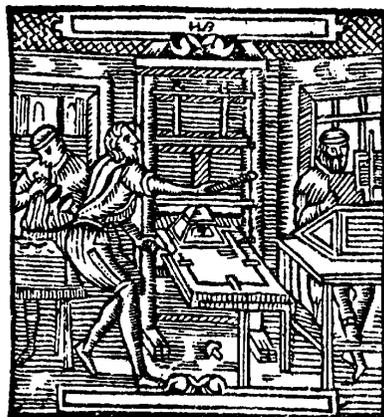


**FROM WRITTEN TO PRINTED TEXT:  
TRANSMISSION OF JEWISH TRADITION**



Center for Judaic Studies  
University of Pennsylvania

## Preface

It is a pleasure to introduce this catalogue presenting an exhibit of Hebrew manuscripts and printed books located in the marvelous library collection of the University of Pennsylvania Center for Judaic Studies. The exhibit, which opens in the spring of 1996 at the University's Van Pelt Library, focuses on the transmission of knowledge from medieval to modern times in Jewish culture, especially the remarkable changes in the process engendered by the technology of the printing press. The exhibit visually highlights some of the critical themes studied by a remarkable group of scholars in Bible, rabbinics, medieval and modern Jewish history, Hebrew paleography, Jewish and Islamic philosophy, Islamic history, ancient Christianity and more, assembled in this year's fellowship at the Center for Judaic Studies. The exhibit coincides as well with the year-ending colloquium of the Center on the theme: "Learning and Literacy in the Judaic Tradition: A Comparative and Interdisciplinary Inquiry."

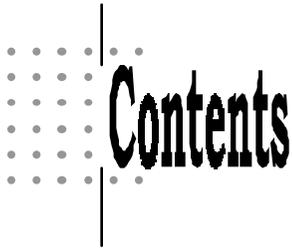
This exhibit constitutes a remarkable collaboration between the Center and its fellowship and staff and the Van Pelt library and its staff who have worked diligently to present the results of the learning experience of a group of scholars to a wider public audience at the University and beyond. I am pleased to thank publicly Dr. Paul Mosher and Dr. Michael Ryan and their staff for their support of the exhibit and for their general support and interest in the activities of the Center for Judaic Studies. I would also like to offer my appreciation to Aviva Astrinsky, Dr. Sol Cohen, and Howell E. Dell, of the Center for Judaic Studies, who also contributed their time and energy to this important project.

This exhibit also represents a different and very special kind of collaboration between the Center, an institute for post-doctoral study in Jewish civilization, and the graduate program in History and Jewish Studies at the University. The two curators of the exhibit, who assumed full responsibility for its conception

and implementation, are Rebecca Kobrin and Adam Shear, both graduate students in Jewish history at Penn. Both participated in a seminar on the impact of printing on Jewish cultural formation offered by a Fellow of the Center for Judaic Studies, Dr. Elhanan Reiner of Tel Aviv University, and they also consulted widely with other fellows at the Center in organizing the exhibit and writing the catalogue. They deserve our special thanks for their intelligence and dedication in leading this project to its successful conclusion.

Finally, I would like to offer my gratitude to the friends of Van Pelt Library, and especially to Mrs. Rochelle Feldman Levy, a member of the Board of Overseers of the Center for Judaic Studies, and to her husband, Robert Levy, for their generous support of the exhibit and of this valuable catalogue.

David Ruderman  
Joseph Meyerhoff Professor of Modern Jewish History  
Director, Center for Judaic Studies



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## Introduction

The transmission of Judaism has always been heavily dependent on written texts as well as the oral traditions surrounding them. One way to examine this process is by analyzing the various formats of Jewish texts in order to try to understand how they may have been read. At two points in history the Jewish book has undergone fundamental transformations—from scroll to codex in the eighth and ninth centuries, and from manuscript to print in the early modern period. It is this latter transformation that this exhibit will examine by focusing on the impact of printing on the format of the Jewish book and, by extension, on the Jewish cultural and religious experience.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> The Printer's mark found on the cover, title, and current pages belongs to Henricus Jacobus Van Bashuysen, printer of Hebrew books in Hanau, Germany in the years 1708-1712. An example of this printer's mark can be found on the title page of: Isaac Abravanel, *Perush ha-Torah*. Hanau, 1710.

<sup>2</sup> In thinking and writing about these issues, we have been aided by the helpful advice of many people. We are especially grateful to Rachel Anisfeld, Aviva Astrinsky, Israel Bartal, Sol Cohen, Robert Kraft, Elhanan Reiner, David Ruderman, and Michael Ryan. We would also like to publicly recognize the assistance of the staffs of the Center for Judaic Studies and the Department of Special Collections in the Van Pelt Library, especially Sheila Allen, Pnina Bar-Kana, Gregory Bear, Howell E. Dell, Judith Leifer, and Ruth Ronen.

Historians of general European culture have noted the importance of the printed book for the dissemination of knowledge to a wider audience and for shaping the ways in which texts were read and ideas were digested.<sup>3</sup> In the study of Jewish culture, several scholars have noted the broad impact of printing, but this recognition has not stimulated an extensive analysis of this phenomenon. The study of the book has been primarily focused on subjects such as manuscript illumination and paleography, bio-bibliographical studies of Hebrew printers, and the censorship of Hebrew books.<sup>4</sup> However, the question of the impact of printing on the transmission of Jewish culture is a major lacuna in the scholarly literature.<sup>5</sup> We cannot hope to fill this gap in the scholarship concerning the history of the Jewish book in this exhibit. We do wish, however, to pose some basic questions: what effects did the printing press have on the transmission of Jewish culture and on a Jew's understanding of his (or her) tradition? How, in other words, did printing change Jewish texts and the use of these texts?

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<sup>3</sup> There is now a vast literature on the impact of the printed press, beginning with the well-known work of Elizabeth Eisenstein, *The Printing Press as an Agent of Change* (Cambridge, 1979), and Lucien Febvre and Henri-Jean Martin, *The Coming of the Book: The Impact of Printing, 1450-1800* (London, 1976). Two recent collections of new studies on the impact of printing are *The Culture of Print: Power and Uses of Print in Modern Europe*, Roger Chartier, ed. (Princeton, 1989) and *Print and Culture in the Renaissance*, Gerald Tyson and Sylvia Wagonheim, eds. (Newark, DE, 1986).

<sup>4</sup> A relatively complete list of the kinds of studies mentioned can be found in Sharon Liberman Mintz, "A Selected Bibliography of the Hebrew Book," in *A Sign and a Witness: Two Thousand Years of Hebrew Books and Illuminated Manuscripts*, Leonard Gold, ed. (New York, 1988), pp.177-197.

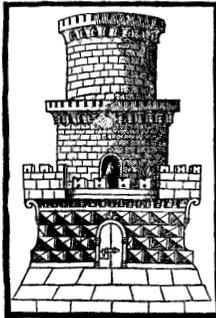
<sup>5</sup> There are some exceptions. See now the works of Shifra Baruchson, Malachi Beit-Arie, Zeev Gries, Stefan Reif, and Elhanan Reiner. Also useful for the transition from manuscript to print culture are the papers from the conference "Artefact and Text: The Re-Creation of Classical Jewish Literature in Medieval Hebrew Manuscripts," collected in the *Bulletin of the John Rylands University Library of Manchester* 75 (1993).

## **The Historical Geography of Jewish Printing**

Within forty years of the invention of printing in the mid-fifteenth century, Hebrew books were produced using this new technology. Through the second half of the fifteenth century, Hebrew printing was restricted mainly to the Italian and Iberian peninsulas, where some 180 Hebrew titles were issued. While Hebrew printing ceased in Spain and Portugal after the expulsion of the Jews in 1492, it quickly spread to the Ottoman Empire, North Africa, and Central and Eastern Europe. By the end of the sixteenth century, Hebrew printed books were being produced throughout most of the Jewish world.

In many ways, the history of Hebrew printing is the history of the printers themselves, both Jewish and non-Jewish. Many of these early printers distinguished their work by using special devices or emblems which served as their individual marks. The first Hebrew book with a printer's mark dates from 1487. These trademarks were an adaptation of a practice used by medieval artisans and building owners to identify their handiwork or mark their property. In Hebrew books, as in others, printers continued to use these devices or emblems as their trademarks down to the nineteenth century.

### **The Soncino Family**



The Soncinos, named for a town in Italy in which they were active, founded one of the most dynamic printing houses of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, establishing presses from Italy to Egypt and Turkey. In Italy in 1484, Joshua Solomon Soncino (d.1493) issued the first work from the press, Tractate Berakhot of the Babylonian Talmud. Soncino placed commentaries on the page alongside the text of the Talmud, creating what would become the standard format for all Talmud editions. Joshua Solomon's nephew, Gershom ben Moses (d.1534), emerged as one of the most skillful and prolific printers of his period. Between 1489 and 1534, Gershom Soncino printed over one hundred volumes which appeared not only in Hebrew, but also

in Greek, Latin, and Italian. As a result of the constantly-shifting political situation, Soncino and his press wandered throughout Italy and eventually left for the Ottoman Empire, where he established a printing press in Salonika in 1527 and another in Istanbul in 1530. After his death, his son continued his printing endeavors in Turkey, and his grandson, Gershom (d.1562), established the last Soncino press in Egypt in 1557.

### **Daniel Bomberg (d. 1549 or 1553)**

Bomberg was one of the first Christian printers of Hebrew books and one of the most influential of all Hebrew printers. Born and raised in Antwerp, Bomberg settled in Venice where he established his printing press. Bomberg was the first to publish *Mikraot Gedolot*, the Bible with the rabbinic commentaries that served as a model for many future editions. As a result of the success of this publication, he printed two complete editions of the Talmud. Bomberg's pagination of the Talmud has become standard. His placement of commentaries surrounding the text, following the work of Joshua Solomon Soncino, has also become canonical. This format has influenced the appearance of many other types of Jewish literature as well. Although Bomberg's fortunes appear to have declined as a result of competition, his successors, nevertheless, lauded him for his distinctive style.

### **Gershom ben Solomon Kohen (d.1544)**



In 1514, Kohen joined a consortium of four craftsmen and two backers in Prague to form the first Hebrew printing press in Eastern or Central Europe. Kohen appears to have played a particularly important role in this group: on the cover page of the

Prague printing of the Pentateuch there was an ornamental representation of hands held in the position for the priestly blessing, a symbol of membership in the priestly class (of which Kohen was a member). After this consortium split up in 1522, Kohen and his brother established their own press, at which they produced the earliest printed Haggadah with illustrations in 1526. That same year, Kohen secured monopoly rights for Hebrew printing in Bohemia. Producing more prayer books, Talmudic works and Pentateuchs than the Prague community could absorb, the Kohen family distributed their publications throughout Eastern Europe.

### **Paulus Fagius (1504-1549)**



Fagius is one of the prime examples of the important role played by Christians interested in Hebrew and Judaica for the spread of Hebrew printing. Born in the Palatinate, Fagius was a professor of Hebrew at Strasbourg and later at Cambridge. More importantly, he established a Hebrew press in Isny, Bavaria, where he appointed his former Hebrew teacher, Elijah Levita, as supervisor. The inscription on Fagius's printer's mark declares, "Every good tree gives forth good fruit." The Fagius printing press spread Hebrew books throughout the Rhineland. In addition to the publication of various Hebrew books, the major contribution of Fagius's press was the publication of numerous Hebrew texts with a Latin translation and commentary. Fagius began the republication of *Me'ir Nativ*, a Biblical concordance, which was completed after his departure for England by the well-known Christian Hebraist, Johannes Reuchlin (1455-1522).

### **The Proops Family**



Samuel Proops (active 1704-1734) and his sons Joseph, Jacob, and Abraham were the most important Ashkenazi printers in Amsterdam in the eighteenth century, and their family business survived until 1849, specializing in liturgical works. Under Samuel Proops in 1730, the press issued the first sales catalog of a Hebrew publisher. Their printer's mark also indicates priestly origin.

### **The Bloch-Frankl Family**

This family dominated Sulzbach printing from the end of the seventeenth century to the middle of the nineteenth century. Beginning with Moses Bloch, his son-in-law Aaron Frankl, and Aaron's son Meshullam Zalman (active 1721-1764), the press specialized in relatively inexpensive popular works, especially liturgy. The Bloch-Frankls engaged in a bitter competition with the Proops family during the eighteenth century which culminated in an unsuccessful legal attempt by the Proops to shut down the Sulzbach press.

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## **The Fonts and Formats of Jewish Printing**

In addition to being shaped by the various personalities involved in early printing, the format of the Hebrew printed page was also informed by the fact that the printing press allowed sacred texts to appear for the first time on the same page with their commentaries. Throughout the centuries, Jews have commented on their sacred texts and these interpretations have played a critical role in the transmission of Jewish tradition. Despite their central role in transmitting Jewish culture, commentaries were never considered as canonical text. Consequently, they were often produced as separate reference works to be used when studying sacred texts. With the advent of printing, it became more common for commentaries to be printed alongside the sacred texts instead of separately. To differentiate between the central text, most commonly the Bible, Mishnah or Talmud, and their commentaries, printers used different typefaces. The two typefaces used most often by the printers to differentiate between the text and its commentary were derived from the Hebrew manuscript tradition: the square typeface, based on the Assyrian (*ashuri*) typeface used for Hebrew letters in the Torah scroll, and the more rounded typeface based on the Spanish cursive style for writing Hebrew. At one point, both these typefaces were used for both the central text and the commentary. Over time, however, printers developed a convention for the utilization of these typefaces so that the reader would be able to distinguish the central text from the commentary in any work: the square typeface became exclusively associated with the sacred text while the rounded typeface was used for commentaries.

Typefaces were not only used to differentiate between texts and commentaries but also became the common way for printers to distinguish among different languages. It was not uncommon for Jews to speak two languages, such as Yiddish and Hebrew, and their “internal bilingualism” was reflected in their printed texts. The production of bilingual Yiddish and Hebrew books offers a fascinating study of how printers adapted the typefaces they had traditionally used to differentiate between text and commentary to also differentiate between two languages. In the manuscript tradition, the letters for both Hebrew and Yiddish were shaped in a rounded style which contrasted with the square Assyrian script of the Torah scroll. With the advent of printing, however, Hebrew passages were conveyed exclusively through square type, while portions in other languages, such as Yiddish, were printed using special letters similar to the old style of rounded written ones.

The many uses of these typefaces are reflected in the terms used to describe these typefaces throughout the centuries. In the fifteenth century, the typeface which bore striking resemblance to written letters was termed *mashey*; after printers started using it for commentaries, it became known as “Rashi script.” Then, when the “Rashi” typeface was adapted to convey Yiddish quotes in the production of Yiddish texts for women, it became known as *vabertaytsh*, literally meaning “women’s Yiddish translation.”



**Assyrian:** Square Typeface

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## The Transformation of the “Aleph”

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**Mashey:** Cursive Typeface  
[“Rashi Script”]



**Vabertaytsh:** Yiddish  
Cursive Typeface

**Items on Display:**

1. Levi ben Gershom (Gersonides).  
*Perush 'al ha-Torah*.  
Mantua: Abraham Konat, 1474.  
Figure 1.

Written between 1329 and 1338 by the Provençal exegete, philosopher and mathematician, Levi ben Gershom (d. 1344), this commentary was printed by Abraham Konat in 1474. Konat used the more rounded cursive letters, common in the Hebrew written manuscript tradition, for the printing of this biblical interpretation. This typeface would later emerge as the characteristic typeface for all commentaries.

2. Bahya ben Asher.  
*Sefer R[abbenu] Bahya... la-Torah*.  
Naples: Azriel Gunzenhauser, 1492.  
Figure 2.

This commentary on the Pentateuch was composed in 1291 by the exegete and kabbalist, Bahya ben Asher (d. 1340). This work uses the square Assyrian type, commonly found in the Torah scroll and later used exclusively for sacred texts. In addition to the printer's use of the square type, this work is also distinctive in its elaboration and illustrations on the first page.

3. *Talmud Bavli*.  
Printed Fragments, Morocco and Portugal. Fifteenth Century.  
[Facsimile edition: *S'ridei Bavli: Fragments from Spanish and Portuguese Incunabula and Sixteenth Century Printings of the Babylonian Talmud*.  
H. Dimitrovsky, ed. New York:  
Jewish Theological Seminary, 1979.]

These reproductions of early printed Talmud pages demonstrate how under unfavorable conditions, early printing did not always utilize divergent typefaces to differentiate between commentary and text. Rather, printers in this early period—especially after the expulsion from Spain—used whatever typefaces were available to them. The fragment from Portugal used the Assyrian square type both for the sacred text of the Talmud and for the surrounding commentary. The Talmud page from Fez, which is an excerpt from Tractate Rosh Hashannah, dealing with the Jewish New Year, uses the Spanish cursive style typeface for both the commentary and the sacred text.

4. *Torah Nevi'im u-Ketuvim: 'im ha-Targum ve-'im perush Radak.*  
Four volumes.  
Venice: Daniel Bomberg, 1517.

Including both an Aramaic translation and the commentary of Rabbi David Kimhi (Radak, ca.1160-ca.1235), this edition of the Hebrew Bible was published by the famous Christian printer Daniel Bomberg in 1517. The Biblical text and the Aramaic translation were printed in square script with vocalization, while the commentary at the bottom of the page is printed in an adaptation of Spanish semi-cursive script, now popularly called “Rashi script.” The script is given this name today (although not at the time) because it is the typeface used by Bomberg for the commentary of the famous eleventh-century exegete, Rashi (Rabbi Solomon Yitzhaki, 1040-1105), in his editions of the Bible and the Talmud a few years later. Since then, “Rashi script” has become an often-used typeface for commentaries and marginalia in Hebrew books.

5. *Torah, Nevi'im u-Ketuvim.*  
Translated into Yiddish by Y. Vasehausen.  
Amsterdam: Immanuel Athias, 1679.

This Bible, published by the famed Amsterdam Athias family, was one of the first verse by verse translations of the Bible into Yiddish. While it contains no commentaries, it is set in a typeface similar to the “Rashi script.” The reason for this is that the work is composed in Yiddish, and not in the “holy” language of Hebrew. Adapting the distinct typefaces used to differentiate between sacred text and commentary, printers also differentiated between Hebrew and Yiddish.

לא תטנון אשי ברבריס או לגרוס להס הפסד  
בממוטט ואטפ' טיהיתה האלמטה טטיירה ביותר  
או טיהיה היתוס טטיירי ביותר הטת הוזהרנו  
מולצטיות אונתס אט עטה תעטה אונתו רל' טיהיה  
תנונתך פחותה טיהיה רגיל לענותו הפה אט  
יכעף יכעק אלי רל טיירגיל ליכעק באופן טתבא  
היכעקה אלי טמוט אטטע יכעקתו רל יכעקת  
היתוס והוא הדין לחלמטה ומוולס לקחה התורה  
היתוס בזה העטון כי האיס הוא יותר ראווי  
טיתטטע יכעקתו מיכעקת האטה לחולטית רעתה  
בטבט והטה אקיס נקמתס וחיה אשי והרגתי  
ותכס בחרב לטלס מדה כטגר מדה באופן  
טתהייטה טטיכס אלמטות ובטכס יתומיס ורול'  
פירשו במכילתא טזה העטון הוא העלה הטטת  
והוא טכבר יטיס טטיכס במדרגות אלמטית  
טתהייטה יכרזות בהלמטות חיות כמו טיילכו  
בבליהן למייטת היס ולא נורט אט מתו ריהו  
הבטי יתומיס טלא ינחוס בו רירר בטכס' אביה'  
כי לא טורט אט מתו והטה הבטס טקראו יתומיס  
בכל טת טתמיר הסבה; אט די; בעבורה באה זאת  
המזורה והוא הנמן אשי יכטורכו בו לחרס גדול  
להטפל בטטינתס להטהיגס ואטטס אחר זה אין  
דיטס דין הית מיס וראוי טורט כי ל' יקרא  
ענוי מה טתכליתו לטוב אבל הוא ראווי טיקרא  
הטבה וחטיטה כי הפטולות יקראו בטס תכליתס  
ולזה אט עטה אונתס ארס ליסוס באופן ראווי  
ול' מרס מיסות ואומטות ואומר להס בזה האופן  
רבריס טכאביס לבט או טיהסה אונתס אין זה  
טכבר בלח תעטטה י אט כסף תלוה אט טמי אט  
הש' טיהוא עמר במזמר האותה חיה להלוחי

Figure 1.

Levi ben Gershom (Gersonides).  
*Perush 'al ha-Torah*. Mantua: Abraham Konat, 1474.



Figure 2.

Bahya ben Asher.  
*Sefer R[abbenu] Bahya... la-Torah.*  
 Naples: Azriel Gunzenhauser, 1492.

6. *Seder Tekhinot u-Vakashot*.  
Sulzbach, 1730.  
Figure 3.

In addition to including the standard corpus of Ashkenazic prayers, this German eighteenth-century prayer book also dedicates its final section to various Yiddish devotional prayers, commonly known as *tkhines*, from the Hebrew word (*tekhinot*) meaning supplications. While the Yiddish *tkhines* were considered semi-sacred, the freer style and use of the Yiddish language distinguished the *tkhine* from the traditional Hebrew prayer. In this edition, each *tkhine* is first presented in Hebrew, the “Holy Tongue,” and then is translated below into Yiddish. The differentiation between the Hebrew and Yiddish prayer is conveyed through the use of the square typeface for Hebrew and the rounded typeface for Yiddish. On this page, we have various prayers a mother would recite on behalf of her children. It is interesting to note that the prayer in the middle of the left side, which requests that it should be God’s will that each son and daughter be able to find a suitable match, is not followed by a literal Yiddish translation of the Hebrew verse. Rather, the Yiddish translation incorporates the Jewish legend that God ordains for each child a match while they are still residing in their mother’s womb and urges each mother to pray that her child’s match be revealed.

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## **Jewish Liturgy: The Siddur and the Mahzor**

The prayer book is among the most widely-circulated and best-known of Jewish books. While the roots of Jewish prayer can be found in the Hebrew Bible, the fundamentals of the synagogue service as we know it today were initially described in the rabbinic literature of the first centuries of the common era. The Siddur (containing the daily and Shabbat prayers) and the Mahzor (containing holiday prayers), did not emerge as separate texts and as compendia of Jewish liturgy until the period of the Geonim, the heads of rabbinic academies in Babylonia in the early Middle Ages. In the ninth through twelfth centuries, localized rites also emerged among Jewish communities in Germany (Ashkenaz), Northern France, Italy, the Byzantine empire, Provence, Muslim Spain (Sepharad), and Yemen.

At the end of the Middle Ages, two important developments, migration and printing, had a major impact on the history of the Siddur. Demographic shifts resulting from expulsions and from other migrations led to the formation of new Jewish communities in Eastern Europe, Italy, and the Ottoman Empire. Immigrant Jews brought their local liturgies with them, but many of these rites did not survive as it became impossible for each group to maintain a separate synagogue in each community. Some communities, however, such as Frankfurt-am-Main, continued to use a local rite until the twentieth century.

This section explores the impact of the second major development—the invention of printing—on the experience of Jewish prayer. The implications of the wider dissemination of printed prayer books remain to be explored. Some questions to be examined here include that of the effect of printing on the decline and fall of localized rites as well as the relationship of print to another trend in the development of the modern prayer book—the increasing number of translated prayer books from the eighteenth century on.

**Items on Display:**

1. *Mahzor*. Manuscript on parchment.  
Northern France.  
Fourteenth century.  
Figure 4.

Here is an example of the Western Ashkenazic (Franco-German) rite for Rosh Ha-Shannah, Yom Kippur and Sukkot written in a square script with vowels. A number of pages have decorated headings such as the one shown. On many of the other pages, there are a large number of marginal notes indicating variant liturgical readings. These notes appear to have been made by a hazzan (prayer leader) or another scholar in order to adapt the manuscript to the local liturgy.

2. *The Leipzig Mahzor*. Manuscript.  
Germany.  
Fourteenth Century.  
[Facsimile edition: Hanau: Werner Dausein, 1964].

Dating from fourteenth-century Ashkenaz, this is one of the best-known of all medieval Hebrew illuminated manuscripts and one of the few well-known illuminated liturgical texts. Its very large size suggests that it was not intended for private use, but rather occupied an important public place in the synagogue.

3. *Mahzor Tefilot Kol ha-Shanah ke-fi Minhag K[ahal] K[adosh] Roma*.  
Soncino, Italy: Sons of Israel Nathan Soncino, 1485.  
Figure 5.

This “Mahzor for the Whole Year according to the Roman Rite” is one of the first printed prayer books from the publishing houses of the Soncino family. In this example of early printing, we can see the continuity with the manuscript tradition. No commentary is included and the pages are unnumbered. Numerous censor’s marks from the sixteenth century are present in the work. In the example shown, the weekday Amidah (central prayer in synagogue service) has been censored with the inking out of the words, “may all the heretics perish instantly” and “may the evil kingdom be cast down and humbled,” taken



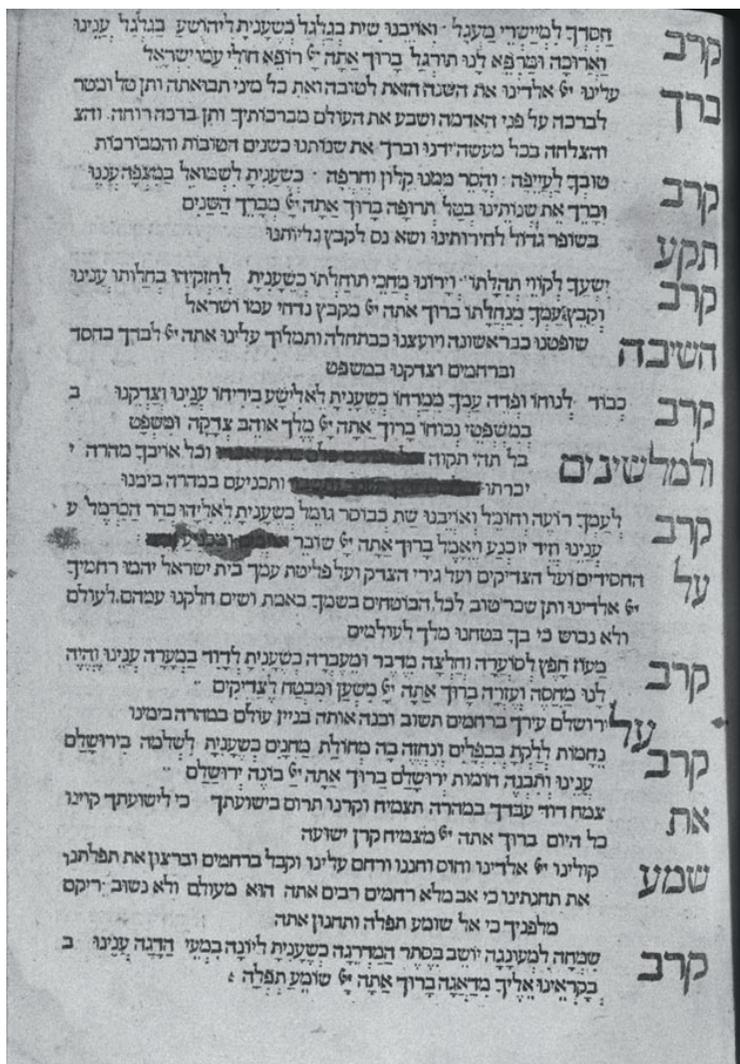


Figure 5.

Mahzor Tefilot Kol ha-Shanah ke-fi Minhag K[ahal] K[adosh] Roma.  
 Soncino, Italy: Sons of Israel Nathan Soncino, 1485.

in the sixteenth century to refer to Christians and Christendom. This section of the Amidah has been censored often, and the version recited by Jews in the twentieth century reflects much of this censorship. Note, however, that the words here are still readable suggesting that the censor of this book was not as thorough as he might have been, whether intentionally or not.

4. *Mahzor ke-fi Minhag K[ahal] K[adosh]*

*Roma 'im Perush Kimha de Avshuna.*

Bologna: Menahem ben Avraham mi-Modena, 1539-1540.

Figure 6.

In the five decades from the publication of the Soncino Mahzor to this one, one can see a new development in the printing of the liturgy. This Mahzor—which is also “according to the Roman rite”—contains an extensive commentary surrounding the liturgical text. In addition, one can see from the pages shown here that the margin was wide enough for a later owner of the book to make his own extensive notes. The owner of the book has indicated liturgical variants and directions for proper behavior, noting that he learned this material from his teacher.

5. *Siddur. Prayer Book of the Italian Rite.*

Manuscript on parchment.

Italy. Fourteenth century.

Figure 7.

This small book appears to have been primarily for non-synagogue use, containing a number of home rituals including prayers for before and after meals, *zemiroth* (songs for the Shabbath), the Havdalah service for the end of the Sabbath, liturgy for weddings and houses of mourning. On the page shown here is the beginning of the section entitled “These are Nice and Pleasant Songs to Say for the Honor of the Sabbath.”



Figure 6.

Mahzor ke-fi Minhag K[ahal] K[adosh]  
 Roma 'im Perush Kimha de Avshuna.  
 Bologna: Menahem ben Avraham mi-Modena, 1539-1540.

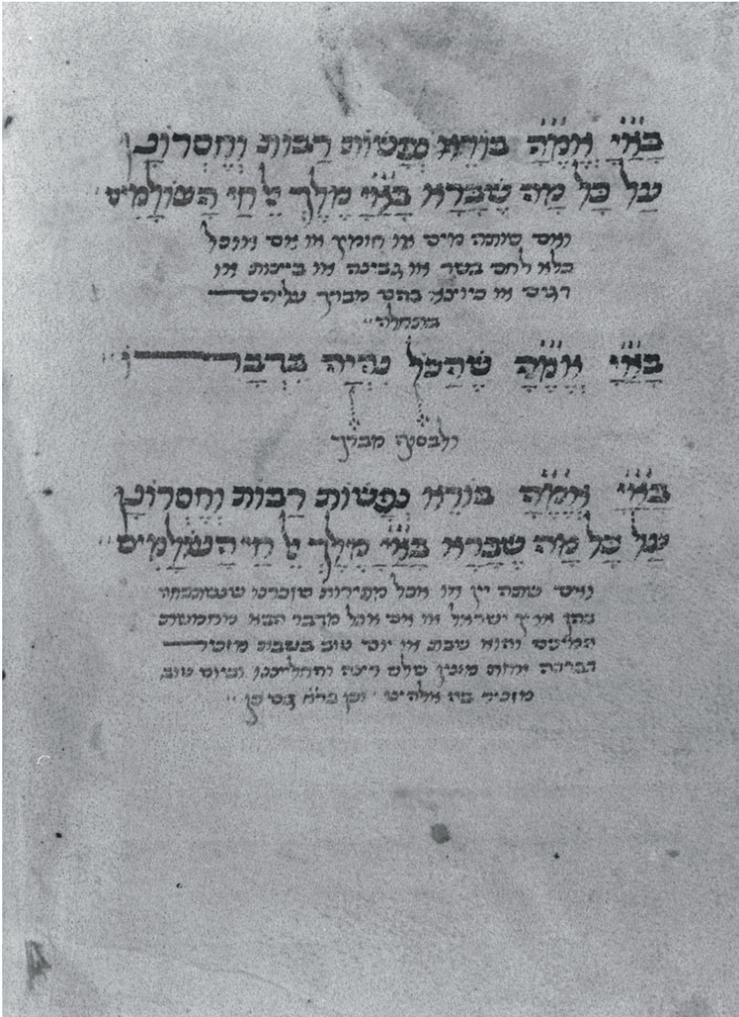


Figure 7.

*Siddur. Prayer Book of the Italian Rite.*  
Manuscript on parchment.  
Italy. Fourteenth century.

6. *Seder Zemirot u-Virkat ha-Mazon*. Prague, 1514.

[Facsimile edition: London: Valmadonna Trust Library, 1984.]

Like the previous work, this book was intended mostly for home use and was one of the first of its kind to be printed. At some point after printing, color was added to the woodcuts to simulate the appearance of an illuminated manuscript. In addition to serving as decoration, pictures also served as mnemonic devices. For example, a fox-hunting scene, “Jagd der Haas,” in German, reminds the reader of the Hebrew acronym YaKNeHaZ which indicates the order of blessings said when the first night of a festival falls at the end of a Sabbath.

7. *Mahzor ke-Minhag K[ahal] K[adosh] Ashkenazim...*

*ve-im ha-Perush bi-Leshon Ashkenaz.*

Sulzbach: Meshulam Zalman Frankl, 1735.

Figure 8.

8. *Seder ha-Mahzor... ke-Minhag Ashkenazim.*

Sulzbach: [Meshulam Zalman Frankl], 1758.

Figure 9.

These two Ashkenazic Mahzorim, both produced by the same publisher, appear to have been directed toward different audiences. The 1735 version contains instructions and commentary in Yiddish, printed in the same type as other Yiddish works. The second, from 1758, was probably intended for a more educated reader. The commentary is in Hebrew and is more extensive, surrounding the text in the same manner as in the 1540 Mahzor from Bologna. The pages shown here, part of the additional service for Shemini Atzeret (the eighth day of the holiday of Sukkot), also contain the only illustrations in the two works—identical woodcuts representing each of the months of the year and the signs of the zodiac. It is also interesting to consider here another effect of both migration and printing—the standardization of many Franco-German liturgies of the Middle Ages into a standard “Ashkenazic liturgy” that was used throughout most of central Europe in the early modern period.





Figure 9.

*Seder ha-Mahzor... ke-Minhag Ashkenazim.*  
Sulzbach: [Meshulam Zalman Frankl], 1758.

9. *The Book of Religion, Ceremonies, and Prayers; of the Jews, as Practised in their Synagogues and Families on all Occasions: On their Sabbath and other Holy-days throughout the Year.*

Translated by Gamaliel ben Pedahtzur [pseudonym of Abraham Mears]. London: J. Wilcox, 1738.

The earliest English translation of the Siddur, made by a Jewish convert to Christianity, reflects a growing interest in Judaism on the part of non-Jewish Englishmen of the eighteenth century. The transliterated Hebrew title for each prayer is found in the margins, enabling the curious non-Hebrew reading Christian to attend and follow a synagogue service. While this work was clearly intended for a non-Jewish readership (both scholars and others), English translations of the Siddur soon began to be used by English (and American) Jews as an aid to understanding the synagogue service. A work such as this is also helpful for scholarship today: the transliteration of the Hebrew characters provides a clue as to how Hebrew was pronounced in the eighteenth-century Ashkenazic community of London .

10. *Orden de los Oraciones de Ros-ashanah y Kipur...*

Translated by Isaac Nieto. London: R. Reily, 1740.

This Spanish-language Mahzor for Rosh Hashanah and Yom Kippur served the London congregation of former Spanish and Portuguese New Christians who had returned to Judaism. Nieto, the translator of this volume, served as rabbi of the community from 1732 to 1741 and again from 1744 to 1757. This book also contains a Jewish calendar for the years 5501 (1740-1) to 5522 (1761-2) and a list of “The most notable things from the Creation of the World to the Year 5501.” On these pages are the confessional prayers for the afternoon service on the eve (*la vispera*) of the holiday.

11. *Mahzor le-Yom Rishon ve-Sheni shel Pesah.*

Furth: David Zirndorfer, 1836.

Figures 10 and 11.

The prayers for the holiday of Passover in this volume are part of a set of books, each containing the liturgy of a different holiday. Suggesting the growing importance of the German language to the Jews of Central Europe, the publisher included a German translation of the prayers, printed in the margins in Hebrew characters.

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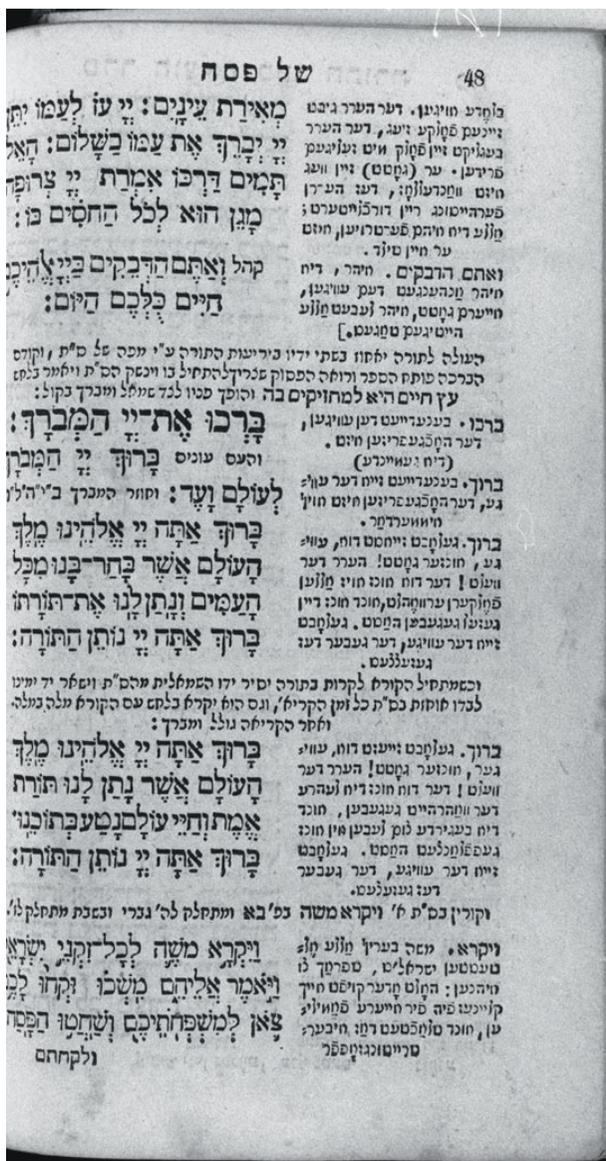


Figure 11.

Mahzor le-Yom Rishon ve-Sheni shel Pesah.  
 Furth: David Zirndorfer, 1836.  
 Right Hand Page.

## **Why is this Book Different From All Others? The Passover Haggadah**

The Passover Seder is one of the most widely celebrated and best known of all Jewish rituals. The telling and remembrance of the Exodus from Egypt has filled the eve of the fifteenth day of the Hebrew month of Nisan around the world for the past two millennia. The guiding text for this tradition, the Haggadah, has had a particularly long and illustrious career in the history of written texts. The same text has been directing Jews through the Passover ritual from the tenth century until the present day. With more than four thousand known printed editions in existence today, the Haggadah has been reprinted more often, in more languages and in more places than any other classical Jewish work.

While scholars have begun to examine the impact of printing on this text, few have tried to assess how printing may have changed the general experience of the Passover Seder. In the era before the printed Haggadah, few at the Seder table would have had a Haggadah to guide them through the ritual. With the advent of print, however, it became more common for every participant in the Seder to have his or her own Haggadah. How might have the dissemination of Haggadahs throughout the world changed the experience of the Seder? How may have the proliferation of illustrated and translated Haggadahs impacted on the experience of the Passover ritual?

### **Items on Display:**

1. *Haggadah fragment.*  
Manuscript on Paper.  
Egypt. Eleventh Century.

Originally, the Haggadah text was included within prayer books. This is one of the oldest existing fragments of the Haggadah text known to scholars today. It was found in the Cairo Genizah and dates back to the eleventh century. This Haggadah demonstrates how the written text guiding the oral retelling of the exodus from Egypt was far from uniform in the eleventh century. For example, this Haggadah text presents the ancient Palestinian rite of the Passover service which not only omits the “four sons” but has only three of the ritual questions instead of the now traditional four.

2. *The Sarajevo Haggadah.*

Manuscript on parchment,  
Northern Spain, Fourteenth Century.  
[Facsimile edition: Tel Aviv: Masada, 1963.]

During the following centuries, the Haggadah appeared in various manuscript forms. Because of its exquisite illumination, the Sarajevo Haggadah is one of the most famous Jewish manuscripts of this period. Found in Sarajevo in the late nineteenth century, this Haggadah was produced in Northern Spain some time around 1350. Upon its discovery in 1894, the Sarajevo Haggadah revolutionized the study of Jewish art by challenging the widely held notion that the Jews did not illustrate their religious texts. With its illustrations, it was a harbinger of many Haggadahs of the later Middle Ages, in which illustrations played an important role. Illumination not only stimulated the curiosity of those who were not learned in the texts of the Haggadah, but also has played a critical role in the Seder ritual for all participants in helping them to fulfill the central commandment of the Seder: envisioning themselves as if they had actually participated in the exodus from Egypt.

3. *Haggadah shel Pesah.*

Prague: Gershom Cohen, 1526.  
[Facsimile edition: Berlin, 1926.]

4. *Haggadah shel Pesah.*

Prague: Gershom Cohen, 1526.  
[Facsimile edition: Jerusalem, 1973.]

Playing a pivotal role in the development of the illustrated Haggadah was Gershom ben Solomon ha-Kohen's Haggadah, published in Prague in 1526. Typography of this Haggadah—which alternates small and large letters, and contains inverted letters at the end of many lines—was a common feature of texts produced by scribes and preserved the look of manuscript Haggadahs. Kohen's Haggadah included sixty woodcut illustrations and played a critical role in establishing the iconographic genres among Haggadahs well into the twentieth century. One example is the four woodcuts on the pages describing the famed "four sons." Not only are all the sons clothed in Renaissance fashion, but more importantly the "wicked son" is depicted as a traditional soldier of the period. While

his uniform would change to fit current fashions, the wicked son appeared for many centuries in the form of a soldier, thus linking wickedness with war for the Jewish people in the early modern and modern periods. In addition, one can see several pages later a pictorial rendition of Pharaoh in a tub, a theme which is present in Haggadahs well into the twentieth century. Drawing on the rabbinic legend that Pharaoh bathed in a tub filled with the blood of Jewish children in order to cure himself of a disease, the Prague Haggadah offers a pictorial tradition which enabled all participants at the seder table to appreciate rabbinic interpretations and tradition.

*5. Seder Haggadah shel Pesah.*

Venice: Giovanni da Gara, 1609.

[Facsimile edition: Jerusalem, 1974.]

In Venice in 1609, the press of the Christian Giovanni da Gara, with the help of the Italian Jewish printer Israel Zifroni, produced a Haggadah which also played an important role in the development of the illustrated Haggadah. Encasing every page is a classical architectural border in which there appears a Judeo-Italian translation of the Haggadah text. Other editions produced by this printer contained either Yiddish or Ladino translations. The marvelous illustrations include a depiction of the ten plagues, the first time this was ever illustrated in a printed Haggadah. The Judeo-Italian translation not only provides literal translations of each plague but further describes each in a rhymed couplet.

*6. Seder Haggadah shel Pesah.*

Sulzbach: Uri Lipman [Bloch-Frankl family], 1711.

Figure 12.

*7. Seder Haggadah shel Pesah.*

Manuscript on paper.

Germany. Eighteenth Century.

[Facsimile edition: Tel Aviv, 1987.]

Printed in Germany in 1711, the first Haggadah displayed demonstrates the growing influence of Talmud printing on the production of other Hebrew texts. In a format similar to the Talmud page, this Haggadah contains two commentaries surrounding the text and some simple woodcut illustrations. The second Haggadah suggests why there was continued production of handwritten and

הגדה

**פירוש אברכנאל**

לחברים למנהג זה המנהג שכן זה היה  
 חכם דור אלוהים מחילת דבריו היה  
 אשר נותן לו אלוקים חכם כדור חסידים  
 שהמנהג היה להיות מתי מגדולי' נחנה  
 למנהג זה היה מלאכו' למען היה חכם  
 ממנה המעדות והחוקים והמחשבות  
 זה חכם הדור הגדול בכל חוקים  
 והמחשבות הגדול המורה הידיעה אלוה'  
 לכל חוקי האלהים כזה אחר עבדים  
 הינו לדעתם במנהג ויוניאלו' ה' אלוה'  
 מתנניח כד חוקה נוח' כי המנהג ובר  
 הפירות והמנהג ובר לחוקן החילוק

**רשע** מה הוא אומר מה העבודה הזאת לכם  
 לכם ולא לו ולפי שהוציא את עצמו מן  
 הכל

לפניהם רמז אל תעבודתו ונמנו דברים אלו הנהגות אשר במנהג האלה ולפניהם חלק מהשפטים שהיו ואומני  
 הנהגות חכם ולא תעבודתו ונמנו דברים אלו חסידים שהיו ונמנו כי לעשות חסד כל החוקים האלו ונו' חכם אברהם'  
 כלל רמזו שיהיה לכל אלו לטוב לנו כל אלו חסידים שהיו ונמנו דברים אלו חסידים שהיו ונמנו כי לעשות חסד כל החוקים האלו ונו'  
 עבד האלה היה המנהג למעשה לעשות חסידים במנהג האלה לכן חסידים שהיו ונמנו דברים אלו חסידים שהיו ונמנו כי לעשות חסד כל החוקים האלו ונו'  
 אשר היה זה שור המנהג המסמך עדי דבר האחרון מנהגו האלה לכן חסידים שהיו ונמנו דברים אלו חסידים שהיו ונמנו כי לעשות חסד כל החוקים האלו ונו'  
 לכן חסידים שהיו ונמנו דברים אלו חסידים שהיו ונמנו כי לעשות חסד כל החוקים האלו ונו' וזהו חסידים שהיו ונמנו דברים אלו חסידים שהיו ונמנו כי לעשות חסד כל החוקים האלו ונו'  
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**רשע**

מה הוא אומר מה העבודה הזאת לכם  
 לכם ולא לו ולפי שהוציא את עצמו מן  
 הכל

לפניהם רמז אל תעבודתו ונמנו דברים אלו הנהגות אשר במנהג האלה ולפניהם חלק מהשפטים שהיו ואומני  
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הגדה

צורת ארבעה בני דביר הוריה הם

רשע

הבן

Figure 12.

Seder Haggadah shel Pesah.  
Sulzbach: Uri Lipman [Bloch-Frankl family], 1711.

hand-illustrated Haggadahs throughout the eighteenth century despite the ascendancy of Jewish printing. Since eighteenth-century printing techniques often could not accommodate people's desire for more elaborate Haggadah illumination, many hand-illuminated Haggadahs were commissioned by wealthy patrons. This work, produced in Altona by the scribe Joseph ben David of Leipnik in 1738, is an example of such a commissioned manuscript which is not only illustrated but also contains the commentary of Abarbanel, an early sixteenth century exegete who was a prominent leader of the exiled Iberian Jewish community.

8. *Seder Haggadah shel Pesach*,  
Vienna: Georg Holtzinger, 1815.

The goal of this Haggadah, which was issued by the Austrian publisher Georg Holtzinger, was to create a text which everyone could read correctly and understand. Therefore, it not only presents the entire text of the Haggadah vocalized but also contains a Judeo-German translation of the text on the inside section of each page. The translator, Moses Dessoy, included some commentary on the bottom of the page so that all who were reading this text could participate in the different rituals of the seder meal.

9. *Service for the First Two Nights  
of Passover with an English Translation*.  
New York: L. H. Frank, 1863.  
Figure 13.

10. *The Union Haggadah*.  
New York: Bloch Publishing Company  
for the Central Conference of American Rabbis, 1907.

As printed books became less expensive in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, it became more common for everyone at the Seder table to have their own copy of the Haggadah. With many people unable to fully comprehend the text of the Haggadah, translations of the Haggadah became quite common. On exhibit is an early English translation of the Haggadah published in America. Containing no illustrations or commentaries, it provides the reader with only the bare basics: a translation of the Haggadah text and directions as to how to perform the various rituals of the Seder.

children of Israel in Egypt, when he smote the Egyptians, and delivered our houses. And the people bowed their heads and worshipped.

*Then take hold of the cake in the dish and show it to the company as a memorial of our freedom, and say:*

These unleavened cakes, wherefore do we eat them? Because there was not sufficient time for the dough of our ancestors to leaven, before the Holy Supreme King of kings, blessed is he! appeared unto them, and redeemed them: as is said, and they baked unleavened cakes of the dough, which they brought forth out of Egypt; for it was not leavened, because they were thurst out of Egypt, and could not tarry, neither hath they made any provision for themselves.

*Then take hold of the lettuce (or green top of the horse-radish) and show it to the company, as a memorial of our servitude, and say:*

This bitter herb, wherefore do we eat it? Because the Egyptians embittered the lives of our ancestors in Egypt; as is said: and they embittered their lives with cruel bondage, in mortar and brick, and in all manner of labor in the field: all their labor was imposed upon them with rigour.

It thereto is incumbent on every Israelite, in every generation, to look upon himself, as if he had actually gone forth from Egypt: as is said: and thou shalt declare unto thy son, in that day, saying, this is done because of that, which the Eternal did for me, when I came forth from Egypt. It was not our ancestors only that the Most Holy, blessed be he! redeemed from Egypt, but us also did he redeem with them: as is said: and he brought us from thence, that he might bring us in, to give us the land which he swore unto our fathers.

Figure 13.

*Service for the First Two Nights  
of Passover with an English Translation.*  
New York: L. H. Frank, 1863.

Translation was not the only innovation incorporated into the Haggadah in America to make it more enjoyable for Jews. Besides abridging the service substantially, the Union Haggadah, the first Haggadah printed by the Reform movement in the United States, also included such things as musical notation for instrument accompaniment, numerous pictures, appropriate poetry readings and an appendix explaining the various rites and symbols of the Seder for those unfamiliar with this ritual.

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## **The Word of God: The Hebrew Bible**

As the central text for both Judaism and Christianity, the Hebrew Bible was the Jewish book best-known to Christians. Although the Talmud and its commentaries were primary texts for Jewish higher education, the Bible was studied and learned by Jews in a wide variety of contexts: elementary and adult education, the weekly reading of a portion of the Pentateuch and of the Prophets in the synagogue, and sermons preached in the synagogue.

The first physical manifestation of the text of the Hebrew Bible was on scrolls, and the Torah scroll containing the first five books remains in use for the weekly synagogue reading. Although the codex did not come into general use by Jews until the ninth century, well after the rest of the western world had adopted it, the use of the codex for non-ritual purposes soon became standard. The oldest biblical manuscripts now extant date from the end of the ninth century, and the first complete text that we have dates from the beginning of the eleventh. The copying of Bibles continued by Jews throughout the Middle Ages, and illuminated versions began to appear in the mid-thirteenth century in Northern Europe, Spain, and Italy. The iconography in these works often incorporated motifs from rabbinic commentaries.

In studying the Bible, Jews followed Christians in adding their comments to the text in margins. At first, these marginalia were added in a haphazard manner and were difficult to read for those who came later. By the thirteenth century, the format of these marginal comments—the “gloss”—had been standardized and an aesthetically pleasing layout had been developed among Christians. Likewise, Jewish scribes in the Middle Ages began to produce Bible manuscripts with marginal commentaries. Printing was immediately recognized as a way to disseminate scripture and commentaries and the format of a central text and marginal glosses was adapted to the new technology. The first printed Hebrew biblical text was an edition of the Psalms, printed in Bologna in 1477. In 1482, the first complete Pentateuch was printed in the same city along with the Aramaic translation (Targum Onkelos) and the commentary of Rashi, the eleventh-century French exegete.

**Items on Display:**

1. *Torah and Haftarot.*

Manuscript on parchment with interwoven printed leaves.  
Spain. Thirteenth Century.  
Figure 14.

This manuscript containing the five books of Moses as well as the weekly readings from the Prophets was produced in Spain in the thirteenth century. Shortly before the expulsion of the Jews from Spain in 1492, six pages from a printed Hebrew Bible were interleaved in 1488. The printer of that edition, Eliezer Alantansi, used a typeface based on the same regional script used in the manuscript. A cursory glance may not be enough to distinguish the printed page on the top from the manuscript page on the bottom.

2. *Torah, Nevi'im, Ketuvim.*

Brescia: Gershom Soncino, 1494.  
Figure 15.

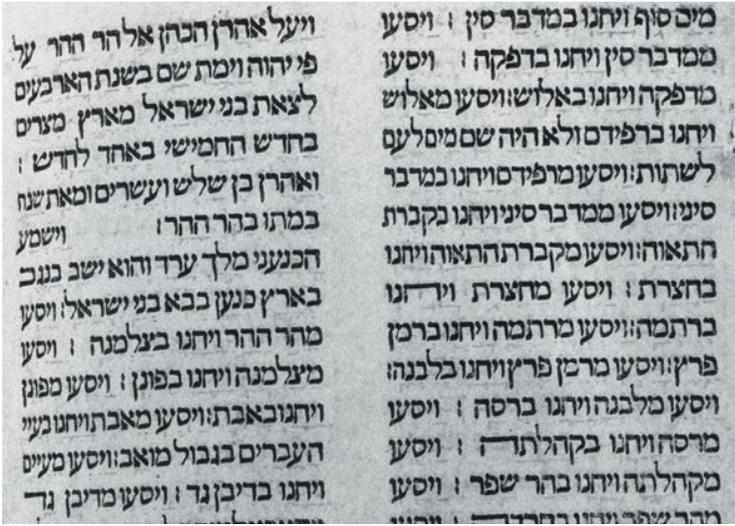
In 1488, the first complete Hebrew Bible was printed by Joshua Soncino and his nephews, Moses and Gershom. As with other works published by the Soncino family, this Bible, published by Gershom, was printed without commentary. Six years later, the present small-size edition, without decoration, was published. These portable editions proved very popular, and one copy even found its way to Saxony, where it was used by Martin Luther in making his German translation of the Bible.

3. Moses bar Nahman (Nahmanides).

*Hidushe ha-Torah.*

Lisbon: Eliezer Toledano, 1489.  
Figure 16.

This edition of the exegesis of Nahmanides (ca.1195-ca.1270) is one of the first printed commentaries to the Torah. The biblical text is not included with the commentary—the reader would have had to make reference to another book for the text of the Bible. The typeface is an adaptation of Spanish rabbinic script. The only decoration in the book occurs on the title page and on the first pages of the different books of the Torah, as seen here at the beginning of the book of Numbers. Rubrication, the encasing of initial letters or words within a floral design, was a common technique.



*Torah and Haftarat.*  
[Spain]: Eliezer Alantansi, 1488.



Figure 14.

*Torah and Haftarat.*  
Manuscript on parchment.  
Spain. Thirteenth Century.

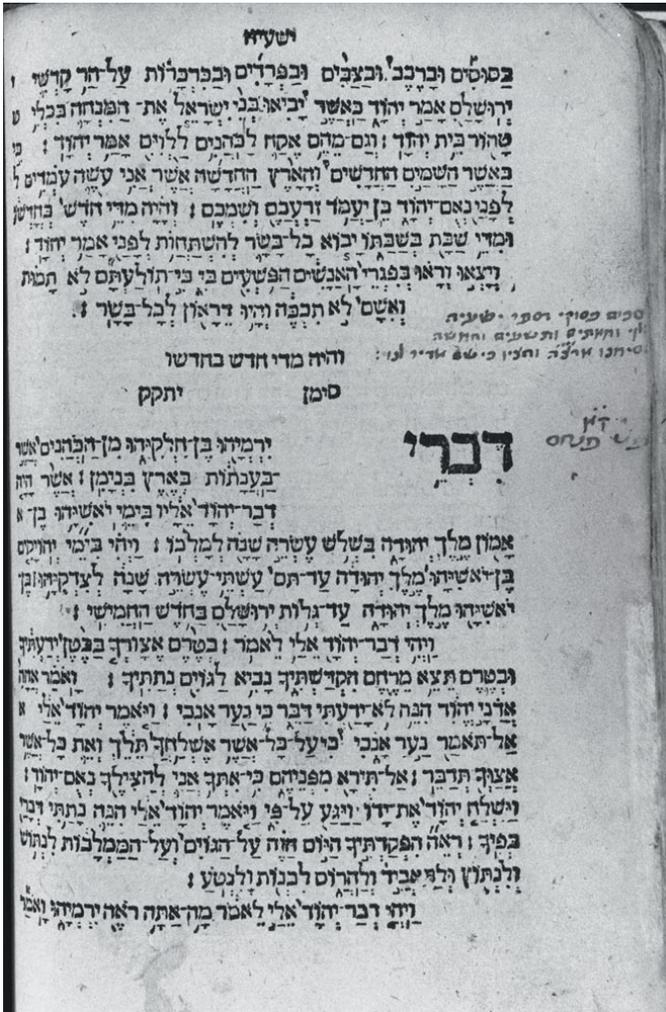


Figure 15.

Torah, Nevi'im, Ketuvim.  
Brescia: Gershom Soncino, 1494.

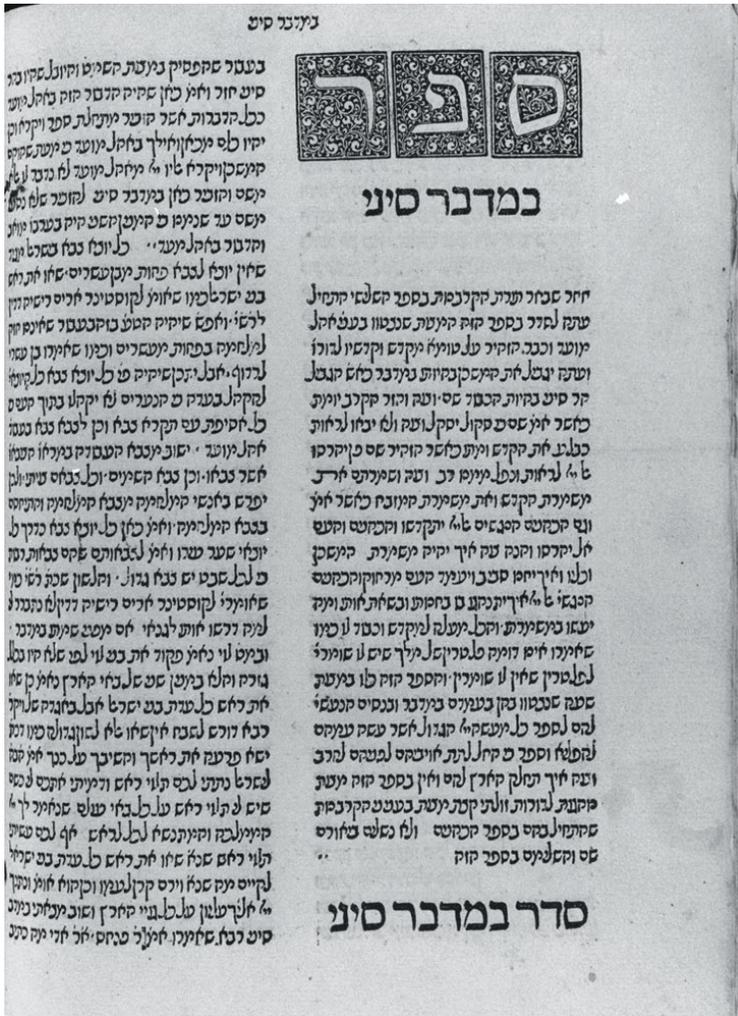


Figure 16.

Moses bar Nahman (Nahmanides).  
*Hidushe ha-Torah*.  
 Lisbon: Eliezer Toledano, 1489.

4. *Biblia Rabbinica*.

Venice: Daniel Bomberg, 1524.

Figure 17.

At the same time that the 1517 edition with David Kimhi's commentary (shown earlier) was being printed, Bomberg and his assistants were also publishing what was to become one of the most famous of Hebrew printed Bibles. In 1516-1517, the first edition of Bomberg's *Biblia Rabbinica* (*Mikraot Gedolot*) was published with the commentaries of Rashi (1040-1105) and Abraham Ibn Ezra (1092-1167) on the Torah; Rashi, Kimhi, and Gersonides (1288-1344) on the Early Prophets, and Rashi and Eliezer of Mainz (12th century) on the Later Prophets, in addition to the Aramaic translation. The placement of commentators from different periods and different locales (including Muslim Spain, Provence, Northern France, and the Rhineland) on the same page was a novel development in the history of Jewish books and in the transmission of Jewish learning.

Bomberg printed this work with a Christian audience in mind; he included an approbation by Pope Leo X and prominently featured the name of the editor, a Jewish convert to Christianity. Shown here is the second edition of 1524-5—the "Jewish" version. This version included prefaces by two prominent Italian Jews, Joseph Sarfati (d.1527), a physician, poet, and philosopher whose father had been Pope Julius II's personal physician, and Jacob ibn Adoniyahu, a rabbi who served as a text editor for Bomberg. Also included is a list of the weekly Torah readings. The usefulness of this work for scholarly study of the Bible was recognized quickly and this format became popular with later adaptations including additional commentaries. The popular image of the commentary swallowing up the text can be seen here in this page showing the beginning of the ten commandments.

5. *Biblia Latina cum Glossa Ordinaria Walafri di Strabonic aliorumque et interlineari Anselmi Laudenensis*.

Strassburg: Adolf Rusch, not after 1480.

(Special Collections, University of Pennsylvania Library)

In the twelfth century, patristic and post-patristic Christian commentary on the Bible was collected and redacted into an integrated work, the *Glossa Ordinaria*, which served as a standard reference text for Christian scholars. This copy of the *editio princeps* by Rusch, a paper merchant who became an early entrepreneur in the printing industry, is a reminder that the format of central text and surrounding commentary was not limited to Jewish scribes and printers.

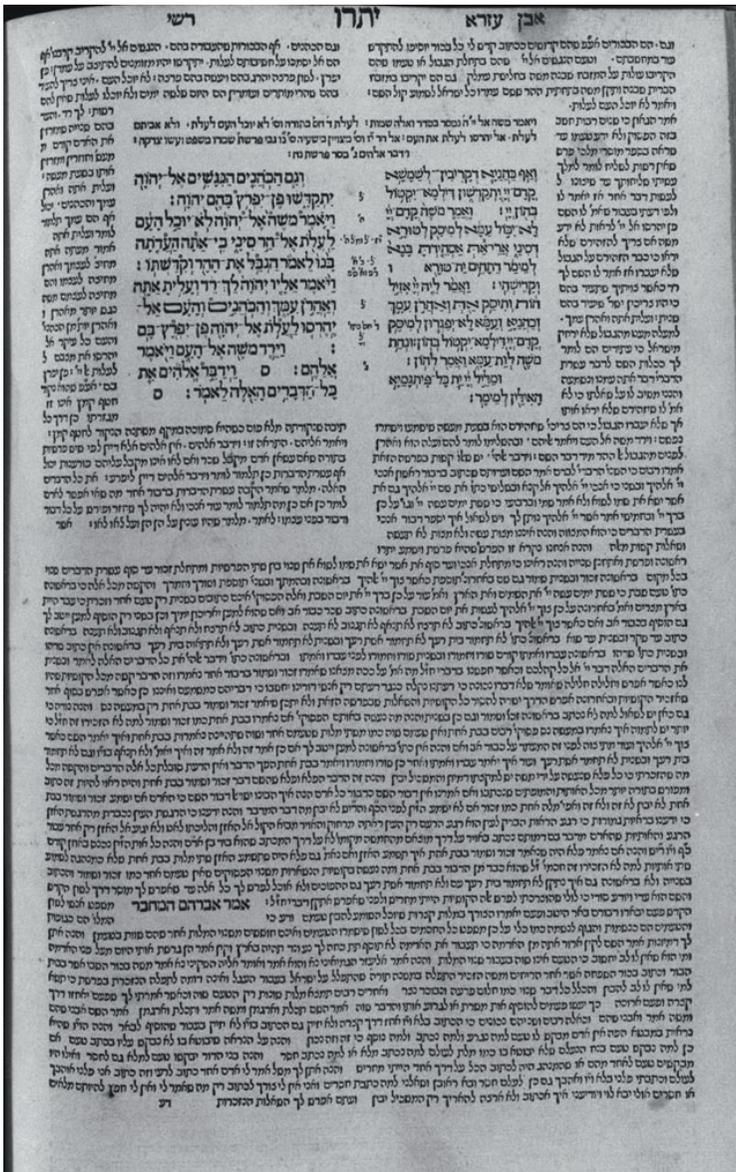


Figure 17.

Biblia Rabbinica.  
Venice: Daniel Bomberg, 1524.

6. *Psalterium, Hebreum, Grecu[m], Arabicu[m], & Chaldeu[m]*.

Genoa: Petrus Paulus Porrus, 1516.

Figure 18.

Although some bilingual Bibles were produced by medieval scribes, print made possible the inclusion of many languages on one page. These masterpieces of scholarship were produced by and intended for Christian scholars with humanistic interests. In this early example, produced by Petrus Paulus Porrus, the Psalms are printed in Hebrew, in a literal Latin translation, in the Vulgate translation, in the Greek of the Septuagint, in Arabic, in Aramaic translation, and in a Latin translation of the Aramaic. Included as well is a Latin commentary.

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Arabica.	Paraphrasis chaldaea.	Latina respondens chaldaee.	Scholaa.
<p>جسم الله وروا الرحيم                  من عند دعوى الله وحسن                  فتوحه ينسخ مرا بهر طاوخت                  الماط والنسي ملط بني اسرائيل                  السفر الاول المنصور الاول</p>	<p>ܘܕܝ ܪܝܫܐ                  ܘܕܝ ܪܝܫܐ                  ܘܕܝ ܪܝܫܐ</p>	<p>Interpretatio. J.</p>	<p>A.</p> <p>Vemadimon                  dus prescri                  ptus i pri                  cipio Mas                  thei nolimus nunc tu                  flos condere cōmentari                  os in psalteriū sicut                  nec in reliquis sacre                  scripture libros. Cas                  sus liquidum &amp; unius                  exillimari possit labor                  noster post. Dicitur                  Ongenē Eusebiumq;                  grecos, aut post nros                  Hieronymus Ambro                  sium Callixtus, aut                  etiā post Salomones                  Abrahā Davidem &amp;                  multos alios hebreos                  magnas uniuersum                  turbas, psalmos expla                  nare aggredemur.                  At qui pauca quedā                  addidimus qbus neo                  terici hebrei redargui                  possint, nostri uero &amp;                  delectari &amp; in dogma                  te christiano cofirma                  ri quicquam que mar                  tyri saguine &amp; roma                  nosē potiusq; arthro                  sitate roborata sunt                  confirmatione non idē                  gerit. Itaq; psalteriū,                  ut a libri nomine ordi                  mur, grecum uerbum                  est, quod latine lauda                  torium or organum dici                  potest. Est autem ut                  Hieronymus ad Dar                  danum scripsit, uas in                  modum quādrati cly                  pei cum decem cordis,                  scilicet cum quod scrip                  tū est in psalterio decem                  choridarum psalteriū il                  li. In omnia uero                  psalmorum idem Hie                  ronymus quid sit psal                  terium magis expō                  nit, dicens illud esse                  genus organi musica                  inclius sonantis quā ca                  rinaria, similitudinemq;                  habere citharæ sed non                  esse Citharam, nec eq;</p>
<p>وڤي الرجل                  الذي                  لم ينجح                  راجع</p>	<p>ܘܕܝ ܪܝܫܐ                  ܘܕܝ ܪܝܫܐ                  ܘܕܝ ܪܝܫܐ</p>	<p>Estitudo                  viro, qui non                  ambulauit                  in consilium</p>	
<p>المنافقين                  ولم يقف في كبرياء تكلمين                  ولم يجالس                  المستهزين لكن في ناموس                  مشيته                  وسنته يبتلو                  لئلا ونهارا فيضون                  كمثل الشجرة المفروسة                  على مصادر المياه التي                  تكفي ذمرتها في حديد                  وورقها لا يبتش                  دعل                  يتم ابيض كدليل                  المناقون ليس كدليل                  بل كالقبا الخرد تدرية                  الرنا ح عن وجه الارض                  هلهندا لا نسقوم                  ولا الخطاه في مجمع                  الصادقين لان الرب                  عارف بكرهه الا برار                  وكريف الا ثمة تديت</p>	<p>ܘܕܝ ܪܝܫܐ                  ܘܕܝ ܪܝܫܐ                  ܘܕܝ ܪܝܫܐ</p>	<p>Impiorum,                  &amp; in via                  peccatorum non stetit,                  &amp; cum societate derisorum non                  circumiuit. Sed in institutione                  DEI voluntas eius,                  &amp; in lege eius, meditatur                  die ac nocte. Et erit                  tanq; arbor vite, que plantata est sup                  fonticulos aquarum, cuius fructus                  maturefcit in tempore suo,                  &amp; folia eius non defluunt,                  &amp; omne germen quod germinat,                  granescit &amp; proficit. Non sic                  impij, sed sicut quisquie                  quas proficit ventus.                  Propterea non surgent                  impij, in die iudicii magni,                  neq; peccatores in societates                  iustorum. Quoniam manifesta est                  ante DEVM, via iustorum,                  &amp; via impiorum perdetur.</p>	
<p>pit. aerē psalteriū in superiore pte h3. Cithara uero hoc genus ligni cauit &amp; re sonans in inferiore pte h3. Itaq; in psalterio chorde de sup                  sonū accipitur. In cithara chorde ex inferiore pte sona accipitur. Hieronymo ex authoribus hebreorū cōsentiat plures, &amp; imprimis Si                  mon q; ut referret comitator Salomon psalterium a cithara distinguit, quod psalterium plures q; cithara cōtinat chorodas. Appellat</p>			

Figure 18.

*Psalterium, Hebreum, Grecu[m], Arabicu[m], & Chaldeu[m].*  
 Genoa: Petrus Paulus Porrus, 1516.

## **Law and Lore: Mishnah, Talmud, and Halakha**

If the Bible is the foundation for Judaism, it can be argued that the rabbinic literature included in the Talmud and related works is the edifice constructed on this foundation. A major focus of scribal activity in the Middle Ages was the copying of the Mishnah and the Gemara, which together form the Talmud. At the same time that scribes continued to copy the text of the Mishnah and the Gemara, the learned discussions of medieval rabbis produced new commentaries. While most medieval Talmud manuscripts do not include these commentaries, some manuscripts of the later Middle Ages did begin to surround the text with the commentary of Rashi. These manuscripts anticipated what would later become standard with the introduction of the printing.

As the printing of the Talmud became standardized, the study of the Mishnah itself continued and was also affected by the new possibilities of printing. The surrounding of the Mishnah text with the Gemara in some medieval manuscripts was paralleled by a surrounding of the Mishnah text with commentaries such as those of Moses Maimonides (d. 1204) and later, Obadiah Bertinoro (d. 1516). Likewise, the printing press was used for the dissemination of works of halakha (Jewish law) and became crucial in the process of legal codification.

### **Items on Display:**

1. *Talmud Bavli 'im Perush Rashi, Tosafot u-Piske Tosafot.*

*Tractate Avodah Zarah.*

Venice: Daniel Bomberg, 1520.

Figure 19.

Although Joshua Solomon Soncino was the first Italian to print tractates of the Talmud in the 1480s, Bomberg's press was the first to produce a complete edition of the Babylonian Talmud. Taking over the format developed by Soncino (in imitation of some medieval manuscripts), Bomberg set the standard format of the Talmud as well as the standard pagination still in use, with minor variations, today. Virtually every edition of the Babylonian Talmud up to the present has been influenced by Bomberg's format. The Mishnah and Gemara text appear together in the center of the page. The commentary of Rashi appears on the inner margin. Printed in the outer margin is the commentary of the Tosafot, the disciples and successors to Rashi in twelfth-century France.



Figure 19.

Talmud Bavli 'im Perush Rashi, Tosafot u-Piske Tosafot. Tractate Avodah Zarah.

Venice: Daniel Bomberg, 1520.

The Talmud text appears in square letters and the commentaries appear in what rapidly became the standard font for commentaries in Hebrew. This volume also includes Maimonides's commentary on the Mishnah and the legal commentary of Asher ben Yehiel (d. 1327).

2. Moses Maimonides. *Perush la-Mishnah Avot*.  
Soncino, Italy: Joshua Solomon Soncino, 1485.  
Figure 20.

3. *Mishnayot 'im Perush Rabenu Moshe Maimon*.  
Venice: Marco Antonio Justinian, 1545-1546.

The influence of the printed edition of the Talmud on other texts can be seen in the differences between these two editions of Maimonides's commentary on the Mishnah. In the 1485 edition by Joshua Solomon Soncino, the text of the Mishnah tractate, *Pirke Avot*, is printed in square type, followed by Maimonides's commentary in Rashi script. A later owner of this book vocalized some sections of the Mishnah by hand, indicating the continued oral study of the text. This format continued to be used for printing Maimonides's commentary in the back of individual tractates of the Talmud. In the later volume, printed for independent use, the now-familiar format from the Bomberg Talmud is used: the Mishnah text is surrounded by Maimonides's commentary and by the commentary of Rabbi Samson, one of the Tosafists.

4. *Talmud Yerushalmi min Masekhet Berakhot ve-Seder Zera'im kulah u-Masekhet Shekalim 'im Perush Eliyahu ben Yehuda Leb...*  
Amsterdam: Moses Dias, 1710.  
Figure 21.

The first printing of the Jerusalem Talmud was also issued by Bomberg in 1523, but this edition did not achieve the same degree of standardization that the Babylonian Talmud did. A century later, however, this printing of the first edition of the influential commentary of Elijah ben Loeb of Fulda (d. 1720) was clearly influenced by the standard format of the Babylonian Talmud.

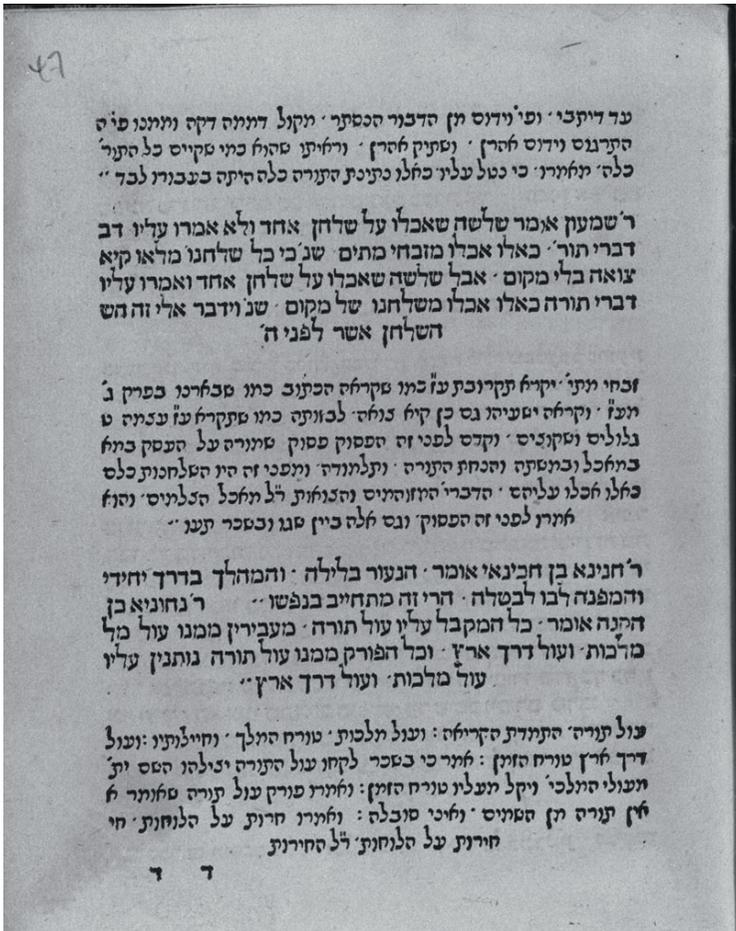


Figure 20.

Moses Maimonides. *Perush la-Mishnah Avot*.  
Soncino, Italy: Joshua Solomon Soncino, 1485.

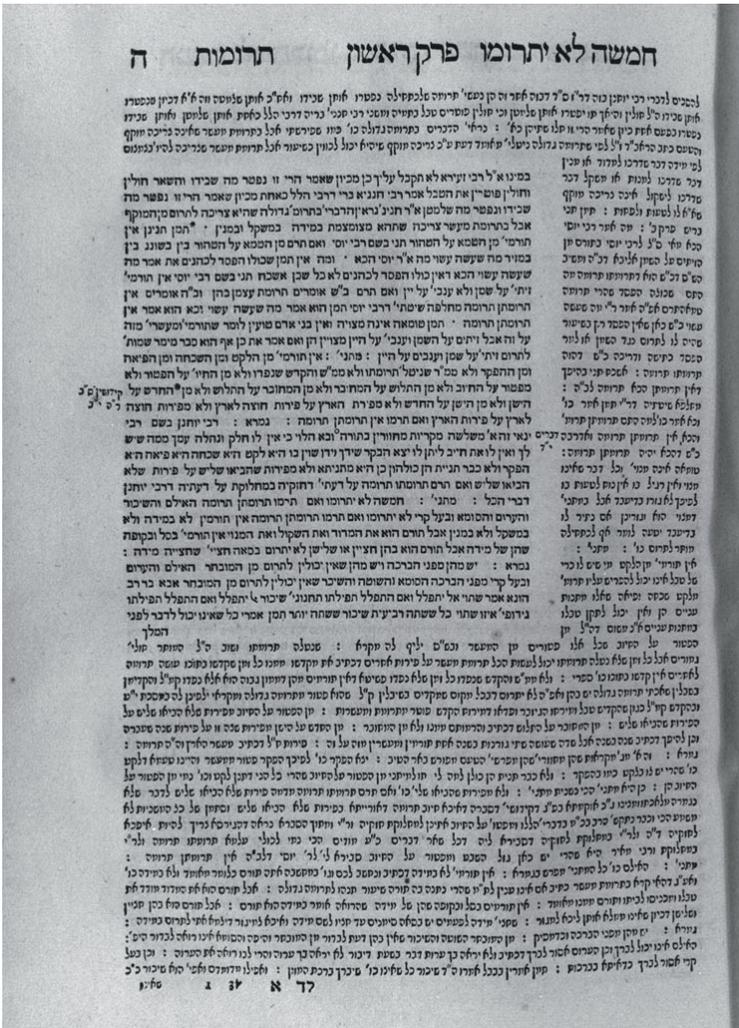


Figure 21.

*Talmud Yerushalmi min Masekhet Berakhot ve-Seder Zera'im kulah u-Masekhet Shekalim 'im Perush Eliyahu ben Yehuda Leb... Amsterdam: Moses Dias, 1710.*

5. *The [Babylonian] Talmud: The Steinsaltz Edition.*  
*Tractate Baba Metzia.*  
Commentary by Adin Steinsaltz.  
New York: Random House, 1989.

The influence of the Bomberg edition remains strong even today in the series of English translations and commentaries by the Israeli rabbi, Adin Steinsaltz. In his edition, he surrounds the vocalized Talmud text with a literal translation and with his commentary. In addition, Rashi's commentary is retained in the traditional typeface. Steinsaltz provides the equivalent page number from the standard pagination at the top of each page.

6. *Mishnayot... 'im Perush Kav ve-Naki.*  
Amsterdam: Samuel Proops, 1713.  
Figure 22.

These volumes of the Mishnah were printed in a small format for the convenience of the reader, as the title page states. Small volumes such as this one would have been used for study while traveling. Despite the small size of the page, a commentary is still included at the bottom of the page, indicating how essential commentary was considered.

7. Jacob ben Asher.  
*Arba'ah Turim.*  
Soncino, Italy: Solomon Soncino, 1490.

8. Jacob ben Asher.  
*Arba'ah Turim. Yoreh De'ah.*  
Venice: Yoani Gripio, 1564.  
Figure 23.

One of the most influential medieval codifications of the law was that of Jacob ben Asher (d. 1340), the son of Asher ben Yehiel (the Rosh), who composed his *Arba'ah Turim* (Four Columns) in Toledo at the beginning of the fourteenth century. The edition printed by Solomon Soncino in 1490 appears as a manuscript might have, with two columns, square type and no commentary. In contrast, the 1564 edition that includes the important commentary of Joseph Karo, *Beit Yosef*, is laid

**שבת**                      **מט**

נישלו ל צורדך ושלאל לצורד רבי נחמיה אומר אין נישליו אלא לצורד: ה כל הכלי הנישלוין בשב' שבריהן נישליו עמהן ובלבד שיהו עושיין סעין מלאכה שבירי עריבה לכסות בהן את פי החבית שבירי זכוכית לכסות בהן את פי הפך רבי יהודה אומר ובלבד שיהו עושיין סעין מלאכתן שבירי עריבה לצוק לחוכן מקפה ושברי זכוכית לצוק לחוכן שמן: ו האבן שבקירוייה אם ממלאין בה ואינה נופלת ממלאין בה ואם לאו אין ממלאין בה זמורה שהיא קשורה בטפח ממלאין בה בשבת: ו פסק החלון רבי אליעזר אומר בזמן שהוא קשור וחלו סוקקין בו ואם לאו אין פוקקין בו וחכמים אומרים בין כך ובין כך פוקקין בו: ה כל כיווי הכלים שיש להם כיוו אחוזה נישלים בשבת אחר רבי יוסי בפה דברים אמרו' בכיווי הקרקע' אבל בכיווי הכלים בין כך ובין כך נישלים בשבת:

**פרק יח מפנין אפי' ארבע וחמש קיפות של חבן ושל חבואה ספני האורחים ומפני בטול בית המדרש אבל לא את האוצר מפנין תרומ' טהור' ורכאי ומעשר ראשון שניטלה תרומתו ומעשר שני והקדש שנפרו והזרמים היבש טפני שהוא מאכל לעזים (ג"א לעניים) אבל לא את הטבל ולא את מעש' ראשון שלא נטלה תרומתו ולא את מעשר שני והקדש שלא נפרו ולא את הלוק ולא את ההדרל רשב"ל מתיר בלוק ספני שהוא מאכל עורבין: ג הבילי קשוחבילי עצים וחבילי נרדים אם התקינו למאכל בהמה מטלטליו אוחן ואם לאו אין מטלטליו אוחן: כופין את הסל לפני האפרוחים כדי שיעלו וירדו תרנגולת שברחה דוחין אותה עד שתכנס מדין עגליו וסויתקבר' האשה מודה את בנה אפי' יהודה איסורי בזמן שהוא נוטל את' ומניח אחד אבל אם היה גורר אסור: ג אין מילדין את הבהמה ביום טוב אבל מסעדין ומילדין את האשה בשבת וקורין לה חכמה ממקום למקום ומחללין עליה את השבת וקושרין את הטיבור' יו"ט אומר אף חוחכין וכל צרכי מילה עושיין בשבת:**

פרק

**מקפה** • דומיא דעים': קירוייה דלעת יבישה וממלאין בה מים ונומנין בה אכנלהכנידה: טפתי • פן קטן • פקן: לוח • פוקקין • סותמין:

**פרק יח מתנין מנעירין**: האורחים • להשיבסס: ומעשר ראשון וכו' כולו מפורשי' נפ' דברכו': לוף • אין קיסיות ורמז' פ' מין הנבלים: חנילי' אגודות: זרדים • יעני' האילן לחים: שנת' • מן הבית: מדעין • חסיעלהס נמיעות רגלי' להגן: וסימין • חמוסיס קטנים: נוטל • רגלוא': אין מילדין • אין מושכין הולל מן הדאס: מסעדין • סוחו סולג • עלאיפול: חכמה • חילת:

**מ א ג פ פרק**

Figure 22.

Mishnayot... 'im Perush Kav ve-Naki. Amsterdam: Samuel Proops, 1713.



out like a Talmud page (although here only one commentary surrounds the text). This copy also contains another layer of commentary—the handwritten notes of Bezalel Ashkenazi (d. 1591), a Rabbi in Egypt and Palestine, who was the editor of *Shitah Mekubetzet*, an anthology of commentaries on the Talmud.

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## **Print and the Preacher**

No discussion of the impact of printing on the transmission of Jewish culture would be complete without addressing how printing affected the process central to Jewish continuity: education. Over the centuries, Jewish education has been conducted in many locations and in a variety of forums. It would be impossible to assess the impact of print on all aspects of Jewish education. Thus, this case is devoted to one locus of Jewish education, the synagogue, where Jewish texts were transmitted orally through the sermon. With the advent of print, many preachers published their oral explanations concerning various Jewish texts.

The extent to which the printed sermon reflects what people actually heard or learned in the synagogue continues to be debated. While one cannot say for sure that the sermons presented in sermon compendiums were actually performed in a particular community, it appears as though collections of sermons may have been used by young preachers as sermon manuals. Whether a standardized format of the sermon resulted from the fact that many young preachers may have been basing their sermons on the same or similar texts has heretofore been unexamined, yet this is a key question scholars must consider if they hope to appreciate fully the complex and ever-changing relationship between Jewish oral and written tradition.

### **Items on Display:**

1. Shem Tov ben Shem Tov. *Derashot ha-Torah*. Venice: Marco Antonio Justinian, 1547.  
Figure 24.

This work organizes the numerous sermons of Rabbi Shem Tov, a fifteenth-century Spanish philosopher, according to the content of each weekly reading. Rabbi Shem Tov also composed one of the earliest tracts on Jewish preaching, titled '*Ein ha-Kore*, where he argued that mastering the skill of preaching is dependent on the mastery of the art of rhetoric. The notes on the side of this page, which insert colloquial transitions and some easier terminology into the text, suggest that a student may have used this work in constructing his own sermons and indicates how the dissemination of printed sermons possibly effected preaching content and styles.



Figure 24.

Shem Tov ben Shem Tov. *Derashot ha-Torah*.  
Venice: Marco Antonio Justinian, 1547.

2. Naftali Ashkenazi. *'Imre Shefer*.

Venice: Daniel Zanetti, 1601.

Unlike the prior collection of sermons, this compendium of sermons by Naftali Ashkenazi of Safed not only provided examples of sermons for the weekly Torah readings but was also designed to provide examples of sermons for special events, such as weddings, bar mitzvahs or eulogies. On each page, in addition to the text of the sermon, the author has also included glossed explanations on the side, providing references to other sources which would be appropriate for such occasions. This page, which is an index of all the sermons in this work, guides the reader to sermons for various weekly portions as well as sermons which could be used for eulogies, bar mitzvahs or to praise the benefactors of the community.

3. Leone Modena. *Helek Rishon mi-Sefer Midbar Yehudah*.

Venice: Daniel Zanetti, 1601.

Figure 25.

This collection of sermons was written by Leone Modena (1571-1648), a rabbi of the Venetian ghetto, whose preaching won him the praise of both Jews and Christians. Structuring his sermons in a manner similar to contemporary Christian preachers, the impact of Modena's style on other Jewish preachers has not yet been fully assessed. The left page on display contains the introduction to a sermon which Modena delivered in honor of a friend's wedding. Here he reveals the essential ingredient for a successful sermon: the choice of an appropriate subject for both the event and the place. On the right page is a poem which was a eulogy for Moses Basola, his teacher, written in both Hebrew and Judeo-Italian. Both of these poems, like many written by Modena, make sense when read in either Italian or Hebrew. Modena became famous for producing such poetry for various occasions which others tried to emulate.

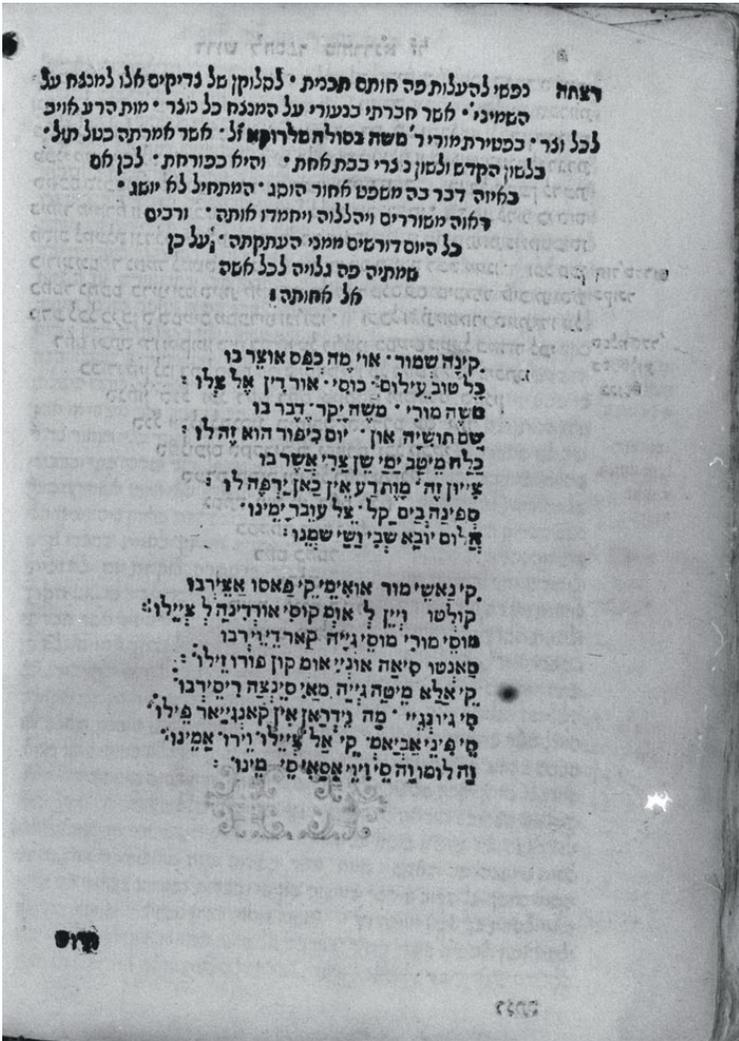


Figure 25.

Leone Modena. *Helek Rishon mi-Sefer Midbar Yehudah*.  
 Venice: Daniel Zanetti, 1601.

4. Samuel ben Moses Avila.

*Ozen Shemuel: ... Derashot... ve... Hespelim.*

Amsterdam: [s.n.], 1715.

Figure 26.

This collection of Samuel ben Moses Avila's sermons was one of several compendiums found in the library of Rabbi Isaac Leaser, the famed nineteenth-century orator of the Philadelphia Jewish community. Avila (d. 1688), a seventeenth-century Talmudist and preacher in Morocco, was known for composing a guide for scholars on how to conduct communal affairs properly. This collection of eulogies and homilies reflects Avila's desire to produce guiding manuals for rabbinical figures. While it may be impossible to be certain whether Leaser referred to this work when composing his own orations, the fact that Leaser possessed such a manual in his library is suggestive of how printed sermon compendiums may have influenced the oral culture being transmitted in the synagogue. This page includes an example of a sermon which could be given on the Saturday before Passover, a traditional day for rabbinic preaching.

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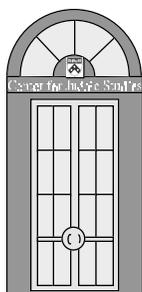
Figure 26.

Samuel ben Moses Avila.  
*Ozen Shemuel: ... Derashot... ve... Hespedit.*  
 Amsterdam: [s.n.], 1715.

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