

## Abstracts

### Joel ben Simeon in Transition

Evelyn M. Cohen

Joel ben Simeon, arguably the most renowned scribe-artist of Hebrew manuscripts in the fifteenth century, came from an area along the Rhine. While his earliest works were created in Ashkenaz, after he traveled to Italy and took on local commissions an evolution took place in the style of his writing, his art, and even his identity. From the way he presented himself in his colophons, to the way he formed his letters and formulated his art, a progression from Joel's Ashkenazic roots to a more Italian identity took place. Cultural shifts found in several of the manuscripts he created during this period of transition will be presented.

Changes in a later phase of Joel's art in Italy are observable in a text he decorated for a single patron over a period of at least seven years. An Arba'ah Turim produced for Shlomo ben Ye'iel Segal was copied as four separate volumes, now housed in libraries in four different countries. While the first part does not contain any identifying inscriptions, colophons in the other three volumes indicate that the work was copied by Eliezer ben David ha-Levi, who completed the second and third parts in 1479, and the last in 1486. The style of the decoration, which became more intricate in each of the four parts, is that of Joel ben Simeon. This multi-volume work reflects developments not only in artistic style and vocabulary, but also in the changing taste of the patron, whose family badge evolved in its appearance from volume to volume. This Arba'ah Turim, therefore, attests to Joel's further development as an artist once he had become immersed in Italian culture and visual arts.

### **"Changes in bookmaking: Joel ben Simeon's manuscripts in transition between tailor-made and large – scale production"**

Rodica Herlo-Lukowski

Without doubt, Gutenberg's invention of the printing press with movable types was one of the most remarkable developments of the 15<sup>th</sup> century. The higher demand for books due to various cultural and socio-economic changes required a more efficient method for producing more and cheaper books. An important aspect of Renaissance book production is how the advent of printing influenced the work of scribes. Research has already emphasized the effect of printing on the work of Christian scribes, but little attention has so far been devoted to its effect on Jewish scribes and illuminators.

Focusing the illustration techniques and the artistic vocabulary of the Jewish scribe and illustrator, Joel ben Simeon, this paper will show how he responded to the new methods of book production. Since he abandoned the old, time-consuming methods of manuscript illustration, his manuscripts display methods of individualisation and standardisation by which they benefited from both, handwriting and printing techniques of book production. They show a continuous change back and forth between individuality and universal validity and occupy a place between tailor-made and large-scale production.

## **The material affinity between early Hebrew printing and late medieval scribal traditions: Continuity or Rupture**

**Malachi Beit-Arié**

Almost fifty years ago I published in Hebrew an article dedicated to a similar subject, which included comparisons between codicological practices of incunables and manuscripts produced in the same countries. A few years later I published a revised and enlarged English version of this research. I was hoping, perhaps naively, that I introduced a new approach for extensive studying the materiality of Hebrew printed books, namely, implementing the advanced unveiling, analysis and production typology of all the Hebrew dated manuscripts.

As far as I know, this hope have not reached any fruition. The advanced descriptions of printed books (mainly incunables) include collation of the quires, paper format, watermarks, and the form of tetragrammaton. No attempt to deviate from the individual description and towards a typological material characterisation of printing houses or towns or region. Perhaps this Workshop that focuses on the time of the shift from the handwritten to the printed production would promote the codicology of the printed book.

The codicological practices of the incunables that were presented in the past were mainly referred to paper copies. In the meantime I was fortunate to examine the large collection of parchment copies of incunables kept in the Bodleian Library of Oxford. Consequently it was uncovered that the affinity between the materiality of parchment incunables and that of parchment manuscripts is greater than had been presented before, and the notion that many codicological practices of constructing printed codices are rooted in hand- produced codices of the fifteenth century is substantiated.

## **The emergence of the printing self: colophons and paratexts from manuscript to print**

**Avriel bar Levav**

Printed books gradually saw the existence of more and more paratexts, such as front-page, introductions and approbations, headlines, page numbers and many more. Manuscripts also contained some paratexts, mainly colophons, but generally fewer. What are the differences between the paratexts of manuscripts and those of printed books? And why do they occur? I would like to suggest that one of the reasons for the difference lies in the fact that Jewish manuscript were often personal or invited, while printed books had to be sold – and therefore introduced to a new audience of buyers. Printers and editors had to present their work and themselves in order to persuade the readers to buy the book. They had to present their skills and their selves.

The result was what can be called "the emergence of the printing self" – printed paratexts gradually became the place for people to talk about themselves, their actions and their emotions – thus being one of the first streams of the development of egodocuments.

## **The Ambrosiana Hebrew Bible (Germany 1236-38) - The Story of a Book and its Owners: Production and Post-Production**

**Nurit Pasternak**

The Ambrosiana hefty, three-volumed Hebrew Ashkenazic Bible shelf-marked B30-31-32inf. is no doubt exceptional from several aspects relating to both its de-luxe production, which includes some superb illuminations, as well as its consumption – namely, the functions completed by this particular manuscript and its uses by a number of owners in the span of some three centuries.

The progress of its making is still enigmatic: the break between the first volume (Pentateuch) and the other two (Prophets and Hagiographa), its division into three volumes, which originally must have been two, as well as the presence of the colophons at the end of the first volume – all these present a riddle to be solved by means of a material inquest.

In what regards its owners and its uses – three main periods of handing down are discernible by means of the extant paratext, namely the post-production annotations, contained mainly in the first volume: First, the Ashkenazi-German period starting from its making in 1236-8 and probably until the emigrations of Jews from Germany during the late 14<sup>th</sup> century; Second, the italo-provençal period during the years 1499-1509: it seems probable that, as conjectured by inscriptions of Provençal owners, the Bible had reached Italy through Provence, perhaps during the large waves of immigration of Jews during and around the 1390's and the 1450's; Third, the Italian period: the Bible was still in northern Italy in 1601, as testified by the Inquisition censor's signature on the last folio of volume B30 (the Pentateuch).

In addition to these geographical vicissitudes through time, the manuscript's post-production contents shed light on some issues concerning the handing down of this highly valuable object and its uses by a chain of owners. Moreover, some unique paratextual inscriptions it contains illuminate the ongoing cultural conflict between Judaism and Christianity, pointing to the clash between them - as embodied in the famous public debates - or indicating an endeavor by literate individuals of the two parties to engage in a learned dialogue.

## **Behinat Olam from Scribes and Printers to Readers and Collectors**

**Adam Shear**

This paper will address several of the major thematic issues of the conference through examination of manuscripts and printed editions of Jedaiah Bedersi's 14th-century *Behinat Olam*. This work has three virtues for our case study: a relatively high number of extant medieval manuscript versions, multiple (and quite different) fifteenth- and sixteenth-century editions, and a somewhat protean text which not only offered copyists and printers multiple ways to view the work but also may have attracted different types of readers over the centuries. In the first half of this paper, I will survey paratexts, textual variations, and mise-en-page of a sampling of the

extant manuscripts and the printed editions to see how scribes and printers adapt a work for their own purposes. In the second half of the paper, I will turn to reception and transmission by examining evidence of ownership and use of not only extant manuscripts but copy-specific features of extant book-copies of the various early modern editions.

## **From manuscript to printed book: Sixteenth-century Jewish editors of medieval texts**

**Pavel Sládek**

In the age of hand-press, all texts printed for the first time were printed from a manuscript. At the same time, sixteenth-century Jewish intellectuals manifested a visible interest in Jewish literary antiquities. On examples of paratexts taken from *Sefer ha-Agudah* (Krakow 1571), *Even ha-ezer* (Prague 1610), and other medieval Ashkenazic texts printed for the first time in Prague, Krakow and Lublin print shops, run exclusively by Jews, this paper will show that Jewish publishers, editors and correctors were well aware of the intricacies of the editing process known to modern scholars. Their interest in ancient literary monuments that they considered to form the foundation of their own culture strengthened their respect for authenticity of text. They expressed their awareness of difference between the manuscript and printed book and realized the fact that their editorial decisions will shape a text, which will circulate in multiple copies and suppress the unique readings preserved in manuscripts.

## **How Bomberg Became a Chasid ha-umot**

**Hans van Nes**

This paper will focus on the first two editions of the Rabbinic Bible and show its marketable novelties in the early 16<sup>th</sup> century. Their producer was the Flemish entrepreneur Daniel Bomberg, who resided in Venice at the same time as the forced segregation of Jews in the first ghetto. This gave Bomberg the opportunity to hire more than a few Jewish grammarians for his Hebrew printing project. As Genette taught us, paratexts always touch upon contexts. We will be discussing Hebrew paratexts from the Rabbinic Bible, focusing on endorsements and dedication poetry, Bomberg's own eloquent Hebrew epilogue, and the prologue by Ya'qob Ibn Adoniah. They display the imagery of a Judeophile patron in a manner suitable to the so called Myth of Venice. They tell us the tale of Christian patrons and Jewish collaborators in a multi-faceted market.

## **Lishmah Qedushat Sefer Torah or the Impossibility for Printing a Kosher Torah Scroll from Rabbinic Perspectives**

**Annett Martini**

Looking at the material features of Torah scrolls and the small pieces of written parchment within the Mezuzot and Tefillin (STaM) one immediately becomes aware of the serious endeavour of the scribes to avoid any kind of modifications. The quality of the parchment, the

colour of the ink, the layout and the forms of letters at least since late antiquity have remained unchanged except for minimal variations. Apparently, the different cultural environments of the Jewish communities with their technical progress and media changes did not touch the world of a sofer STaM who was entrusted with passing on the holy scrolls within very tight halachic boundaries.

The object of this paper is the controversial halachic discussion of the probably most far-reaching invention with regard to bookmaking – printing and the option of its usage in the context of manufacturing the holy scrolls. Based on a variety of legal positions with respect to this challenging issue it will be argued that the Jewish perception of sanctity within matter – the concept of ritually consecrated writing materials, letters and divine names – led to the strict refusal of printing in the holy realm of the STaM.

## **Jewish Law from Manuscript to Print: Ordering Texts and Understanding Law**

### **Tamara Morsel-Eisenberg**

My talk will explore the transformation that texts of halakha (Jewish law) undergo in their transition from manuscript to print in the sixteenth century. I will investigate connections between the material (re)production of these texts, their modes of knowledge-organization, and the form of religious authority ascribed to these legal texts.

A study of one halakhic text from Ashkenaz, as it was transmitted in manuscript prior to the sixteenth century versus its life in a printed and differently structured work thereafter, makes it possible to inquire into cultures of transmitting and organizing halakhic texts, and to emphasize the importance of scholarly practices, be they material or organizational, as keys to understanding how ideas of religious law and authority are formed.

## **Books and Butchers: Manuals for Kosher Food Preparation in Early Modern Europe**

### **Joshua Teplitsky**

Among the many functions of the early modern rabbinate was the oversight of kosher food, a domain in which lay consumers were dependent on practical religious expertise. Kosher meat was both an ingredient of Jewish physical sustenance and an important marker of cultural identity. The expertise to produce kosher meat rested in ancient traditions that had, in the age of print, been codified in manuals of instruction that appeared in no fewer than sixty-three editions (in Hebrew and Yiddish) between 1549-1727. Study from these books, however, was not sufficient for the task upon which Jews depended for their meat. In the blank pages of guides to butchering kosher animals evidence survives of the close personal relations between teachers and students in the form of certifications inscribed by hand by scholars who had tested and approved the student's skills. These handwritten certifications transformed the impersonal printed book into an source of personal credential for its holder, as the bearer of the book could now present the object as material evidence of knowledge acquired. This paper will explore the

phenomenon of certification of kosher butchers as they appear in handwritten inscriptions to printed books and consider the way the print and manuscript addenda interacted in the transmission of mimetic learning alongside “book learning.” It will also consider the obverse phenomena: cases of forgery and deception, and the upheavals caused by discoveries of fraud. By reflecting on specific material traces and using the tools of critical bibliography, the paper will consider the relationship between knowing and doing in books, study, and the production of kosher meat in early modern Europe.

## **Early Hebrew Printers in Castile-Aragon in Context: Individuals, Networks, and Books**

**Javier Castaño**

I intend to briefly focus in my presentation on several key better-known figures active in early Hebrew printing (namely, late 1470s-early 1480s), Christians and Jews involved in different stages of the craft (such as, for instance, Juan de Lucena, Alfonso Fernández de Córdoba) in the context of their professional (and familial) networks. New biographical data may eventually allow us to reconsider previous traditional assumptions that prioritize religious considerations (confessional allegiance, conversion, etc.) as background in the motivation of their activity. Besides this biographical and social aspect, we have to take into account specific events that meant a watershed in the early history of Hebrew printing and changed it dramatically. In the second part of this presentation, I will analyze a Hebrew printed work traditionally ascribed to one specific print shop, whose technical aspects may be used to illuminate early Hebrew print activity.

## **Editing and Publishing Hebrew Books in Sixteenth Century Ottoman Empire**

**Joseph R. Hacker**

Early printing in the Ottoman Empire and the engagement of editors and printers in the text (versions and style) were rarely addressed by scholars. In some of the early prints we can observe even major changes in version and format in the middle of the print run.

I intend to discuss and analyze these issues and their consequences, based on several prints published during the sixteenth century in Salonica and Istanbul. The data will contribute to our understanding of the process of editing and printing in these centers of Jewish culture in that period. The following prints will be discussed:

1. Ein-Yaacov, Salonica 1516-1522
2. Toldot Yitzhak (Isaac Karo), Constantinople 1518
3. Perushim le-Rashi, Constantinople [1525]
4. Sheelot u-Teshuvot Eliah Mizrachi, Constantinople 1560
5. Sefer Yuchasin (Zacut), Constantinople 1566
6. Sheelot u-Teshuvot ha-Geonim, Constantinople 1575

## **The 1514 "Grace after Meals and Sabbath hymns" and the Beginning of Woodcut Illustrations In Prague**

**Sarit Shalev-Eyni**

In 1514 Gershom ben Solomon ha-Kohen, a tax collector, who later obtained from king Ferdinand an exclusive privilege to print Hebrew books in Bohemia, cooperated with Hayyim Shahor, another prominent figure in the field of early printing, Meir ben David, "a scribe of Tefilin from Prague", and Meir, the son of Rabbi Jacob, in the production of a booklet containing the Grace after Meals and Sabbath hymns. This was one of the first printed books to include woodcuts illustrating of the text. This paper will discuss the new phenomenon and analyze the booklet in light of the vibrant tradition of fifteenth-century Ashkenazi illuminated manuscripts on the one hand, and the contemporary developing market of woodcuts in the Christian world on the other. As I shall show, the result is a continuation of the old tradition but at the same time makes sophisticated use of the new technique to communicate with the readers and viewers and adorn the ritual texts with broad cultural layers.

## **Hayyim Shahor and Jewish Life in Sixteenth-Century Ashkenaz**

**Lucia Raspe**

Hayyim Shahor is known as the first Jew who used movable type for printing Hebrew books in the German lands. His activity coincides with a period when most of the Jews had been expelled from Germany and the center of Ashkenazic Judaism had moved elsewhere. Ousted from Prague when his former partner Gershom Katz was granted an exclusive privilege for Hebrew printing in Bohemia in 1527, Shahor established presses, most of them short-lived, in a number of places within Germany; in 1547, he finally moved to Lublin, where he died soon after and his descendants continued printing Hebrew books for another century and a half.

While Shahor's sojourn in Augsburg, certainly the most fruitful period in his post- 1527 career, has been richly contextualized within the local printing history in the past, we know next to nothing about his activity in places such as Oels, Ichenhausen and Hedderheim. My presentation will take a first step towards filling these lacunae. Looking at both material and textual aspects of his output, I will attempt to identify potential audiences for whom his publications may have been intended. In the process, I hope to shed new light not only on the vicissitudes of Shahor's career as a printer, but also on what it may tell us about Jewish life in sixteenth-century Germany, a "dark age" in German-Jewish history in more than one respect.

## **"Ben Hacane Liber qui dicitur Pelia". Egidio da Viterbo's Kabbalistic Excerpts**

**Saverio Campanini**

Along the lines I have been already working in the recent past (especially on Francesco Zorzi's collection, for a colloquium at Christ Church in Oxford and on the Sefer ha-Peli'ah in Christian hands, for a conference in Florence, already published), I would like to deepen these aspects, this time turning my attention to Giles of Viterbo's excerpts of the Sefer ha-Peliah, preserved in

two manuscripts of the BNF (after a brief summary on what others and myself have discovered on the diffusion, from Spain, of the Sefer ha-Peli'ah in Renaissance Venice among Jews and Christians). My idea would be to study the methods of the selection and the type of commentary on the Hebrew text: the Kabbalistic book, object of a passionate quest and of an expensive purchase, became under Giles' scrutiny, a different text, a prophecy of Christ, without doubts, but also, just like the Sefer ha-Temunah, a formidable anticipation of the (second) coming of the Messiah. It seems to me a remarkable example of the material evidence of reading as absorbing a text into the reader's own intellectual framework, the documents of a relentless quest for "external" confirmation of the necessary process of revelation in history. At the same time yet another context leaves interesting traces in the margins of the ms. Lat. 3667 of the BNF: a host of references to classical mythology (Castor & Pollux, Venus, etc.) show that the equation of the transfer from Jewish (and Kabbalistic) literature to a Christian environment, had more than two variables (or unknown). This complex of themes around a single book, its many copies (mostly for Christian readers), its translations and commentary in Latin could give a proper illustration to the topic of the conference.

## **Hebrew Manuscripts on Grammar and Exegesis Used and Amended by Alfonso de Zamora (1476–1544)**

**Javier del Barco**

During the first half of the sixteenth century there was a flourishing of scholarly activity in Castile related to the creation of the Universitas Complutensis in 1499—the University of Alcalá de Henares, Roman Complutum—and the associated project of producing the Complutensian Polyglot Bible (published 1514–1520), both efforts that were spearheaded by Cardinal Francisco Jiménez de Cisneros. The editorial project of the Complutensian Polyglot Bible attracted several humanists and biblical scholars, among them the converts Pablo Núñez Coronel and Alfonso de Zamora. The latter was appointed Professor of Hebrew at Alcalá in 1512, after having taught at Salamanca, and remained in that position until his death in 1544. During his long tenure, Zamora copied, used, annotated and amended a large number of Hebrew manuscripts and printed books related to his teaching activities and other editorial projects. This paper looks particularly at the Hebrew manuscripts he consulted that contain David Kimḥi's grammar—Sefer ha-mikhol and Sefer ha shorashim—and Kimḥi's commentary on the latter Prophets, paying special attention to the physical changes these manuscripts underwent as a result of being manipulated by Zamora. I will also connect the alterations in these manuscripts with the broader, never-completed humanistic project behind their use—the publication in sixteenth-century Spain of Christian-oriented editions of Hebrew grammatical and exegetical works belonging to the Sephardic tradition.

## **A Hebrew Incunable and its Christian Scribe**

**Theodor Dunkelgrün**

In the library of one of the old colleges of Cambridge, there is a copy of the third complete printed Hebrew Bible. Gershom ben Moshe Soncino, among the most accomplished Hebrew printers of the incunabular and post-incunabular period, printed it in Brescia in 1494. Among the finest Hebrew Bibles in print prior to the Venetian editions of Daniel Bomberg, it was also this very edition that Martin Luther used when he translated the OT, and his annotated copy is still in the Berlin Staatsbibliothek (shelf mark 4<sup>o</sup> Inc 2840). The Cambridge copy also soon found its way into Christian hands, and it is annotated in an early 16th-century hand throughout, by a Christian reader who foliated and noted corresponding Latin titles and the chapters according to the Vulgate. By the time it reached this Christian owner, however, twelve pages had apparently gone missing from the book of Kings. Those pages have been added by hand, in vocalized Hebrew, in an apparently Ashkenazi script, by a scribe who identifies himself at the end of the section as "Joan[nes] Böschenstain/ sacerdos 1510".

Johannes Böschenstein (1472-1540), a contemporary and student of Johannes Reuchlin was one of the founding fathers of Hebrew scholarship in transalpine Europe. By 1510 he had indeed been ordained, and was living in the house of Johannes Eck in Ingolstadt, teaching Hebrew and mathematics. He would go on to do so at nearly a dozen universities, including Wittenberg, Heidelberg, and Zürich, where he taught Zwingli Hebrew. Thanks to the work of Ilona Steinman ("The Preservation of Hebrew Books by Christians in the Pre-Reformation German Milieu," in Irina Wandrey (ed.), *Jewish Manuscript Cultures: New Perspectives* (2017), 203-226), we have a remarkably detailed picture of a milieu of Christian scholars, readers, users and writers of Hebrew in the early Sixteenth Century.

In this paper, I propose to reconstruct the ways in which Böschenstein used and annotated this Hebrew Bible (Martin Luther foliated and added Vulgate chapters by hand to his copy of this edition just as Böschenstein did), how he thereby explored different scribal, textual and material aspects of the Hebrew Bible, and to enhance further our understanding of this particular milieu. I propose to then use this Hebrew-incunabular-cum-Christian-Hebrew-manuscript to explore a little-studied aspect of post-medieval Christian Hebrew scholarship : the actual adoption of Jewish scribal practice by Christians. Finally, I shall suggest that we might well think of the period leading from the beginning of Hebrew printing in the 1470s up to the first major Christian printer of Hebrew (Daniel Bomberg, who founded his shop in Venice in 1515/6) as a kind of "Sattelzeit" (to borrow Kosseleck's fundamental concept), when manuscript cultures and print cultures impacted each other in striking ways, and when it made sense to Christian students of Hebrew who came of age in which scribal practice was still an intrinsic aspect of education, and who had only access to rare incunabula in Hebrew, Latin or any language, to think of acquiring Hebrew in scribal as much as in printed terms.

## **Bindings, Fragments, and Provenance Research: Hebraica of the Viennese Collegium Ducale**

**Ilona Steimann**

As a result of the alleged Hussite-Jewish conspiracy and other Jewish crimes against Christianity, in 1421 Jews were expelled from Vienna and its environs (the Vienna Gezerah). Among the

Jewish property confiscated in the wake of the expulsion by Duke Albert V were numerous Jewish books. Eighteen days after the expulsion, university theologians commissioned Nicholas of Dinkelsbühl and Peter of Pulkau “to strive before the Duke and elsewhere [to obtain] some books of the Hebrew tongue – at least better and more correct ones – in accordance with the advice of the doctors of law and others, according to what would seem to them best for the university and the theological faculty”. These “books of the Hebrew tongue” were obviously meant to contain biblical texts, since they were the focus of Christian theological investigations. Some of these books, annotated by the university theologians in Latin, are currently preserved in the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek in Vienna.

However, not all Jewish books obtained by the members of the theological faculty in such a manner were deemed to be useful, and some were even referred to as despicable books “which they [the Jews] keep as an insult to the Creator, and in blasphemy of Christ and all the saints, and to the greatest injury of all Christians”. On the basis of the Hebrew fragments, found bound in the books of the Viennese theologian and university professor Thomas Ebendorfer (1388 -1464), this paper offers to examine the fragments from the perspective of their Christian users. By switching the focus from the textual identification of Hebrew fragments, which hitherto dominated the research, to the fragments’ host volumes and the circumstances of their integration in Christian books, it will be possible to address some of the important questions of Christian Hebraica collecting: which Jewish books were acquired by Christians as a result of the Vienna Gezerah; which books were preserved and which were discarded; how and when the discarded books were integrated into Christian books; what did the presence of the Hebrew fragments mean for the books’ Christian owners.

## **Johannes Pfefferkorn and Antonius Margaritha: Iconographic Convention Created, Reproduced, Reworked and Reprinted**

### **Naomi Feuchtwanger-Sarig**

In February 1508, the convert from Judaism Johannes Pfefferkorn issued the pamphlet titled *Ich heyß eyn buchlijn der iuden beicht* in Cologne, in which he ridiculed the faith of his forefathers and described it as anti-Christian and superstitious. The modest booklet, published by Johannes Landen, contained a description of daily ceremonials in which a small number of woodcuts portraying Jewish life was incorporated. Pfefferkorn was one of the first writers on the customs of the Jews and—indeed—one of the first to include visual depictions to accompany his text. Apparently his publication was in significant demand and was published repeatedly in that same year, 1508, in various printing presses in Germany in both German and Latin. Later imprints and translations followed suit, increasing the dissemination of Pfefferkorn’s ideas to a broad readership.

Scholars have noted that the woodcuts in Pfefferkorn’s tract were later introduced into another work on Jewish beliefs, prayers, ritual and ceremonial life, and folk customs. It was written by yet another apostate, Anton Margaritha, and bore the title *Der gantz jüdisch Glaub: mit sampt einer gründlichen vnd warhafftigen anzaygunge, aller Satzungen, Ceremonien, Gebetten... / durch Anthonium Margaritham[...]*. Margaritha’s *Der gantz jüdisch Glaub* was perhaps the most

popular oeuvre of this genre at the time and it continued to circulate in a fair number of imprints as late as the early eighteenth century.

The images in Pfefferkorn's books, it seems, had an impact that exceeded that of their content. Soon after their publication, they appeared in the editio princeps of Margaritha's opus (Augsburg: Steyner, 1530). They are believed to have been copied from Pfefferkorn's woodcuts and are, therefore, their mirror images. A later edition of Margaritha's book that was reworked, augmented, and printed in the following year by the same publisher, contains the same illustrations as the earlier one. In subsequent editions, however, the woodcuts inspired by Pfefferkorn ceased to appear, although their thematic was reintroduced in a new form in 1544 in newly cut blocks that served until 1561.

The paper will explore the formation of iconographic models that have been copied, reversed, imitated, and redesigned along decades and flourished in books of a specific genre until—for some reason—they were abandoned. It is a story of the creation of artistic models in the Early Modern Era, their reception, imitation, and rejection.

## **Print and the Burning of the Talmud**

### **David Stern**

As is well known, the Talmud was burned twice in Europe in the course of the Middle Ages and early Modernity—once in Paris in 1241, the second time in Rome in 1553. While there were obvious similarities and parallels between the two burnings, there were also significant differences between them—both in the motives of the Christians who perpetrated the acts and in the meaning that the burnings of the Talmud held for Jews in the two instances. In this talk, I will argue that at least some of those differences stemmed from the difference made by the printing of the Talmud by the Soncinos and especially by Daniel Bomberg in the late fifteenth and the first half of the sixteenth century. While it is difficult to estimate the exact number of Talmuds in circulation at the time of either burning, conservative estimates suggest that no more than 1200 Talmud codices were burned in 1241 (and according to Collette Sirat, as few as 200). In contrast, after Bomberg's third edition of the Talmud in 1543-49, approximately 28,000 separate volumes of Talmud tractates were in circulation throughout Europe. I hope to argue that this difference in numbers made the Talmud an entirely different presence and threat to Christian society in Europe, on the one hand, and a different magnitude of loss to Jews, on the other. The paper will explore those differences.

## **The 1523 Venice Edition of the Palestinian Talmud and its Printer's Copy**

### **Yakov Z. Mayer**

During the first decades of the printing industry, most of the printed books were copied from medieval manuscripts. A set of methodological tools developed by the first printers, enabled them to deal with the complicated and varied medieval text tradition, and to produce one solid text out of the medieval mixture of copies and variations. Each published book was prepared by using a "printer's copy", a previous copy of the text, usually a medieval manuscript, who was

chosen, heavily annotated, corrected and used as a main textual source for the printer. The printer's copy should have been, by all means, destroyed after its use. Luckily, few printer's copies survived and they are giving us a detailed picture of the editing process.

In my lecture, I will focus on one case study – the formation process of the first edition of the Palestinian Talmud, printed in Daniel Bomberg printing house in Venice in 1523. The Palestinian Talmud's printer's copy is located today in Leiden's university library (MS Leiden Or. 4720). I will describe the meticulous art of preparing the text for publishing, based on medieval manuscripts and philological principles, as reflected in the rich marginalia of this manuscript. My argument is that the way the text was reworked in preparation for print was accomplished by means of a unique combination of traditional, medieval editing techniques and new humanist textual processing practices that reflect deep cultural presuppositions that those working in the Hebrew book industry learned from their professional peers at print shops that produced Greek, Latin, and vernacular works.

The main focus of my lecture will be the way that models and images of Talmudic knowledge underwent change upon the printing of the Talmud. The major claim of this study is that, during the medieval era, the common conception was that manuscripts constitute a partial and imperfect reflection of the ideal book, whereas in early modernity, with the invention of printing, great effort was invested in the attempt to approximate the imagined ideal book itself.

## **Ghostly Library: For a Reconstruction of the Hebrew Books of Sant'Antonio di Castello in Venice**

**Michela Andreatta**

Originally established in the fourteenth century and located in the northern district of the city, the Monastery of Sant'Antonio di Castello was eventually destroyed in 1809 by order of Napoleon, who required the site to build a public garden. The Monastery's library, now gone, holds a unique place in the history of Hebrew books collections in Venice as the site in which a conspicuous portion of the legendary polyglot collection of Cardinal Domenico Grimani (1461-1523) was housed between 1522 and 1687, until a fire ravaged the complex destroying the building and its holdings. What was probably the original physiognomy of Grimani's Hebrew collection has been reconstructed by Giuliano Tamani, based on the inventory, now extant at the Marciana Library in Venice, which was possibly compiled prior to the transmission of the books to Sant'Antonio. This is not, though, the only inventory in which the Monastery's Hebrew holdings have been described in the course of its existence. In my presentation, I will intersect all extant written and documentary sources pertaining to the library of Sant'Antonio (including other three inventories, letters, legal documents and testimonies of visitors to the Monastery) in order not only to better reconstruct the alterations that Grimani's donation underwent in the course of time, but also for a comprehensive reconstruction of all the Hebrew collections which were once housed in the Monastery. As I will show, the cumulative inventory of the Monastery's holdings is crucial to comprehensively assess the cultural role played by the library of Sant'Antonio in sixteenth century Venice, the attraction its Hebrew titles exerted on humanists,

clergymen, and collectors, and the fortunate vicissitudes that brought to the dispersion (and thus survival by displacement) of some of its books.

## **Johann Albrecht Widmanstetter on the History of Jewish Books. The Evidence from his Christian Hebraist Library**

### **Maximilian de Molière**

Material properties of manuscripts and printed books can document complex transformations to which Jewish books were subjected in the transition from the original Jewish owners into the hands of Christian Hebraists. With bibliographical reference works only mentioning Hebrew works anecdotally, sixteenth-century Christian Hebraists like Johann Albrecht Widmanstetter (1506-1557) were forced to rely on themselves if they wanted to explore the terrain of Jewish literature previously unfamiliar to Christians. Widmanstetter gathered a large collection of 130 Jewish manuscripts and 60 Jewish printed books that is today kept at the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek Munich. By adding title inscriptions onto bindings or inside the books, Widmanstetter transformed the Jewish material objects into building blocks of information that could be integrated into Christian scholarly practices of organizing and maintaining libraries.

Widmanstetter's title inscriptions are valuable sources that document his ability to identify texts and assign genres and authors. These sources allow us to answer questions that concern the extent of Widmanstetter's knowledge about Jewish literature. Sometimes the title inscriptions display an interest in bibliographical details: In a significant number of title inscriptions, Widmanstetter remarks on the names of translators from Arabic to Hebrew and the dates of these translations. This paper will argue that this interest in the textual history indicates a high degree of concern about the chronology of Jewish literature and even the chain of transmission within Jewish culture. Beyond the bibliographical level, the title inscriptions should also be seen in the context of efforts in the sixteenth century to systematize knowledge and make it searchable. Within the context of scholarly libraries, title inscriptions on the material object itself formed the most immediate level that informed a library's reader about the titles contained in the book.

The evidence of some title inscriptions indicates that Widmanstetter probably used them as a first step in the compilation of a catalogue that after his death was still mentioned by the ducal librarians in the 1570s, but has not survived to this day. In another set of books, he notes the date of production of a given manuscript if this was part of the scribes' colophons. And sometimes he writes down the name of the Jew or Christian who sold him the book. Hence, Widmanstetter even betrays his interest in the history of his Jewish books as material objects. Taken together, the information given in the title inscriptions demonstrates a comprehensive conception of Jewish books that transcends the concern of Widmanstetter's contemporaries with bibliography. Widmanstetter's title inscriptions exhibit a more comprehensive view that includes the history of Jewish literature and even the materiality of Jewish books as objects worthy of study. The paper ends with a discussion as to whether material properties were a common point of interest among Christian Hebraists in Widmanstetter's day.

## **Some new thoughts on the co-existence of Jewish printed books and manuscripts: 1600 and beyond.**

**Emile Schrijver**

The study of medieval Hebrew manuscripts is developing swiftly, building upon the foundation of the Hebrew Paleography Project while integrating new sources and new research themes, such as the study of undated manuscripts, of rotuli, of fragments and the further analysis of the varieties of Hebrew scripts. Researchers of the new field of Jewish book history have concentrated the majority of their research efforts on the study of Hebrew printed books, Jewish ephemera, reading strategies and the transmission of Jewish knowledge through a variety of printed media. In a number of recent publications (notably “Jewish Book Culture Since the Invention of Printing (1469 – c. 1815)”, in J. Karp & A. Sutcliffe (eds.), *The Cambridge History of Judaism*, vol. 7, *The Early Modern World, 1500–1815* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2017) p. 291-315), I have tried to underscore the importance of an integrated study of Jewish books (printed and handwritten) since the invention of printing. This paper will present some new thoughts on this fascinating theme.

## **Calimani and Griselini: The extraordinary collaboration of a Venetian rabbi and a Christian artist in the production of illustrated Hebrew manuscripts, printed books and broadsides**

**Sharon Liberman Mintz**

In the first half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, two brilliant and multifaceted Italian personalities, Rabbi Simone (Simhah) Calimani and the Venetian artist Francesco Griselini collaborated in the creation of illustrated Hebrew books, manuscripts and broadsides for the Jewish community of Venice and beyond. In my lecture I will explore the complex interplay between the artist and the rabbi who brought together traditions from both cultures to produce an unusual variety of illustrated Hebrew texts.

