



THE IBN TIBBON FAMILY  
A DYNASTY OF TRANSLATORS  
IN MEDIEVAL "PROVENCE"

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*1. Introduction: The Medieval Translator as Cultural Type*<sup>1</sup>

In 1987, a collection of essays published in Italian and entitled *L'uomo medievale*, Medieval Man, was edited by Jacques Le Goff, a leading member of the French Annales school and pioneer historian of mentalities.<sup>2</sup> In 1990 the same volume was translated into English and given the new title *Medieval Callings*, which more accurately reflects the contents of the book; it avoids the misconception that no attention is given to medieval women.<sup>3</sup> Focusing on Christian Europe, the collection includes complex profiles or portraits of ten different medieval types, including the monk, the warrior and the knight, the peasant and the farmer, the city-dweller, the intellectual, the artist, the merchant, women and the family, the saint, and marginal man. Although the collection does not claim to be comprehensive, there are some notable omissions as well as peculiar classifications, especially the discussion of Jews together with prostitutes, lepers, and thieves.

1. This paper is dedicated to the memory of Professor Isadore Twersky, a pioneer in the study of medieval Jewish types. See especially his "Religion and Law," in *Religion in a Religious Age*, ed. S.D. Goitein (Cambridge, Mass., 1974), 69-82; "Joseph Ibn Kaspi: Portrait of a Medieval Jewish Intellectual," in *Studies in Medieval Jewish History and Literature*, ed. I. Twersky (Cambridge, Mass., 1979), 231-57; "Talmudists, Philosophers, Kabbalists: The Quest for Spirituality in the Sixteenth Century," in *Jewish Thought in the Sixteenth Century*, ed. B. Cooperman (Cambridge, Mass., 1983), 431-59; and "Law and Spirituality in the Seventeenth Century: A Case Study in R. Yair Hayyim Bacharach," in *Jewish Thought in the Seventeenth Century*, eds. I. Twersky and B. Septimus (Cambridge, Mass., 1987), 447-67. For helpful suggestions and editorial remarks on this paper, I would like to thank Angela Jaffray, Bernard Septimus, and Adena Tanenbaum.
2. See Jacques Le Goff, ed., *L'uomo medievale* (Rome-Bari, 1987). For background on Le Goff's method, see Francois Dosse, *New History in France: The Triumph of the Annals*, trans. Peter V. Conroy, Jr. (Urbana and Chicago, 1994) and Le Goff himself, *History and Memory*, trans. Steven Rendall and Elizabeth Claman (New York, 1992).
3. See Jacques Le Goff, ed., *Medieval Callings*, trans. L.G. Cochrane (Chicago, 1990).

But what I want to consider here is not the characterization of the medieval Jew as "marginal man" but rather the absence of the translator, as independent type or even sub-type of "intellectual."

This oversight, whether intentional or unintentional, is remarkable, when one considers the important role played by translators in the processes of cultural change and transformation, translators acting as agents of renaissance wherever they set up shop. One wonders what the Islamic world would have looked like without Ḥunayn b. Ishāq and his son, disciples, and colleagues, who produced the hundreds of translations of Hippocrates, Galen, Euclid, Ptolemy, and Aristotle that would serve the burgeoning Islamic empire and Arabic scientific culture.<sup>4</sup> One wonders whether Western Christendom would have emerged from darkness had Adelard of Bath remained in England or had Gerard of Cremona, Alfred of Sarshel, and Michael Scot decided not to pursue their Arabic studies in the former frontier town of Toledo. Driven by an insatiable thirst for wisdom, these translators established the basic texts of Christian scholarship, books that served school and university study in Oxford and Paris throughout the Middle Ages.<sup>5</sup>

The translators clearly played a crucial role in the development of medieval Islam, Christianity, and, as will be seen, Judaism. But the question still remains, do these translators, sometimes isolated individuals working in remote locations, constitute a certain type, or to use medieval language, a species, all members of which share specific properties and differentia? Were they mere technicians or rather visionaries, responsible not only for producing Arabic, Latin, and Hebrew versions of classical texts at the request of patrons but also for choosing which texts to translate and determining the way in which they were adapted to the new cultural setting?

The present study is an initial quest for the Platonic translator, focusing on one Jewish family in southern France. Five members of the Ibn Tibbon family, spanning four generations, from approximately 1160 to 1306, produced over seventy Hebrew translations of Judaeo-Arabic, Graeco-Arabic, Arabic, and also Latin, writings. After a brief description of the Jewish renaissance that took place during this same period, the present paper will examine successively each member of the family against the historical background. Judah Ibn Tibbon and his son Samuel will be given special treatment, since they were the fathers of this dynasty, by virtue of their literary as well as biological contributions.

## II. *The Jews in Southern France, 1148–1306*

The names Southern France, the Midi, Occitania or, as the medieval Jews called it, "Provence," all refer to a somewhat ill-defined region that in the Middle Ages comprised not only Provence proper but also Languedoc, Roussillon, and Comtat Venaisin.<sup>6</sup> Languedoc in particular was home to Jewish communities dating back to Roman and Carolingian times, including the famous academic center in Narbonne and smaller centers in Beziers, Carcassonne, Lunel, Montpellier, and Arles.<sup>7</sup> In the tenth and eleventh centuries we hear reports about Provençal legal and midrashic scholars, all of whom are cited or referred to with great respect. In the early

4. For the Arabic translation movement, see most recently Dimitri Gutas, *Greek Thought, Arabic Culture: The Graeco-Arabic Translation Movement in Baghdad and Early Abbasid Society* (2nd–4th / 8th–10th Centuries) (London & New York, 1998).

5. For the Latin translation movement, with focus on Toledo, see especially the series of articles by Charles Burnett, all of which have rich bibliographical material: "A Group of Arabic-Latin Translators Working in Northern Spain in the Mid-Twelfth Century," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (1977): 62–108; "Arabic into Latin in Twelfth-Century Spain: The Works of Hermann of Carnuthia," *Mittelaltersches Jahrbuch* 13 (1978): 100–34; "The Impact of Arabic Science on Western Civilization in the Middle Ages," *Bulletin of the Association of British Orientalists* 11 (1979–80): 40–51; "Some Comments on the Translating of Works from Arabic into Latin in the Mid-Twelfth Century," *Orientalische Kultur und europäisches Mittelalter*, ed. A. Zimmermann, *Miscellanea Medaevologica* 17 (Berlin, 1985), 161–71; "Literal Translation and Intelligent Adaptation amongst the Arabic-Latin Translators of the First Half of the Twelfth Century," in *La diffusione delle scienze islamiche nel medioevo europeo*, ed. B-M Scarcia Amoretti (Rome, 1987), 9–28; "The Translating Activity in Medieval Spain," in *The Legacy of Muslim Spain*, ed. S.K. Jayyusi (Leiden, 1992), 1036–1058; "Magister Iohannus Hispanus: Towards the Identity of a Toledan Translator," in *Comprendre et maîtriser la nature au moyen âge, Mélanges d'histoire des sciences offerts à Guy Bonfiliom* (Geneva, 1994), 425–36; "Michael Scot and the Transmission of Scientific Culture from Toledo to Bologna via the Court of Frederick II Hohenstaufen," *Micrologus* 2 (1994): 101–26; "The Institutional Context of Arabic-Latin Translations of the Middle Ages: A Reassessment of the 'School of Toledo,'" in *Vocabulary of Teaching and Research between the Middle Ages and Renaissance*, ed. O. Weijers (Brepols, 1995), 214–35; "The Coherence of the Arabic-Latin Translation Programme in Toledo in the Twelfth Century," Preprint 78, from the Max Planck Institute for the History of Science, International Workshop,

experience and knowledge structures in Arabic and Latin sciences (Berlin, 1997); *The Introduction of Arabic Learning into England*, The Panizzi Lectures 1996 (London, 1997); "The 'Son of Averroes with the Emperor Frederick' and the Transmission of the Philosophical Works of Ibn Rushd," in *Averroes and the Aristotelian Tradition*, eds. G. Endress and J. Aertsen (Leiden, 1999), 259–99. See also the collection of essays edited by Burnett entitled *Adelard of Bath: An English Scientist and Arabist of the Early Twelfth Century* (London, 1987), and his edition and translation of *Adelard of Bath, Conversations with My Nephew* (Cambridge, 1998).

6. For a description of the political and cultural borders in southern France, see Linda M. Paterson, *The World of the Troubadours: Medieval Occitan Society, c. 1100–c. 1300* (Cambridge, 1993).

7. For evidence of an early Jewish presence in southern France, see most recently Carol Lancu and Daniele Lancu, *Les juifs du Midi: une histoire millénaire* (Avignon, 1995).

twelfth century, these occasional reports and citations give way to a fully developed and self-conscious rabbinic culture, with recognizable literary figures who are both proud of their own traditions and eager to learn about those of their Spanish neighbors. This early interest in Spain marks the beginnings of a real renaissance of learning in Jewish southern France, characterized by far-reaching developments in such diverse fields as law, grammar, biblical and aggadic exegesis, poetry, kabbalah, philosophy, and polemics.<sup>8</sup>

This flowering of literary and cultural activity can be traced back, at least partly, to contemporary economic and political circumstances. Due to their peculiar geographical location and political status, the communities of southern France were in the perfect position to benefit from the crusader and reconquista activity of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Far from the strong secular and religious authorities in Spain, France, and Italy, these independent countries were left relatively free to participate unnumbered in the thriving Mediterranean economy.<sup>9</sup> The political successes of the counts of Barcelona, moreover, opened the borders with Catalonia, and a free exchange of ideas ensued. Provençal legal scholars studied in Barcelona, returning to disseminate their new learning back home, whereas Spanish grammarians and scientists visited southern France, leaving behind Hebrew works on language, mathematics, astronomy, and astro-

8. For background with respect to these cultural developments, see especially the research of Isadore Twersky and his students: Twersky, *The Rabbot of Posquières: A Twelfth Century Talmudist* (Cambridge, Mass., 1962); id., "Aspects of the Social and Cultural History of Provençal Jewry," *Journal of World History* 11 (1968): 185–207; Frank Talmage, *David Kimhi: The Man and the Commentaries* (Cambridge, Mass., 1975); Marc Saperstein, *Decoding the Rabbits: A Thirteenth-Century Commentary on the Aggadah* (Cambridge, Mass., 1980); Bernard Septimus, *Hispano-Jewish Culture in Transition: The Career and Controversies of Ramah* (Cambridge, Mass., 1982); Marc Sendor, *The Emergence of Provençal Kabbalah: Rabbi Isaac the Blind's Commentary on Safer Yezirah* (Ph.D. Dissertation, Harvard University, 1994); Gregg Stern, *Mentalem ha-Me'iri and the Second Controversy over Philosophy* (Ph.D. Dissertation, Harvard University, 1995); James T. Robinson, *Samuel Ibn Tibbon's Commentary on Ecclesiastes* (Ph.D. Dissertation, Harvard University, 2002). See also Martin L. Gordon, *The Rationalism of Jacob Anatoli* (Ph.D. Dissertation, Yeshiva University, 1974); W.K. Herszkowitz, *Judaico-Christian Dialogue in Provence as Reflected in Milhamot Meirah of Rabbi Meir ha-Mati* (Ph.D. Dissertation, Yeshiva University, 1974); Ben-Zion Benedikt, *The Center of Torah Study in Provence* [in Hebrew] (Jerusalem, 1985); Gershon Scholem, *Origins of the Kabbalah* (Philadelphia, 1987); Robert Chazan, *Diggers of Faith: Thirteenth-Century Christian Missionizing and the Jewish Response* (Berkeley, 1989); Israel Ta-Sheima, *Rabbi Zerachyah Halevi, Ba'al ha-Ma'or or Ba'al Huro* (Jerusalem, 1992); Hayyim Schirmann and Ezra Fleischer, *The History of Hebrew Poetry in Christian Spain and Southern France* [in Hebrew] (Jerusalem, 1997).
9. Regarding the economic importance of southern France, see Paterson, *The World of the Troubadours*, 159–62.

ogy.<sup>10</sup> The Almohad conquest of Islamic Spain in 1147–48 further accelerated interchange as refugee-scholars brought their knowledge and their books to the communities of southern France. They were welcomed by local patrons who, like their Christian counterparts, were eager to gain access to the Arabic learning.<sup>11</sup>

It is in this environment that the Sefardic scholar Judah Ibn Tibbon found refuge from the persecutions in Andalusia and established the foundations of his family dynasty. In the preface to one of his translations, he bears witness to the contemporary interest in his skills and excitement for the new sciences. He explains that he had fielded several requests to produce translations before finally responding favorably to Meshullam b. Jacob, a legal scholar and literary Maecenas who was responsible for making Lunel the initial center of the translation activity.<sup>12</sup> It was in Lunel that Judah's son Samuel worked as well, and he, like his father, seems to have received support and encouragement from local patrons.<sup>13</sup> But, despite

10. For cultural contacts between Spain and southern France, see especially Twersky, "Aspects." Abraham b. Isaac of Narbonne (1110–1179) studied in Barcelona; Abraham bar Hiyya of Barcelona (d. after 1136) was enlisted by scholars of southern France to write works of science and religious philosophy; Moses Ibn Gikatilla (11th century) translated grammatical works of Judah Hayyuj, apparently for Hebrew readers in southern France; Abraham Ibn Ezra (1089–1164) produced a series of translations and compilations in the fields of grammar, exegesis, science, and philosophy, several of which were written while visiting southern France.
11. The most important refugees from Andalusia were Joseph Kimhi (ca. 1105–1170) and Judah Ibn Tibbon (ca. 1120–1190); the most important patron during the early period was Meshullam b. Jacob, about whom see again Twersky, *Rabbot of Posquières*, Benedikt, *The Center of Torah Study*, and Ta-Sheima, *Rabbi Zerachyah Halevi*. On the Latin translation movement, see the articles by Burnett listed above. The similarities between texts translated and relationship between translator and patron is striking and deserves further research.
12. See *Ditties of the Heart*, ed. A. Zifroni (Jerusalem, 1927/8), 2: "There was a remnant of our nation in Christian lands as well, where there were great sages from ancient times in the science of Torah and Talmud. Yet they did not occupy themselves with other sciences, for Torah was their craft, and they did not have in their possession books on the other sciences. Then the pure candlestick [see, e.g., Lev 24:4] was fixed in their midst, the lamp of precept [see Prov 6:23] and law, the great master, the holy and pious, Rabbenu Meshullam, son of the venerable sage Rabbi Jacob. The oil of his ability to understand is pure and beaten to cause the lamp of wisdom to burn continually [see Lev 24:2]. His soul conjoins with the Law and fears God. He made wisdom his cup and portion, and longs for the books of the sciences that the great scholars have composed. According to his ability, he collected, taught and [had] translated books in the fields of law, language, and religious faith, along with *sifre midot*, ethics, and parables of wisdom. His hand has found as a nest [see Isa 10:14] all their delights; and on account of the strength of his intellect and power of his faculties he could understand the arguments and draw conclusions of his own."
13. He translated the *Guide* at the request of Jonathan ha-Kohen, Meshullam's suc-

these early indications of institutionalization, no definite pattern emerged; the translators made a variety of contributions, responding to both practical and theoretical interests and to private and public requests. The first works translated by Judah and Samuel were written by Jewish authors, but this singular focus quickly widened, and by the beginning of the fourteenth century, the traditional yeshivah student had access to Hebrew versions of the most important Greek classics of science and philosophy along with the writings of their Greek and Arabic commentators and successors. In the short period of 150 years, ending with the expulsion of the Jews from France in 1306, a very large percentage of the classical scientific and philosophical corpus, as developed in the Arabic world, was available in Hebrew. This is a remarkable fact, which should be emphasized and underscored.<sup>14</sup>

The translations were received with great enthusiasm and contributed not only to the development of a Hebrew tradition of science and philosophy, but also to a renaissance of rabbinic culture. Legal works were prefaced with philosophical discussions of law, biblical books and rabbinic legends were explained in light of Aristotelian principles of science, and classical rabbinic literary forms were revived and adapted to the new purpose of teaching philosophy.<sup>15</sup> This enthusiastic reception, however, was not universal, the thirteenth century being characterized by controversy as

cessor in Lunel, and Aristotle's *Meteorology* at the request of a certain Joseph b. Israel the Pious. For the events surrounding the translation of the *Guide*, see Yishag Shaiat, *Epistles of Maimonides* [in Hebrew] (Jerusalem, 1988), vol. 2, pp. 491–559. For the *Meteorology* translation, see Resianne Fontaine, *Orot ha-Shamayim: Samuel Ibn Tibbon's Hebrew Version of Aristotle's Meteorology* (Leiden, 1995), 4–7.

14. For the translation movement in general, the translators and works translated, and discussion of the motivations for rendering one work or another, see the classic work of Moritz Steinschneider, *Die hebraischen Übersetzungen des Mittelalters und die Juden als Dolmetscher* (Berlin, 1893; reprinted Graz, 1956), and especially the more recent work by Twersky, "Aspects"; Gad Freudenthal, "Les Sciences dans les communautés juives médiévales de Provence: Leur appropriation, leur rôle," *Revue des études juives* 152 (1993): 29–136; id., "Science in the Medieval Jewish Culture of Southern France," *History of Science* 33 (1995): 23–58; J.-P. Rothschild, "Motivations et méthodes des traductions en hébreu du milieu du XIIe à la fin du XVe siècle," in *Traduction et traducteurs au moyen âge*, ed. G. Contamine (Paris, 1989), 279–302; Steven Harvey, "Did Maimonides Letter to Samuel Ibn Tibbon Determine which Philosophers would be Studied by Later Jewish Thinkers?" *Jewish Quarterly Review* 83 (1992): 51–70; Mauro Zonta, *La filosofia antica nel Medioevo ebraico: La traduzione ebraica medievale dei testi filosofici antichi* (Brescia, 1996).

15. For the best example of the way in which philosophy made inroads into legal study, see the works of Menahem ha-Me'iri (1249–1315), about whom see Stern, *Menahem ha-Me'iri* and Moshe Halberstam, *Between Torah and Wisdom: Menahem ha-Me'iri and the Maimonidean Halakists in Provence* [in Hebrew] (Jerusalem, 2000). See the discussion below for examples of the stimulating of new developments in rabbinic genres.

well as renaissance. More conservative scholars recognized a danger in the new learning, focusing as they did on a scientific naturalism that seemed anathema to rabbinic theology; they feared that these "foreign sciences" could erode traditional belief and undermine legal authority. Three controversies regarding the permissibility of philosophy and philosophical exegesis divided the communities of southern France, leading to a series of bans and counter bans and the public burning of Maimonides' work.<sup>16</sup>

With these developments in mind, we turn to the Ibn Tibbon family, looking to identify their specific contribution to this renaissance and the reaction it elicited.

### III. Judah Ibn Tibbon, "Father of Translators" (ca. 1120 – ca. 1190)

Judah Ibn Tibbon was born circa 1120 in Granada, where he was educated, in accordance with Hispano-Jewish curricular ideals, to be a master of both language and science.<sup>17</sup> Nothing definite is known about his early life in Andalusia, nor even when exactly he departed, but it is safe to suggest that he left in 1147–48 or soon thereafter, along with the many Jewish scholars who departed Islamic Spain in the wake of the Almohad conquest.<sup>18</sup> To mention a few famous examples, Moses Maimonides and his family moved from Cordoba to North Africa before finally resettling in Egypt; Abraham Ibn Daud moved to Toledo; and Joseph Kimhi, who would

16. On the Maimonidean controversies, see especially Septimius, *Hispano-Jewish Culture in Transition* and Stern, *Menahem ha-Me'iri*.

17. That he was from Granada is attested by his son and grandson, who refer to him as Judah Ibn Tibbon "from Granada in Spain" (*mi-trimon sefarad*); but cf. Joseph Kimhi, *Sheqel ha-Qodesh*, who related Ibn Tibbon to Seville. Perhaps Judah himself came from Granada but his family originated in Seville? Regarding the name Tibbon, which may derive from the Arabic *tabban* (straw vendor), see Moritz Steinschneider in *Jewish Quarterly Review* 11, O.S. (1899), and Dan Pagan, ed., *Shire Levi: Ibn al-Tibban* (Jerusalem, 1967), introduction. As for Judah's background in Andalusia, see Maimonides' letter to Samuel Ibn Tibbon (ed. Shaiat, *Epistles*, 530), where Maimonides explains that he had heard about Judah, a master of science, language, and translation, several years earlier from former residents of Granada, including a certain al-Fakhkhar and the old man Ibn Malka. For a few documents relating to Granada during the Almoravid period, see Shlomo Dov Goitein, "Judaeo-Arabic Letters from Spain," in *Orientalia Hispanica*, ed. J. M. Barral Leiden, 1974), 331–50; id., *A Mediterranean Society: The Jewish Communities of the Arab World as Portrayed in the Documents of the Cairo Geniza* (Berkeley, 1988), vol. 5, pp. 288–99. Although it is notable that Judah himself never mentions the persecutions, about which see Abraham Halkin, "On the History of the Persecution at the Time of the Almohades" [in Hebrew], in *The Joshua Starr Memorial Volume: Studies in History and Philology* (New York, 1953), 101–10; David Corcos, "On the Character of the Almohade Sultans' Relations with the Jews" [in Hebrew], *Zion* 32 (1967): 137–60; Norman Roth, *Jews, Visigoths, and Muslims in Medieval Spain: Cooperation and Conflict* (Leiden, 1994).

become Judah's rival translator, resettled in Narbonne.<sup>19</sup> As for Judah Ibn Tibbon, he moved to Lunel, where we first hear about him circa 1159 from Benjamin of Tudela's travel chronicles. Among the many important personages Benjamin met while staying in Lunel, he mentions "[Judah the Physician from Spain]."<sup>20</sup>

With the exception of occasional business trips and shopping expeditions, it seems that Judah continued to reside in Lunel the remaining years of his life, where he was not only physician but also merchant, translator, and bibliophile.<sup>21</sup> Giving some indication of his successful immigration to southern France, he boasted that his son Samuel's wedding was attended by local Christian clergy and nobility, and that Jewish scholars would travel from all over Europe in order to consult with him and use his library.<sup>22</sup> He formed a close relationship with the leading halakhic authorities of Lunel, particularly Meshullam b. Jacob, Abraham b. David, and

19. For Maimonides, see Isadore Twersky, *A Maimonides Reader* (New York, 1972), and id., *Introduction to the Code of Maimonides (Mishneh Torah)* (New Haven, 1980); regarding Ibn Daud, see Gershon Cohen, ed. and trans., *Abraham Ibn Daud, The Book of Tradition (Sefer ha-Qabbalah)* (Philadelphia, 1967); concerning Kimhi, see especially Frank Talmage, "Joseph Kimhi: From the Exile of Jerusalem in Sefarad to the 'Canaanites' in Saretat" [in Hebrew], in *Culture and Society in Medieval Jewish History: A Collection of Articles in Memory of H. H. Ben-Sasson*, eds. R. Bonfil, M. Ben-Sasson, and J. Hacker (Jerusalem, 1989), 315–32.
20. See *The Itinerary of Benjamin of Tudela*, ed. and trans. M. N. Adler (London, 1907), 3–4; "From Montpeller it is four parasangs [approximately 13 miles] to Lunel, in which there is a congregation of Israelites who study the law day and night. Here lives Rabbenu Meshullam the great rabbi and his five sons, who are wise, great and wealthy, namely: Rabbi Joseph, Rabbi Isaac, Rabbi Jacob, Rabbi Aaron, and Rabbi Asher the recluse who dwells apart from the world; he pores over his books day and night, fasts periodically and abstains from all meat. He is a great scholar of the Talmud. At Lunel live also their brother-in-law, Rabbi Moses, the chief rabbi... and Rabbi Judah Ibn Tibbon from Spain, the physician."
21. See *Testament*, ed. and trans. Israel Abrahams, in *Hebrew Ethical Wills* (Philadelphia, 1926), 57, 66.
22. See *Testament*, 67, for the report regarding Christian attendance at his son's wedding, p. 58, for the claim that scholars would visit in order to consult his library. But note that there is no indication who these visiting scholars were. Israel Davidson, ed. and trans., *Joseph Ibn Zabara, Sefer Sfar ashur im: A Book of Medieval Lore* (New York, 1914), suggested that Joseph Ibn Zabara visited Judah's library, but the "Judah" who spoke wisdom sayings in *Sefer Sfar ashur im*, chapter seven, could easily have been the Judah b. Natanel of Beaucaire who patronized Jacob b. Elazar and Judah al-Harizi; about this second Judah, see Schirrmann/Fleischer, *History of Hebrew Poetry*, vol. 2, p. 151. As for contact with local Christians, there is further indication of this at *Testament*, 72, where Judah complains that his son refused to listen to his business recommendations when "even a Christian [literally: Goy] from my city would ask my advice." For a general discussion of Christian-Jewish contact in southern France during this period, see Shlomo Pick, *The Jewish Communities of Provence* (Ph.D. Dissertation, Bar-Ilan University, 1997), 343–62.

Zerahyah Halevi, producing translations for the former two and giving literary advice to the latter.<sup>23</sup> Judah translated the Preface and First Treatise of Bahya Ibn Paquda's *Duties of the Heart* for Meshullam b. Jacob, the remaining nine treatises of the same book for Abraham b. David, and Solomon Ibn Gabirol's *Improvement of the Moral Qualities* for Meshullam's son Asher. Other translations rendered by Judah with no indication of patronage include the following: Solomon Ibn Gabirol's collection of wisdom sayings entitled *Choice of Pearls*, Jonah Ibn Janah's Grammar and Lexicon, Judah Halevi's *Kuzari*, and Saadia Gaon's *Book of Beliefs and Opinions*. All of these works were written originally in Judaeo-Arabic and, together with Maimonides' writings, they would become part of the classic corpus of Jewish grammar and thought studied throughout the Middle Ages.<sup>24</sup>

23. About Meshullam, Abraham b. David, and Zerahyah Halevi, see Twersky, *Rahab of Posquières*, Benedikt, *The Center of Torah Study*, and Ta-Sherma, *Rabbi Zerahyah Halevi*. That Judah advised Zerahyah with respect to literary matters is attested at *Testament*, 72, 83–84. Judah was also close to Meshullam's sons Aaron and Asher, whom he singles out for praise in *Testament*, 65; he advises Samuel to study with them and rely upon their friendship.
24. Book One of *Duties of the Heart* was completed in 1161; the following nine books were completed some time later, after Joseph Kimhi had issued a rival translation (see *Duties of the Heart*, ed. Zifroni, pp. 55–56). For the translation of *Improvement of the Moral Qualities*, see Judah's letter to Asher b. Meshullam, trans. Stephen Wise as appendix to his edition of Ibn Gabirol's work (New York, 1902), 105–7. For the translation of *Choice of Pearls*, which is ascribed to Judah by both Joseph Kimhi and Jonathan ha-Kohen, see Samuel Miklos Stern, "Maimonides' Correspondence with the Scholars of Provence" [in Hebrew], *Zion* 16 (1951): 23, n. 12. As for the other translations: Judah Halevi's *Sefer ha-Kuzari* was completed in 1166; Ibn Janah's *Sefer ha-Kinuyah* and *Sefer ha-Shorashim* were completed in 1171; Saadia Gaon's *Book of Beliefs and Opinions* was completed in 1186; Moshe Idel, "The Identity of the Translator of Moses Ibn Ezra's *Arugat ha-Bosem*" [in Hebrew], *Kiryat Sefer* 51 (1976): 84–87, suggested that Judah translated Moses Ibn Ezra's *Arugat ha-Bosem* as well, but the translation of this Neoplatonic book of philosophy and exegesis has since been shown to be the work of Judah al-Harizi; see Paul Fenton, "Cleanings from Moshel Ibn Ezra's *Maqalat al-Hadiqa*," *Sefarad* 36 (1976): 285–98; id., *Philosophie et Érygèse dans le jardin de la Métaphore de Moïse Ibn Ezra, Philosophie et Poète andouin du XIIe Siècle* (Leiden, 1997); Shraga Abramson, "The Translator of *Arugat ha-Bosem* by Moses Ibn Ezra is Judah al-Harizi" [in Hebrew], *Tarbiz* 51 (1982): 712. Also of note is Moses Ibn Tibbon's postscript to his translation of al-Fārābī's short summary of Aristotle's *Prior Analytics* (*Kitab al-qiyas al-saghir*), in which he writes that he had decided to translate this particular book because his grandfather had translated the book that came after, namely, al-Fārābī's summary of *Posterior Analytics*. See Paris MS 917, 210a-b: "I, Moses son of Samuel Ibn Tibbon of Granada, may the memory of the righteous be for a blessing, translated this short summary of [Aristotle's] *Prior Analytics* from Arabic into Hebrew. My translation was completed in the year 5015 AM [1254/55 CE]. What led me to translate this [particular treatise] is the fact that I had found that my grandfather the sage [apparently Judah Ibn Tibbon] had translated the book that follows this one in this composition by Abū Naṣr al-Fārābī [namely, the short treatise on *Posterior Analytics*]."

In addition to translating these works into Hebrew, Judah also wrote lengthy prefaces to three of them in which he explained their historical significance, classified them according to genre and content, and defended his literal method of translation.<sup>25</sup> He explained the importance of translation in general, given the rich Judeo-Arabic literary tradition not available to the Hebrew readers of Christian Europe, and praised Meshullam for his contributions as patron.<sup>26</sup> His defense of the literal method includes a popular and often repeated proverb of the Arabic translators, namely, that the translator needs to know not only the source and target languages of the text to be translated but also the subject matter.<sup>27</sup> This gave Judah an opportunity to attack his rival, Joseph Kimhi, whom he accused of being a mere poet lacking the philosophical wherewithal to make sense of Bahya's difficult text.<sup>28</sup> With these translator's introductions, Judah helped to establish a new genre of Hebrew literature, which had no precedent in Judeo-Arabic, although striking similarities to contemporary prefaces by Latin translators are worth noting.<sup>29</sup> In this way Judah established the literary tools of the translator, formed the linguistic ideology, and clearly marked out the importance of what he refers to as "a very difficult art."<sup>30</sup>

Judah produced compositions in more traditional areas as well. He wrote poetry, began a work on grammar entitled the *Secret of Elegant Speech* and, possibly, completed a short treatise called *Sefer Sha'ar ha-Yihud*.<sup>31</sup> Such a work has been published and ascribed to Judah, but it remains to determine whether this discussion of divine unity is authentic. The only original work that does survive and is definitely attributable to Judah is his famous ethical *Testament*, written for his only son Samuel.<sup>32</sup> This interesting and

amusing document has been published several times, translated, cited, and discussed, and exploited as evidence that the young Samuel did not excel in his early studies.<sup>33</sup> But I would suggest that, in fact, this ethical will tells us more about Judah than his son. Read as a document expressing Judah's cultural ideology, the *Testament* provides information germane to our present investigation.

Although Judah maintains that, by writing an ethical testament for his son, he follows the hoary custom of biblical authors,<sup>34</sup> there is no clear Jewish literary precedent for the particular style of writing that he cultivates. Indeed, there are testaments and deathbed stories in second temple and rabbinic literature,<sup>35</sup> also extant is a short hortatory poem by Samuel ha-Nagid that his son Joseph refers to as a "testament."<sup>36</sup> But none of these compares to Judah's work with respect to length, breadth, and coherence. The immediate predecessor seems rather to be the Arabic *wasfiya*, a moralistic genre that flourished among Muslims but apparently not among the Jews living in the Islamic world.<sup>37</sup> Arabic ethical testaments survive in the name of such famous political and religious figures as 'Ali and Hārūn al-Rashīd, and are attributed to ancient sages like Pythagoras, Hippocrates,

25. See *Duties of the Heart*, ed. Zifroni, pp. 1–5, 55–56; *Sefer ha-Riqmah*, ed. M. Wilensky (Jerusalem, 1964), vol. 1, pp. 1–7; *Sefer ha-Shorashim*, ed. W. Bacher (Berlin, 1896), 550–51.
26. See the text translated above, n. 12.
27. See *Duties of the Heart*, ed. Zifroni, pp. 2–5, 55–56. For some background regarding this apothegm, see Franz Rosenthal, *The Classical Heritage in Islam* (London, 1975), 15–23; it was repeated frequently by subsequent translators, including Samuel in his translator's preface to the *Guide of the Perplexed*, about which see below.
28. See *Duties of the Heart*, ed. Zifroni, pp. 55–56.
29. See, e.g., Burnett, "A Group of Arabic-Latin Translators," appendix.
30. About Samuel's theory and method of translation, see James T. Robinson, "Philosophical Reflections on a 'Difficult Art': Samuel Ibn Tibbon on Translation and Translating" (forthcoming). For translation as a "difficult art," see Judah Ibn Tibbon, Translator's Preface to Jonah Ibn Janah, *Sefer ha-Riqmah*, ed. Wilensky, vol. 1, p. 5.
31. See *Testament*, 68–69; *Sefer Sha'ar ha-Yihud* was published by Hayyim Gad in *Hamsifah Me'or Gadolim* (Gohannesburg, 1953), 159–65.
32. Although Judah had begun his *Testament* much earlier, it seems that he completed it only after 1186. As evidence of this late date, Judah refers to Zerahyah Halevi as

deceased (see *Testament*, 72, 83) and Zerahyah seems to have died in 1186, according to the report in *Shebet Yehudah*, eds. Y. Baer and A. Shohat (Jerusalem, 1947), 146.

33. Ed. Moritz Steinschneider, *Ermahnungsschreiben des Jehuda Ibn Tibbon an seinen Sohn Samuel des Moses Mainmonides an seinen Sohn Abraham und Spruache der Weisen* (Berlin, 1852); ed. with English trans. by H. Edelman, in *The Path of Good Men* (London, 1852); ed. Zweifel (Zitomir, 1865); ed. with English trans. by Israel Abrahams, in *Hebrew Ethical Wills*, 54–92; Hebrew excerpts in Simcha Assaf, *Mekorot le-toldot ha-Hinukh be-Yisrael: A Source-Book for the History of Jewish Education from the Beginning of the Middle Ages to the Period of the Haskalah*. A new edition edited and annotated by Shmuel Click (New York and Jerusalem, 2001), vol. 2, pp. 127–32; English excerpts in Jacob R. Marcus, *The Jews in the Medieval World: A Source Book, 315–1791* (Cincinnati, 1938), 311–14; abridged English trans. in Franz Kobler, *Letters of Jews through the Ages* (Philadelphia, 1954), vol. 1, pp. 156–65. For examples of Judah's criticism of his son, see *Testament*, 57–58. But cf. pp. 60, 83, where Judah himself admits that Sheshet Benveniste was impressed by the young Samuel, that Zerahyah Halevi had praised him, and that Samuel had acquired for himself a good reputation.
34. See *Testament*, 56.
35. See Abrahams, *Hebrew Ethical Wills*, xix–xxvi, 2–29.
36. See *Bon Mishle* #10, in *Divani Shemuel ha-Nagid*, ed. Dov Jarden (Jerusalem, 1966–92), vol. 2, p. 39.
37. See Goitein, *A Mediterranean Society*, vol. 5, p. 143; he says that he did not find a single Judeo-Arabic ethical testament in the Geniza. But there is an example of the borrowing of an Islamic *wasfiya*; see, e.g., *Duties of the Heart*, Book Nine, reproducing a Sufi testament. Note also that *sawwa' ah*, Judah's Hebrew term for testament, is a literal translation of the Arabic *wasfiya*.

Plato, and Aristotle.<sup>38</sup> Judah's *Testament*, like the Arabic model, is written in an elegant literary style, mixing poetry with prose, and using anecdotes and exhortations to reinforce his moral instruction. He advises, encourages, and warns his son, punctuating his own proreptic counsel with ethical maxims taken from the Bible, rabbinic sages, poets, and philosophers.

In the course of his *Testament*, Judah touches upon every aspect of the broadly conceived Jewish culture of Islamic Spain.<sup>39</sup> He emphasizes the importance of Bible, Talmud, Arabic language, Hebrew grammar, literary style, astronomy, medicine, and other "foreign sciences,"<sup>40</sup> articulating Spanish ideals with greater clarity than was done in Spain itself. In light of the Arabic literary background, I would suggest that Judah is not only addressing his son and mapping out the latter's educational curriculum but is also addressing the community of scholars of southern France. His *Testament* accordingly can be read as a Sephardic manifesto of sorts, a call to adopt the broad cultural ideals of the Jews of Andalusia and a plan to reeducate the children of southern France. In light of this interpretation of the *Testament*, Judah emerges not only as a man of language and literature, law and science, but also as a reformer, and translation can be seen as the essential tool in transmitting his uniquely Spanish vision of Judaism to the communities of southern France.

#### IV. Samuel Ibn Tibbon (ca. 1165–1232)

While Judah's *Testament* may well say more about the cultural ideals of the father than the educational achievement of the son, it is nonetheless an important document for understanding Samuel's education. Moreover, it is the only source we have containing information about Samuel's early life; and although the *Testament* has larger cultural implications, certain biographical information can still be used with caution. One might also suggest that Judah's criticisms of Samuel in the *Testament*, which consis-

tently relate to matters of language and literary style, may reflect a real tension between father and son regarding their hierarchy of values. For Samuel, as we will see, considerably narrowed the broad Sephardic vision, choosing to focus exclusively on philosophy and philosophical exegesis rather than language and literature. With this in mind, we turn to the second member of the Ibn Tibbon dynasty, beginning with his early education and then shifting to his translations and original compositions.<sup>41</sup>

Born circa 1165 in Lunel, Samuel Ibn Tibbon was raised by his father and educated to be a gentleman scholar. According to his father's *Testament*, he was provided with Arabic and Hebrew tutors at an early age, and was encouraged to study the weekly Bible reading together with Saadia Gaon's Arabic translation.<sup>42</sup> Such a practice would not only sharpen his Arabic skills but provide him with a ready translation lexicon, which Samuel would later make use of in his own translations.<sup>43</sup> Samuel studied Bible, moreover, with the commentaries written by the Spanish grammarian-exegetes, such as Moses Ibn Gikatilla, Isaac Ibn Chiyath, and Abraham Ibn Ezra,<sup>44</sup> and was given private tuition in Talmud by his father's friend Zeraryah Halevi, also of Spanish origin.<sup>45</sup> As for the so-called "foreign sciences," Judah advised Samuel to study astronomy with Aaron b. Meshulam, which means that they would have used the Hebrew translations and compilations produced by Abraham Bar Hiyya and Abraham Ibn Ezra, for Aaron did not know Arabic.<sup>46</sup> Judah himself seems to have been responsible for his son's medical education, a profession that Samuel practiced at

38. See, e.g., the testaments collected in Faraj Mahmud Abū Layla, *Tarikh al-Wasā'iq* (Qatar, 1997). Note also the "mirror for princes" literature, which sometimes includes a testament; see, e.g., the Persian *Book of Counsel for Kings* (trans. F.R.C. Bagley, London, 1964), which is attributed to al-Ghazali. Especially important are Ibn Qutayba's *Uyūn al-Akhbār* and Ibn 'Abd Rabiḥ al-Andalusī's *al-ʿIqd al-Farīd*, two works that provided the majority of sayings collected in *Choice of Pearls* (see Y. Ratzaby, in *Sinai* 102, 1988); and Miskawayh, *Al-Hikmah al-Khāḍiḥ*, ed. A. Badawi (Cairo, 1952; Tehran, 1980), which includes ethical testaments attributed to Plato, Aristotle, Pythagoras, and al-Fārabi. Regarding the testament attributed to Hippocrates, see Franz Rosenthal, "An Eleventh-Century List of the Works of Hippocrates," *Journal of the History of Medicine* 28 (1973): 156–65.

39. For full discussion of this broad Spanish cultural ideal, see Septimius, *Hispanio-Jewish Culture in Transition*.

40. See *Testament*, 61, 65–70, 75–76, 80.

41. For full bibliography on Samuel Ibn Tibbon, see Carlos Fraenkel, *From Maimonides to Samuel Ibn Tibbon: The Transformation of the Dalaḥ al-Hā'irīn into the Morah ha-Neuḥkīn* [in Hebrew] (Ph.D. Dissertation, Freie University, Berlin, 2000); James T. Robinson, "Samuel Ibn Tibbon's Commentary on Ecclesiastes and the Philosopher's Prooemium," in *Studies in Medieval Jewish History and Literature*, vol. 3, eds. I. Twersky and J. M. Harris (Cambridge, Mass., 2000), 83–146; id., *Samuel Ibn Tibbon's Commentary on Ecclesiastes* (Ph.D. Dissertation, Harvard University, 2002).

42. See *Testament*, 65–66.

43. See Robinson, "Samuel Ibn Tibbon on Translation and Translating," for further discussion.

44. These are the main sources of exegesis in his original compositions. For Gikatilla, see, e.g., *Ma'amar Yiqqanū ha-Mayyim*, ed. M. Bisliches (Pessburg, 1837), 45–88. For Ibn Ezra and Ibn Chiyath, see, e.g., *Ma'amar Yiqqanū ha-Mayyim*, 17, 18, 25, 26, 39, 44, 61, 68, 70, 88, 96, 103, 126, 128, 158. He also cites his father's exegesis once, at *Ma'amar Yiqqanū ha-Mayyim*, 42. Rashi, by contrast, is mentioned only twice in *Ma'amar Yiqqanū ha-Mayyim* (pp. 83, 126) and not at all in the *Commentary on Ecclesiastes*.

45. See *Testament*, 83–84.

46. See *Testament*, 78. On the scientific writings and translations by Abraham bar Hiyya and Abraham Ibn Ezra, see most recently Mercedes Rubio, "The First Hebrew Encyclopedia of Science: Abraham bar Hiyya's *Yosodei ha-Teyunah u-Migdal ha-Emunah*," in *The Medieval Hebrew Encyclopedias of Science and Philosophy*, ed. S.

least in his early years.<sup>47</sup> Samuel shows extensive knowledge of Graeco-Arabic medicine in his own writings, and there survive two medical recipes or prescriptions in his name.<sup>48</sup> Finally, one would suspect that Samuel grew up reading the works that his father had translated, namely, those previously mentioned by Bahya, Halevi, Ibn Gabirol, and Saadia. But the remarkable fact is that there is not a single citation of, or even allusion to, these works in Samuel's original writings. The reason for this seems to be that Samuel was drawn away from the Judeo-Arabic traditions of Kalam and Neoplatonism to the Aristotelianism of Maimonides.

It was with the translation of Maimonides' *Guide of the Perplexed* that Samuel emerged from his father's shadows. His work on this project was the real turning point not only in his own life but also in the development of Jewish thought in southern France. Samuel was commissioned to complete this translation by Meshullam's successor in Lunel, Jonathan ha-Kohen, a legal scholar who, during a protracted communication with Maimonides, had requested a copy of the *Guide*.<sup>49</sup> In the course of his work on the translation, which engaged him for several years, Samuel seems to have taught it publicly as well.<sup>50</sup> He corresponded with Maimonides

Harvey (Dordrecht 2000), 140–53; and Shlomo Sela, *Abraham Ibn Ezra and the Rise of Medieval Hebrew Science* (Leiden, 2003).

47. See *Testament*, 61, 67, 68, 75–76, 80; and see the letter by Me'ir Halevi Abulafia addressed to "Samuel Ibn Tibbon the Physician." The letter is preserved in Menahem b. Solomon ha-Me'iri, *Qiryat Sefer*, ed. M. Hershler (Jerusalem, 1956).

48. The medical remedies are found in Bodleian MS 2142/31 (mf: 19956), 322a, and Leiden MSS Scal 2/20, or 4719 (mf: 31926), 213b; I thank Professor Tzvi Langemann for these references. As for medicine in his original works, see, e.g., the commentary on Eccl 5:8–16, where he discusses the merits of diet and exercise, which "are known to all physicians"; the commentary on Eccl 7:1, where he discusses the physicians' opinions regarding the negative physical effects of sexual intercourse; the commentary on Eccl 12:1–7, where he discusses the distinction between blood vessels and arteries and the physiological processes of decay in old age. But it should be added that the translation of Ali b. Ridwān's commentary on Galen's *Microtechn* attributed to Samuel is not likely the work of his hands; the terminology used in this translation indicates that it is a later work (see Robinson, "Samuel Ibn Tibbon on Translation and Translating," for further discussion). So too should mention be made of the fact that, despite the indications of Ibn Tibbon's medical knowledge and practice, there is no evidence that he had any contact with the incipient medical school in Montpellier, let alone that he was one of its early faculty members. Regarding the legends about early Jewish participation in the medical school, see Joseph Shatzmiller, *Jews, Medicine, and Medieval Society* (Berkeley, 1994), 157, nn. 65–66.

49. For the correspondence regarding the *Guide*, see Shalita, *Epistles*, vol. 2, pp. 491–559, with reference to earlier research; and see most recently Carlos Fraenkel, *From Maimonides to Samuel Ibn Tibbon*, 35–53.

50. This is suggested by his translation of the letter on translation sent to him by Maimonides, which includes his own annotations indicating that he had discussed

regarding difficulties of translation and interpretation, asking Maimonides likewise to check his manuscript against the original.<sup>51</sup> Only one letter survives from Maimonides in response to these queries.<sup>52</sup> But in light of the surviving translation, it is worth noting that Samuel generally did not follow the suggestions made by Maimonides in this letter, preferring instead to employ the terminology and literal method developed by his father.<sup>53</sup> The translation of the *Guide* was completed in 1204, and a revised version with Glossary was issued in 1213.<sup>54</sup> In addition to the *Guide*, Sam-

certain points with members of the community. See Isaiah Some, "Maimonides' Letter to Samuel b. Tibbon according to an Unknown Text in the Archives of the Jewish Community of Verona" [Hebrew], *Tarbiz* 10 (1939): 135–54, 309–32; Fraenkel, *From Maimonides to Samuel Ibn Tibbon*, 35–53.

51. See the "Letter on Providence," ed. Zvi Diesendruck, "Samuel and Moses Ibn Tibbon on Maimonides' Theory of Providence," *Hebrew Union College Annual* 11 (1936): 341–66. Besides this letter, which is the only one written by Ibn Tibbon that survives, Ibn Tibbon refers to his correspondence with Maimonides in the Preface to his translation of the *Guide* and in the Preface to the *Metorology* translation. See also the Preface to the *Commentary on Ecclesiastes*, ed. and trans. James T. Robinson, *Samuel Ibn Tibbon's Commentary on Ecclesiastes*, par. 24. Summarizing the content of a letter sent to Maimonides to request a commentary on the three biblical books attributed to Solomon, he writes there: "When I, Samuel son of Judah Ibn Tibbon, saw [Maimonides'] interpretations of these verses, and how extremely good they were, my soul longed for his interpretation of the other verses, that is, for a commentary on these three books. On account of my great longing, I set my face like a flint [see Isa 50:7] and wrote to the True Sage, requesting that he send us a commentary. If his commentary on these [books] had already [been written], if he had not yet written a commentary, I beseeched him to bestow grace yet again upon the people of his nation and write such a commentary. In this way he could avoid leaving [his people] bereft of [his explanations of these three books]. This is precisely what I wrote to him."

52. Regarding this letter, see Alexander Marx, "The Correspondence between the Rabbis of Southern France and Maimonides about Astrology," *Hebrew Union College Annual* 3 (1926): 311–58; Some, "Maimonides' Letter"; Shalita, *Epistles*, 511–54; David Baneth, "On Maimonides' Philosophical Terminology" [in Hebrew], *Tarbiz* 6 (1935): 254–84; id., "Maimonides as Translator of His Own Work in Comparison with His Translators" [in Hebrew], *Tarbiz* 23 (1952): 170–91; Shlomo Pines, "Translator's Introduction: The Philosophic Sources of the *Guide of the Perplexed*," in *Moses Maimonides: The Guide of the Perplexed* (Chicago, 1963); Sarah Stroumsa, "Note on Maimonides' Attitude toward Joseph Ibn Saadiq" [in Hebrew], *Jerusalem Studies in Jewish Thought* 9 (1990): 33–38; Steven Harvey, "Maimonides in the Sultan's Palace," in *Perspectives on Maimonides*, ed. Joel Kraemer (London and Oxford, 1991), 47–76; id., "Did Maimonides' Letter to Samuel Ibn Tibbon Determine which Philosophers would be Studied by Later Jewish Thinkers?" *Jewish Quarterly Review* 83 (1992): 51–70.

53. See again the articles by Some and Baneth cited in the previous note.

54. See *Moreh ha-Nehukhim*, Samuel Ibn Tibbon's Hebrew trans. of Maimonides' *Guide of the Perplexed*, ed. Yehudah Even-Shemuel (Jerusalem, 1987). Even-Shemuel appended Ibn Tibbon's "Glossary of Unusual Terms in the *Guide*" to this edition,



uel also translated several other works by Maimonides and produced the first Hebrew versions of Aristotle and Averroes, thus beginning a new era of translation that was characterized by a shift of interest from Judeo-Arabic classics to those of Greek and Arabic provenance.<sup>55</sup> Only the *Guide* and Aristotle's *Metaleology* give any indication of patronage.<sup>56</sup>

Like his father, Samuel also wrote translator's introductions, which are distinguished by the same interest in classification and translation

and he discusses the dating of both the translation and glossary in the respective introductions. For the most recent discussion of this subject, see Fraenkel, *From Maimonides to Samuel Ibn Tibbon*, 83–94.

55. See Maimonides, *Treatise on Resurrection (Maqalat fi Tehiyat ha-Metim): The Original Arabic and Samuel Ibn Tibbon's Hebrew Translation and Glossary*, edited with critical apparatus, notes and introduction by Joshua Finkel (New York, 1939); *Eight Chapters*, Hebrew trans. by Samuel Ibn Tibbon, ed. with English trans. by J. Gorfinkle (New York, 1912); *Commentary on the Mishnah*, Ahot, Hebrew trans. by Samuel Ibn Tibbon, ed. M. Rabinowitz (Jerusalem, 1961); *Moses Maimonides' Epistle to Yemen: The Arabic Original and the Three Hebrew Versions*, ed. from MSS with introduction and notes by A. Halkin, English trans. by B. Cohen (New York, 1922); *Olot ha-Shamayim: Samuel Ibn Tibbon's Hebrew Version of Aristotle's Metaleology*, ed. and trans. Resname Fontaine (Leiden, 1995); Averroes and 'Abd Allah, "Three Treatises on Conjunction," ed. and trans. J. Herz, *Drei Abhandlungen über die Conjunction des separaten Intellekts mit dem Menschen von Averroes (Valer und Solin), aus dem Arabischen übersetzt von Samuel Ibn Tibbon* (Berlin, 1869); Charles Burnett and Mauro Zonta, "Abū Muhammad 'Abdallāh Ibn Rushd (Averroes Junior), On Whether the Active Intellect Unites with the Material Intellect whilst It is Clothed with the Body: A Critical Edition of the Three Extant Medieval Versions together with an English Translation," *Archives d'histoire doctrinale et littéraire du moyen âge* 67 (2000): 295–335. Regarding the translation of Aristotle's *Metaleology*, see also R. Fontaine, "Samuel Ibn Tibbon's Translation of the Arabic Version of Aristotle's *Metaleology*," in *The Ancient Tradition in Christian and Islamic Hellenism*, eds. G. Endress and R. Kruk (Leiden, 1997), 85–100. Regarding the treatises by Averroes and son, see also Herbert Davidson, "Averrois Tractatus de Anima Beatitudine," in *A Straight Path: Studies in Medieval Philosophy and Culture, Essays in Honor of Arthur Hyman*, eds. R. Link-Salinger, R. Long, and C. Manekin (Washington, D. C., 1988), 57–73; Carlos Steel and Marc Geoffroy, ed. and trans., *Averroès, La beatitudo de l'âme* (Paris, 2001). There is evidence that Ibn Tibbon also translated Maimonides' Preface to the *Commentary on Sanhedrin, Chapter Heleq*, but the text published by E. Kipfler is definitely not his work; see "An Old Translation of Maimonides' Commentary on the Mishnah, Tractate Sanhedrin, Chapter Heleq" [in Hebrew], *Me Sefer* 1 (1975): 59–80. Finally, note that the translations of *Eight Chapters, Guide of the Perplexed, Metaleology*, and Averroes' two treatises, were excerpted into Gershon b. Solomon's popular encyclopedia entitled *Sh'ar ha-Shamayim*, which was written during the last quarter of the thirteenth century. About the use of sources in this latter work, see James T. Robinson, "Gershon b. Solomon's *Sh'ar ha-Shamayim*: Its Sources and Use of Sources," in *The Medieval Hebrew Encyclopedias of Science and Philosophy*, ed. S. Harvey (Dordrecht, 2000), 248–74.

56. See above, n. 13.

technique.<sup>57</sup> In Samuel's prefaces, however, this genre is taken to a new level of nuance and sophistication. He explains that in translating the *Guide*, he compared manuscripts, consulted the author, examined Arabic grammars and lexicons, and borrowed from existing translations, which had been rendered by his father and by others.<sup>58</sup> With respect to the latter, he weighed carefully the implications of certain words, sometimes choosing to defer to convention, as he says, and sometimes coining new terms that were less charged with biblical or rabbinic associations.<sup>59</sup> In the Preface to his Glossary, moreover, he also listed the methods he used in creating new terms, whether neologism or calque.<sup>60</sup> His discussion reveals a keen awareness of the Arabic logical theory of "transferred terms," as they were called, an awareness that is revealed even more in the Preface to his *Commentary on Ecclesiastes*.<sup>61</sup> In this later work, Samuel describes in detail his creation of a Hebrew word for induction, referring to the "logicians" and alluding to al-Fārābī's discussion of philosophical translation.<sup>62</sup> The

57. See Menachem Kellner, "Maimonides and Samuel Ibn Tibbon on Jeremiah 9:22–23 and Human Perfection," in *Studies in Halakha and Jewish Thought Presented to Rabbi Professor Menahem Emanuel Raskin on His Eightieth Birthday*, ed. M. Beer (Kamat-Gan, 1994), 49–57; *Guide of the Perplexed*, ed. Even-Shemuel, pp. 117\*–22\* (Preface to the translation), 11–19 (Preface to the Glossary); *Olot ha-Shamayim*, 2–9, and Robinson, "Samuel Ibn Tibbon on Translation and Translating," for further discussion.

58. See "Letter on Providence," ed. Diesendruck, pp. 352–53; Translator's Preface to the *Guide*, ed. Even-Shemuel, pp. 117\*–22\*.

59. See, e.g., *Glossary*, ed. Even-Shemuel, pp. 43–44: "Logic [higgaon]: Some commentators have explained the rabbinic proscription 'keep your children from higgaon' [Ber. 28b] as referring to the science called *maniq* in Arabic; the Christians call it 'dialectics,' using the name of one division [to refer to the discipline as a whole]. I have followed the commentators with respect to this [terminology] and thus have translated [the Arabic term for logic, *maniq*] as the 'art of higgaon.' But in my opinion it would have been better had they called it the 'art of speech [dibber or dibbur],' following the [philosophers'] definition of man as 'living and speaking.' In fact, in my opinion, it ought to be called the 'art of reason [sekhel].'"

60. See *Glossary*, ed. Even-Shemuel, pp. 11–19.

61. For a brief discussion of the transferred term, *ism maniq*, see Fritz Zimmermann, *Al-Fārābī's Commentary and Short Treatise on Aristotle's De Interpretatione* (London, 1981), preface; see also al-Fārābī, *Book of Letters*, ed. Muhsin Mahdi (Beirut, 1969), par. 104–8, for discussion of translation and the methods of translating or transferring philosophy from one culture to another. Note that the medieval Hebrew term used for translation, *ha ataqil*, is a literal translation of the Arabic *naql*, which has the sense of both translate and transfer or transmit; see, e.g., *Glossary*, ed. Even-Shemuel, p. 75.

62. See *Commentary on Ecclesiastes*, ed. and trans. Robinson, par. 35: "Having mentioned the inductive syllogism [hippus], I shall explain what I mean by 'induction,' when I use it here and elsewhere. I say: it seems to me that the philosophers borrowed the Arabic word, which I replace with the Hebrew *hippus*, from the language of the

reader is briefly allowed to enter into the workshop of this master translator.

Like his father, Samuel also defended the literal method of translation zealously, attacking his own nemesis Judah al-Harizi (1165–1225).<sup>63</sup> Using language resembling that of his father, he accuses al-Harizi of being a poet

multitude, who use it to express a notion that resembles what the philosophers intend when they use it. The notion for which the multitude use this word, namely, *istiqrāʾ*, is as follows. They say: 'I have examined [*istiqrāʾu*] a certain land,' that is, I have traveled through all of it; seeing the character [*'inyan*] of each of its villages and cities. The philosophers then borrowed [this same term] to represent the examination [*laqrāb*] of a single universal by knowing the intention [*'inyan*] of each of its parts and species. They called such an action *istiqrāʾ*, derived a verb from it, and constructed whatever [grammatical forms] they desired. They said: 'I have examined [*istiqrāʾu*] all of the particulars that are subsumed under a certain universal,' that is, I have used the speculative method to pass through all of them, knowing in this way the intention [*'inyan*] of each of them. I did not find a single word in our language closer to this meaning than *hippus*, even though the Arabic word [*istiqrāʾ*], unlike the Hebrew *hippus*, implies not only the examination of a notion but knowledge of the notion examined.' The description of calque given here, one of the best in medieval literature, follows closely the method described by al-Fārabi in *Book of Letters* (see previous note). The popular notion of *istiqrāʾ*, on the other hand, seems to derive from al-Khalībī. Ahmad's *Kitāb al-ʿajm*, a work that was edited by Todros Todrosi to have been consulted by Ibn Tibbon, see Todrosi's Preface to his Hebrew rendering of Averroes, Middle Commentary on Aristotle's *Rhetoric*, ed. J. Goldenthal (Leipzig, 1842), 3.

63. These near contemporaries, who had very different literary sensibilities and cultural ideals, seem to have competed for translation work in southern France throughout their lives. Al-Harizi translated Maimonides' Preface to the *Commentary on the Mishnah* in the 1190s, translated the introduction to the *Commentary on the Mishnah, Chapter Heleq*, retranslated the *Treatise on Resurrection*, and produced a rival translation of the *Guide*; in the preface to the latter he accuses Ibn Tibbon of intentionally making his translation obscure. See Abraham Halkin, "Maimonides' *Treatise on Resurrection* as Translated by Judah al-Harizi" [Hebrew], *Kohez al-Yad* 9/19 (1979): 131–50; Moshe Goshen-Gottstein, "Maimonides' Thirteen Principles in al-Harizi's Translation" [in Hebrew], *Tarbiz* 26 (1947): 186–96; al-Harizi's translation of the *Guide of the Perplexed* (Tel-Aviv, 1952), preface. For the rival views on translation (literal vs. literary), considered in the larger context of medieval attitudes toward language and literature, see Abraham Halkin, "The Medieval Jewish Attitude toward Hebrew," in *Biblical and Other Studies*, ed. Alexander Altmann (Cambridge, Mass., 1963), 233–48; Septimius, *Hispano-Jewish Culture in Transition*, 53–54; id., "Maimonides on Language," in *The Culture of Spanish Jewry*, Proceedings of the First International Congress, ed. Avvath Doron (Tel-Aviv, 1994), 35–54; and see also on this subject Sebastian Brock, "Towards a History of Syriac Translation Technique," in *III Symposium Syriacum 1980* (Rome, 1983), 1–14; id., "Aspects of Translation Technique in Antiquity," *Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Studies* 20 (1979): 69–87. For al-Harizi's other translations, and his life and work more generally, see Schrimann/Fleisher, *History of Hebrew Poetry*, vol. 2, pp. 145–221.

who is incapable of translating philosophical texts.<sup>64</sup> Even al-Harizi's knowledge of Arabic and Hebrew is called into question when Samuel identifies a Hebrew phrase in Maimonides' text that al-Harizi, mistaking it for Arabic, had translated into Hebrew.<sup>65</sup> The Glossary that Samuel attached to his revised translation of the *Guide* was also, in some respects, a novel literary venture. It served not only as a reference work but also as an introduction to philosophy or a philosophical primer.<sup>66</sup>

Samuel's original writings include the *Commentary on Ecclesiastes* and *Ma'amar Yiqqanū ha-Mayim*.<sup>67</sup> The latter was named for Genesis 1:9 ("Let the waters be gathered"), a verse that answers the initial question of this long and digressive book: if the four Aristotelian elements have distinct natural places, why isn't the earth completely covered by water?<sup>68</sup> Both works show the close relationship between translation, philosophy, and biblical exegesis. The *Commentary on Ecclesiastes*, for example, includes a careful verse-by-verse explication of the entire biblical text supplemented by long philosophical digressions or "preliminaries," in which Samuel dis-

64. See Glossary, ed. Even-Shemuel, Preface and s.v. *innmet, efsihar*, pp. 11–17, 32–36.  
65. See Glossary, Preface, 16–17, referring to al-Harizi's translation into Hebrew of a Hebrew word from a *mishnah* cited in *Guide* 3:41. But it should be noted that, in the published version of al-Harizi's translation, this word seems simply to have been left untranslated.

66. Al-Harizi prefaced his translation of the *Guide* with a glossary, but he focused mainly on the simple definitions of words. The background of Ibn Tibbon's work, on the other hand, seems to be the Neoplatonic definition tradition, which continued in Arabic. See, e.g., I. Z. Frank, *Al-Kindī's Book of Definitions: Its Place in Arabic Definition Literature* (Ph.D. Dissertation, Yale University, 1975); A.-M. Gotichon, trans., *Avicenna, Livre des définitions* (Caro, 1963); Alexander Altmann and Samuel Miklos Stern, *Isaac Israeli: A Neoplatonic Philosopher of the Early Tenth Century* (Oxford, 1958), 3–78. Although Ibn Tibbon organizes his work alphabetically rather than thematically, it is worth noting that he begins his Glossary with an extended isagoge of sorts, defining the ten categories, five predicables, definition, and description. The discussion in this beginning section is drawn mainly from al-Fārabi's introductory works, about which see Angela Jaffray, *On the Threshold of Philosophy: al-Fārabi's Introductory Works on Logic* (Ph.D. Dissertation, Harvard University, 2000). Finally, cf. also the later glossaries and lexicons of Moses of Salerno, ed. G. Serroneta, *Un glossario filosofico ebraico-italiano del XIII secolo* (Rome, 1969); and Shem Tob Falaguera, ed. Mauro Zonta, *L'introduzione al Sefer De' ha-Filosofim di Shem Tob ibn Falaguera* (Torino, 1992).

67. For the *Commentary on Ecclesiastes*, see Robinson, *Samuel Ibn Tibbon's Commentary: Ma'amar Yiqqanū ha-Mayim* was ed. by M. Bisliches (Pressburg, 1837).  
68. See *Ma'amar Yiqqanū ha-Mayim*, 2–3. For discussion of this problem, and of the book as a whole, see Georges Váda, "An Analysis of the *Ma'amar Yiqqanū ha-Mayim* by Samuel b. Judah Ibn Tibbon," *Journal of Jewish Studies* 10 (1959): 137–49; Cad Freudenthal, "(A)l-Chemical Foundations for Cosmological Ideas: Ibn Sīnā on the Geology of an Eternal World," in *Physics, Cosmology, and Astronomy, 1300–1700: Tension and Accommodation*, ed. S. Unguru (Dordrecht, 1991), 47–73.

cusses major issues in every field of medieval Aristotelianism.<sup>69</sup> The entire book of *Ecclesiastes*, moreover, is explained in light of Greek and Arabic literary conventions and in relation to contemporary philosophical disputes. This provides Samuel with new insights into this biblical text, which he attributes, interestingly, not to philosophy but to divine inspiration.<sup>70</sup> The best indication of the close connection between translation and exegesis is the fact that Samuel appended to his commentary three treatises on intellect by Averroes and Averroes' son, 'Abd Allāh, indicating in a brief preface to these treatises that Averroes and Solomon had written about precisely the same thing.<sup>71</sup> Both Solomon and Averroes, Samuel maintains, defended the Aristotelian conception of immortality against the skeptics who claim that conjunction with the active intellect is nothing but an old wives' tale.<sup>72</sup> In this revealing statement, Samuel indicates that

69. Philosophical digressions in the commentary include the following: a long discussion of the philosopher's prooemium; an introduction to logic; an introduction to astronomy; an explanation of the terms used for ethical virtues and vices; the meanings of one; discussion of the different theories of intellect; the number and nature of the internal senses; embryology; and meteorological theories regarding celestial heat, vapors, rain and snow, rivers, thunder and lightning.

70. For an example of his use of literary techniques drawn from the philosophical tradition, see Robinson, "Samuel Ibn Tibbon's *Commentary on Ecclesiastes* and the Philosopher's Prooemium." For attributing his philosophical-exegetical insights to divine inspiration, see especially *Ma'amar Yiqqanu ha-Mayim*, 9. Reflecting upon his explanation of Eccl 3:1-8, what he refers to as "the pairs of times," he says the following: "I have mentioned to you some allusions given by Solomon in his pairs of times insofar as these are related to the present subject; but there [in the *Commentary on Ecclesiastes*] I explained them at length, giving an interpretation that in my opinion is novel and with respect to which it is as if I was inspired by the holy spirit. For I sensed that the [times] are allusions to the mysteries of the 'work of the beginning.' As for what other exegetes have said about them, namely, 'about the times, they have said only nonsense and nothing of value.'"

71. See Herz, *Drei Abhandlungen*, 23 [Hebrew section]; Davidson, "Averrois Tractatus de Animae Beatitudine."

72. See also the *Commentary on Ecclesiastes*, ed. and trans. Robinson, par. 86: "Alexander of Aphrodisias, as well as Themistius, supplied proofs for the perdurance of the soul and its conjunction with the active intellect. They were both great sages and the first commentators of [Aristotle's] books to write good commentaries. They said that they had derived this [doctrine] from the force of Aristotle's statements in *De anima* and that this was his opinion. No one was heard to dispute them except Abū Naṣr al-Fārābī, who said that conjunction of the soul of man with the active intellect is like an old wives' tale. Then Averroes said about this statement of Abū Naṣr that it was not the speculation itself that had led him to say this. Rather, because he knew the extent of his own wisdom and found that he had not reached the higher rank, he concluded that no man can reach it. Averroes said that Abū Naṣr did not take into consideration all the things in these times and communities that prevent a man from reaching the higher rank. Not only does someone who wants to occupy himself with science not find people who help him, [he finds people who] hate him

these Arabic treatises provide the exegetical key to understanding *Ecclesiastes*.<sup>73</sup>

Whereas Judah Ibn Tibbon saw himself as an Andalusian, proud of his heritage and committed to passing it on to his son and fellow residents of southern France, Samuel saw himself as the true disciple of Maimonides. The *Guide of the Perplexed* is cited or alluded to on nearly every page of the *Commentary on Ecclesiastes* and *Ma'amar Yiqqanu ha-Mayim*. Samuel grasps with the same theological and philosophical problems set forth in the *Guide*, cites many of the same biblical verses and rabbinic dicta, and applies the same methods of exegesis and esoteric writing. He never tires of acknowledging this debt, calling Maimonides the "True Sage" and "divine philosopher," and claiming that he drinks only from the Master's water.<sup>74</sup> Contemporary scholars are correct in identifying Samuel as the first commentator of the *Guide* and the founder of a distinct school of medieval Maimonideanism.<sup>75</sup> But it is important to note that Samuel was fre-

and despise him because of it and accuse him of being a heretic. [Averroes] also mentioned many other similar things that cause obstruction. He said: There would be many men who would reach the higher rank in communities in which (1) people help one another to study science and where (2) there are no other things that could prevent a man from reaching his perfection. Averroes wrote this in the treatise that is found with him, whereas in his commentary on *De anima*, he confused matters and made them obscure." Averroes defends immortality against the infamous view of al-Fārābī, about which see Shlomo Pines, "The Limitations of Human Knowledge according to al-Fārābī, Ibn Bajja, and Maimonides," in *Studies in Medieval Jewish History and Literature*, ed. I. Twersky (Cambridge, Mass., 1979), 82-109; Alexander Altmann, "Maimonides on the Intellect and the Scope of Metaphysics," in Altmann, *Von der mittelalterlichen zur modernen Aufklärung—Studien zur jüdischen Geistesgeschichte* (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1987), 60-129; Herbert Davidson, "Maimonides on Metaphysical Knowledge," *Maimonidean Studies* 3 (1992-93): 49-103. Ibn Tibbon projects this dispute back into biblical antiquity.

73. Note should also be made of the importance Ibn Tibbon attaches to Aristotle's *Meteorology* for the explication of Genesis 1, about which see Aviezer Ravitzky, "Aristotle's *Meteorology* and Maimonidean Exegesis of the Account of Creation" [in Hebrew], *Jerusalem Studies in Jewish Thought* 9 (1990): 225-50.

74. See, e.g., the *Commentary on Ecclesiastes*, ed. and trans. Robinson, par. 39: "How could I not have been drawn after [Maimonides] when it was the few verses I saw with his interpretation that had led me to undertake the explication of this book [Ecclesiastes]. They overcame me [see Song 6:5] and ignited within me a fire as a result of my longing to understand the other verses according to his method. Everything that I interpret, following the way of wisdom, I interpret only according to what would have been his opinion with respect to these things, in accordance with what is revealed in his books: I drink from his water and make others drink; everything comes from the 'fruit of the righteous' and from his good 'work'; it is itself 'life' and causes 'life,' continuously and forever."

75. See especially the dissertation and series of articles by Aviezer Ravitzky: *The*

quently critical of Maimonides as well, consistently reinterpreting these same biblical and rabbinic sources in light of new developments in science and philosophy.<sup>76</sup> A famous statement at the end of *Ma'amar Yiqqanu ha-Mayim*, in which Samuel observes that philosophy, in his time, had shifted from the Islamic to the Christian world, is especially important in this respect.<sup>77</sup> He complains that the Jews living in Christian Europe trailed far behind their religious counterparts in philosophical sophistication. In response to this situation, what Samuel aimed to achieve was to develop, through translation and exegesis, a Maimonidean philosophy that could rival the emerging Scholasticism. Maimonides was used as the framework

<sup>76</sup> *Thought of Rabbi Zerahyah b. Isaac b. She'altiel Hen and Maimonidean-Tibbonian Philosophy in the Thirteenth Century* [in Hebrew] (Ph.D. Dissertation, Hebrew University, 1978); "The Possibility of Existence and Its Accidentality in Thirteenth-Century Maimonidean Interpretation" [in Hebrew], *Da'at* 2-3 (1978-79), 67-97; "Samuel Ibn Tibbon and the Esoteric Character of *The Guide of the Perplexed*," *Association of Jewish Studies Review* 6 (1981): 87-123; "The Hypostasis of Divine Wisdom" [in Hebrew], *Italia* 3 (1981): 7-38; "On the Sources of Immanuel of Rome's Proverbs Commentary" [in Hebrew], *Kiryat Sefer* 56 (1981): 726-39; "The Secrets of the *Guide of the Perplexed*: Between the Thirteenth and the Twentieth Centuries," in *Studies in Maimonides*, ed. Isadore Twersky (Cambridge, Mass., 1990), 159-207.

<sup>77</sup> Ibn Tibbon's discussion of progress in science is especially noteworthy in this respect. See, e.g., the commentary on Eccl 2.12, ed. and trans. Robinson, par. 266: "As for the sage Rabbi Abraham [Ibn Ezra], although he did not interpret [this verse] as indicating praise for wisdom, he did say certain things that are unacceptable. For the verse seems, according to his interpretation, to prevent man from occupying himself with wisdom since he cannot do anything that the ancients had not already done. But this is very surprising. For it is in the nature of the modern [scholar] who is engaged in the pursuit of wisdom to add to that which the ancients knew and had done. Namely, any modern who is in possession of a good intellect and a pure capacity to understand will not only understand what the ancients knew, whether he receives it from them orally or from those who received it from them orally or from their books, but he will also grow branches and generate conclusions from the roots that they had established. This is especially true with respect to any [discipline of science] the knowledge of which can increase through experience and theoretical study, as frequently occurs in astronomy, medicine, and other arts. The modern adds [to knowledge in these disciplines] by means of his theoretical study and investigations. Even if we were to accept what [Ibn Ezra] has said, namely, that the modern cannot add anything to that which the ancients had already done, [the modern] still ought to strive to understand that which they had known." A good example of Ibn Tibbon's awareness of new discoveries in science and their implications is his summary of al-Bitrufi's astronomy in the *Glossary, Commentary on Ecclesiastes* and *Ma'amar Yiqqanu ha-Mayim*; he refers to al-Bitrufi's work not long after the text itself was written, and before the Latin translation by Michael Scot in 1217. For the relevant texts and further discussion, see James T. Robinson, "The First References in Hebrew to al-Bitrufi's *On the Principles of Astronomy*," *Alph* 3 (2003): 145-63.

<sup>78</sup> See *Ma'amar Yiqqanu ha-Mayim*, 172-74.

leading not to a rigid orthodoxy but rather giving shape to an open-ended quest that could constantly be adjusted in order to accommodate new discoveries.

Samuel was not the first Jewish author to write philosophical commentaries on the Bible. His work puts him in a tradition that reaches back to late antiquity and extends through the writings of his immediate predecessors in Islamic Spain.<sup>78</sup> But his long philosophical digressions and use of Greek logic provide sharp contrast to the laconic allusions of someone like Abraham Ibn Ezra, as does his willingness to use grammar and *midrash* to achieve his philosophical aims. The sheer length of his works, which ushered in a period in which authors did not worry about wasting paper, is impressive.<sup>79</sup> But Samuel's disciples and followers, who were many, and his detractors, also many, were most impressed by the power of this form of discourse.<sup>80</sup> Writing philosophy as exegesis allowed Samuel

<sup>78</sup> For an introduction to philosophical exegesis through the time of Maimonides, see most recently Sarah Klein-Braslavy, "Philosophical Exegesis: Solomon Ibn Cabrol, Bahya ben Joseph, Judah Halevi and Moses Ben Maimon /Maimonides/ Rambam," in *Hebrew Bible/Old Testament—The History of Its Interpretation*, 1/2, ed. M. Saebø, M. Haran & C. Beckelmann (Göttingen, 2000), 302-20.

<sup>79</sup> Ibn Tibbon himself self-consciously rebels against the rule of brevity of Andalusian literature. See, e.g., the *Commentary on Ecclesiastes*, ed. and trans. Robinson, Preface, par. 41-42: "I wish to reveal, furthermore, to those who carefully study this commentary of mine, that I do not intend to be brief, in order to decrease the quantity of paper used and reduce its body size or to make it easier for whoever studies it; this cannot be done in [the explication of] a book composed of suggestive pointers, mysteries, and condensed statements, a book that uses equivocal terms, ambiguous words, and ellipses... In conclusion, the reason why exegetes attempt to shorten what they say in their commentaries does not apply to this commentary of mine. [They worry] that the teacher or student will be discouraged from reading their commentary due to the lengthy discussion they see therein." Although Immanuel of Rome (ca. 1261-1328), *Ma'harot Immanuel*, ed. Dov Jarden (Jerusalem, 1959), 99, placed Ibn Tibbon in Paradise despite his long-windedness, it should be noted that Immanuel himself was the author of several long and weighty works of exegesis. For the Andalusian rule of brevity, see, e.g., Isaac Ibn Chiyath, *Commentary on Ecclesiastes*, ed. J. Kafih, in *Hamesh Megillat* (Jerusalem, 1962), 161; Maimonides, *Mishneh Torah, Laws concerning Ethical Dispositions* 2:4 as well as the Preface to his *Commentary on Hippocrates' Aphorisms* (and see Twersky, *Introduction to the Code of Maimonides*, 337-39, for additional examples and discussion). For criticism of this tendency to brevity, see also Solomon b. Moses of Laguri's critique of Averroes' Epitomes in his encyclopedia of religious philosophy entitled *Bet Elohim* (Vatican MS 248, IMHM 300, p. 8b); and Isaac Abarbanel's criticism of Ibn Ezra's linguistic parsimony (referred to by Eric Lawee, "Isaac Abarbanel's Intellectual Achievement and Literary Legacy in Modern Scholarship: A Retrospective and Opportunity," in *Studies in Medieval Jewish History and Literature*, vol. 3, ed. Twersky and Harris, p. 224, n. 83).

<sup>80</sup> Most Maimonidean philosophers and philosophical exegetes in Italy and southern France in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries can be counted among his

both to justify his preoccupation with philosophy and to teach it in an idiom that was most familiar to his co-religionists. It allowed him, moreover, to introduce philosophy into the very heart of classical Judaism; and it was because of this latter function that philosophical exegesis would prove to be both an extremely popular and an extremely controversial genre throughout the later Middle Ages.

V. *Jacob Anatoli* (ca. 1194–1256)

After completing his translation of the *Guide of the Perplexed* in 1204, Samuel Ibn Tibbon spent several years traveling in Spain and the Mediterranean region, making visits to Toledo, Barcelona, and Alexandria.<sup>81</sup> It was likely during these years that he learned about the emerging Christian Scholasticism of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.<sup>82</sup> Toledo in particular was a center of Latin translation and philosophy.<sup>83</sup> By 1211, he seems to have established Marseilles rather than Lunel as his primary domicile, and seems to have remained there continuously after 1213.<sup>84</sup> It was in Marseilles that he not only wrote his original works but started to instruct his most famous pupil Jacob Anatoli. As for Anatoli, not only did he study

followers; see especially the studies by Ravitzky listed above, n. 75. A famous critic was the Catalanian kabbalist Jacob b. Sheshet, whose *Mesibit dehorim neholihin*, ed. Georges Vajda (Jerusalem, 1968), was written to expose the heresies of *Ma'amar Yiqqaton ha-Mayim*.

81. The *Meteorology* translation, based on manuscripts consulted in Toledo and Barcelona, was completed in 1210 on his return trip from Alexandria. See *Or ha-Shamayim*, ed. and trans. Fontaine, p. ix, regarding the date of the work, and pp. 4–5 regarding the trips to Spain: “If this were the only reason, it would be sufficient to refrain from translating this book [*Meteorology*], until it would be clear by divine decree if another translation existed or a corrected copy of this one, although I already corrected it when I found [copies] in Toledo and Barcelona.” The *Glossary* seems to have been completed by 1213 during his return from yet another trip to Alexandria; see *Glossary*, ed. Even-Shemuel, Introduction.

82. See again *Ma'amar Yiqqaton ha-Mayim*, 172–74.

83. Regarding Toledo during this period, see the research of Burnett referred to above, n. 5. There is a striking similarity between the work of Ibn Tibbon and that of his contemporary philosopher-translators, such as Alfred of Sareshel and Michael Scot. Although there is no direct testimony linking these scholars, there is circumstantial evidence suggesting that they had personal contact with one another. All of this evidence I intend to examine in a separate study.

84. See the letter of Asher b. Gershon, ed. Joseph Shatzmiller, “Les Tossafistes et la Premiere Controverse Maimonidienne,” in *Rashti et la culture juive en France du Nord au moyen age*, ed. Gilbert Dahan et al. (Paris, 1997), 79. Asher explains that many of the great rabbis of the time had stopped at Ibn Tibbon’s residence in Marseilles on their way to the Holy Land to consult his version of the *Guide*. Although Asher does not specify the date, he seems to be alluding to the large-scale emigration to the Holy Land that took place in 1211.

with Samuel Ibn Tibbon in Marseilles but, good disciple that he was, he also married his teacher’s daughter.<sup>85</sup>

Anatoli, as his name suggests, was likely from a family of Byzantine origin, although it seems that his forebears had settled in Marseilles long before Jacob’s time.<sup>86</sup> Nothing is known about his education and early life prior to his relationship with Samuel. In the Preface to his book of sermons, entitled *Mahmad ha-Talmidin*, he explains that he had studied the *Guide of the Perplexed* and the mathematical sciences with his father-in-law before departing to take up a position as translator in Frederick’s court in Naples.<sup>87</sup> He describes his choice to leave southern France as one of great difficulty, but he finally decided to go, being led in this direction, one would imagine, by Samuel’s encouragement. Although the Preface to *Mahmad ha-Talmidin* indicates regret with respect to this decision, it must have been exciting to participate in the emperor’s lively court, as evidenced by Anatoli’s citations of Michael Scot and even of Frederick in his sermons.<sup>88</sup>

85. The family relationship between Samuel and Anatoli, in fact, seems to be rather complex. Anatoli refers to Samuel as “father-in-law,” but Samuel’s son Moses refers to Anatoli as “uncle.” In light of this, it has been suggested that Samuel himself married Anatoli’s sister, as a result of which they were in-laws twice over. For biography of Anatoli, and studies of his sermons, see especially Israel Betan, *Studies in Jewish Preaching* (Cincinnati, 1939); Isaac Barzilai, *Between Reason and Faith—Anti-Rationalism in Italian Jewish Thought 1250–1650* (The Hague-Paris, 1967); Martin L. Gordon, *The Rationalism of Jacob Anatoli* (Ph.D. Dissertation, Yeshiva University, 1974); Ravitzky, *The Thought of Rabbi Zerachiah b. Isaac b. Shlomo*, ed. id., “The Possibility of Existence and Its Accidentality in Thirteenth-Century Maimonidean Interpretation,” id., “The Hypothesis of Divine Wisdom,” Abraham Melamed, “Political Thought in Jacob Anatoli’s *Mahmad ha-Talmidin*” [in Hebrew], *Da’at* 20 (1988): 91–115; Marc Saperstein, *Jewish Preaching 1200–1800: An Anthology* (New Haven, 1989), 111–23; id., “Christians and Christianity in the Sermons of Jacob Anatoli,” *Jewish History* 6 (1992): 225–42 (repr. in *Your Voice Like a Ram’s Horn: Themes and Texts in Traditional Jewish Preaching* [Cincinnati, 1996], 55–74).

86. See Gordon, *The Rationalism of Jacob Anatoli*, 40–62.

87. See *Mahmad ha-Talmidin*, ed. L. Silbermann (Lyck, 1866), Preface, and discussion by Gordon, *The Rationalism of Jacob Anatoli*, 51–62, 96–113.

88. The references to Michael Scot in *Mahmad ha-Talmidin*, which appear in the Preface and at 2b, 5b, 9b, 28a, 38a-b, 45b, 46a, 48a, 53b, 54b, 65a, 77a, 83a, 98a, 122b, 129a, 136b, 154b, 170a-b, 177b, are discussed by Gordon, *The Rationalism of Jacob Anatoli*, 234–42, and translated into French by Colette Sifat, “Les traducteurs juifs a la cour des rois de Sicile et de Naples,” in *Traduction et traducteurs au moyen age*, ed. G. Contamine (Paris, 1989), 181–90. The references to Frederick are at 53b, 92b. For Frederick’s court at this time, see most recently Charles Burnett, “Michael Scot and the Transmission of Scientific Culture from Toledo to Bologna via the Court of Frederick II Hohenstaufen,” *Micrologus* 2 (1994): 101–26; id., “Magister Theodorus, Frederick II’s Philosopher,” in *Federico II et la nuova cultura* (Spoleto, 1995), 225–85, and Sifat, “Les traducteurs juifs.” These articles refer to the extensive literature on both Frederick II and Michael Scot.

While Anatoli's principal occupation while in Naples was to assist Scot with his Latin translations of Averroes, he also made Hebrew renditions of several philosophical and scientific treatises during his tenure there. He completed the Middle Commentaries by Averroes on Aristotle's Logical Corpus in 1232, and rendered Ptolemy's *Almagest*, Averroes' abridgment of the *Almagest*, and al-Farhānī's *Principles of Astronomy*, all during the period 1231–1236.<sup>89</sup> The translation of Averroes' Middle Commentary is dedicated to "Emperor Frederick, lover of wisdom, who sustains me; may God accord him His favor, raising him above all kings; may the messiah arrive under his reign."<sup>90</sup>

Although Anatoli's translation work in Naples takes us beyond the geographical setting of this paper, it is important to mention that he was the first in a long line of Jews serving as court translators and scholars in Sicily; he was followed by such figures as Moses of Salerno and Qalonymus b. Qalonymus.<sup>91</sup> He was also responsible for introducing Italian Jews to the works of Maimonides and Samuel Ibn Tibbon, stimulating thereby the emergence of a Maimonidean tradition in Italy.<sup>92</sup> His book *Mahmad ha-Talmidin*, on the other hand, brings us back to southern France. For, while his original sermons seem to have been delivered to the communities of Jewish Provence, the literary composition itself, written sometime after 1236, became a local classic. It was mentioned by Menahem b. Solomon ha-Me'iri, together with the *Guide*, *Commentary on Ecclesiastes*, and *Ma'amar*

*Yiqqanu ha-Mayim*, as being one of the four most popular works of thirteenth-century Jewish philosophy and philosophical exegesis.<sup>93</sup> As further indication of its importance, it was read publicly in 1306 in defiance of the ban on studying philosophy.<sup>94</sup>

In the Preface to this homiletical work, *Mahmad ha-Talmidin*, Anatoli explains that it had been his custom for several years to deliver sermons in the synagogues of southern France during Shabbat, holy days, and special occasions, but that he was prevented from continuing this practice by colleagues who objected to the philosophical content.<sup>95</sup> In order to continue his work, and contribute to the education of his own children, he decided to commit his sermons to writing. The sermons themselves are long and quite complex, and it is likely that they are literary compositions based on the ideas expressed orally rather than exact transcriptions of public discourses.<sup>96</sup> In terms of literary style, they are modeled on the classical rabbinic *petihta*, a peculiar type of sermon that begins with a verse from the prophets or writings and leads the reader gradually to the first verse of the week's reading from the Torah. Anatoli's sermons, however, are much longer and more complex than the rabbinic model; and although he uses midrashic techniques, his aim is ultimately philosophical, building upon the ideas developed by Maimonides, Samuel Ibn Tibbon, and Averroes. Some scholars have also detected evidence of scholastic influence and, as already noted, he makes several references to Michael Scot and Frederick II Hohenstaufen.

89. For Anatoli's translations, see in general Freudenthal, "Les sciences dans les communautés juives médiévales de Provence," 50–52; Zonta, *La filosofia antica nel Medioevo ebraico*, 182–88. For published versions, see Herbert Davidson, ed. and trans., *Averroes, Middle Commentary on Porphyry's Isagoge and Aristotle's Categories* (Cambridge, Mass., 1969); J. Lay, "L'abrégé de l'Almagest: un inédit d'Averroès en version hébraïque," *Arabic sciences and philosophy* 6 (1996): 23–62; see also Tony Levy, "Les Elements d'Euclide en Hébreu (XIIIe–XVIIe siècles)," in *Perspectives arabes et médiévales sur la tradition scientifique et philosophique*, eds. A. Hasnawi, A. Elamrani-Jamal, M. Aouad (Louvain-Paris, 1997), 90–91, who suggests that Anatoli is the translator of one Hebrew version of Euclid's *Elements*. It is worth adding that the translation of al-Farhānī was completed with the assistance of the Latin translation; about this see Sirat, "Les traducteurs juifs à la cour des rois de Sicile et de Naples," 170–71. A final note is the fact that Anatoli does not seem to have produced any translations after 1236, which corresponds more or less with the death of Michael Scot. The remaining years of his life seem to have been devoted to philosophical exegesis and sermons.
90. Postscript to the translation of Averroes, Middle Commentary on Aristotle's *Posterior Analytics*, cited by Reman-Neubauer, *Rabbinis Français*, 586–87, trans. Gordon, *The Rationalism of Jacob Anatoli*, 218.
91. See Sirat, "Les traducteurs juifs à la cour des rois de Sicile et de Naples," in *Traduction et traducteurs au moyen âge*, ed. G. Contamine (Paris, 1989), 169–91.
92. For the importance of Anatoli in Italy, see especially the studies by Ravitzky listed above at n. 85, which include full bibliography.

93. See Me'iri, cited by Simon b. Joseph in *Hoshen Mishpat*, ed. David Kaufmann, "Simoneo b. Josefs Sendeschreiben an Menachem b. Salomo," in *Jubelschrift zum neunzigsten Geburtstag des Dr. L. Zunz* (Berlin, 1884), Hebrew Section, p. 166; trans. Saperstein, *Jewish Preaching*, 383: "We consider it disgraceful that ignorant men, with no expertise either in Bible or in the rabbinic tradition, are always getting up to preach publicly, teaching things improper, interpreting simple biblical verses in far-fetched figurative ways. But these ordinances of ours [banning the study of philosophy by anyone under twenty-five] do not help us at all. For the preachers do not preach from Aristotle's *Physics*, *On the Heavens*, *Metaphysics*, *On Generation and Corruption*, *Sense and Sensibilia*, *On the Soul*, or *Metaphysics*. Indeed, some of them do not know even a single page of these books. They know only what they have read in [Maimonides'] *Guide*, or in [Anatoli's] *Mahmad* or in [Samuel Ibn Tibbon's] *Commentary on Ecclesiastes* or *Ma'amar Yiqqanu ha-Mayim*, and other such works. They find there some figurative interpretations and do their work with them...."

94. See *Mishlei Qenu'ot* (Pressburg, 1838), Letter 68 [= *Teshuvot ha-Rashit*, 2 vols., ed. H. Dimrovsky (Jerusalem, 1990)], Chapter 87; trans. Saperstein, *Jewish Preaching*, 382: "Many of the congregation, from the family of Rabbi Jacob [Anatoli], gathered on the Sabbath of [the lesson] *Parah* [Num 19:1–22:1], before the afternoon service, and read from the *Mahmad*."

95. See *Mahmad ha-Talmidin*, Preface.

96. On this problematic, see Saperstein, *Jewish Preaching*, 111–12.

Although the philosophical content of Anatoli's sermons is remarkable, showing an extraordinary openness to the prevailing ideas of his time, regardless of their origin, it is the literary form that is most significant. For Anatoli's literary collection of sermons are not only the first philosophical sermons of the period, they are also the first sermons of any type that we have from the Jewish Middle Ages.<sup>97</sup> Like his father-in-law, Anatoli recognized the power of adapting classical rabbinic forms to the teaching and dissemination of philosophy. Others soon recognized this as well, evidenced not only by the contemporary opposition to his sermons but also by the rise in popularity of the sermon genre in later generations. It was used with great success not only by philosophers but also by pietists and kabbalists.<sup>98</sup>

VI. *Moses Ibn Tibbon (fl. ca. 1244–1283) and Jacob b. Makhir (ca. 1236–1306)*

Much less is known about the lives of the final two members of the Ibn Tibbon dynasty. Moses Ibn Tibbon and Jacob b. Makhir. But what is known points to elements of both continuity and change. Moses, the son of Samuel, was born, presumably, in Marseilles, resided some years in Naples with his uncle/brother-in-law Jacob Anatoli, and then spent his later years in Montpellier.<sup>99</sup> He was the most prolific of the family translators, producing translations of philosophical as well as technical scientific treatises, including mathematical, astronomical, and medical writings.<sup>100</sup> Like his

97. See Saperstein, *Jewish Preaching*.

98. Besides the work of Saperstein, see also Carmi Horowitz, *The Jewish Sermon in Fourteenth-Century Spain: The Derishot of Rabbi Ioshaiah Ibn Shit'eth* (Cambridge, Mass., 1989). It should be noted, however, that besides the research of these two scholars, very little has been written on the sermon literature, which remains one of the more promising areas of research.

99. For biography and bibliography, see Colette Sirat, "La Pensée philosophique de Moïse Ibn Tibbon," *Revue des études juives* 138 (1979): 505–15; ead., *A History of Jewish Philosophy in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge, 1993), 228–31; and most recently Ofried Fraise, *Moses Ibn Tibbons Hoheit: Kommentar (Edition, Übersetzung, und Analyse): Ein Beitrag zur philosophisch orientierten Schriftauslegung im Süd-Frankreich des 13. Jahrhunderts* (Ph.D. Dissertation, Freie University, Berlin, 2002).

100. For his translations, see in general Freudenthal, "Les sciences dans les communautés juives médiévales de Provence," 60–63; Zonta, *La filosofia antica nel Medioevo ebraico*, 182–88. Those that have been included the following: Maimonides' *Treatise on Logic: The Original Arabic and Three Hebrew Translations*, ed. and trans. Israel Efros (New York, 1938); Maimonides, *Treatise on Poisons and Their Antidotes*, ed. Charles Chavel (Jerusalem, 1981); Maimonides, *Book of Commandments*, ed. Charles S. Muntner (Jerusalem, 1942); Maimonides, *Treatise on Poisons and Their Antidotes*, ed. S. Muntner (Jerusalem, 1961); Maimonides, *Regimen of Health*, ed. S. Muntner (Jerusalem, 1957); Averroes, *Epitome of Aristotle's Physics* (Riva di Trento, 1559); Averroes, *Epitome of Aristotle's De generatione et corruptione*, ed. S. Kurland (Cambridge, Mass., 1958); Averroes, *Epitome of Aristotle's Parva naturalia*, ed. H.

father Samuel and uncle/brother-in-law Anatoli, he also engaged in exegesis, extending the philosopher's long arm into Talmud as well. In addition to his commentary on Song of Songs, in which the erotic story line is understood to refer to the human intellect's desire to achieve union with the active intellect, Moses wrote a commentary on select rabbinic aggadot.<sup>101</sup> The latter, entitled *Sefer ha-Pe'ah* after the eighty-six chapters it con-

Blumberg (Cambridge, Mass., 1954); Averroes, *Middle Commentary on Aristotle's De anima*, ed. Alfred Ivry (Jerusalem, 2004); Al-Bīrūnī: *On the Principles of Astronomy*, Arabic original with Hebrew trans. by Moses Ibn Tibbon, ed. and trans. by Bernard R. Goldstein, 2 vols. (New Haven, 1971); *The Problemata Physica Attributed to Aristotle: The Arabic Version of Hunayn b. Isḥāq and the Hebrew Version of Moses Ibn Tibbon*, ed. and trans. I. S. Filios (Leiden, 1999); Themistius, *Commentary on Aristotle's Meteorology*, Book Lambda, ed. Samuel Landauer, *Themistii in Aristotelis Meteorologicorum librum lambda paraphrases hebraice et latine*, in *Commentaria in Aristotelem Graeca* V/5 (Berlin, 1903), and see Remi Brague, *Themistius, Paraphrase de la Meteorologie d'Aristote (livre lambda), traduit de l'hebreu et de l'arabe*, introduction, notes et index (Paris, 1999); Ibn al-Sīd al-Batalyawsi, *Book of Imaginary Circles*, ed. David Kaufmann, *Die Spuren al-Batalawis in der jüdischen Religions-Philosophie* (Leipzig, 1880); Gad Freudenthal, "La philosophie de la géométrie d'Al-Fārābī: Son commentaire sur le début du 1er livre et le début du Ve livre des *Éléments* d'Euclide," *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam* 11 (1988): 104–219; al-Fārābī, *Political Regime/Principles of Being* (Hebrew: *Hatहत ha-ningsa of*), ed. J. Filipowski, in *Sefer ha-Assif* (Leipzig, 1849), 1–64. For his translation of the abridged version of Avicenna's *Canon of medicine*, see Binyamin Richler, "Manuscripts of Avicenna's Canon in Hebrew Translation: A Revised and Up-to-Date List," *Korot* 8 (1982): 145–68, 137\*–43\*. For the translation of Ibn al-Jazzār's *Viaticum*, see Gerrit Bos, ed. and trans., *Ibn al-Jazzar on Sexual Diseases and Their Treatments* (London and New York, 1997), id., ed. and trans., *Ibn al-Jazzar on Errors* (London and New York, 2000). For additional mathematical and astronomical translations, including Euclid's *Elements*, Ibn al-Haytham's *Commentary on the Premises of Euclid's Elements*, Theodosius' *Spherics*, Jābir Ibn Aflāḥ's *Correction of the Almagest* (*ṣiḥḥ al-Majisṭi*), Geminus' *Introduction to the Phenomena*, and Ibn al-Ḥaṣṣār's arithmetic, see Tony Lévy, "The Establishment of the Mathematical Bookshelf of the Medieval Hebrew Scholar: Translations and Translators," *Science in Context* 10 (1997): 431–51. For additional translations of Averroes, including the Epitomes of Aristotle's *De caelo*, *Meteorology*, *De anima*, and *Meteorology*, see again Zonta, *La filosofia antica nel Medioevo ebraico*, 182–88. For other medical works, including Avicenna's medical poem with the commentary by Averroes, al-Rāzī's *Antidotary*, and Hunayn's *Masā'il fi'l-fihb*, see Stenschnneider, *Die hebraischen Übersetzungen*, 659, 711, 696, 699, 730–31. Many of Moses' translations were incorporated into the popular encyclopedia *Shit'ar ha-Shimayim*, about which see Robinson, "Gershon b. Solomon's *Shit'ar ha-Shimayim*."

101. See Moses Ibn Tibbon, *Commentary on Song of Songs*, ed. L. Silbermann (Lycck, 1874); Israel Adler, *Hebrew Writings concerning Music in Manuscripts and Printed Books from Genoa: Times up to 1800* (Munich, 1975), 186–90; Fraise, ed. and German trans., in *Moses Ibn Tibbons Hoheit-Kommentar*. See also Abraham Halkin, "Ibn 'Akūn's Commentary on the Song of Songs," in *Alexander Marx Jubilee Volume*, ed. Saul Lieberman (New York, 1950), 389–424; James Kugel, "Some Medieval and Renaissance Ideas about Biblical Poetry," in *Studies in Medieval Jewish History and*

ans or ivory-tower scholars, suspended far above the city, but were actively involved in the affairs of their day, eagerly devoted to rousing their contemporaries and stimulating change. They consciously saw themselves as reformers and enlighteners, and, despite the frequent resistance to their program, they pushed forward, driven by what they considered a divine purpose. Not only did they seek to teach philosophy, they aimed to make Judaism philosophical.

THE DIASPORA AND THE HOLY LAND  
TWO MANUSCRIPT SERMONS  
BY SAUL LEVI MORTIERA OF AMSTERDAM

MARC SAPERSTEIN  
*George Washington University*

FOLLOWING ARE ANNOTATED TEXTS of two of the 550 manuscript Hebrew sermons of Saul Levi Mortiera, rabbi of the Portuguese Jewish community in Amsterdam from 1619 until his death in 1660.<sup>1</sup> There are several aspects of these texts that make them well worth publishing. The first sermon contains provocative ideas about an important theme in classical Jewish thought: exile and the dispersion of the Jewish people throughout the world,<sup>2</sup> while the second assesses the relationship between the Diaspora and the Jewish community living in the Land of Israel. Both sermons represent an aspect of Mortiera's homiletical artistry—the interweaving exegetical and discursive material, biblical verse and rabbinic dicta, ancient narrative and contemporary circumstances—demonstrating rather impressive achievements attainable by a Jewish preacher who prepared a sermon every week. The second, in particular, a fine example of an “occasional” sermon in which the preacher responds to a specific historical situation, contains some of the most brilliant and powerful examples of

1. These manuscripts are (somewhat haphazardly) bound in five volumes in possession of the Rabbinical Seminary of Budapest, entitled “Giv’at Sha’ul”, identified as Hebrew Manuscript 12. I have published three manuscript entries (two for Dr. David Farar, one for Menasseh ben Israel) in “*Your Voice Like a Ra Horn*” (Cincinnati: HUC Press, 1996), 367–444. For a fuller description of material, see my book *Exile in Amsterdam: Saul Levi Mortiera's Sermons & Congregation of "New Jews,"* (Cincinnati: HUC Press, 2004), which contains translations of the two Hebrew texts published here.

2. I have analyzed Mortiera's ideas about and attitudes toward this theme, drawn on the full corpus of his sermons, in “Exile in Amsterdam: The Evidence of Sermons by Saul Levi Mortiera,” in *Me'ah She'arim: Studies in Medieval Jewish Spiritual Life in Memory of Isadore Traversky*, edited by Ezra Fleischer, Gerald Blidstein, Carmi Horowitz, and Bernard Septimus (Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 2001), 209–230. There I have cited and analyzed specific passages from this sermon and provided context in Jewish intellectual history. The text published here may be considered a *piece justificative* for that essay.