

THE HEBREW TRANSLATION OF THE CAROLINGIAN LORD’S PRAYER: A CASE STUDY IN USING LINGUISTICS TO UNDERSTAND HISTORY

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Abstract: *Through a linguistic analysis of the Hebrew Lord’s Prayer, this article endeavors to reach a new understanding of the function of this text in the lives of its users, concluding that the ninth-century Carolingian writer/translator meant for this text to be sung aloud. This article goes back to the basics of textual research—philology and language study—in order to determine the correct historical framework through which to understand this much-debated text, thus adding to our understanding of the religious life and practice of the nuns of Essen at the polyglottic crossroads of Latin and German, Hebrew and Greek. This paper is also an invitation for future studies to continue its effort to rewrite the history of Hebrew in the church, for historians to broaden their toolbox, and for linguists and philologists to contribute their insights to other fields.*

A single paragraph of a Christian liturgical manuscript from the ninth century is a Hebrew translation in Latin characters of the Lord’s Prayer, the Pater Noster.¹ This prayer originates in the New Testament, with a concise version in Luke 11:2–4 and a longer version (the version used in our manuscript) in Matthew 6:9b–13. The biblical source, its shortness, and its wide circulation

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1. Der Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Düsseldorf, Ms. D 1, pp. 216^{r-v} (University and State Library Düsseldorf, urn:nbn:de:hbz:061:1-112892. The manuscript is a Third-Party Property [permanent loan by the City of Düsseldorf to the University and State Library Düsseldorf]). The images of the manuscript appearing in appendix B and in the notes to line 3 have been released under the CC-license CC BY-NC-ND.

through liturgical practices contributed to the philological stability of the prayer. The Latin text, excluding orthographic variants, has no major alternative readings.²

The existence of a Christian text in Hebrew in the medieval period is most interesting, capturing the attention of historians throughout the ages (see appendix A), and yet the significance of the translation has not been determined. While the text has been both cited and published numerous times, these publications have produced little meaningful discussion of its context and function, save for pointing out that the text exists.

In this paper, I will revisit this Latin-Hebrew text with the attention it deserves, tackling it in a new way to extract new historical conclusions using the two pillars of any textual study, philology and linguistics. Since there are no textual variants of this paragraph, the brief outline of the physical state of the manuscript below places us at the limit of philology's descriptive abilities. A linguistic account of the text, however, is sorely lacking, and this is the situation I hope to remedy. Following the linguistic analysis, I will examine the historical significance of this text, recontextualizing it in a more correct historical framework than the narratives told thus far have placed it through a purely historical description.

THE TEXT: PHILOLOGICAL STUDY

The manuscript contains a complete Greek text of the prayer with interlinear Latin translation. The prayer is then repeated in the Latin-Hebrew, each line containing a few Latin words followed by a Hebrew translation (see appendix B). Only verses 9b–11 appear in Hebrew, though the beginning of verse 12 is used as a space filler for the Latin.

The manuscript is composed of a main section dated to circa 870, probably from northern Germany,³ with many later additions. It contains 238 parchment pages averaging 27.5 x 19.5 cm. The main section (pp. 14r–241v) contains 23–24 lines of text on each page and is identified codicologically as the earliest piece of this manuscript, as the type of parchment is different from the other parts. Some pages were added to this work, and it now boasts 251 pages, mostly well preserved. Academic research has identified three different hands simultaneously involved in the creation of the original section of the manuscript,

2. See the version in Matthew 6:9–13 in the textual apparatus of Robertus Weber, ed., *Biblia Sacra Iuxta Vulgatam Versionem* (Stuttgart: Württembergische Bibelanstalt, 1983), and in the apparatus of Jean Deshusses, ed., *Le sacramentaire Grégorien* (Fribourg: Presses Universitaires de France, 1992), 1:91, 320.

3. Josef Semmler, "Ein Karolingisches Meßbuch der Universitätsbibliothek Düsseldorf als Geschichtsquelle," in *Das Buch in Mittelalter und Renaissance*, ed. Rudolf Hiestand (Düsseldorf: Droste, 1994), 36–38, 46–47; Bernhard Bischoff, "Die Liturgische Musik und das Bildungswesen im frühmittelalterlichen Stift Essen," *Annalen des Historischen Vereins für den Niederrhein* 157 (1955): 192; Heinz Finger, "Spuren von Griechischkenntnissen in Frauenklöstern und Kanonissenstiften des frühen Mittelalters," in *Fromme Frauen als gelehrte Frauen*, ed. Edeltraud Klüeting and Harm Klüeting (Köln: Erzbischöfliche Diözesan- und Dombibliothek, 2010), 65–68.

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and the additions are dated to at least two years later (the necrology contains the date 874).⁴

THE TEXT: LINGUISTIC STUDY

In this section, I will analyze the Hebrew of the text, addressing all possible phenomena using purely linguistic tools. The phenomena not resolvable within the discipline of linguistics will be reexamined in the next section and used to assert new historical conclusions. For this purpose, I will transcribe it anew from the manuscript (see appendix B) without relying on previous publications (see appendix A), which will for now be addressed only in footnotes. While I have transcribed the text with utmost precision, where there is no interpunct between the words it is sometimes difficult to determine if the separative space is intended to differentiate words or letters or if in fact the scribe differentiates between these two types of spaces at all. In a separate column, I have set a text representing my reading of the Hebrew the scribe was trying to convey. This is followed by notes regarding my Hebrew reconstruction and its Latin-character representation.

1	Pater noster quies in celis · Auinu sebassa maim ·	אבינו שבשמים	1
2	sci' ficetur · nomen tuum · cudessatehe · semah ·	קודש תהא שמך	2
3	Adueniat · regnumtuum · tauo · bemal chuthah	תבוא (ב)מלכותך	3
4	fiat · uoluntastuasicut · tehe · rokonagkauassa	תהא רצונך כבש-	4
5	in celo · &in · terra · amaim · uba · arez · Panem ·	מים ובארץ	5
6	nostrum · cotidianu' · Lah · hemehenu · thamia ·	להמנו תמיד	6
7	Danobis · hodie · &dimitte · tenLanu · haggeon ·	תן לנו היום	7

NOTES

Line 1

Pater noster quies in celis · Auinu sebassa maim · אבינו שבשמים

This line contains no special or noteworthy phenomena, barring the geminate <ss>. Since there are no other consonantal doublings in the Hebrew text,⁵ even where gemination might be expected (as in the letter <ב> in that same word!), this special orthography seems to represent a different phonological phenomenon: in Latin, an intervocalic <s> is voiced, resulting in the phoneme [z]. This can be avoided by the doubled spelling <ss>.⁶ This is repeated in lines 2 and 4 and is intended to equalize the pronunciation with the single letter <s> in lines 1 and 2. Little is known

4. For a fuller description of the physical condition of the manuscript and the basis for dating its different parts, see Volkhard Huth, "Die Düsseldorf Skaramentarhandschrift D 1 als Memorialzeugnis," *Frühmittelalterliche Studien* 20 (1986): 213–19.

5. The Latin double consonants are normal in the words where they appear, follow typical orthography, and are therefore not indicative of how they were pronounced. Regarding the doubling in line 7 see the notes for that line.

6. Pascale Bourgain and Marie-Clotilde Hubert, *Le latin médiéval* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2005), 121. See also Frieda N. Politzer and Robert Louis Politzer, *Romance Trends in 7th and 8th Century*

of gemination in medieval Ashkenaz,⁷ but even if it were pronounced, it is hard to imagine that it was produced properly in Hebrew by Christians, as they did not regularly use this feature in Latin or the different vernaculars of the time.⁸

It seems representing the consonant [ʃ] using an <s> is plausible, as [ʃ] does not appear in the Latin consonantal register;⁹ it is even possible the letter <ʃ> was pronounced [s] among Jews at the time.¹⁰

Note that I have produced the English letter <u> to represent the amorphous Latin state preceding the English <u>, which does not differentiate the vowel [u] from the consonant [v] and even the consonant [b].¹¹ This is so common in Latin that it will not be addressed again.

It must also be mentioned that the digraph <ai> is not regular in Latin and was probably pronounced as a true diphthong and counted as two syllables as it is in Hebrew, instead of being contracted to a single vowel.

Line 2

sci' ficetur · nomen tuum · cudesatehe · semah ·

קודש תהא שמך

Latin Documents (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1953), 13; Roland Grubb Kent, *The Sounds of Latin* (Baltimore, MD: Waverly Press, 1932), 55, 57.

7. Rashbam's description might be illustrating the phonological reality he himself experienced in Ashkenaz/France; or possibly the phonological reality of the Sephardic sources he is quoting; or it might be a theoretical explanation for orthographic phenomena he encountered, with no basis in any phonological reality in the medieval Jewish world. See references in Ronela Merdler, "Rabbi Shemuel Ben Meir (Rashbam) ve-ha-dikduk ha-'ivri" (PhD diss., Hebrew University, 2004), 99–100. For gemination in modern Ashkenazic Hebrew, see Shlomo Morag, "Pronunciation of Hebrew," in *Encyclopedia Judaica* (Jerusalem: Keter, 2007), 16:558–59; and in Mishnaic Hebrew, Moshe Bar-Asher, *Torat ha-zurot shel leshon ha-mishnah* (Jerusalem: Mosad Bialik and the Academy of the Hebrew Language, 2014), 1:71–72. Origen's attestation is not conclusive; see Alexey Eliyahu Yuditsky, *Dikduk ha-'ivrit shel ta'atike Origenes* (Jerusalem: The Academy of the Hebrew Language, 2017), 36–43, especially paragraph 2.1.7.3.6 there, but also p. 233 n. 964.

8. See Bourgain and Hubert, *Le latin médiéval*, 123, and for early Latin, Kent, *Sounds of Latin*, 38.

9. As it is also in Greek. See Yuditsky, *Dikduk ha-'ivrit*, 22–23.

10. Asher Laufer, "Hirhurim 'al ha-hagiyah ha-kedam-'ashkenazit," in *Kol le-Ya'akov*, ed. Daniel Sivan and Pablo-Yitzhak Halevi-Kirtchuk (Be'er-Sheva: Ben-Gurion University of the Negev, 2003), 266; Morag, "Pronunciation of Hebrew," 16:558; Eduard Yechezkel Kutscher, *A History of the Hebrew Language* (Jerusalem and Leiden: Magnes and Brill, 1982), 15–17, 154; and Moshe Catane, *Ozar le'aze Rashi* (Jerusalem: self-pub., 2006), 2:13, and other remarks throughout both volumes illustrating how rare the usage of <v> is in Rashi's transcriptions. These instances are usually attributed to later Italian additions.

11. Kent, *Sounds of Latin*, 41, 51, 60–62; Roger Wright, *Late Latin and Early Romance in Spain and Carolingian France* (Liverpool: Francis Cairns, 1982), 106; Thomas D. Cravens, "Phonology, Phonetics, and Orthography in Late Latin and Romance: The Evidence for Early Intervocalic Sonorization," in *Latin and the Romance Languages in the Early Middle Ages*, ed. Roger Wright (London: Routledge, 1991), 54–59; Carmen Pensado, "How Was Leonese Vulgar Latin Read?," in Wright, *Latin and the Romance Languages*, 194. There is a similar phenomenon in Hebrew, discussed in Bar-Asher, *Torat ha-zurot*, 1:61–62, 64.

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The first Hebrew word of this line raises many questions and issues, and each letter must be tackled in turn.

The letter <c> here surely represents a [k], as the interchanging of <c>/<k>/<qu> is very common in Latin.¹² Another example of this can be seen in line 6 where the Latin word usually spelled <quotidiánum> appears as <cotidianu'>.

The letter <u> here is strange, leaving no Hebrew formation that is reasonable for this context as there are no proclitics and the first vowel is [u]. There are, however, some recorded vowel changes among close back vowels in Latin,¹³ and it is possible the <u> here represents an [o], in which case the word קְדָשׁ should be read.¹⁴

The digraph <ss> was expounded upon earlier and is present here again because of its intervocality.

The added vowel between the words is noteworthy and can be explained in a number of ways. We could be witnessing a prosthetic vowel intended to untangle the consonantal cluster between the words, though there is not a lot of evidence of this type of anaptyxis.¹⁵ Another possibility is reading the word as the Aramaic קְדָשׁ. This word does not appear in the Hebrew Bible, and the emphatic state provides compelling evidence that it stems from a stage of Aramaic where the Aramaic emphatic state had lost its meaning as a definite article. If so, it is likely this form stems from a Jewish context or from the Aramaic-speaking Eastern churches. A third, more likely possibility will be discussed in the next section as part of an all-encompassing linguistic-historical solution.

Why then, did the translator not use a form more suitable to the Latin declension? One might have expected the future tense (used as a modal verb) in one of the passive/reflexive derived stems (קְדָשׁ, יִקְדָּשׁ, יִקְדָּשׁ, יִקְדָּשׁ). It seems the scarcity of these forms both in Biblical¹⁶ and post-Biblical Hebrew¹⁷ worked to the

12. Bourgain and Hubert, *Le latin médiéval*, 121; Kent, *Sounds of Latin*, 52–54; Wright, *Late Latin and Early Romance*, 105–6; Pensado, “How Was Leonese Vulgar Latin Read?,” 194, 198.

13. See especially Kent, *Sounds of Latin*, 45–46; and Politzer and Politzer, *Romance Trends*, 7–10; Thomas J. Walsh, “Spelling Lapses in Early Medieval Latin Documents and the Reconstruction of Primitive Romance Phonology,” in Wright, *Latin and the Romance Languages in the Early Middle Ages*, 213; and in a different context in Bourgain and Hubert, *Le latin médiéval*, 120.

14. This is the reconstruction of Pinchas Lapide, *Hebrew in the Church*, trans. Erroll F. Rhodes (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1984), 7–8; Joseph Schulte, “Ein Hebräisches Paternoster in einem Missale des 9. Jahrhunderts,” *Biblische Zeitschrift* 6 (1908): 48; and Jean Carmignac, “Hebrew Translation of the Lord's Prayer: An Historical Survey,” in *Biblical and Near Eastern Studies: Essays in Honor of William Sanford LaSor*, ed. Gary A. Tuttle (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1978), 21.

15. Politzer and Politzer, *Romance Trends*, 11; Kent, *Sounds of Latin*, 148–49.

16. In fact, all these forms combined appear in the Hebrew Bible only four times: Exodus 19:22, Leviticus 10:3, 2 Chronicles 29:34, and 2 Chronicles 31:18.

17. These forms are rare also in rabbinic literature. See M. Tamid 1:4; Sifre Devarim, pis. 306 (Finkelstein ed., p. 342); Y. Berakhot 14a, Ma'aser Sheni 52c, Ta'anit 64b, and Kiddushin 64a; B. Rosh Ha-shanah 21b, Yevamot 79a, Ketubbot 59a, Kiddushin 6b, 7a, 48a, 51b, and 56b, Bava Kamma 99a, Bava Batra 143a, Hullin 115a; T. Kiddushin 4:2.

detriment of the translator, who had trouble forming the desired pattern independently.¹⁸ One might also read the form שָׁרָךְ with the letter <e> representing a *pataḥ*. However, there is no evidence of the letter <e> substituting other letters for phonetic reasons or any Biblical instance of the past-tense form שָׁרָךְ. This proposition, therefore, creates more problems than it solves.

The next word is extremely clear, and it is difficult to reconstruct anything else.¹⁹ The form <tehe> here and in line 4 presents us with two issues to consider. First, the form טָהַרְתָּ is typical in Mishnaic Hebrew, where it replaces the Biblical form טָהַרְתָּ. Even though this is enough to make טָהַרְתָּ plausible, one must keep in mind that the orthography of the manuscript does not necessarily rule out the Biblical form, a final <e> sometimes denoting [i].²⁰ Secondly, there is clear nonconformity in the grammatical gender of the verb and the noun it modifies. It is almost equally clear this is no graphic change (the similarity of <j> and <v> comes to mind) nor a simple grammatical error. The same form appears twice in close proximity and with the same nonconformity. This consistency tells us that the translator, for whatever reason, does not distinguish between the masculine and feminine forms. It is possible the suffix תָּ in both lines is a factor in their confusion, or they may have, in certain cases, deliberately deviated from standard Hebrew grammatical rules.²¹ One must also consider the misleading usage of this form in Biblical Hebrew.²² This issue will not be discussed again in line 4, where the word appears for a second time.

Another item of interest in this line is the suffixed second-person pronoun—present in our short text no fewer than three times (see lines 3, 4)—which are always תָּךְ and not תְּךָ. At first glance, the use of these suffixed second-person pronouns in the text seems to be a result of the influence of post-Biblical Hebrew and possibly the translator's familiarity with rabbinic literature, indicative of a Jewish or ex-Jewish translator. However, this form exists many times in the Masoretic text of the Hebrew Bible. It is even more prevalent in all post-Biblical Hebrew texts and traditions, rabbinic or not, like Greek and Latin transcriptions, some of which were most certainly available to medieval Christian scholars,²³ or the Samaritan oral

18. Segmentation of different levels of literacy skills can be found in Ephraim Kanarfogel, "Prayer, Literacy, and Literary Memory in the Jewish Communities of Medieval Europe," in *Jewish Studies at the Crossroads of Anthropology and History*, ed. Ra'anan S. Boustán, Oren Kosansky, and Marina Rustow (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2011), 250–70, 397–404; Judith Olszowy-Schlanger, "Learning to Read and Write in Medieval Egypt: Children's Exercise Books from the Cairo Geniza," *Journal of Semitic Studies* 48 (2003): 47–69.

19. Difficult, but apparently not impossible. See Schulte, "Ein Hebräisches Paternoster," 48.

20. Politzer and Politzer, *Romance Trends*, 7–10; Kent, *Sounds of Latin*, 45–47.

21. See Rabbi Shmuel ben Meir (Rashbam), *Dayyaket me-Rabbenu Shemu'el*, ed. Ronela Merdler (Jerusalem: Hebrew University, 2000), 40, ll. 8–13.

22. Nehemiah 1:6, 11, and all other instances of the form טָהַרְתָּ modifying the word תָּ and its declensions, or a subject-less clause.

23. See examples in Yuditsky, *Dikduk ha-ivrit*, 104–6.

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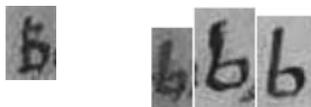
tradition.²⁴ Even barring the discussion regarding the Aramaic influence on this process, certainly by the time of Jesus the suffix בַּיְתָא was present and widespread among Hebrew speakers. This suffix will not be discussed in lines 3 and 4, where it appears again.

Line 3

Adueniat · regnumtuum · tauo · bema! chuthah

תבוא (ב) מלכותך

Reading the two basic words of this line is not hard, since the words תבוא מלכותך are quite clear. Yet the syllable <be> connecting these two elements is uncertain in both form and meaning. Here I present the letter that appears in our manuscript and compare it to the three other instances of the letter in our text:



It is clear the instance under consideration (on the left) differs from the other occurrences:

1. The ascender is not straight or concave towards the right (the direction of writing) but rather convex.
2. There are two small descenders, and the bottom line closing off the main body of the letter seems to be a later addition. (Indeed, in one of the other occurrences, the one in the word <sebassamaim>, there is a right-hand descender, though none on the left side.)
3. There is a clear vertical strike through the ascender.

The letter certainly seems unoriginal, though it is unclear what is concealed underneath. Three options present themselves based on the physical evidence. The first is to reconstruct a capital <P>. This hypothesis is supported by the tall ascender with its strikethrough (see in the word <Panem>). This change can be explained by the phonetic interplay of the voiced and voiceless bilabial stops²⁵ (though it remains unclear why it was altered and what Latin element

24. Though the position that the suffix בַּיְתָא is synthetic and unnatural to the Hebrew tradition is no longer accepted in academic literature (see Joshua Blau, *Torat he-hege ve-ha-zurot shel leshon ha-mikra'* [Jerusalem: The Academy of the Hebrew Language, 2010], 153–54, and n. 12), the suffix בַּיְתָא cannot be completely discarded. References to these sources can be found in Ze'ev Ben-Hayim, "Zurat ha-kinuyim ha-ḥavurim בַּיְתָא, בַּיְתָא, בַּיְתָא bi-mesrothah shel ha-lashon ha-ivrit," in *Sefer Assaf*, ed. Moshe David Cassuto, Joseph Kelner, and Joshua Guttman (Jerusalem: Mosad HaRav Kook, 1943), 66–99, as well as in Richard C. Steiner, "From Proto-Hebrew to Mishnaic Hebrew: The History of בַּיְתָא and בַּיְתָא," *Hebrew Annual Review* 3 (1979): 157–74.

25. Cravens, "Phonology, Phonetics, and Orthography," 53–65; Pensado, "How Was Leonese Vulgar Latin Read?," 191–96; Kent, *Sounds of Latin*, 51, 55.

the letter represents). The second possibility is to reconstruct an <f> based on the ascender and strikethrough, which also explains at least the left descender (see the very low bottom of other instances of <f> in the text). It is possible that the scribe started the first letter of the word <fiat> (the first word of the next line) of this extremely well-known prayer before realizing he or she had forgotten the second half of his or her Hebrew translation of the line at hand. However, this explanation does not account for the right descender, the neglect to start a new line for the new Latin text, or the absence of the rounded top of the <f>. I am inclined towards the third option, which is reconstructing an <h>. This presumes the ascender is an original feature. In contrast, the closed body is a later addition and replaces a body with an open bottom. The meaning of this possibility will be further explored in the next chapter.

It seems that there is much confusion in our text regarding the correct usage of the letter <h>. It sometimes represents a fricative Hebrew ה (semah, bemalchuthah) or ח (Lahhemehenu) and sometimes a ה (cudessatehe, tehe, haggeon). Sometimes it has an unclear independent value (Lahhemehenu, hemalchuthah),²⁶ and other times it leaves us baffled as it appears in conjunction with other consonants (bemalchuthah, thamid). Here we are faced with this final category. Clearly the confusion stems not from Latin phonology but from orthographic anarchy.²⁷ We must be especially observant of the fact that the letters appearing alongside <h> are <t> and <c>, part of the Greek series Kent notes: θ, χ, φ → th, ch, ph. Possibly the foreignness of the Hebrew text in Latin characters invited phenomena usual in Greek texts denoted in Latin characters, like the representation of the consonantal sounds associated with <t>, <c>, and <p> alternatively with and without an added <h>.

One might instead imagine that the <h> should be construed as a true aspirate, as the voiceless glottal fricative does exist in Germanic languages (as Kent readily mentions). This possibility will also be expanded on in the next section of the paper, to be discussed in conjunction with other phenomena.

The combination ב א ב, meaning “coming with,” “coming through,” or “coming by,” might seem anomalous, but this meaning exists both in biblical and extrabiblical literature, including in Deuteronomy 18:6; 2 Samuel 15:18; Psalms 126:6; 1QS XXIV, 20;²⁸ and M. Pesahim 7:4.

Line 4

fiat · uoluntastuasicut · tehe · rokonagkauassa

תהא רצונך כבש-

The vowel accompanying the letter <t> is quite remarkable, as it is not supported by the Tiberian vowel system. Its existence here might be attributed to the

26. See our discussion above of the word <hemalchuthah>.

27. Kent, *Sounds of Latin*, 40, 55–57, 64n3; one must also note that the letter is absent from the list in Wright, *Late Latin and Early Romance in Spain and Carolingian France*, 105–6.

28. *The Dead Sea Scrolls Reader*, ed. Donald W. Parry and Emanuel Tov, vol. 1, 2nd ed. (Leiden: Brill, 2013).

difficulty of producing a consonantal cluster at the outset of a word, as Modern Hebrew speakers produce a full [rɛʔsonäx] as opposed to [rətsonäx]. It is possible that the vowel originates in the type of syllables and the Latin stress system: consonantal clusters tend to be separated by syllabic division,²⁹ but with no preceding syllable, there could have been a phonetic tendency to break up the cluster using a prosthetic vowel. In Latin, that was well known and used among the readers of our text, so there was no need to denote this prosthetic vowel, but a Hebrew text would have needed a more exact representation in order to make the phonetic notation of the unfamiliar language clear to the reader. This tendency might be amplified by the predisposition to create a pre-pretonic secondary stress in words with a pretonic main stress.³⁰ The pretonic stress could have stemmed from a Latin tendency to pronounce Greek words pretonically, a habit possibly carried over to Hebrew, similarly a secondary and foreign holy language.³¹ The quality of the vowel was likely influenced by the following long vowel, <ko>, creating a preceding <ro>.

These speculations are based on the assumption that medieval Hebrew was pronounced as instructed by the Masoretes, but this is not necessarily true, and the superfluous vowel could have been added already in Hebrew. As mentioned above, we have little knowledge concerning the pronunciation of Hebrew among Jews in the Middle Ages, and this is doubly true for the ultrashort vowels.³²

The letter <k> here is extremely problematic, possibly the thorniest problem in this entire text. Unlike the vowel preceding it, for which a few alternative accounts can reasonably explain the divergence from the expected transcription, here there is no single explanation that is completely satisfactory. I will nevertheless offer some remarks to elucidate this point in the text. The two most common explanations for the morphing of a single character are the graphic explanation and the phonological one. Let us start by reviewing the graphic explanation. Since we are expecting the phoneme [ts] (the realization of the letter צ in medieval Ashkenaz instead of [s]) and are presented with the letter <k>, one could conjecture the existence of the letter <z>,³³ or to explain the ascender, the sequence <hz>. Some physical vagueness in the direct Ur-text of our scribe paired with the scribe's Hebrew illiteracy could have created the letter <k>. Perhaps a stylized form of <z> in which all lines were on an angle could be a contributing factor in this kind of development. This account assumes that this is not an autograph, the original manuscript to first boast a certain text, and that it was not copied from aural performance but from an earlier manuscript.

Another explanation, more unlikely than the first, is a phonetic change. The change [q]/[s] is reminiscent of a certain consonantal change between Old Aramaic and Biblical Hebrew, in which an unknown and much debated

29. Kent, *Sounds of Latin*, 64n6.

30. *Ibid.*, 67–68.

31. *Ibid.*, 67.

32. Discussion of the early stages of this phenomenon can be found in Bar-Asher, *Torat ha-zurot*, 1:56–57. See also Yuditsky, *Dikduk ha-ivrit*, 79–80.

33. See the note provided in Schulte, "Ein Hebräisches Paternoster," 48. This is also the transcription of the letter <צ> in the word צָרָר in the next line.

Proto-Semitic consonant³⁴ was represented in Old Aramaic as <ק> and in Hebrew as <צ>. This change can be found in Jeremiah 10:11: the cognate of the Hebrew ארץ appears both as the Old Aramaic ארקה as well as the form of later stages of Aramaic, ארעה, probably to create a difference between the two phrases of the parallelism. But this change is so ancient that it is difficult to consider it a real possibility here. One might theoretically suggest a change between צ and ק based on the fact that they are both emphatic consonants, assuming this quality was preserved into the Middle Ages. But I know of no example anywhere of such a phenomenon as a consonantal change that ignores the point of articulation.

The suffix קַי was addressed fully in the notes to line 2.

The letter <g> in this word also warrants notice. It is obviously intended to represent the letter ג,³⁵ but one must note that this is the third way the scribe has chosen to transcribe the consonant [x], joining <h> (semah, bemalchuthah, lahhem) and <c(h)> (bemalchuthah).

I end the discussion of this line with the vowel following the second letter <k> in this line. The expected vowel here is a mobile schwa, and so we may debate whether the letter <a> denotes an ultrashort or full vowel. If it is indeed an ultrashort vowel, this discussion parallels our deliberation regarding the vowel following the letter <r>. If this is a full vowel, it could be explained by the phenomenon of attraction of the phonetic properties, causing the vowel to become more like the one following it ([kəba] → [kaba]). If it is a full vowel, another explanation is attraction of the semantic properties of the definite article in the following [ba] (= [b], [haC]). I use the phrase “semantic attraction” here to mean a grammatical error (or unknown tradition of the Hebrew language) in which both clitics (כּ, בּ) carry the definite article. Of the three options presented, the likeliest and the simplest is that it is an ultrashort vowel pronounced with a different quality than that used by the Modern Hebrew speaker. The quality of ultrashort vowels is not completely stable in the different Hebrew traditions,³⁶ and it seems that this mobile schwa was pronounced with a *pataḥ*-like quality by Hebrew speakers regularly, as a result of phonetic attraction, or even as an error of the Latin scribe.

Line 5

in celo · &in · terra · amaim · uba · arez · Panem ·

מים ובארץ

34. Among the consonants suggested to explain this are [θ], [ʃ], [ʔ], and [tʰ]. The exact identity of the consonant is of no consequence here, but one can find an extensive discussion and bibliography in Leonid Kogan, “Proto-Semitic Phonetics and Phonology,” in *The Semitic Languages: An International Handbook*, ed. Stefan Weninger et al. (Berlin: De Gruyter Mouton, 2011), 54–151, and in Richard C. Steiner, *The Case for Fricative-Laterals in Proto-Semitic* (New Haven, CT: American Oriental Society, 1977).

35. Unlike Shim'on Federbush, *Ha-lashon ha-ivrit be-Yisra'el u-va-amim* (Jerusalem: Mosad HaRav Kook, 1967), 140. For other pronunciations of this letter see Kent, *Sounds of Latin*, 54–55, 60–62; Bourgain and Hubert, *Le latin médiéval*, 121.

36. For a more detailed analysis on the ultrashort vowels in Mishnaic Hebrew see Bar-Asher, *Torat ha-zurot*, 1:56–57.

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The Hebrew in this line is not difficult to analyze, and in fact, there is almost no need to discuss it at all. The surprising element in this line is the composition of the line itself, where it breaks from the former line (<kauassa> // <amaim> = כְּבִשְׁמַיִם), and where the Hebrew breaks off in favor of the Latin <Panem> that really belongs to the next line. The first break is also surprising in that it doubles the vowel letter <a>. This can be attributed to scribal error³⁷ or an indication for the reader that this is a direct continuation of the same word. A third, alternative reading will be added to our list of unsolved mysteries that this paper will address when all evidence has been accumulated.

In both line breaks, from line 4 to 5 and from line 5 to 6, it seems that the physical necessity of uniform line length is a contributing factor: moving <amaim> to line 4 would leave it too long, while moving <kauassa> to line 5 would result in an exceedingly short line, as would be the result of ending line 5 with <arez>. A secondary consideration is the attempt to match up the Hebrew content with the original Latin text: the Latin syntactical structure is broken down in exactly the same point as the Hebrew.³⁸

sicut = kauassa

in celo et in terra = amaim uba arez

The line break from line 5 to 6 is probably done purely because of space constraints, as the translation of the Latin “Panem” appears in line 6. The “correct” line break is denoted by the capital letter <P>. This capitalization is present at the start of the other lines of Latin text,³⁹ as in lines 1, 3, and 7. In line 2 it is possible the abbreviation does not permit capitalization, or perhaps the <s> is intended to be read as a capital letter, as the two forms of <s> are very similar. Line 5 does not have a capital letter, since the syntactical unit begins in line 4, and the capital letter for line 6 appears in line 5. I have no satisfactory solution at this point to the absence of capitalization in line 4.

One should also note how this phenomenon appears in the Hebrew. Most lines are not capitalized, as they do not start at the beginning of the physical line of text, but the beginning of the Hebrew translation is capitalized: <Auinu>. There are two other instances of capitalization: the word <Lah · heme-henu> is capitalized to match the strange line break of <Panem · nostrum>, and <tenLanu> has a capital letter in a contextual position, possibly to imply that <Lanu> is a new word without wasting precious space on an interval or interpunct. This might be supported by the fact that the letter is narrower than the capital <L> of <Lah · heme-henu>, lacking the rising tail at the end of the flat body. Another

37. It is hard to address the erasure of the <a> at the end of line 4, as this appears to be an involuntary phenomenon relating to the end of all lines, the page being faded or otherwise worn.

38. One could perhaps suggest an improved breaking point in <kausa // samaim>. See Finger's note on the nature of the Greek-Latin translation: Finger, “Spuren von Griechischkenntnissen,” 79. See also Bischoff, “Die Liturgische Musik,” 192.

39. See Michael McGrade, “Enriching the Gregorian Heritage,” in *The Cambridge Companion to Medieval Music*, ed. Mark Everist (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 33–34.

possible marker for the “correct” line break is the pausal form <arez> (and not <erez>).

As for the plosive rendering of the <ב> (<uba arez>), I have mentioned above that there is no meaningful, regular phonetic-orthographic difference between the phonemes [u], [v], and [b]. It is possible that the scribe wished to avoid the spelling <uuareZ> (the same reason that also caused the disruption <uba-arez>). Similarly, the spelling in line 1, <sebassamaim>, was possibly side-stepping <seuassamaim>, which could be misconstrued as the common Latin diphthong [eu]⁴⁰ or an irregularly long sequence of vowels. As either <u> or can represent any of the aforementioned phonemes, choosing the less confusing spellings was easy in both line 1 and line 5.

It is interesting to parenthetically note that the meaning of the Latin formation “sicut ... et ...” was not clear to the translator, who could have improved their translation thus: כבשמים כן בארץ.

Line 6

nostrum · cotidianu' · Lah · hemehenu · thamia · להמנו תמיד

The two main problems that must be tackled in this line are (1) the doubling and separating of the letter <h> in the word <Lah · hemehenu>, and (2) the superfluous syllable in that same word (both emphasized here). The first issue was explained by Lapide⁴¹ as an excessive emphasis of a pharyngeal fricative, “the ‘Sephardic’ pronunciation (of the Arabian diaspora)” in his words. But it has long been unnecessary to explain the Ashkenazic vowel system as “‘Sephardic’ pronunciation,”⁴² and it is highly unlikely that ה would be pronounced differently from a fricative כ, as the voiceless pharyngeal fricative had long ago shifted to a voiceless velar fricative. The second phenomenon has received no satisfactory explanation thus far. Both of these phenomena are vital clues that will help us unlock the historical significance of this text in the next section.

The added <h> in the word <thamia> was addressed in my discussion of line 3, and it seems that discussion adequately explains the form <th>, even though we might expect a plosive ת in the initial position, as the Tiberian *nikkud* system dictates for all the כפ"ת series.

The fault at the end of the word can be explained through the graphic similarities between the letters <a> and <d>: the scribe could have seen a rubbed-out or worn <d> and mistaken it for an <a>. The two are so similar that one could even posit a second possibility: even our own manuscript originally had a full <d>, but the top of the letter was scoured, as the final letter of each line is quite damaged.

Line 7

Danobis · hodie · &dimitte · tenLanu · haggeon · תן לנו היום

40. See Kent, *Sounds of Latin*, 50.

41. Lapide, *Hebrew in the Church*, 8.

42. See Laufer, “Hirhurim ‘al ha-hagiyah ha-kedam-’Ashkenazit,” 259–75.

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The anomalous word in this line is the word <hageon>, correctly identified⁴³ as representing the Hebrew word הַיִּגּוֹן. Though the digraph <gg> does indeed parallel the geminated consonantal ך (yod),⁴⁴ we have already cast doubt on the pronunciation of geminated consonants in both Hebrew and Latin. An additional problem is the letter <e>, further lengthening the vowel sequence in the word. The different editions (see appendix A) have not addressed this problem, but we shall discuss it shortly.

Regarding the consonant change [m]/[n], this is such a simple and universally common phonetic phenomenon that it almost does not deserve to be mentioned. It has many examples in both Hebrew⁴⁵ and Latin,⁴⁶ especially as a final consonant.

There is a certain syntactical strangeness to the sentence תֵּן לָנוּ הַיּוֹם, but it is easily explained by glancing at the Latin text. The Hebrew follows Latin syntax word for word:

Panem	nostrum	cotidianu'	Da	nobis	hodie
Lah · hemehe	nu	thamia	ten	Lanu	hageon

The next part of the biblical verse remains untranslated and is intended only to be a line filler.

LINGUISTICS AND HISTORY: WALKING THE LINE

We shall now return to the problems we have neglected so far, giving them a single, efficient, and coherent solution:⁴⁷

1. The major questions that remained unanswered are the superfluous vowels between the words קִוְדֵשׁ תְּהֵא in line 2 (< cudessatehe >) and in

43. Federbush, *Ha-lashon ha-ivrit be-Yisra'el u-va-amim*, 140; Schulte, "Ein Hebräisches Paternoster," 48.

44. Kent, *Sounds of Latin*, 60–62, and similarly, Yuditsky, *Dikduk ha-ivrit*, 40. If the translator was Jewish or ex-Jewish, the likelihood of this increases, as a person of Jewish background might well use linguistic features of different registers and languages, or scribal practices from various regions; see Cyril Aslanov, "From Latin into Hebrew through the Romance Vernaculars: The Creation of an Inter-language Written in Hebrew Characters," in *Latin-into-Hebrew*, ed. Resianne Fontaine and Gad Freudenthal (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 1:69–84; Sarah Arenson, "Medieval Jewish Seafaring between East and West," in *Seafaring and the Jews*, ed. Nadav Kashtan (London: Routledge, 2000), 33–46. This could be relevant to several of the linguistic notes in this paper, but especially here. It was verbally suggested to me that there could be a graphic change from the letter <y>, but as one cannot mistake the <g> appearing twice in succession, I think a phonetic explanation is best.

45. Bar-Asher, *Torat ha-zurot*, 1:62–63; Yuditsky, *Dikduk ha-ivrit*, 23–24; and in detail in Shlomo Nach, "Shete sugiyot nedoshot bi-leshon Haza"l," in *Mehkera Talmud B*, ed. Moshe Bar-Asher and David Rosenthal (Jerusalem: Magnes, 1993), 364–92. It is almost impossible to read an entire sentence in rabbinic literature, whether deriving from late ancient talmudic and midrashic texts or medieval texts, without encountering this trait.

46. Kent, *Sounds of Latin*, 58–59; Bourgain and Hubert, *Le latin médiéval*, 123.

47. Barring the conundrum of the letter <k> in line 4, for which I have no satisfactory solution.

- the word <haggeon>; and the redundant doublings in the line break of lines 4/5 (<rokonagkauassa-**amaim**>) and in line 6, <lah-**heme**henu>. (All emphases are added by me in this and the following paragraphs.)
2. We can revisit the irregularity of the unnecessary letter <h> in the words <hemalchuthah> and <thamia>.⁴⁸ One can explain why there is an irregularity but not why it manifests itself precisely in these instances.
 3. Three more phenomena have each received alternative, isolated explanations in my notes above, but in this section, I propose placing them under the more economic umbrella of a single explanation relevant to all three: the added syllable in line 3, <hemalchuthah>;⁴⁹ the extra vowel in line 4, <rokonagkauassa>; and possibly the additional vowel of line 6, <thamia>. One can add the strange midword line break (lines 4/5): while it almost parallels the Latin break, as discussed, and fits the standardized line length, here the break will receive another dimension of meaning.
 4. A fourth problem, hitherto unexplored in this or any other work, are the missing lines of the prayer: Matthew 6:12–13.

The many orthophonetic issues were discussed in the previous section, and clearly most of the remaining complications pertain to the adding of a consonant, a vowel, or an entire syllable. The others are the length of the text and its division into lines. None of these phenomena can be explained as phonetic or graphic changes, since no substituting element should be present. It is also difficult to think of a phonetic reason, or any other type of fault or error, to explain the presence of these additions. As such, the phenomena above cannot be explained only through linguistics, and require an out-of-the-box solution.

I submit that these elements are not mistakes at all, but rather intentional insertions that are a result of the liturgical use of the text in the monastery of Essen. Though much of the Christian attention to Hebrew in the Carolingian period focused on biblical exegesis, the translation of our text should not be seen as a purely academic exercise, nor does it solely serve some mystic or esoteric purpose. The philological setting of the text is a sacramentary containing prayers that were intended to be read aloud in a public setting. Thus, the phenomena discussed in this section represent an attempt to solve the musical problems facing the Essen nuns. This is the only model that can explain all phenomena detailed at the head of this section and can succeed in providing a single, all-encompassing, elegant solution to all the unresolved problems.

It is noticeable that the number of syllables in each line of Latin text is greater than the corresponding Hebrew. The following table shows the number

48. I hesitantly add the letter <h> in the sequence <hz> that is possibly the vorlage of the letter <k> in line 4; see my notes there.

49. The reading here follows the reading offered in my discussion above, though alternate solutions exist.

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of Latin syllables and the number of Hebrew syllables, both before and after the effort to align the two with the superfluous syllables under discussion:

Line	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Number of Latin syllables	9	8 ⁵⁰	7 ⁵¹	9	7	9	10 ⁵²
Number of Hebrew syllables (before alignment)	8	6	5	7 ⁵³	6	5	5
Number of Hebrew syllables (after alignment)	8	7	6 ⁵⁴	8	7	7 ⁵⁵	6 ⁵⁶

I argue that the purpose of the translator's lining up the Hebrew syllabic length with the Latin text is so that the combined Latin-Hebrew text could be sung in a strophic structure, in which a soloist sang the Latin part and the choir or audience answered with the Hebrew translation using an identical or near-identical tune.⁵⁷ As can be seen, the adjustments always bring the Hebrew text as close as possible to the Latin one, even at the cost of adding meaningless syllables. These syllables are always a lengthening of ultrashort vowels, or the musical filler-syllable “-he-.” It is unclear what the musical considerations regarding where and when to insert these syllables were exactly, but one should keep in mind that in most lines⁵⁸ the tampering with the Hebrew leaves it exactly one syllable shorter than the Latin. Possibly this is the reason for the bizarre line break <kauassa-amaim> instead of the <kaua-samaim> one might expect. The division of musical lines (including the break from line 5 to line 6) according to the suggested division of labor

50. Assuming the word <tuum> is read as a single syllable; see Kent, *Sounds of Latin*, 46.

51. See previous note.

52. Assuming the digraph <ie> was pronounced as two syllables. The remark of Kent, *Sounds of Latin*, 47, pertains to original Latin diphthongs that underwent monophthongization in speech as well as in writing, and not to the reading of new diphthongs that penetrated the language at a later stage. I also postulate that the four untranslated syllables were read aloud and were not merely graphic line fillers, since there is no clear graphic indication that they should not be read besides the fact that they remain untranslated, something that would not have been immediately obvious to choir members who were not fluent in Hebrew. If these words were not read, we are left with only six syllables.

53. The “natural” position of the vowel-letter <kauassamaim> is in this line and not the next; see Kent, *Sounds of Latin*, 62–64.

54. I have not counted the two (three? See my footnote to paragraph 1 in the list heading this section) instances of the letter <h>, which might have been consonantal, adding a bit to the length of the soundvoice.

55. I am discounting the letter <h> in the word <thamia> (see previous note), nor am I counting the letter <a> in that same line, as it can be read as a worn-out <d>. If it was actually intended to be an <a>, an entire syllable must be added to the count.

56. I am not counting the digraph <gg> as a consonant-vowel sequence (like Kent, *Sounds of Latin*, 60), as the resulting vowel sequence seems unlikely; but it is entirely possible that one should count seven syllables in this line instead of six.

57. See Susan Boynton, “Plainsong,” in Everist, *Cambridge Companion to Medieval Music*, 9–14. For a visualization of this, see Thomas Forrest Kelly, *Early Music: A Very Short Introduction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 17.

58. Lines 1–4, and possibly line 6 (see the footnote pertaining to that line). Line 7 is less important here as it is the final bar and could be subject to different musical considerations than the other lines.

between the soloist and his/her choir is recognizable to the performers not only by the word “Panem,” familiar to any practiced reader of Latin, but also by the capitalization of that word.⁵⁹ In this period, plainsong was performed slowly enough that the performers could follow this change as well as manage the challenge of the unfamiliar words.⁶⁰

Furthermore, if the melody that was supposed to accompany our paragraph was the usual melody of the Pater Noster,⁶¹ we are now enlightened about the strange clipping already commented on by many: the melody is long enough to accompany the Latin version of the Lord’s Prayer, but adding a Hebrew translation overstretches it and half the prayer is left, as it were, on the editing room floor.

THE FRAMING NARRATIVE: HISTORICAL CONTEXTUALIZATION

Our manuscript can be contextualized in several ways. Textually, it is one of the extant witnesses of the *Sacramentarium Hadrianum*.⁶² In our manuscript the text was changed from the masculine to the feminine form (though not completely) to better fit the liturgical and spiritual needs of the nuns of Essen.⁶³

In terms of the history of writing, our manuscript is positioned between the era in which most manuscripts were commissioned by the royal courts and the period that saw a rise in the local, monastic production of manuscripts and local writing centers.⁶⁴ Though the monastery of Essen used this manuscript, it was actually produced in a writing center near Corvey,⁶⁵ which at this time adopted its own unique paleographic style.⁶⁶

The manuscript was produced in the midst of a linguistic-orthographic revolution, the cognitive transition of Romance Europe from Latin speech to speaking Latin’s Romance offspring. That is, up until the Carolingian period, Europeans

59. McGrade, “Enriching the Gregorian Heritage,” 33; and see the discussion of line 5 above for other signs to indicate this to the choir.

60. See Beryl Smalley, *The Study of the Bible in the Middle Ages*, 3rd ed., rev. (Oxford: Blackwell, 1983), 45.

61. For the Lord’s Prayer as a standard part of church liturgy, see Boynton, “Plainsong,” 15. For the transference of a melody from one text to another, see Theodore Karp, *Aspects of Orality and Formularity in Gregorian Chant* (Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press, 1998), 162–79, 317–18.

62. For a survey of the history and textual state of the *Sacramentarium Hadrianum*, see Yitzhak Hen, *The Royal Patronage of Liturgy in Frankish Gaul* (London: Boydell Press, 2001), 74–78, 140–47; and Semmler, “Ein Karolingisches Meßbuch,” 43–45.

63. Semmler, “Ein Karolingisches Meßbuch,” 46–47.

64. Hen, *Royal Patronage*, 74–78, 140–47; Hartmut Hoffmann, *Schreibschulen des 10. Und des 11. Jahrhunderts in Südwesden des Deutschen Reichs* (Hannover: Hahnsche Buchhandlung, 2004), 1:1–2.

65. Klaus Gamber, *Codices liturgici latini antiquiores* (Fribourg: Universitätsverlag Feiburg Schweiz, 1988), 1:412; suppl. vol. A1:101. The Imperial Abbey of Corvey in Germany and the medieval writing center of the same name should not be confused with the Corbie Abbey in France, though the names are similar. A colony from the Corbie Abbey founded the Imperial Abbey of Corvey in the ninth century.

66. Hartmut Hoffmann, *Buchkunst und Königtum im Ottonischen und Frühsalischen Reich*, vol. 1 (Stuttgart: Hiersemann, 1986), chapter 4, “Corvey.”

saw themselves as native Latin speakers, a later phase of the same language spoken by Brutus and Julius Caesar. During this period, Latin shifted to the status of an ancient and revered tongue, while the vernaculars were perceived as separate languages.⁶⁷ The ramifications were that Latin orthography lost much of its plasticity and its ability to reflect local phonetics. Rigid rules were developed for Latin orthography, and the freedom preceding the Carolingian renaissance was only kept in the later Romance languages. This is the basis of the orthophonetic discussions above. The text under study was written during a period that saw orthography at times as artificial and rigid and at times as the phonetically faithful (or at least semifaitful) representation that is characteristic of the former period, the two states existing simultaneously side by side.

The manuscript can also be framed in the history of music, as the sacramentary is first and foremost intended to regulate the public liturgical life of the monastery. The most prevalent method of performance was the antiphon, where the choir answers a soloist in short, simple lines, usually strophes.⁶⁸ This is the type of chant I have suggested above for the text at hand. The development of musical indicators⁶⁹ for Gregorian chant⁷⁰ can also be recorded through the increasing complexity of the marking system in manuscripts D1, D2, and D3 from Essen.⁷¹

Clearly, our manuscript D1 can be discussed as a data point in a variety of different ways and contexts.⁷² Our specific passage must be read in the context of Jewish-Christian relations of the time,⁷³ especially in the linguistic

67. Wright, *Late Latin and Early Romance*, XII–IX; Pensado, “How Was Leonese Vulgar Latin Read?,” 190–92, 201.

68. See Boynton, “Plainsong,” 11–12; McGrade, “Enriching the Gregorian Heritage,” 26–45.

69. A summary of the history of these marks can be found in Boynton, “Plainsong,” 9–25; McGrade, “Enriching the Gregorian Heritage,” 26–45. Details regarding the function of these marks in relation to the subject at hand can be found in Kelly, *Early Music*, 24–25; Robert Curry, “Music East of the Rhine,” in Everist, *Cambridge Companion to Medieval Music*, 177–79.

70. For a more in-depth review of Gregorian chant and its function, usage, and influence, see Boynton, “Plainsong,” 9–12, 17–20; Curry, “Music East of the Rhine,” 172–73; McGrade, “Enriching the Gregorian Heritage,” 26–27; Kelly, *Early Music*, 14–24.

71. See Bischoff, “Die Liturgische Musik,” 191–94, especially p. 192. For the paleographic-philological background for this system, see McGrade, “Enriching the Gregorian Heritage,” 33–34, 38–39; Curry, “Music East of the Rhine,” 173–74.

72. In a similar way to the different readings of Giorgio Riello, “Things That Shape History: Material Culture and Historical Narratives,” in *History and Material Culture*, ed. Karen Harvey (London: Routledge, 2009), 24–46. One can obviously add to the scopes mentioned here. See, for example, Kathryn Margaret Rudy, “Kissing Images, Unfurling Rolls, Measuring Wounds, Sewing Badges and Carrying Talismans: Considering Some Harley Manuscripts through the Physical Rituals They Reveal,” *Electronic British Library Journal* (2011): 1–56.

73. This is an extremely broad topic, and much has been written about it. A comprehensive and detailed description would be out of place here, especially considering the vast time and regions the wide-ranging term “Middle Ages” covers, but suffice to say, outdated research delves into lachrymose historical description, with Jewish-Christian cooperation contextualized as isolated, sporadic events. See Edward Kessler, *An Introduction to Jewish-Christian Relations* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 102–3. For a specifically linguistic context of such description, see Robin Chapman Stacey, “Jews and Christians in Twelfth-Century England: Some Dynamics of a Changing Relationship,”

realm.⁷⁴ Hebraism was more prevalent after the Lutheran Reformation,⁷⁵ but Hebrew Christian writings have existed since the Church Fathers.⁷⁶ This raises the question of whether these writings reflect a total dependence on local Jewry or if there was an independent Christian tradition of Hebrew, much like Karaite, Samaritan, and Rabbinic Hebrew, the latter maintaining further internal branches and classifications.⁷⁷ Assuming a variant tradition, one could speculate as to its origin, whether it was an independent branch originating from the times when Hebrew was a spoken language; a Christian Hebrew beginning with the church fathers' Jewish teachers but then moving away from contact with Jews in the Middle Ages, acquiring uniqueness through independent Christian development and study;⁷⁸ or a Hebrew relearned from Jews by every passing generation,

in *Jews and Christians in Twelfth-Century Europe*, ed. Michael Alan Signer and John van Engen (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 2001), 340–45; Shlomo Haramati, *Yvrit ba-goyim* (Jerusalem: Yaron Golan, 2002), 18–20. Some researchers have pointed out the affinity born of enmity, such as Bat-Sheva Albert, “Adversus Iudaeos in the Carolingian Empire,” in *Contra Iudaeos*, ed. Ora Limor and Guy G. Stroumsa (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1996), 119–42; Ari Geiger, “What Happened to Christian Hebraism in the Thirteenth Century?,” in *Jews and Christians in Thirteenth-Century France*, ed. Elisheva Baumgarten and Judah Galinsky (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015), 54–55. This type of description has since fallen out of favor, replaced by an attempt to redefine the relationships and boundaries between medieval Jews and Christians throughout the Middle Ages. See Ephraim Kanarfogel, “Approaches to Conversion in Medieval European Rabbinic Literature: From Ashkenaz to Sefarad,” in *Conversion, Intermarriage, and Jewish Identity*, ed. Robert S. Hirt, Adam Mintz, and Marc Stern (New York: Urim, 2015), 217–57; Paola Tartakoff, “Testing Boundaries: Jewish Conversion and Cultural Fluidity in Medieval Europe, c. 1200–1391,” *Speculum* 90 (2015): 728–62. Examples of close relationships and mutual influences can be found in Kessler, *Introduction to Jewish-Christian Relations*, 111–16; Haramati, *Yvrit ba-goyim*, 20–22; Ari Geiger, “Bikoret parshanut 'al perushim yehudiyim ba-perush ha-literali shel Nicholas de Lyrá,” *Shenaton le-heker ha-mikra ve-ha-mizrah ha-kadum* 18 (2008): 225–45; Geiger, “What Happened to Christian Hebraism?,” 49–63; Albert, “Adversus Iudaeos in the Carolingian Empire,” 119–42.

74. See Aslanov, “From Latin into Hebrew through the Romance Vernaculars,” 1:69–84, particularly pp. 82–84; Gad Freudenthal, “Latin-into-Hebrew in the Making: Bilingual Documents in Facing Columns and Their Possible Function,” in Fontaine and Freudenthal, *Latin-into-Hebrew*, 1:5968. Special mention should be made of Haiim B. Rosén, *Hebrew at the Crossroads of Cultures* (Leuven: Peeters, 1995), 41–53, regarding Hebrew words that entered Latin. Some research has also gone into finding linguistic differences between the religious groups. See Kirsten A. Fudeman, *Vernacular Voices* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2010), 36–44, 57–59.

75. Kessler, *Introduction to Jewish-Christian Relations*, 119–23; Federbush, *Ha-lashon ha-yvrit be-Yisra'el u-va-'amim*, 144–85.

76. See Haramati, *Yvrit ba-goyim*, 13–17; Lapide, *Hebrew in the Church*, 7–19; Federbush, *Ha-lashon ha-yvrit be-Yisra'el u-va-'amim*, 134–43; Geiger, “What Happened to Christian Hebraism?,” 49–63. Increased attention was given to this subject in the twelfth century, see Michael A. Signer, “Polemic and Exegesis: The Varieties of Twelfth-Century Hebraism,” in *Hebraica veritas? Christian Hebraists and the Study of Judaism in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Allison P. Coudert and Jeffrey S. Shoulson (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004), 21–32.

77. Rosén, *Hebrew at the Crossroads of Cultures*, 55–79, especially pp. 56–58, 61–64.

78. One might anecdotally refer to Geiger, “What Happened to Christian Hebraism?,” 55, regarding the rise of Christian knowledge of Hebrew in the thirteenth century: “This change is not surprising as diminished intellectual contact between Jews and Christians forced the Christians to develop an independent capacity to read Jewish texts.” See also p. 56, regarding the Dominican Hebrew schools.

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with phonetic variants dependent on differences between the separate vernaculars. These options offer a few possible explanations of the genesis of our passage. The translator could have been a Jew, a Christian, or an apostate. Our manuscript could have been produced by copying a written text, from an oral rendition, or possibly some mixture of the two. It might even not be a copy at all, but the autograph of the translator him- or herself, the first scribe copying aurally from the translator's dictation and not a copy far removed from the original Ur-text by time, place, and many lost textual witnesses.

Following the analysis of this paper, we must reconsider how the Hebrew Pater Noster was read by historians in the past (see appendix A). Most readings, if examined in a historical context at all (unlike Schulte), placed it as a data point in the history of Hebrew in the medieval church, in turn part of an encompassing narrative of some Christian writings (Nostitz-Rieneck, Semmler) or all of them (Binterim); usage of Hebrew (Federbush) or other languages (Finger); or some independent framework (Lapide, Haramati, Carmignac). Many researchers have claimed that medieval Christians had no knowledge of Hebrew, going as far as denying the possibility of Christians dealing with Hebrew texts at all.⁷⁹ In the same vein, it was always assumed that the translator of this text had little or inferior knowledge of Hebrew⁸⁰ or assumed that the translation was copied by a scribe who was unfamiliar with Hebrew and only reproduced the letters he or she saw, resulting in many scribal errors.⁸¹

This scholarship has not paid enough attention to independent linguistic study of this text. Indeed, linguistics and philology should be the bases of any study concerning a text and the proper precursor to any study dealing with the text's content or with other disciplines like history, literary research, or philosophy. Such a study adds new conclusions to previous reviews and questions some of their conclusions. As shown above, most phenomena previously dismissed as "strange Hebrew" can be explained through orthophonetic trends in Hebrew or Latin or as a legitimate choice of the translator (like the syntax of lines 6–7), and there are no palpable "mistakes."⁸² The text contains no forms with a clearly

79. Freudenthal, "Latin-into-Hebrew in the Making," 1:64: "All Latin-into-Hebrew translators were Jews." See also Bat-Sheva Albert, "Anti-Jewish Exegesis in the Carolingian Period: The Commentaries on Lamentations of Hrabanus Maurus and Pascasius Radbertus," in *Biblical Studies in the Early Middle Ages*, ed. Claudio Leonardi and Giovanni Orlandi (Firenze: Sismel Edizioni delGalluzzo, 2005), 176, 190–92. The position that "the Jewish Pseudo-Jerome" could not have been Christian is at least partially based on the idea that only a Jew would know any Hebrew; see Pseudo-Jerome, *Quaestiones on the Book of Samuel*, ed. Avrom Saltman (Leiden: Brill, 1975), 3–23; Michael Gorman, "The Commentary on Genesis of Angelomus of Luxeuil and Biblical Studies under Lothar," in *Studi Medievali* 40 (1999): 565n26, 589, 599–600.

80. See Federbush, *Ha-lashon ha-'ivrit be-Yisra'el u-va-'amim*, 139–40.

81. I have heard this argument verbally from several researchers.

82. The only problem that is still a thorn in my side is the letter <K> in line 4. As I do not have any satisfying explanation for this, I permit myself to ignore it at this time as it offers no evidence of a specific type of error that could hint at the philological history of this text, or the identity of the translator or scribe.

Jewish background originating in post-Biblical Hebrew or Aramaic. The level of literacy is reasonable (but not perfect) in both Hebrew and Latin,⁸³ and I possess no compelling proof, from a linguistic standpoint, of the identity of its creator, whether Jewish, Christian, or apostate.⁸⁴ It is even unclear, in my opinion, whether we are dealing with the philological autograph or some later copy.

It seems that the most productive historical lens through which to discuss this paragraph is the question of language and its relationship to the social and religious experience of its users. This discussion could well find its place in the studies mentioned previously regarding polyglottic religion in relation to religious practices and experiences.⁸⁵ The nuns of Essen spoke a Germanic language as a mother tongue while their holy languages were Latin—a Romance language—and secondarily Greek;⁸⁶ and one can now add Hebrew to their repertoire. This fact bears discussion in more than one avenue.

I know of no sure precedent to the existence of Hebrew as a (Christian) liturgical language read aloud in early medieval Germany, but this paper can join a series of testaments of alternative liturgical languages. Greek was heard in the local monasteries, as Atkinson discusses,⁸⁷ and one must also bear in mind the rhymed prayer in Old High German.⁸⁸ The sharp contrast between the addition of superfluous syllables to Hebrew and not the other languages might stem from the level of familiarity the worshipers held with each tongue: it seems the monastery's inhabitants, or at least a few of them, had some command of

83. See Olszowy-Schlanger, "Learning to Read and Write in Medieval Egypt," 47–69; Kanarfogel, "Prayer, Literacy, and Literary Memory," 250–70, 397–404; Marie-Luise Ehrenschtendner, "Literacy and the Bible," in *The New Cambridge History of the Bible*, ed. Richard E. Marsden and Ann Matter (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 704–21. I will mention here the mistranslation of "sicut in celo & in terra," and the grammatical sex of the word הָאֵלֹהִים . See also Karp, *Aspects of Orality and Formularity*, 4.

84. I leave this question to the historians, though I fear one cannot come to a definite answer regarding this text. Some knowledge of Hebrew circulated among Christians in the ninth century, but Christians also interacted with Jews at that time. See Smalley, *Study of the Bible in the Middle Ages*, 40–45, 77–82; Johannes Heil, *Kompilation oder Konstruktion? Die Juden in den Pauluskommentaren des 9. Jahrhunderts* (Hannover: Hahnsche Buchhandlung, 1998), 197–205. It should be noted that most works on the knowledge of Hebrew in the church are focused on exegesis using passive knowledge of Hebrew, and not on putting active skills to use in order to create a new text. See Albert, "Anti-Jewish Exegesis in the Carolingian Period," 178. See also Kanarfogel, "Prayer, Literacy, and Literary Memory," 250–270, 397–404; Olszowy-Schlanger, "Learning to Read and Write in Medieval Egypt," 47–69.

85. Wright, *Latin and the Romance Languages in the Early Middle Ages*; Wright, *Late Latin and Early Romance in Spain and Carolingian France*; Rosén, *Hebrew at the Crossroads of Cultures*; Aslanov, "From Latin into Hebrew through the Romance Vernaculars," 1:69–84; Bischoff, "Die Liturgische Musik," 192; Finger, "Spuren von Griechischkenntnissen," 65–68; Charles M. Atkinson and Klaus-Jürgen Sachs, "Zur Entstehung und Überlieferung der 'Missa Graeca,'" *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* 39 (1982): 113–45.

86. See Finger and Atkinson in the previous note.

87. Atkinson and Sachs, "Zur Entstehung und Überlieferung," 113–19, 132–41.

88. See Lapide, *Hebrew in the Church*, 11.

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Greek,⁸⁹ and were, therefore, in less need of such detailed musical instruction. This is the state of affairs in the more common Latin and German. Latin was the usual language for prayers and German was the *lingua franca*. Therefore, even when there was not a one-to-one correspondence of syllables and musical notes, there was no need to visually match up the two in familiar songs. Hebrew was so unfamiliar that the scribe did not even employ the Hebrew alphabet and the nuns likely did not understand the words they were singing. Therefore, special markings in the text were required to show where to insert the melisma and how to spread syllables over a larger section of music.⁹⁰

The conclusions of this article can contribute significantly to the discussions of medieval music referenced in the footnotes above. Furthermore, expounding upon this paper's analysis can provide invaluable insights about early medieval linguistics, as our knowledge of both Hebrew and Latin during this period is quite limited. Lastly, this article offers a methodology that has implications for the way we write history. I hope that similar linguistic-philological studies of other medieval Christian Hebrew texts⁹¹ will pave the path for new reviews of medieval church Hebrew.

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89. Noted by Bischoff, "Die Liturgische Musik," 192; Finger, "Spuren von Griechischkenntnissen," 60–83; and Atkinson and Sachs, "Zur Entstehung und Überlieferung," 113–45. See also appendix B, where one can clearly see how the Greek Pater Noster was issued in Greek characters, while the Hebrew employed Latin characters.

90. This is illustrated also in the modern presentation of songs: usually, for known songs only the lyrics are shown, but in unfamiliar songs or in playing instructions such as sheet music the individual syllables are laid out. So, for example, in Carole King's "You've Got a Friend" one might spell it out as "you've got a frie - e - end." This presentation would be vital to a performer who does not know the song well, especially if they are expected to sing it with little or no command of the English language; though this format is not representative of any dialect of spoken English outside of the realm of music. Melisma in Gregorian chant, including migrant melisma and melismatic notation, is discussed by Theodore Karp, *Aspects of Orality and Formularity in Gregorian Chant* (Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press, 1998).

91. See the reviews of Federbush, *Ha-lashon ha-'ivrit be-Yisra'el u-va-'amim*; Haramati, *Ivrit ba-goyim*; and Lapidé, *Hebrew in the Church*. For example, one could suggest a musical background to some of the "strangeness" Lapidé records in pp. 9–10 (though a thorough linguistic examination is obviously in order): the division of words might be congruent with musical measures, and the missing word "amen" might have been obvious to a professional singer practiced in the rendition of the Latin Lord's Prayer (which includes this word in the same musical position). These are only mere speculations, and every medieval Christian Hebrew text deserves its own particular reflection.

PREVIOUS EDITIONS

The paragraph under discussion has been published numerous times in the past with varying levels of detail and study in the apparatus. However, it never received the attention it deserves, as it was immediately catalogued as an interesting artifact in the wider historical-philological framework within which it was published. I will review these editions and scientific references, in chronological order:

1. The Binterim edition (1824)⁹² showcases a full transcription, laden with errors, of the text, with one concise note of the absence of verses 12–13.
2. The Nostitz-Rieneck edition (1888)⁹³ transcribes the text in a more faithful manner (Nostitz-Rieneck comments that he copies “without correcting the errors”), but here, too, no notes are made of the content or language; he only addresses the position of the word “Panem” and the missing words following “&dimitte.”
3. The Schulte edition (1908)⁹⁴ is the first to accompany the text with observations on the content. Here, too, the transcription is faithful, and Schulte explains the formations “cudessatehe” (קִדְשׁ תְּהִיָּה), in his opinion), “rokonag” (רִכּוֹנָא), “Lahhemehenu thamia” (לְהַמְיֵנוּ תְּמִיָּא), and “haggeon” (חַגְגֵּוֹן).
4. Federbush in his book (1967)⁹⁵ has an erroneous transcription of the Hebrew text, though these mistakes are entirely original and not copied from Binterim’s. In conjunction with the transcription, Federbush “translates” the text to Hebrew characters, and as such is the first edition to offer a continuous commentary on the Hebrew meaning of the Latin characters. Unfortunately, Federbush has not provided an explanation of how he went from the manuscript text to the transcription in his book and from there to the Hebrew he supplies. He does add a “correct translation” of the prayer into Hebrew but does not say why his translation is better or how the medieval translator reached his or her “strange transcription,” in Federbush’s words. The subject of the book is the Hebrew language among Christians, but there is no reference to the Hebrew of our passage more than “the gentile’s tongue lolls.”⁹⁶
5. Carmignac (1978)⁹⁷ assesses that the “mistakes” in the Hebrew are evidence that the original translator is not the scribe of this manuscript. This

92. Anton Joseph Binterim, *Epistola Catholica Secunda* (Mogontiacum [Mainz]: Müller, 1824), 119.

93. Robert von Nostitz-Rieneck, “Essener Sacramentare,” *Zeitschrift für Katholische Theologie* 12 (1888): 732–33.

94. Schulte, “Ein Hebräisches Paternoster,” 48.

95. Federbush, *Ha-lashon ha-ivrit be-Yisra’el u-va-‘amim*, 140.

96. *Ibid.*

97. Carmignac, “Hebrew Translation of the Lord’s Prayer,” 21.

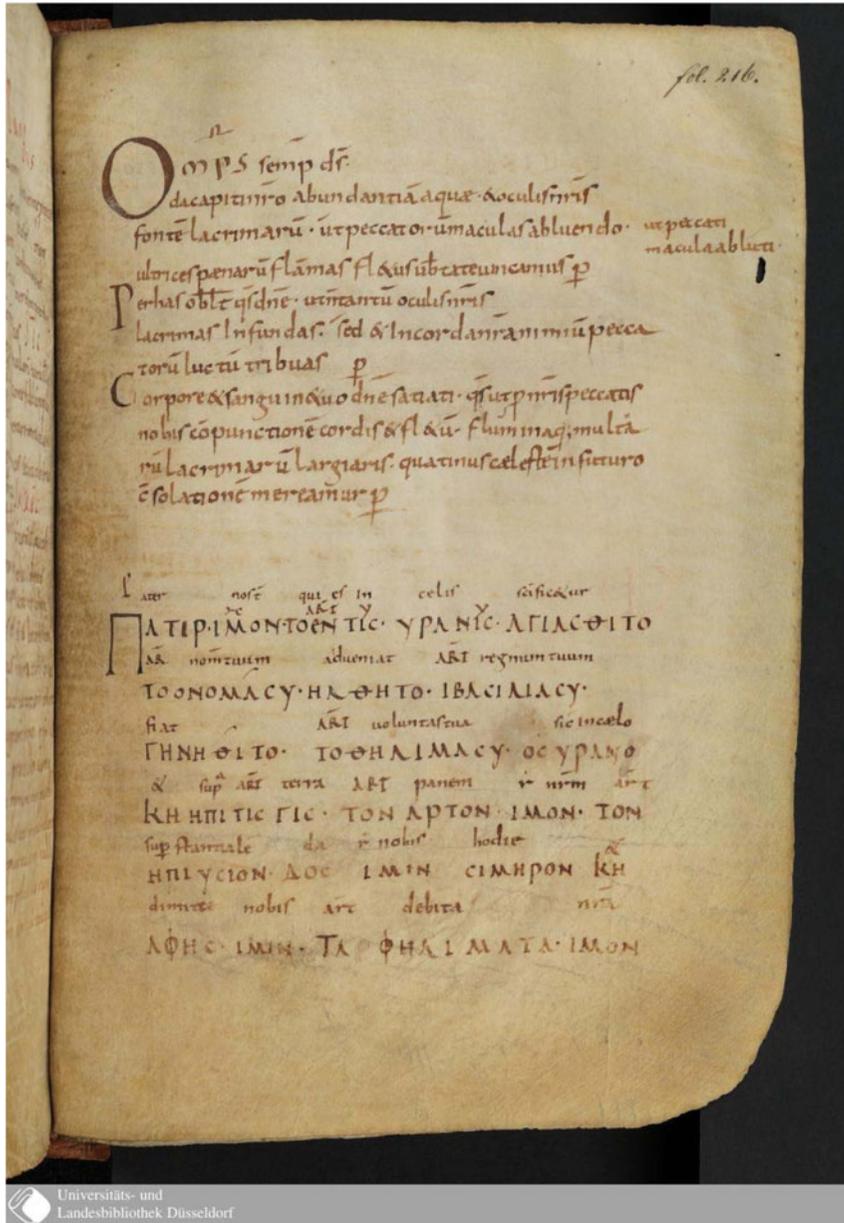
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is the only edition with both the original Hebrew in Latin characters with no “improvements” or “corrections” and a full version in the Hebrew alphabet. Barring the strange rendering of “tehe” as תהיה (twice!), the reconstruction is impressively reliable. The main shortcoming of this edition is that it completely lacks Carmignac’s own remarks, and it is difficult to know how he came to the Hebrew-character version in his work.

6. Lapide (1984)⁹⁸ offers the most comprehensive discussion of our passage to date. Like Federbush, he also chooses to present only the Hebrew of the manuscript and not the Latin text, but he does not reconstruct a Hebrew-alphabet version, so one cannot tell what his thoughts were on words not specifically discussed. Lapide’s frame of reference is also church Hebrew, and he agrees with the opinion that the text does not reflect a deep familiarity with the Hebrew language. He interprets the word “thamia” as Schulte did, and states that the pronunciation of “lah · hemehenu” is “Sephardic.” (I present a competing view regarding this word above.)
7. Semmler in his article (1994)⁹⁹ has a short reference to the matter at hand, but he does not comment on it extensively: he describes the graphic layout of the text and observes that “scholars” have spotted graphic and phonetic “mistakes” in it.

98. Lapide, *Hebrew in the Church*, 7–8.

99. Semmler, “Ein Karolingisches Meßbuch,” 51–53.



fol. 216.

Omnis semp dñ
 dacapitimo abundantia aque & oculis nris
 fonte lacrimaru ut peccati & maculas abluendo. *ut peccati
 macula abluat*
 ulores penaru flamas fl & subterre uincunt p
 Per has obte qdñe ut manru oculis nris
 lacrimas infundas sed & in corda nra in mui pecca
 toru luctu tribuas p
 Corpore & sanguine dñe sanati qd sup in peccatis
 nobis cõpunctione cordis & fl & u flum mag multa
 ru lacrimaru largiaris quatinus cõfite in futuro
 cõsolatione mereamur p

Pater nre qui es in celis *ificatur*
ΑΤΗΡ ΙΜΟΝΤΟΕΝ ΤΙΣ ΥΡΑΝΙΣ ΑΓΙΑΣ ΘΙΤΟ
AA nominatum adueniat AB regnum tuum
 ΤΟ ΟΝΟΜΑ ΣΥ ΗΛΘΗΤΟ ΙΒΛΙΛΙΑ ΣΥ
fiat AB uoluntas tua sic in celo
 ΓΗΝ ΘΙΤΟ ΤΟ ΘΗΛΙΑ ΣΥ ΟΣ ΥΡΑΝΟ
& sup AB terra AB panem r uini art
 ΚΗ ΗΠΙ ΤΙΣ ΤΙΣ ΤΟΝ ΑΡΤΟΝ ΙΜΟΝ ΤΟΝ
sup stamale da r nobis hodie
 ΗΠΙ ΥΣΙΟΝ ΔΟΣ ΙΜΙΝ ΣΙΜΗΡΟΝ ΚΗ
dimite nobis arte debita nra
 ΑΦΗΣ ΙΜΙΝ ΤΑ ΦΗΛΙΑ ΜΑΤΑ ΙΜΟΝ

