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A Medieval Spanish Translation of Avot: Genizah Fragments

As is well known, the reading of the *Sayings of the Fathers*¹, unlike other Mišnaic treatises, is not restricted to the House of Study: "Aboth is now, and for many centuries has been, included in the Jewish prayer-book, and it is placed there in order to provide matter for edification in connection with worship. The prayer book contains, besides prayers and hymns (*piyutim*), passages from the Talmud for memorial purposes. But no other tractate or complete work of any kind, apart from those just mentioned, is included in the prayer book. To Aboth alone is that distinction given. The custom of reading it otherwise than in the study of the Mišnah began in Sura, where it was read (or recited) on Sabbaths, after the Minḥah service. This was done at first only in the Colleges; but the practice was adopted in the Synagogues, and was really established there by the eleventh century of the common era"².

This almost platitudinous statement bears repeating: it explains the large number of mss; 236 Genizah fragments, 31 Mišnah mss and 61 ms *sid-durim* were available to one student of the Hebrew text of the treatise and the list does not, by any means, claim to be complete. It also explains the extreme variations in the textual tradition. It is also the custom of reading it on the Sabbath afternoon which explains its large later printed

¹ On the treatise cf. e.g. C. Taylor, *Sayings of the Jewish Fathers* (Cambridge 1897/1900), 2 vols. L. Finkelstein, *Introduction to the Treatise Abot*, New York 1950. Idem, "Introductory Study to the Pirke Abot", *Journal of Biblical Literature*, LVII (1938), 13-30; Benedict Thomas Viviano, *Study as Worship* Leiden 1978.

² R. Travers Herford, *Pirke Avot*, New York 1930, 13 cf. also L. Zunz, *Die Ritus des Synagogalen Gottesdienstes geschichtlich entwickelt*, Berlin 1919, 85-86, who cites the Tur as evidence that in Spain it was read in the morning (Tur, I, 292) and Abudarham to show that it was read between Passover and Pentecost.

diffusion and the large number of printed copies of Judeo-Spanish translations both within Judeo-Spanish prayerbooks and as separate volumes. These translations were well-known to bibliographers from the XIXth c. and onward; dozens of editions of these printed books were recorded time and again by the cataloguers of the larger collections: Kayserling, for example, had mentioned editions of Amsterdam 1664, 1683, 1701, 1712, 1739, 1805, Vienna 1820, etc.³

In Amsterdam, for example, the congregations of Sephardim had the custom of reading the six chapters of the treatise between Passover and Pentecost. And students of the Sephardi school of Amsterdam in the XVIIth and XVIIIth centuries used to sing them at the Bimah as part of their training. Printers had therefore the double incentive of publishing a textbook and a sacred text.

The *Advertencia* at the beginning of various editions of these *Perakim* informs us of these customs. Of various possible editions the Amsterdam 1724 may be cited: "Advertencias al deboto Lector: Acostumbran nuestras congregaciones la Pascua de Pesah hasta la de Sebuoth leer... los Perakim que tradujo el docto Moseh Belmonte en lengua Española y yo lo buelbo a estampar con la enmienda y curiosidad possible, para la exercitacion en la Tebah cantar estos Sacros Himnos los discipulos de Abraham Chavez Rabi del Quarto Medras de las Escuelas en Amsterdam de Adar Año 5484"⁴.

The translator Moseh Belmonte has not been studied and yet scholars

³ See for the Hebrew textual tradition Sh. Sharvit, *Textual Variants and Language of the Treatise Abot and Prolegomena to a Critical Edition* (Hebrew), Bar Ilan University, Ph. D. Thesis, Ramat Gan 1976, ch. 5, a. M. Kayserling, *Biblioteca Española-Portuguesa-Judaica* (Strasbourg 1890), 27 s.v. Moses Belmonte and 71/2. See also M. Steinschneider, *Catalogus Librorum Hebraeorum in Bibliotheca Bodleiana*, Berlin 1852-60, 1463, 1513. Additional editions of the XVIIIth - XXth c. are listed in A. Yaari, *Catalogue of Judaeo-Spanish books in the Jewish National and University Library*, Jerusalem 1934, 13-15, No. 82-15, No. 82-81. J. Zedner, *Catalogue of the Hebrew Books in the British Museum* (London 1867), 139, 552, 553, 554. V. *Systematische Catalogus van de Judaica der Bibliotheca Rosenthaliana*, Amsterdam 1938, 232, 233. S. Van Straalen, *Catalogue of the Hebrew Books in the British Museum* (acquired during the years 1868-1892), Hildersheim - New York reprint, 168-9; A. E. Cowley, *A Concise Catalogue of the Hebrew Printed Books in the Bodleian*, Oxford 1971², 447; *The New York Public Library Hebrew Characters Catalogue*, vol. 4, Boston 1981, 772; etc. And see now Ora Schwarzwald, "A Survey of Ladino Translations of the *Ethics of the Fathers*" (Hebrew) *Alei Sefer* 12/1986, 95-111.

⁴ This edition is the sixth issue of this particular translation: *Paraprasis / Caldayca / En los Cantares de / Selomoh, con el texto / Hebrayco, y Ladino / traduzida en lengua / Espanola / Impresso en / Amsterdam. / En Casa, y a costo de / Yshak / de / Cordova / Anno. 5434. / sexta impre. The Advertencia is on p. 6 and the text of Avot on pp. 93-167. This edition is a purely random additional point of reference. Obviously, the custom is earlier (see Zunz above n. 2): The Amsterdam 1664 edition has a similar mention.*

have been lately attracted to the study of these translations. Sephiha, for example, has studied portions of these Judeo-Spanish printed translations emphasizing their close connection to the Hebrew original. O. Schwarzwald Rodrigue's laborious research on the printed versions deserves particular mention.

And yet, the search for an archetypal, original translation, that is — one translation that is close chronologically to the beginnings of Spanish romance has not yielded results. This contrasts with the case of another Jewish language. In Yiddish there are known copies; Taylor had noted some mss of Yiddish translations of Avot and there are some Genizah fragments of an Yiddish translation. Had Avot been merely another Mišnaic treatise, this phenomenon would hardly surprise us; though there are citations of the Talmud in the Castilian romance, no medieval ms of the Mišnah in Spanish is known. But it is important to remember that, as has been noted above, Avot had a much wider currency. The later descriptions of Spanish Jews reading the treatise are preceded by medieval ones, one should not forget that it is the Tur and Abudarham who are usually cited to show the medieval currency of this custom: two eminently Spanish authorities⁵.

Nevertheless, one must admit that there are a number of writers who have put forward the hypothesis that there are no examples of Spanish translations of the Jewish liturgy from the Middle Ages. H. P. Solomon writes: "I do not believe that there was a demand for Spanish language prayerbooks among the Jews of pre-expulsion Spain"⁶. I Revah, though somewhat obliquely, implied the same⁷. P. Naveh has maintained that: "Bisher wurden keine liturgischen Texte identifiziert, die für jüdische Gemeinden in Spanien vor 1492 in der Landessprache niedergeschrieben

⁵ On Mosseh Belmonte see Steinschneider loc. cit. (n. 3) and Kayserling, loc. cit. (n. 3). For Sephiha's work see, for example, his study of the first two verses of Avot in Judeo-Spanish calque in his *Le Ladino*, Paris 1979, t. 2, 420-445; see also his bibliography *ibid.* O. Schwarzwald Rodrigue, "Typologie des Traductions du Traite des Peres en Ladino" (Hebrew) *Massorot* II (1986), 103-118. The author was kind enough to mention my discovery on p. 104. The fragment, however, is not at the British Museum. For the Yiddish translations see Taylor, op. cit., vol. 2. The Yiddish Genizah fragments in S. Hopkins, "A Genizah fragment of Pirke Avot in Old Yiddish" (Hebrew), *Tarbiz* III, 3 (1983), 459-468. The citations of the Talmud in Castilian romance I refer to are in the BN (Madrid) ms of the Memorial of 1416 written by maestre Juan el Viejo. See E. Gutwirth "The Memorial of Maestre Juan el Vejo", *Ninth World Congress of Jewish Studies*, Division B., vol. 1, Jerusalem 1986, 129-134.

⁶ H. P. Salomon, "Was there a Spanish Translation of Sephardi Prayers before 1552", *American Sephardi*, VI (1973), 79-90, 81.

⁷ I. S. Revah, "Formation et evolution des parlers Juedeo-Espagnols des Balkans" in (ed. G. Straka), *Actes du 10e Congres International de Linguistique et Philologie Romanes*, Strasbourg 1962, 1965, 1351-71, 1352.

wurden. Das reiche material in Handschriften und Drucken stammt aus der Zeit nach der Vertreibung..."⁸.

According to Schwarzwald⁹ the later, printed, Jewish translations in Latin characters were written not by Jews but by conversos who formed an aristocracy "proud of its pure Spanish language". These later printed translations deserve, according to Schwarzwald, to be classified with the Jewish Ladino translations because of their literalism. I find it difficult to adapt this reasoning to Medieval Spanish texts. Whatever the evidence for a converso provenance for later printed translations in Latin characters, it is difficult to document such a differentiation for the Middle Ages; no evidence has been put forward to prove that Jews could not read Latin characters and that conversos were not able to read Hebrew characters. This fact should be sufficient to end speculations as to the provenance of such texts in Latin characters. But I have collected elsewhere¹⁰ some examples, out of those available, to show that conversos could and did read Hebrew and that non-converted Jews used Spanish translations of the liturgy to a larger extent than had been allowed for in previous studies.

Another text which may cause to revise the hypothetical tendency to minimize the extent of liturgic translations before the Ferrara Orden of 1552, is the subject of the following lines. The ms fragment belongs to the Taylor-Schechter collection of Genizah fragments housed at the University Library, Cambridge. It forms part of the recently conserved Additonal Series; it bears the call mark *AS 209.256*. It is a fragment on paper, somewhat stained and mutilated, which measures 100mm by 150mm, with writing on both sides, in Latin characters in a Spanish gothic hand of the XVth c., probably its second half¹¹. The pages contain 22 lines each. The *mišnayyot* are not numbered but they are divided by a sign. An examination of its content leads to its identification as part of the fourth chapter of the *Ethics of the Fathers*.

A possible explanation for the existence of such Spanish fragments in the Genizah dating from before the expulsion may lie in the current of emmigration to Egypt and the Holy Land in the XVth century which has been increasingly well-documented in recent publications¹².

⁸ Die Romanisch-Jüdischen Literaturbeziehungen im Mittelalters, in (ed.: H.U.Gumbrecht) *Gundriss der Romanischen Literaturen des Mittelalters*, Heidelberg 1972, 216-263.

⁹ Loc. cit. (n. 5), 100.

¹⁰ "Fragmentos de Siddurim Españoles de la Genizah". *Sefarad* XL/3 (1981), 389-401.

¹¹ Compare the late Gothic hand of plates 96, 99, 100, 101 and pp. LXII, LIX, of Zacarias García Villada, *Paleografía Española*, II (1923).

¹² Cf. e.g., Ashtor, *A History of the Jews in Egypt and Syria*, vol. 2, 444ff; B. Z. Kedar, "Notes on the history of the Jews of Palestine in the Middle Ages", *Tarbiz*, 42, (1973), 401ff.

Although the main purpose of these lines is to make this ms available to scholars, some remarks may be made concerning its main characteristics. The later, better known, printed translations have not yet been made the subject of as extensive a study as has been devoted to the Pentateuch¹³. Nevertheless they may serve to bring to light, by way of contrast, some of the features of the medieval ms translation. To this effect the earliest known printed translation, that printed in the *Libro / de Oracyones / de todo el año / traduzido del / Hebrayco de verbo a ver/bo de antiguos exemplares: por quanto los ympressos / fasta aqui / estan errados: con muchas / cosas acrescentades de / nuevo segun pro la / siguiente tabla se / muestra. 5312 De la Criacion / a 14 de Sivan / impresso pro yndustria y-despensa / de Yom Tob Atias hijo / de Levi Atias* (Ferrara 1552, 8°) – as well as the Amsterdam 5434 version¹⁴ will be used for comparison.

Literal Character

A confrontation of these texts suggests that the language of the ms is less of a “slavish” calque of the Hebrew than the printed version. This would seem to confirm what has been observed by Morreale¹⁵ when contrasting the medieval ms translations of the Moses Canticle with their later printed counterpart. Similar remarks have been made by Amigo¹⁶ as a result of a confrontation of the medieval *romanceamientos* of the Pentateuch with the Constantinople Bible of 1547.

*Use of the copula*¹⁷

Later Judeo Spanish calque, Ladino, is characterized by the omission of the copula (which is absent, of course, in the Hebrew). This feature, for example, tends to differentiate the Constantinople Pentateuch from such medieval versions as E3 and E4.

The ms supplies the copula where the printed versions omit it; thus (recto, line 1–2) *aquel es el que es rrico el que el es alegre*; (recto, line

¹³ Cf. however, V. H. Sephiha, *Le Ladino* (Paris 1979), t. 2, appendix 3: *Exemplos de padres*, for a study of the first two sections, 420–445, and Schawarzwald op. cit. (n, 3 & 5).

¹⁵ M. Morreale, “Las antiguas Biblias Hebreo-Españolas comparadas en el pasaje del Cántico de Moisés”, *Sefarad*, XXIII (1963), 3–21, 18.

¹⁶ *El Pentateuco de Constantinopla y la Biblia Medieval Romanceada Judeo-Española*, Salamanca 1983, 235–6.

¹⁷ Cf. *ibid*, 59, 3.6. and Sephiha, *Le Ladino*, t. 1, Paris 1973, s.v.

4) *bienaventurado eres*; (recto, line 6) *bueno es para ty*; (recto, line 15) *del mandamiento es mandamiento*; (verso, line 13) *su cuerpo es onrrado*; (verso, line 15) *su cuerpo es menospreciado*; (verso line 22) *el mismo dise no se*. Ferrara, on the other hand, omits the copula: *Qual este el rico? el alegrante con su parte; bienaventurado tu; bien a ti; el precio de la encomendanca encomendanca; su cuerpo honrrado; su cuerpo abilitado*. b. *the present participle*: the apocopated present participle is one of the salient morphologic characteristics of the later printed *ladinamientos* of the Bible¹⁸. This holds true for the later printed translations of the *Ethics of the Fathers* as well. The medieval ms of *Pirke Avot* which I found does not show this feature, and neither do the mss of the *Biblias Romanceadas* studied by Amigo¹⁹. Thus in the ms we find: *el que gana cibdat* (recto, line 1) and not *prendien ciudad* as in Ferrara; *el es alegre* (recto, line 2); *el alegranse; el que onrra* (recto, line 7) F: *el honrran; (fij) o de baroca dise* (recto, line 19) but F: *hijo de Berokah dizien*, etc.

Lexic Peculiarities

1. *Dio*

The use of *Dio* instead of *Dios* is a common feature of late Judeo Spanish vernacular²⁰. It is explained as a medieval survival. The documentation for this is not as widespread as one might imagine. There is little medieval evidence to show that Jews avoided other forms of reference to the deity. True, Teyssier²¹ has collected quite a few instances of references to a usage of *Dio* but these come from anti-Jewish or anti-converso sources bound by the traditions of the satiric genre; when a Spanish or Portuguese satirist mocked Jewish or converso linguistic usage he very often used the same words as targets of satire. This is not to deny that *Dio* was used: the testament of don Juda de Alba de Tormes (1410) contains the phrase “*quel Dio guarde de mal*”²². But the constant use of *Dio* and total

¹⁸ Cf. Sephiha, *Le Ladino*, t. 1, 51–54 and idem “Ladino et Linguistique” *REJ* 135 (1976) 189–200, 197: “Participes Presentes apocopes”.

¹⁹ *Ibid*, 57, 3.3.3., B.

²⁰ Cf. e.g.R. Lapesa, *Historia de la Lengua Española*, Madrid 1965, 338.

²¹ P. Blondheim, *Les Parlers Judeo-Romans et la Vetus Latina*, Paris 1925, 40–41, no. 44 and appendice C.: Additions et Corrections au Vocabulaire des Parlers Romans des Juifs au Moyen Age, 173. P. Teyssier, *La Langue de Gil San Vincente*, Paris 1959, 219–224. L. Combet, “Lexicographie Judeo-Espagnole: Dio ou Dió; judio et judió”, *Bulletin Hispanique*, LXVIII, 1–2 (1966), 323–337, 325.

²² Cf. C. Carrete Parrondo, *Fontes Judaeorum Regni Castellae*, Salamanca 1981, 26.

exclusion of *Dios* would seem to be a later feature. Thus *el saday* (Gen. 7, 1) is translated as *dio abastado* in the Constantinople Pentateuch of 1547 but as *dios abastado* in E3, the XVth c. Bible which is divided into Jewish sections, is faithful to the Hebrew, has a Jewish vocabulary and betrays influence of the Jewish tradition²³. And the *Respuesta de los Rrabyes*, probably of Pero Ferruz, in the *Cancionero de Baena*, which is supposed to parody Jewish usage, has *Dio* but also *Dios* and *Adonay*²⁴. Ms C of the *Proverbios Morales*, does not adopt *Dio* either, but uniformly uses *Dios*²⁵. Where F has *criador*, the medieval Genizah ms translation has *Dios* with a clearly discernible *s* at the end: (recto, line 20) *nombre de dios* (verso, line 1) *nombre de dios*.

2. *Agora*

The ms has *descubierto agora sea su* (1–21) where F has *...se vengan del en descubierto, quien erran quien soberuian*. The word *agora*, common in Judeo-Spanish dialects, has attracted some comment from linguists who attribute it to archaism or Portugese influence²⁶. Here it is used as *ya sea*.

3. *Ambezar/aprender/mostrar/deprender*

Ferrara translates *Avot 4/Ribi Ysmael dizien, el deprendien con yntincion de abezar abastecen en su mano para deprender y para abezar*. The Genizah ms (verso, 2–4) has *rrebi ysmael su fiijo dise qualquiera que aprende con intencion de... mostrar daranle pode par aprender mostrar y faser*. In Deut. 6/7, the Constantinople Bible translates *wešinantam as meldarlasas*; while E4 and E7 use the verb *mostrar*²⁷. E119 has *abezarlas*. It may be said that our text agrees with those medieval versions which tend to attempt to be intelligible. Again it shows that a medieval text does not necessarily need to use the “archaic” *ambezar*.

4. *Dise/dizien*

As Mišnaic style demands, the word *omer* is very frequently used.

²³ Amigo, *op. cit.*, 37, 77 and n. 37. Corominas gives no examples of the usage.

²⁴ F. Cantera Burgos, “El *Cancionero de Baena*: Judiós y conversos en él” *Sefarad*, XXVII (1967), i, 71–111, 108–9.

²⁵ I. González Llubera, (ed.) Santob de Carrión, *Proverbios Morales*, Cambridge 1947, 34.

²⁶ On *agora* cf. e.g. Luria, *A Study of the Monastir Dialect of Judeo-Spanish*, New York 1930, 535; C. Crews, *Recherches sur le Judeo-Espagnol dans les Pays Balkaniques*, Paris 1935, 87, 84.

²⁷ Cf. Amigo, *op. cit.*, and n. 68.

Later, printed, Judeo–Spanish translations use the apocopated present participle *dizien* in translating it. This apocopated present participle existed in Old Spanish especially in Aragon²⁸.

According to Sephiha, the Levantine translations of Avot are characterized by the use of *ke ansi dize el pacuk*²⁹ to translate *šene'emar*. Ferrara has *como es dicho*. The Genizah ms has (recto 3) *asi como dise* to translate *šene'emar* and *dise* to translate (verso, line 5) *'omer* while Ferrara has *dizien* (4/7).

Orthographic/phonologic traits

Some of the traits of the ms correspond to medieval characteristics preserved in later Judeo–Spanish dialects, e.g. *agora*, *fijo*. It would seem useful, however, to compare it with its contemporary romance. Initial *f* is preserved in *faser* (recto, line 14); *fijo* (verso, line 2); *fagas* (verso, line 5). This may be a 'dialectal' feature in modern Judeo–Spanish, but when dealing with this type of text rather than pointing to later Salonikan usage, it may be more useful to point to the fact that in Old Spanish initial *f* was preserved from the end of the visigothic age. By the XVth c. there was hesitancy between the literary initial *f* and the popular *h*³⁰.

Multiple *rr* before vowel at the beginning of a word: (recto, line 2) *rrico*; (verso, line 2) *rrebi*; (verso, line 5) *rrebi*; (verso, line 12) *rrebi*; and also after *n*: (recto, line 7) *onrrado*; (recto, line 7) *onrra*; (verso, line 13) *onrrado*, seems to be closer to the norm in medieval Spanish where it is regional dialects (such as Galician) that have singular *r*. Mss M, N and E (XVth c.) of the *Proverbios Morales* share this feature with our ms³¹. Final *t* in *cibdat* (recto, line 1) contrasts with more modern *ciudad* in the later translations (e.g. Ferrara, 159 verso); *prendien ciudad*. The use of initial *h* in the printed versions: *honrado*, *honra*, *huyen*, *hombre*, contrasts with the lack of 'inorganic' *h* in the ms: (recto, line 7) *onrrado*; (recto, line 7) *onrra*; (recto, line 17) *omilde*; (verso, line 13) *onrrado*.

²⁸ Cf. n. 18.

²⁹ Cf. Appendix cited n. 13.

³⁰ Lapesa, *op. cit.*, 37, 7.

³¹ Llubera, *op. cit.*, 37, 7.

THE HEBREW COMPONENT

Transcription – The ms (recto, line 19) transliterates *Baroca* and the printed version *Berokah*. The ms reading corresponds to the vocalization with *qamaṣ* under the *beth* in the 1610 *Siddur* of Shabetai Sofer used by Taylor³². The ms omits final *h*.

The Ferrara version transliterates *Rebi*, the Amsterdam version *Ribi* while the ms transliterates *rrebi*. Taylor cites evidence, including Greek inscriptions, for *ribi* as the more archaic form. Elijah Levitah mentions the *shewa* vocalization as not unknown in his time³³. The ms has *Yosef* for Hebrew *Yosi* while Ferrara has *Yose* and so does Amsterdam. Taylor does not record a reading *Yosef*.

The ms fragment has *Ysmael su fijo* (verso, line 2) (verso line 17) while Amsterdam has *Ribi Ysmael* and Ferrara *Rebi Ysmael* in Avot 4/6 reflecting variants in the Hebrew ms tradition where the Mišna text published by Lowe includes 'his son'³⁴. It may be noted that the Ferrara and Amsterdam text have the longer version in Avot 4/7: *Rebi Sadok dizien, no te apartes de la vniuersidad: y non fagas a ti mismo como ordenantes los juezes*, which is omitted by the ms. The Genizah fragment obviously had a Hebrew *vorlage* of the same family as the Roman Mahzor, Mišna ms and Siddur of 1527 (cited by Baer) which omit the phrase translated as *no fagas a ti mismo como ordenantes los juezes*³⁵. Mišna 4/3: 'El Era dizien no seas menosprecian...' is missing. This same passage is not included in *Avot de Rabbi Nathan*; also missing is '*Rabi Sadoq...*', which is also missing from the Munich ms (see Taylor, II, 156).

CONCLUSION

In the latest studies on the *ladinamientos* from the XVIth century and onwards, the tendency seems to be to emphasize the continuity uniting medieval and later translations. This accords with a general, not always documented, belief in an isolated Sephardi Jewry which preserved medieval traditions (ballads, proverbs, language) almost intact: this to such an extent that XVIth century and later translations of Bible, Siddur, etc., are believed to provide sufficient evidence for a reconstruction of an 'archetypal' medieval text.

³² Cf. Taylor, *op. cit.*, 2, 155, 7.

³³ *ibid.*, 2, 81.

³⁴ *ibid.*, 2, 156, 8, 63.

³⁵ *ibid.*, 2, 156, 9.

I have argued elsewhere that it may be debated whether this isolation was indeed absolute and that, given the relative high level of acquaintance with these texts amongst Jews of various social and cultural strata in medieval Spain, it is doubtful whether one may postulate *one* archetypal medieval Bible translation³⁶.

Here my main purpose has been to make the text of the Genizah fragment of a hitherto unknown medieval Spanish translation of Avot available to scholars. But its analysis seems to confirm the doubts as to the 'fossil-like' quality of Sephardi Jewry expressed elsewhere.

APPENDIX NO. I

T-S AS 209.256 *recto*

- 1 en su espíritu que el que gana çjbdar aquel es el que
- 2 es rico el que el es alegre con lo que ha en su
- 3 p(arte) así como dice del trabajo de tus pal
- 4 (mas) quando comieres bienaventurado eres
- 5 (b)ueno es para ty bienaventurado eres en
- 6 (este) mundo & bueno es para ty en el otro mun
- 7 (do)-(aqu)el es onrrado el que onrra las criaturas a
- 8(c)omo dice los que me (onrr)an a ellos he
- 9menosprecian.my.
- 10 dos.
- 11 Ben A)say dice sey aceroso (?) en el mandamiento
- 12ve? del pecado por quanto por el
- 13(man)damiento requiere faser manda
- 14 (miento). . . .(p)ecar requiere faser pecado & por
- 15do del mandamiento es mandamiento &
- 16mucho sey omilde que el fin
- 17(gusa)no
- 18(fij)o de baroca dice todo aquel
- 19nombre de dios en escondido
- 20(de)scubierto quien sea su
- 21por su voluntad su vi. . .
- 22

³⁶ E. Gutwirth, "On the Hispanicity of Sephardi Jewry" REJ CXLV/3/4 (1986), 347-357; id. "Religion, Historia y las *Biblias Romanceadas*", *Revista Catalana de Teologia*, 13/1 (1988), 115-134.

verso

- 1 el menospresciamiento del nombre de dios
- 2 rrebi ysmael su fijo dise qualquiera que apren
- 3 de con intencion de a(?) el(?) mostrar daranle po
- 4 de(rio(?)) para aprender & mostrar & faser
- 5 rrebi çadoc dise non la fagas coron(a) (para?)
- 6 magnificarte con ella ni acuela pa(ra).
- 7 tar con ella & asi desia hilel aquel.
- 8 sa por el po(?) corona sera cortad(o)
- 9 dise que (aquel)l que se apro(vecha) (de pa?)
- 10 labras de la ley priva su vid(a) del (mundo?)
- 11 perdurable
- 12 rrebi yoçef dise que todo (a)quel (que onra la?)
- 13 ley su cuerpo ed onrrado (sobre las cria?)
- 14 turas & todo aquel que menos(prescia) (le ley?)
- 15 su cuerpo es menospresci(ado) (por las?)
- 16 criaturas
- 17 rrebi ysmael su fi(x)o dis(e).
- 18 juisio de sy roydo &.
- 19 & juramento falso & el.
- 20 ro al consejo es loco &.
- 21 coraçon
- 22 el mismo dise no se(as)

APPENDIX NO. 2

Avot IV/19

Ferrara Orden 1552

Hijo de zoma dizien qual este el sabio? el deprendien de todo hombre, como es dicho de todos mis abezantes entendí que tus testamentos fabla a mi. Qual este el barragan? el sojuzgan a su appetite como es dicho mejor luengo de furores; mas que barragan. Y podestan en su voluntad mas que prendien ciudad. Qual este el rico? el alegranse con su parte como es dicho lazerio de tus palmas quando comeras; bienaumentado tu y bien a ti: bien auenturado tu enel mundo el ese y bien a ti en el mundo el venidero. Qual este el honrrado? el honrran a las criaturas, come es dicho, que mis honrrantes honrrare, y mis menos preciantes seran desonrrados.

Hijo de Azay dizien see corrien a la encomendaca ligera y huyen del pecado: que encomendanca acarrean encomendanca y pecado acarrean pecado.

Que el precio de la encomendanca encomendanca y el precio del pecado pecado.

El era dizien no seas menosprecian a ningun hombre y no seas contrarian a ninguna cosa que no ay hombre que no a el hora y no a ti cosa que no a ella lugar.

Rebi Levitas varon de yabne dizien, mucho mucho see baxo de esprito delate todo hobre q esperanca de varon gusano.

Rebi Yohana hijo de Boerokah dizie: todo el abiltan nombre del criador en encubierto se vengan del en descubierto quier erran quier soberuian en abiltamiento del criador.

Rebi Ysmael dizien el deprendien con yntincio de abezar abastecen en su mano para deprender y para abezar y el deprendien con yntincion de fazer abastecen en su mano para deprender y para abezar y para guardar y para fazer.

Rabi Zadok dizie no te apares de la vniuersidad y no fagas a ti mismo como ordenantes los juezes y no fagas corona para te engrandecer con ella y no destral para comer del y assi era Hillel dizien y quien se sirve co corona de la ley tajado vees aqui todo aprovechanse de palabras de ley toma sus vidas del mundo.

Reby Yose dizien todo el honrran a la ley su cuerpo honrrado sobre las criaturas y todo abiltan a la ley su cuerpo abiltado sobre las criaturas. Erebi Ysmael hijo de Yoseph dizien el vedan a si mismo del juizio descrargan de el malquerencia y robo y juramiento vano y el alteran su coracon en demostracion loco malo y alterado de esprito.