possible to that of the Vulgate¹⁷. This has been thought to explain the fact that, in terms of its sentence structure, the Catalan of this text can be described as a long Latin calque, and the lexicon is also full of Latinisms. In the year 2011 a bifolium dating to the fifteenth century and containing a version very close to that of the Valencian Bible, that is to say, the version that Daniel Vives and Jaume Borell corrected, has been discovered in the archives of the Inquisition in Madrid. There is also a very small fragment of the same manuscript containing Ezra 6:22–7:5; 7:18–21; 8:8–14; 8:27–30¹⁸.

In 1478, some 600 copies were printed of this Bible in Valencia. Unfortunately, in 1483 the Spanish Inquisition began to exert its authority over the territories of the Crown of Catalonia-Aragon. Despite the attribution of this translation to Boniface Ferrer and the fact that it had been examined and corrected under the supervision of the inquisitor Jaume Borrell, action was taken against the translation and the convert Daniel Vives was imprisoned in 1483. Immediately afterwards came the burning of the Bible and, sometimes, of those who had a copy of it in their possession. After the general burning ordered by the inquisitor Fernando de Montemayor in 1489, very few copies of the printed Bible could remain. In 1549, the

17. Jordi Ventura, *La Bíblia valenciana. Recuperació de la història d'un incunable en català*, Barcelona, Curial, “Biblioteca Torres Amat” 12, 1993, p. 15–18, 50–51.

18. See Jaume Riera i Sans, “Bíblias en català no cremades per la Inquisició espanyola,” *Butlletí de l'Associació Bíblica de Catalunya* 115, September 2013, p. 69–70; Pere Casanellas, “Versiones bíblicas catalanas e Inquisición: fragmentos de biblias catalanas encontrados entre la documentación inquisitorial conservada en el Archivo Histórico Nacional de Madrid,” in *III Simpósio Internacional de Estudos Inquisitoriais: novas fronteiras (Alcalá de Henares, junho de 2015)*, Anais Eletrônicos, 2015, Cachoeira, Bahia, Universidade Federal do Recôncavo da Bahia, 2016, p. 2, 16–18. <https://www2.ufrb.edu.br/simposioinquisicao/anais-eletronicos-2/anais-eletronicos-2015/>

Swiss naturalist and bibliographer Conrad Gesner wrote that all the copies of the Valencian Bible had been burnt. In fact, one copy remained in the Royal Library of Stockholm; however, it was burnt in an accidental fire in 1697.

Two valuable and reliable testimonies of this important early Catalan publication remain.

✠ The library of the New York Hispanic Society houses a copy of the last folio of this Bible. It contains, written in two columns, the final part of the Book of the Revelation (from 20:8 [Vulgate = 20:9] to 22:21) and the colophon, in which the text is attributed to Boniface Ferrer¹⁹.

✠ In around 1480 in Barcelona the Psalter from this version was printed anew (from a new typesetting). Despite the various Bible burnings, one copy has survived, at the Bibliothèque Mazarine in Paris²⁰.

1.2.4. A Fragmentary New Testament from ca. 1350–1400

In 2011–2012 Jaume Riera i Sans and Pere Casanellas discovered some fragments of parchment containing Catalan translations of the Bible in the Inquisition files of the Archivo Histórico Nacional in Madrid. Five of these fragments were part of the same manuscript, dating back to the second half of the fourteenth century and containing a version of the New Testament that is different from the versions mentioned in the three previous sections:

✠ Matt 27:11–24, 54–62; 28:1–13; Mark Prol (part); Mark 1:1–7 (100-mm wide parchment strip cut vertically from a bifolium to be used as a sewing guard). It includes the Eusebian Canons.

✠ Acts 17:23–19:5; 21:8–22:8 (bifolium).

✠ Acts 22–23 (35–45-mm wide parchment strip cut vertically from a folio to be used as a sewing guard).

✠ 1 Cor 4:11–5:12 (56-mm wide set of two parchment strips cut vertically from a folio to be used as a sewing guard).

All these translations of the New Testament were made from the Vulgate, though in the New Testament of the Fourteenth-century Bible clear influences from Occitan and supposed influences from French have been pointed out. Hopefully when this New Testament is published in the following years, the extent of these influences will be clearly established.

19. New York, The Hispanic Society of America, Rare Books, ms. B1141.

20. *Psaltiri tret de la blíbia de stampa, la quall és estada empremtada en la ciutat de València, e fon corregida, vista e regoneguda per lo reverend mestre Jacme Borrell, mestre en sacra theologia, de l'ordre de pricadors e inquisidor en lo Regne de València, e d'altres, segons en aquells se conté*, Barcelona, Nicolau Spindeler, ca. 1480.

II. The Hebrew Gospels of the Vatican Library

As we have seen (§ I.2.1), the version of the Fourteenth-century Bible as it is attested in the Marmoutier manuscript and especially in the Peiresc manuscript had a wide diffusion, as is demonstrated by the fact that a fair amount of Catalan Bible fragments and some quotations contain its text. In the following pages we will see that this text was also chosen as the source of the oldest extant translation of the four Gospels into Hebrew, found in a late fifteenth-century manuscript of the Vatican Library (Vat. ebr. 100)²¹.

The Vatican manuscript was written by a Byzantine hand and is a copy of the original translation. There is nothing in the manuscript which would allow us to identify the copyist or the translator. The old 1756 catalogue of the Vatican Library, by S. E. Assemani and G. S. Assemani, does not identify the original language of the translation²². The first hint that the translation of these Hebrew Gospels had been made from Catalan can be found in the catalogue *Codices Vaticani Hebraici* edited by Umberto Cassuto in 1956, and Cassuto is quoted by the new 2008 catalogue, edited by Benjamin Richler²³. Since this Hebrew manuscript appears in these three catalogues of the Vatican Library, it is surprising that it is not mentioned by some scholars who studied the older Hebrew versions of the Gospels, such as Alexander Marx (1929) and Judah M. Rosenthal (1962/1963)²⁴.

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21. On previous translations of fragments of the New Testament into Hebrew or of the Gospel of Matthew, and also on posterior translations of the New Testament into Hebrew, see Eran Shuali, "Why Was the New Testament Translated into Hebrew? An Introduction to the History of Hebrew Translations of the New Testament," *Open Theology* 2, 2016, p. 511–522. Curiously enough, although Shuali includes the book by Pinchas E. Lapidé that deals with the Hebrew Gospels of the Vatican in his bibliography, he does not mention this translation.
 22. Mainly for this reason, they can state that the names appearing in the genealogy of Jesus are corrupted; the authors are not aware that these names are not transcribed from Latin (or directly from Hebrew), but from Catalan (Stefano Evodio Assemani and Giuseppe Simone Assemani, eds., *Bibliothecae Apostolicae Vaticanae codicum manuscriptorum catalogus in tres partes distributus*, part 1, vol. 1, Rome, Angelus Rotilius, 1756, p. 70).
 23. Umberto Cassuto, ed., *Codices Vaticani Hebraici: Codices 1–115*, Vatican City, Bybliotheca Vaticana, "Bybliothecae Apostolicae Vaticanae codices manu scripti recensiti," 1956; Benjamin Richler, ed., palaeographical and codicological descriptions by Malachi Beit-Arié in collaboration with Nurit Pasternak, *Hebrew Manuscripts in the Vatican Library: Catalogue*, Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, "Studi e Testi" 438, 2008.
 24. Alexander Marx, "The Polemical Manuscripts in the Library of the Jewish Theological Seminary of America," in *Studies in Jewish Bibliography and Related Subjects in Memory of Abraham Solomon Freidus (1867–1923)*, *Late Chief of the Jewish Division, New York Public Library*, New York, The Alexander Kohut Memorial Foundation, 1929, p. 247–278, especially appendix 2: "Jewish Translations of Matthew into Hebrew," p. 270–273; Judah M. Rosenthal, "Early Hebrew Translations of the Gospels" (in Hebrew), *Tarbiz* 32, 1962/1963, p. 48–66, with English abstract, p. III–V.

This manuscript is now being prepared for publication by Asher Binyamin, Harvey Hames and Pere Casanellas in parallel columns with a translation into modern Catalan, an introduction in English and Catalan, a glossary and extensive notes showing that the Hebrew text is always based on the Catalan translation found in the Peiresc and Marmoutier manuscripts and not directly on the Latin Vulgate. The present paper offers examples to show that the translation was made from Catalan and, more specifically, from the Catalan version attested in the Peiresc and (to a lesser extent) Marmoutier manuscripts and attempts to demonstrate that the translator was a Jew writing for a Jewish audience, even though this is not obvious at first.

II.1. Catalan as the Language of the Source Text

II.1.1. In 1981, Mathias Delcor published an article in which he examined chapter 10 of Matthew in this manuscript and, based mainly on the orthography of the names of the apostles and also on other linguistic considerations, concluded that it was translated from Catalan, thus confirming what Cassuto had already written. He also suggested that corrections in the margins were made by an Italian²⁵. An examination of the whole text shows that his conclusions were correct and can be confirmed by many more examples.

Most proper nouns for people are in general clearly transcribed from Catalan. Examples²⁶: פירי (Matt 8:14) *Pere* (Vulgate: *Petrus*), אלפיב (Luke 6:15) *Alfeu* (Vulgate: *Alphaeus*)²⁷, אנדריב (Matt 10:2†) *Andreu* (Vulgate: *Andreas*), זאבדיב (Matt 4:21) *Zebedeu* (Vulgate: *Zebedaeus*), פאב (Luke Prol:5†) *Pau* (Vulgate: *Paulus*), גיקמי (Matt 4:21) and גיקמי (Matt 13:55†) *Jacme* (Vulgate: *Iacobus*), זואן (Matt Prol:23), גיזאן (Matt 11:7†) and יואן (Luke 1:60) *Joan* (Vulgate: *Iohannes*), דודש (Matt 26:14) *Judes* (Vulgate: *Iudas*)²⁸, דוד (John 7:42†) and דויט (Matt 1:1) *David*, according to the Catalan pronunciation in which final *-t* and *-d* are not distinguished (both are pronounced as [t] before a pause, vowel or voiceless consonant), פליי (John 1:44) and

25. Mathias Delcor, "Un manuscrit hébraïque inédit des quatre Évangiles conservé à la Bibliothèque Vaticane (hebr. 100)," *Anuario de Filología* 7, 1981, p. 201–219.

26. For each example we indicate only one reference, usually the first one, even if in many cases there are many occurrences of the word. The sign † after the reference indicates that there are no more occurrences. For the prologues, we indicate the line according to the forthcoming edition in the Corpus Biblicum Catalanicum (e.g., Matt Prol:23 = Matthew, prologue, line 23). A superscript number preceded by the sign × after a reference (e.g., Matt 25:15²) indicates the number of times a term appears in a verse (if more than once).

27. It has to be taken into account that the ending יב (-YB) is the normal transcription in Hebrew of the medieval Catalan final diphthong *-eu*. See also the following two names. This occurs similarly with other final diphthongs consisting of a vowel + glide *u*, which are transcribed as *mater lectionis* + ב (see the example *Pau*).

28. The initial *J-* in Catalan can be transcribed as ד (as in זואן *Joan*), גי, גי, גי, גי (גיקמי or גיקמי *Jacme*, גודיא *Judea*) or י (דודש *Judes*, ישאוש *Jesús*).

פיליפ (Mark 3:18) *Felip* (Vulgate: *Philippus*), אישקריוט (Matt 26:14†) and אשכריוט (John 12:4†) *Iscariot* (Vulgate: *Iscariotes*)²⁹, פילאט (Matt 27:15) *Pilat* (Vulgate: *Pilatus*), etc. Place names also appear in Catalan: גודיאה (Matt 2:1) *Judea*, שידוניאה (Matt 15:21†) and סידוניאה (Luke 4:26) *Sidônia* (ancient Catalan variant form for modern *Sidól/Sidon*), גלילאה (Matt 15:29) and גליליאה (Matt 21:11) *Galilea* (could also be Latin; cf. Hebrew הגליל *ha-Galil*).

However, the same copyist of the text has often corrected these names—especially the names of the apostles—in the margins with forms which belong, in general, to medieval Italian dialects: אנדרייב *Andreu* → אנדריאה *Andrea* (Matt 10:2†), ג'קמי *Jacme* and ג'קמו *Jacmo* (copyist error) → יקומו *Jacomo* (Matt 10:3^{x2}†); פירי *Pere* → פירו *Pero* (Matt 8:14; 10:2†).

Sometimes proper names appear corrupted in the text itself or have been changed into an Italian form: לוקא *Luca* (Matt Prol:21) instead of ליוק or לוק *Lluc*, פיליפו *Filippo* (Matt 10:3) instead of פיליף or פליף *Felip*, מארקו *Marco* (Matt Prol:20) instead of מרק or מארק *Marc*.

Finally, the evangelist's name usually appears in its Italian form in the headings of chapters, which must have been added by the copyist, who Italianized the translation: מתאיו *Matteo* (the Catalan form would be מטיב or מתיב *Mateu*); מארקו *Marco* (the Catalan form would be מרק or מארק *Marc*); לוקא *Luca* (the Catalan form would be ליוק *Lluc*). Curiously enough, in the headings of John we have the forms זואן and יואן which do not correspond to the transcription of the Italian form *Giovanni* but to the Catalan form *Joan*.

In the heading of most chapters appears the word קפיטולו, which is a transcription of the Latin word *capitulum*, ablative of *capitulum* “chapter”; this Latin word appears also in some Catalan manuscripts (for example, in the Palau Codex).

II.1.2. There are about two or three dozen other words (common nouns, adjectives and verbs) that appear, once or several times, in a form transcribed from Catalan. In most cases, it seems that the translator was not sure how to translate these Catalan words into Hebrew and for that reason just transcribed them. Some of these transcriptions have vowel-points in order to help with the pronunciation of these non-Hebrew words. Examples of these transcriptions are:

✠ Different forms of the conjugation of Catalan verbs, especially the verb *escandalitzar* (Vulgate: *scandalizare*, English: *scandalize*):

29. It has to be taken into account that in medieval Catalan texts the sound [s] of the Catalan letter *s* could usually be transcribed by *ש*, because this Hebrew letter, even when pronounced as *shin* in Classical and Modern Hebrew, was pronounced, as the letters *ס* and *צ* with the sound [s]. See Irene Garbell, “The Pronunciation of Hebrew in Medieval Spain,” in *Homenaje a Millás-Valllicrosa*, vol. 1, Barcelona, Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1954, p. 665–669; Edward Yechezkel Kutscher, *A History of the Hebrew Language*, Jerusalem, Magnes Press, 1982, p. 16.

אישקנדליזא (Mark 9:41†) *escandalitza* “[he] scandalizes”.
 אשקנדליזאר (Matt 18:6†) *escandalitzarà* “[he] will scandalize”.
 אשקנדליזאט (Matt 13:57†) *escandalitzat* “scandalized”, singular; אישקנדליזאטס *escandalitzats* “scandalized”, plural (Matt 13:41).
 בלשמא (Luke 9:43†, addition; see § II.3) *blasmà* “[he] blamed”.

✠ The following nouns:

איונגילי (Mark 8:38†) and אונגילי (Matt Prol:7) *evangeli* “gospel” (Vulgate: *Evangelium*).

אופנא (Matt 6:1†) *ufana* “ostentation³⁰”.

אוגלישאה (Matt 16:18†) *Església* “Church” and אגלייאה (Matt 16:18²†) *Eglésia* (ancient Catalan form of the same word).

איונגלישטס (Matt Prol:17) *evangelists* “evangelists” (Vulgate: *evangelistae*).

אשקנדלוש (Matt 18:7†) *escàndels* “scandals” (*escàndel* is a medieval variant of modern and medieval Catalan *escàndol*).

בונט (Matt 25:18) / בשנט (Matt 25:28†) *besant* “bezant”, “gold solidus”, and the pl. forms בונטש (Matt 25:15²†), בשנטש (Matt 25:16†) and בישנטש (Matt 25:20²†) and בישאנט (Matt 18:24†)³¹ *besants*.

גונילא (John 19:23†) *gonella* “tunic” and the plural form גונילש (Mark 6:9†) *gonelles*.

דיאקש (John 1:19†) *diaques*, plural form of *diaca* “deacon”.

דיקמנני (Matt 28:1†) *dicmenge* (ancient Catalan variant for *diumenge*) “Sunday³²”.

ויבריש (Matt 3:7†) *vibres* “vipers³³”.

נרדי (Mark 14:3†) *nardi* (ancient Catalan variant for *nard*) “nard” or “spike-nard”.

סינדאט (Matt 27:28†) *sendat* “fine silk” (added to the text of the Vulgate).

סיסר (Matt 22:17), סישאר (Matt 10:21†) and שישאר (Matt 10:21†) *Cèsar* “Caesar³⁴”.

סידיניב (Matt 27:32†, with copyist error in the last vowel)³⁵ *cirineu* “Cyrenian”.

סינטוריאו (Luke 7:2) and סינטוריאו (Mark 15:39) *centurió* “centurion”.

30. This example is especially interesting. The translator shows clearly to be unsure about how to translate the Catalan noun *ufana* “ostentation” which we find in the Peiresc and Marmoutier manuscripts of the Fourteenth-century Bible. First, he translates it using the Aramaic word אמבוהא (אמבורהא) “crowd”, but afterwards he seems not to be satisfied and explains which word the version he is translating has: אמבוה בלעו אופנא (“*ambúha*, in non-Hebrew language: *ufana*”).

31. The form that appears in the manuscript is בישנאש.

32. The form, slightly corrupted by copyists, that appears in the manuscript is דוקמנני, with a very short ו.

33. The form, slightly corrupted by copyists, that appears in the manuscript has ד instead of ויבדיש: ויבדיש.

34. It has to be taken into account that in Catalan the letter *c* followed by *e* or *i* is pronounced [s], like the Hebrew letter ס. See also the following two words.

35. This should be סידיניב.

פֵי (Mark 6:39†) *fē*, old variant of *fenc* “hay”.
 קאנניב (Matt 10:3; Mark 3:18) *cananeu* “Canaanite”³⁶.
 קשטראטש (Matt 19:12^{3†}) *castrats* “castrated men, eunuchs”.

II.1.3. Even groups of words or short phrases transcribed from Catalan can be found in a few cases. Examples:

דטיר אי דשידון (Matt 11:22†) *de Tir i de Sidon* “of Tyre and Sidon”.
 טשקנדליזא (Matt 5:29) *t'escandalitza* “scandalizes you”.

II.1.4. Other details of the Hebrew text show that it was not translated from the Latin text of the Vulgate, and very often precisely reflect the different linguistic characteristics of the Catalan original:

✧ The passive forms of the Vulgate correspond in the Hebrew translation to periphrastic forms, which reflect the passive periphrastic forms of a Romance language. Examples:

John 1:31 Vulgate *manifestetur* → היה מפורסם, literal translation of Catalan *fos manifestat* (Peiresc and Marmoutier), instead of יגלה.

John 3:14 Vulgate *exaltari* → יהיה נשא, literal translation of Catalan *sia exalçat* (*sia axalçat* in Peiresc), instead of להנשא.

John 3:17 Vulgate *salvetur* → יהיה נושע, literal translation of Catalan *sia salvat* (Peiresc), instead of יושע.

✧ The final occlusive consonants *-b*, *-d* and *-g* of proper names (e.g., *Aminadab*, Matt 1:4; *Eliud*, Matt 1:14; *Sarug*, Luke 3:34) are sometimes transcribed using the equivalent voiceless occlusives ה־, ח־/ט־ and ק־, according to the most usual pronunciation of these consonants in Catalan (except before a voiced consonant).

✧ Some erroneous translations in the Gospels are easily explained by the fact that the source text was Catalan. Examples:

Matt 4:23 Vulgate *Et circuibat Jesus totam Galileam, docens...* (“And Jesus went about all Galilee, teaching...”) → ישואש משיח היה מחפש כל ארץ גלילאה (“Jesus Christ searched all the land of Galilee, preaching...”). The bad translation מחפש “searched” can be explained because the Catalan verb that is used in the translation (*cercar*) had two different meanings in medieval Catalan: “to go about”, which is the right meaning here, and “to search”, which is the meaning the translator had erroneously adopted.

Matt 8:12 Vulgate *Ibi erit fletus et stridor dentium* (“There will be weeping and

36. The form, slightly corrupted by copyists, that appears in the manuscript is קאעייב. Note that it is very easy for a copyist to read ץ instead of two consecutive ך.

gnashing of teeth”) → מהאל (And there will be weeping and trembling of God”). The bad translation מהאל “of God” can be explained by an original Catalan that, like Marmoutier, had *de dens* (with elision of the *t* that is found in Peiresc: *dents*, and which is not pronounced in most Catalan dialects). The translator erroneously read *de deus* (since *n* and *u* are very similar in medieval manuscripts) “of God”.

Matt 13:50 Vulgate *Et mittent eos in caminum ignis: ibi erit fletus, et stridor dentium* (“And they shall be cast into the furnace of fire: there shall be weeping and gnashing of teeth”) → וישימום בדרך האש ושם יהיה בכי והרעשת שינים (“And they shall be put in the road/path of fire. And there shall be weeping and gnashing of teeth.”) This Hebrew text is surely the translation of a Catalan version where the Latin *caminum* “furnace” was not understood and has been confused with the Catalan word *camí* “road/path” (This sentence is missing in the Peiresc and Marmoutier manuscripts.)

Mark 14:67 Vulgate *et cum vidisset Petrum calefacientem se* (“And when she had seen Peter warming himself”) → וכאשר ראה פירי שנועל נעלו (“And when she saw Pere wearing his sandal/sandals”). The manuscript Peiresc has *qui-s calfava* “who warmed himself”. It is clear that the translator has read a long letter *s* instead of the letter *f*: *qui-s calsava* (“who was putting on his sandals”).

II.2. The Fourteenth-Century Catalan Bible as Attested in the Peiresc and Marmoutier Manuscripts as the Original of the Hebrew Translation

A comparison of the Hebrew translation of the Gospels and the four manuscripts containing the Catalan version of the Gospels (Marmoutier, Peiresc, Palau Codex and the fragmentary New Testament of the Archivo Histórico Nacional in Madrid) reveals that the Fourteenth-century Bible and more specifically the version attested in the Peiresc manuscript was the basis for the Hebrew text. However, the Hebrew translation often differs from the Peiresc manuscript, implying that the translation was carried out using an older manuscript than Peiresc that contained a lot of variations from the Peiresc manuscript.

II.2.1. Prologues

II.2.1.1. Most of the medieval manuscripts of the Vulgate had prologues before each of the four Gospels. Three of them (to Mark, Luke and John) are called “anti-Marcionite” prologues and were written in the middle of the fourth century (or before). Another set (to Matthew, Mark, Luke and John) seems to have also been written in the fourth century in response to the anti-Marcionite prologues, and are called “Monarchian” prologues, because they were originally believed to derive from Monarchian circles in Rome in the second to the third century. Subsequent scholarship has suggested that they are Spanish in origin, possibly from the

circles of Priscillian³⁷. Other prologues are based on fragments of works by Jerome or Isidore, etc³⁸. In the Hebrew translation, each of the four Gospels, except John, has a short prologue. The prologue to Matthew is a translation of the prologue “Mattheus cum primo praedicasset,” included in the *Glossa ordinaria* attributed to Walafrid Strabo³⁹; the prologues to Mark and Luke, except the last sentences, are translations of the Monarchian prologues “Marcus evangelista Dei et Petri in baptisate filius” and “Lucas Syrus natione Antiochensis, arte medicus⁴⁰.”

A comparison of the Hebrew prologues with the prologues to the Gospels of Matthew, Mark, Luke and John in the Peiresc and Marmoutier manuscripts shows that they are the same, except that Peiresc and Marmoutier also include a Monarchian prologue to John. Since there was a great variety of prologues to the Gospels in medieval manuscripts of the Vulgate, it is extremely unlikely that the Hebrew Gospels would have exactly the same prologues as the ones in the Peiresc and Marmoutier manuscripts, if they had been translated from another Catalan version, especially since only two of the three are of the same origin (Monarchian).

II.2.1.2. A close comparison of the prologues of Peiresc and Marmoutier with the prologues of the Hebrew Gospels shows that the original of the Hebrew translation was a manuscript of the same family as Peiresc. The Catalan text of the prologues of Matthew and Mark has few differences between Peiresc and Marmoutier, and comparison with the Hebrew translation does not lead to any conclusion.

However, in regard to Luke there are important differences between Peiresc and Marmoutier, and the Hebrew translation always coincides with Peiresc.

First of all, it is clear that the Hebrew text is not a translation of the Vulgate but of the Fourteenth-century Bible because, like Peiresc and Marmoutier, it only has more or less the first half of the Latin prologue, until “*quae essent ab aliis inchoata*” (the text from “*Cui ideo post baptismum filii Dei*” onwards is omitted).

The first four words of the Latin text (“*Lucas Syrus natione Antiochensis*”) are translated by Peiresc and the Hebrew Gospels, but are missing (except the name of

37. Hugh A. G. Houghton, *The Latin New Testament. A Guide to Its Early History, Texts, and Manuscripts*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2016, p. 197.

38. A collection of these prologues to the Gospels can be found in Donatien de Bruyne, ed., *Préfaces de la Bible latine*, Namur, Auguste Godenne, 1920, p. 153–195.

39. De Bruyne, ed., *Préfaces de la Bible latine*, p. 183–184.

40. Mark: De Bruyne, ed., *Préfaces de la Bible latine*, p. 171–172; John Wordsworth and Henry Julian White, eds., *Nouum Testamentum domini nostri Jesu Christi Latine secundum editionem s. Hieronymi ad codicum manuscriptorum fidem*, Oxford, Clarendon, 1889–1954, vol. 1, p. 171–173. Luke: De Bruyne, ed., *Préfaces de la Bible latine*, p. 172; Wordsworth and White, eds., *Nouum Testamentum domini nostri Jesu Christi Latine*, vol. 1, p. 269–271.

the evangelist) in Marmoutier. We cannot find important differences in the translation of the following 15 words. But afterwards, the sentence “Nam neque uxorem umquam habens neque filios LXXIII annorum obiit in Bithynia plenus spiritu sancto” is translated by Marmoutier but not by Peiresc and the Hebrew Gospels. In the following sentence the Vulgate explains that Luke wrote down his Gospel in Achaea, which is translated by Marmoutier, while Peiresc and the Hebrew Gospels say instead that he wrote his Gospel for the faithful Greeks. Marmoutier translates the following section of the Latin text (“Cui extra ea [...] quae essent ab aliis incohata”), while Peiresc and the Hebrew Gospels have another text, which explains that the recipient of Luke’s work was Theofilus, that Luke did not marry, that he died in Bithynia at the age of eighty-three and that his bones were moved to Antioch in the year 379 (Peiresc) or 357 (Hebrew Gospels). This last information has been taken from another prologue to Luke which is based on the information given by Jerome in his *De viris illustribus*.

II.2.2. The Text of the Gospels Itself

II.2.2.1. A close comparison of the Hebrew text with the text of the Peiresc and Marmoutier manuscripts, on the one hand, and with the Vulgate, on the other hand, clearly shows that the Hebrew translation was made from a manuscript containing the same translation that was copied, with many errors and variants, in the Peiresc and Marmoutier manuscripts. Here are some examples:

✠ Some omissions that are found in the Hebrew translation are also found in Peiresc-Marmoutier; in some cases, this is especially notable because the omission causes the text to be grammatically incorrect: וכאשר [*] העמים שהיו (בצער ושוכבים בלי רועה ריחם עליהן) (“And when [*] the multitudes which were in distress and lying without a shepherd, he had compassion on them”; Matt 9:36). See Marmoutier (similar to Peiresc): *E quant [*] les gens qui éran traballades e éran sens pastor, hach piatat d’ells*. The verb *videns* of the Vulgate has been omitted in both the Fourteenth-century Bible and the Hebrew Gospels.

✠ The additions to the text of the Vulgate that we find in the Hebrew translation usually are also found in the Peiresc and Marmoutier manuscripts. The occurrence of the Catalan word סֵינְדָאט *sendat* “fine silk”, already mentioned above (§ II.1.2), is one of these—in this case, minor—additions. Another example: in Matt 11:3, John sends his disciples to ask Jesus: אתהו שעתיד לבא להושיענו או מקיים אנו אחר (Are you the one who is to come to save us or do we wait for another?) The underlined text has been added to the Vulgate because the Hebrew text has translated Peiresc-Marmoutier, where we also find this addition: *Tu est aquell qui deu vanir per salvar-nos, o spararem altra?* (Peiresc, similar to Marmoutier).

✚ In some cases, the translation differs considerably from the Vulgate text and coincides with Peiresc-Marmoutier. For example, in Matt 4:4 the Vulgate has: *Non in solo pane vivit homo, sed in omni verbo quod procedit de ore Dei* (“Not in bread alone does man live, but in every word that proceedeth from the mouth of God”), while Peiresc (similar to Marmoutier) has: *Homo non vivit tan solament de pa, mes de la gràcia de Déu* (“Not in bread alone does man live, but in the grace of God”). It is clear that the Hebrew Gospels translated Peiresc-Marmoutier: אדם אינינו חי על הלחם לבדו אבל מחן השם (“Not in bread alone does man live, but in the grace of the Name [= God]”).

✚ Sometimes there is a difference between the Hebrew translation and the Vulgate because the Hebrew translator misunderstood the Catalan text of the Fourteenth-century Bible. This is the case in Mt 10:17, where the word *parlament*, which had the meaning of “assembly, council” in its context, has been understood as “speech, discourse” (a meaning that this word has in other contexts) by the translator.

II.2.2.2. We have seen (§ II.2.1.2) that comparison of the different versions of the prologue of Luke shows that the Hebrew translation has been made from a manuscript of the Peiresc family. (It has important differences with respect to Marmoutier.) Different details of the text itself of the Gospels also confirm this conclusion. For example, in several cases (Matt 24:37; Luke 12:40; 24:7; John 3:13–14; 5:27; 6:27; 13:31) the title of Jesus *Filius hominis* of the Vulgate is literally translated by Marmoutier as *Fill de l'home* (“Son of the Man”), while Peiresc has *Fill de la Verge* (“Son of the Virgin”), as in the Hebrew Gospels: בן הבתולה (“Son of the Virgin”)⁴¹.

II.2.2.3. To make things more complicated, there are many omissions common to Peiresc and Marmoutier which do not exist in the Hebrew version (Matt 6:2,5; 12:1,7,8,18; 13:10,11,50; 14:23,24,27,28; 15:31; 16:7,9,20,23; etc.), and it does not seem probable that the Hebrew translator had recovered the text of these lacunae by means of the Vulgate. There are also some additions and translation errors common to Peiresc and Marmoutier which cannot be found in the Hebrew text. And in some cases, the translation of Peiresc and Marmoutier coincides with the Vulgate, while the Hebrew Gospels have another translation. Even in some cases the Hebrew translation coincides with Marmoutier and not with Peiresc. All these details make it difficult for the moment to draw a stemma of the Catalan manuscripts and decide where we should place the hyparchetype that was the source text

41. We also find the translation of *Filius hominis* as “Son of the Virgin” in the Palau Gospels and other medieval versions, especially from Occitania, and already in the beginning of the thirteenth century in Normandy. Previously this Christological title can be found in the church fathers (e.g., Alcuin of York, 8th–9th centuries; Bernard of Clairvaux, 12th century). This expression emphasizes the human and passible nature of Christ.

for the Hebrew translation. Hopefully, when we have finished studying the whole manuscript, we will be able to reach a conclusion.

II.3. The Translator Was Probably a Jew Who Wrote for a Jewish Audience

Pinchas E. Lapide, in his book mentioned in note 21, published in 1976, argued that the translator was a Jew, well familiarized with Hebrew and with extensive rabbinical knowledge, who was being forced by Christians to undertake the translation and did all he could to sabotage the project⁴². Mathias Delcor, in his article in 1981 on the Hebrew Gospels, also suggested that the author was a Jewish convert, who probably produced this version commissioned by Christians on the occasion of the Tortosa Disputation of 1413–1414⁴³.

On the other hand, Delio Vania Proverbio, in a short article included in a Vatican publication in the year 2000, suggests that the translator was a Jew working in a Jewish environment⁴⁴. In fact, this was also suggested by Stefano Evodio Assemani and Giuseppe Simone Assemani in their 1756 catalogue of the Vatican Library⁴⁵.

We also think that the author was a Jew who translated the Gospels for controversial reasons against Christians, reacting to the increasingly difficult conditions faced by Jews in the Iberian Peninsula in the aftermath of the pogroms of 1391, the Tortosa Disputation of 1413–1414, the preaching campaigns and the mass conversions of Jews:

✧ At a time when vernacular versions of the Bible, and in particular of the New Testament, were banned and even burnt, it is unthinkable that a Christian project to translate the Gospels would have taken a Catalan version as the source text, whereas for some Jews, translating from Catalan—their native language—would have been much easier than translating from Latin.

✧ As Proverbio rightly points out, the context of the manuscript is Jewish, since in the same manuscript two other Jewish works were included: the midrashic text *Ma'ase Ashmeday* and the Hebrew translation of the *Tales of Sendebbar*. Since these texts were copied by Jews, it is hard to believe that the Hebrew Gospels could have originated in a Christian milieu.

42. Pinchas E. Lapide, *Hebräisch in den Kirchen*, Neukirchen-Vluyn, Neukirchener Verlag, “Forschungen zum jüdisch-christlichen Dialog” 1, 1976, p. 64–68.

43. Delcor, “Un manuscrit hébraïque inédit,” p. 218.

44. Delio Vania Proverbio, “Vangeli. Ebraico,” in F. D’Aiuto, G. Morello and A. M. Piazzoni, eds., *I Vangeli dei Popoli. La Parola e l’immagine del Cristo nelle culture e nella storia*, Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 2000, p. 372–374.

45. “Inepte atque infideliter ab impio quodam Judaeo, vel atheo, Ebraice reddita” (Assemani and Assemani, *Bibliothecae Apostolicae Vaticanae codicum manuscriptorum catalogus*, vol. 1, p. 70–71).

✠ Some additions to the original Catalan text (and also in respect to the Vulgate and the Greek text) are better explained if the author was a Jew, as in Luke 9:43. The Catalan (Peiresc) text reads: *E Jesús blasrà l'asparit leig, e sanà l'infant, e raté-lo a son para* (“And Jesus rebuked the ugly spirit, healed the infant and returned him to his father”). The Hebrew text writes: וישאוּש בלשמא הרוח רעה ואחר עשה בידו הסימן הנעשה היום בין הגוים קודם אכילתם ושתייתם לפני הנער וחזרו לאביו שלו ושקט (“And Jesus *blasrà* [Catalan for *rebuked*] the evil spirit, and then he did with his hand the sign that Christians do today before they eat and drink, in front of the boy, and he returned him to his father, and he was calm”).

✠ Some details of the translation itself also show that the translator was Jewish, for example: the expression שתי וערב (literally, “warp and woof”), which appears two dozen times in the Hebrew Gospels with the meaning of “cross” (referring to the crucifixion of Jesus). This term was adopted by the Jews of the Middle Ages to disguise the fact that they were talking about the cross or the crucifixion, and it is used broadly in anti-Christian polemics.

The fact that the quotations from the Old Testament in the Gospels are translated back into Hebrew from the Catalan version and are not copied from the Hebrew Bible (even where the text of the Gospels specifically mentions “as is written,” indicating a direct quotation from the Bible) cannot be adduced in support of the Christian origin of the translation. In fact, the quotations from the Old Testament in the Gospels are generally taken from the old Greek version called the Septuagint, which often differs considerably from the Hebrew text. Therefore, it is no surprise that these quotations have been translated from the Catalan text; moreover, perhaps the Jewish translator wanted to show in this way that the Gospels had misunderstood or purposely misrepresented the original Hebrew text.

Conclusions

1. We know at least four medieval Catalan translations of the Gospels: the one included in the Fourteenth-century Bible (Marmoutier and Peiresc manuscripts), the Palau Gospels, the version included in the printed Fifteenth-century Bible or Valencian Bible and the one included in what we have called the “New Testament of the Archivo Histórico Nacional in Madrid.” Only the first two versions are complete.
2. The Hebrew Gospels copied in the Vat. ebr. 100 manuscript have been translated from a Catalan source text and contain dozens of proper nouns and other words (some of them with many occurrences in the text), and even a few short phrases or groups of words, transcribed from Catalan.

3. At least one word (קפיטולו) seems to have been transcribed from the Latin word *capitulo* already present in the Catalan original.
4. The copyists corrupted some Catalan transcriptions, surely because they did not understand them, and changed some proper nouns into Italian forms, in the marginal notes or in the text itself.
5. The Catalan source text of the Hebrew translation is a Catalan translation of the Gospels that has been copied in the Peiresc manuscript.
6. Taking into account some coincidences (omissions, additions, translations not based on the Vulgate) of Peiresc and Marmoutier versus the Hebrew version, and even some coincidences of the Hebrew version with Marmoutier versus Peiresc, further study must be done in order to place the hyparchetype that was the source text of the Hebrew version in the stemma of the Catalan manuscripts of the Fourteenth-century Bible.
7. It seems probable that the translator of the Hebrew Gospels was a Jew, who translated the Gospels for polemical reasons against Christians and for a Jewish audience.