

אוסף מרמורשטיין

The  
Marmorstein  
Collection

Brad Sabin Hill

THE JOHN RYLANDS LIBRARY

UNIVERSITY OF MANCHESTER

Manchester

2017

# The Marmorstein Collection

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ת"סז AETATIS SUAE

## Note on Bibliographic Citations

(standardization of personal names and toponyms,  
romanization of titles, and dates of publication)

Records in the University of Manchester online catalogue for the thousands of Hebrew volumes in the Marmorstein collection generally follow established forms (in accord with Library of Congress rules) for the romanization of Hebrew titles, and indeed the title is generally the most reliable field for searching specific Hebrew books in the online catalogue. However, these same records provide a variety of forms of personal names (whether authors, editors or printers), as well as multiple non-standard forms of mainly European toponyms, which have been romanized every which way from their Hebrew-character orthography as they appear on Hebrew title-pages, thus rendering searches in these fields problematic at best.

In light of these inconsistencies, we have where appropriate standardized forms of personal or family names (such as found in *Encyclopaedia Judaica*) rather than making use of any of the variant or discrepant forms found in the library's online records. Similarly, names of towns of printing/publishing have been standardized in this survey, giving the established English or western-language toponyms regardless of the variant forms which appear in the online catalogue records, e.g. Fürth rather than Fyorda, Vienna rather than Viyen, etc.

Moreover, hundreds of the online records for books in the collection are, due in part to a technical glitch, incomplete in several fields, especially place and date; in other cases the date provided in the catalogue is imprecise. Regrettably, it has not been possible to verify all the publication dates or places of printing provided here. For the sake of findability, we have generally followed the dates given in the online catalogue, though some of these require correction or adjustment; in some cases, however, we have felt obliged to provide more accurate ones.

Recent bibliographic tools, in particular the digitized *Bibliography of the Hebrew Book*, accessible freely online via the National Library of Israel, could be used to determine the places of printing as well as the publication dates of numerous items in the collection which are recorded in the University of Manchester catalogue as 's.l.e.a. [=sine loco et anno]'. Some early and rare books might well be identified in this way, but others – and some to which we have made hesitant or tentative reference – will still require autopsy. Work remains to be done.

As a very large number of offprinted studies have been catalogued together with the books of the Marmorstein collection, we have for the most part and for the sake of simplicity cited all titles of books, booklets and offprints in italics, without differentiation. All numerical calculations provided here (whether of titles/volumes/offprints/items, etc.) should be considered approximate.

Lastly, many details in this report derive from bibliographic records in the online catalogue and not from autopsy, and others have been described from memory – flawed at worst and uncertain at best – and from no other source. There is no excuse for solecisms but Seneca's dictum, *errare humanum est*, or in the words of the Psalmist, quoted nervously in the colophon of the first book ever printed outside of Europe (in Istanbul in 1493), שגיאות מי יבין ('errors, who can discern them?').<sup>1</sup> The author of this survey begs the forgiveness of readers who might rely on his mistakes, and he would welcome corrections or emendations for inclusion in a table of addenda and corrigenda.

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. A. K. Offenberg, 'The First Book Produced at Constantinople (Jacob b. Asher's Arba'ah Turim, December 13, 1493)', in his *A Choice of Corals: Facets of Fifteenth-Century Hebrew Printing* (Nieuwkoop 1992), pp. 108-109, and idem, 'The Printing History of the Constantinople Hebrew Incunable of 1493: A Mediterranean Voyage of Discovery', *British Library Journal* 22 (1996), p. 233.



I.  
Preface

## HEBRAICA AND JUDAICA IN THE RYLANDS

The John Rylands Library at the University of Manchester holds the most important collection of Hebraica and Judaica in the north of England.<sup>2</sup> After London, Oxford and Cambridge, its collection of Hebrew manuscripts is the largest in the British Isles.<sup>3</sup> Its Samaritan manuscripts comprise one of the most important collections in the world, ranking alongside the British Library, the Bibliothèque nationale de France, and the Bodleian. The collection of Genizah fragments in the Rylands is third in importance in Britain after the principal Genizah collection at Cambridge and the collection of fragments in Oxford. In its holdings of printed Hebrew books of the 15<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries, the Rylands holdings stand out among university collections in the north of Britain.

### *Manuscripts and Fragments*

The manuscripts, rare books, fragments of manuscripts and fragments of rare printed books which comprise the Rylands' Hebraica and Judaica derive from an assortment of collections. Medieval Hebrew codices from the Crawford collection, a foundation collection of the Rylands, include one of the most exquisite of all illuminated Hebrew manuscripts, the Haggadah written in Catalonia in the 14<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>4</sup> The Crawford

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<sup>2</sup> Fiona Hamilton, *Judaica & Hebraica in English Libraries, 1066-1948*, M. Phil. thesis in the School of Librarianship and Information Studies, Polytechnic of North London, 1985; Harry Rabinowicz, *Treasures of Judaica* (New York 1971), pp. 158-164; Philip S. Alexander, *The Jewish Heritage: Catalogue of an Exhibition held in the John Rylands University Library of Manchester, January-April 1988* (Manchester 1988); John Hodgson, *A Guide to Special Collections of the John Rylands University Library of Manchester* (Manchester 1999), pp. 33-35, 38-39, 42, 45-46; Peter McNiven, 'An Illustrated Catalogue of "A Scholars' Paradise: a Centenary Exhibition of Notable Books and Manuscripts"', *Bulletin of the John Rylands University Library of Manchester* [henceforth *BJRL*] 82 (2000), 131-134 ('Case 5: The Jewish Heritage'); and Alexander Samely, 'Sources and Materials for Jewish Studies Research in the John Rylands University Library of Manchester', typescript of conference paper, ca. 1990/1991, 10 pp.

<sup>3</sup> <http://www.library.manchester.ac.uk/search-resources/guide-to-special-collections/atoz/hebrew-manuscripts/>; Benjamin Richler, *Guide to Hebrew Manuscript Collections*, second, revised edition (Jerusalem 2014), pp. 58 (s.v. 'Crawford, Alexander William, Earl of') and 134-135 (s.v. Manchester [England], John Rylands University Library); Institute of Microfilmed Hebrew Manuscripts [=IMHM], *Collective Catalogue of Hebrew Manuscripts* (Paris: Chadwyck-Healey, 1989, on microfiche), s.v. 'Library Catalogue File.' On current digital projects see below.

<sup>4</sup> The manuscripts purchased in 1901 from the Earl of Crawford, part of the Bibliotheca Lindesiana, include 37 Hebrew and 27 Samaritan. On the illuminated Sephardi Haggadah (Heb. ms. 6), see C. Roth, 'The John Rylands Haggadah,' *BJRL* 43 (1960): 131-159; R. Loewe, *The Rylands Haggadah: A Medieval Sephardi Masterpiece in Facsimile: an Illuminated Passover Compendium from Mid-14th-Century Catalonia in the Collections of the John Rylands University Library of Manchester, with a Commentary and a Cycle of Poems* (New York 1988); M. M. Epstein, *The Medieval Haggadah: Art, Narrative, and Religious Imagination* (New Haven 2011); and K. Kogman-Appel, 'The Rylands Haggadah', in *Riches of the Rylands: Special Collections of The University of Manchester Library*, foreword by J. Wilkinson (Manchester 2015), pp. 56-57. Other notable manuscripts include

collection also contains Hebrew biblical scrolls, among them the earliest engraved Megillah from Italy,<sup>5</sup> and Samaritan manuscripts, including one of the oldest in existence.<sup>6</sup> The vast Gaster collection encompasses Hebrew manuscripts (including Aramaic and other Jewish languages in Hebrew characters)<sup>7</sup>, Samaritan manuscripts<sup>8</sup>, scrolls, and manuscript fragments from the Cairo Genizah.<sup>9</sup> Apart from the Hebrew-character and Samaritan manuscripts, the Rylands also holds Gaster's non-Hebrew manuscripts, in various oriental and western languages, some of them related to Hebraica or Judaica.<sup>10</sup>

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Nahmanides' commentary on the Pentateuch with Florentine illumination (Heb. 8); benedictions from Honan (Heb. 24); and the 14<sup>th</sup>-century *Amude ha-golah* by Isaac of Corbeil (Heb. 31).

<sup>5</sup> On the illuminated Scroll of Esther dated 1618 (Heb. 22) and others, see M. Metzger, 'The Earliest Engraved Italian Megillot', *BJRL* 48 (1966), 381-432, and idem, 'The John Rylands Megillah and some Other Illustrated Megilloth of the XV<sup>th</sup> to XVII<sup>th</sup> Centuries', *BJRL* 45 (1962-63), 148-84.

<sup>6</sup> E. Robertson, *Catalogue of the Samaritan Manuscripts in the John Rylands Library* (Manchester, 1938-1962), 2 vols.; J.-P. Rothschild, 'Samaritan Manuscripts,' in *The Samaritans*, ed. A. D. Crown (Tübingen, 1989), p. 787; and Stefan Schorch, 'Samaritan Pentateuch', *Riches of the Rylands*, pp. 156-157.

<sup>7</sup> On the several components of the Rylands' Gaster collection, see Maria Haralambakis [Cioata], 'A Survey of the Gaster Collection at the John Rylands Library, Manchester', *BJRL* 89 (2012/2013), 107-130. See also the website: <http://www.library.manchester.ac.uk/search-resources/guide-to-special-collections/atoz/amos-gaster-collection/>. On the purchase of the Gaster Hebrew manuscripts (including other languages in Hebrew characters, Samaritan manuscripts, and Genizah fragments) from the Gaster family in 1954, see the note on the acquisition, 'The Gaster MSS.', *BJRL* 37 (1954), 2-6. The ca. 350 mss. in Hebrew characters are comprised of 177 originals and about 190 volumes containing 19<sup>th</sup>-century transcriptions of original manuscript texts. The marked *Handlist of Gaster Manuscripts*, indicating which went to the British Museum (now British Library) and which to the Rylands, was reproduced for limited distribution by the Hebraic Section of the British Library, preface by Brad Sabin Hill (London, 1995). A volume reproducing the catalogue cards from the IMHM for a portion (not all) of the Gaster manuscripts in the Rylands is available for consultation within the library. These records are now complemented and enhanced in the online catalogue of the IMHM cited above.

<sup>8</sup> Edward Robertson, *Catalogue of the Samaritan Manuscripts in the John Rylands Library, Manchester, Volume II: The Gaster Manuscripts* (Manchester, 1962). On further Samaritan material presented by Vivian Gaster, see 'Samaritan Lapidary Inscriptions,' *BJRL* 39 (1956), 6-7.

<sup>9</sup> On the ca. 15,000 Genizah fragments in the Gaster collection, see Renate Smithuis, 'Short Introduction to the Genizah Collection in the John Rylands Library', in *From Cairo to Manchester: Studies in the Rylands Genizah Fragments*, ed. Renate Smithuis and Philip S. Alexander (Oxford, 2013) [= *Journal of Semitic Studies*, Supplement 31], pp. 1-32, and <http://www.library.manchester.ac.uk/search-resources/guide-to-special-collections/genizah-collection/>. See also P. Alexander, 'An early vocalized fragment of the Book of Jeremiah in Hebrew', and R. Smithuis, 'Autograph of Maimonides', in *Riches of the Rylands*, pp. 54-55 and 172-173. Other collections of Genizah fragments are at the Bodleian and the British Library, with lesser groups of fragments in the north of England in the Mingana Collection at Selly Oaks in Birmingham and in Chetham's Library in Manchester. On the latter see M. Wallenstein, 'Genizah Fragments in the Chetham's Library, Manchester', *BJRL* 50, no. 1 (1967), 159-177 (also offprinted).

<sup>10</sup> As surveyed by Haralambakis [Cioata], these include Arabic, Ethiopic, Persian, Syriac, Turkish, Slavonic and others, some of them described in the relevant language catalogues such as C. E. Bosworth, 'A Catalogue of Accessions to the Arabic Manuscripts in the John Rylands University Library of Manchester', *BJRL* 56 (1973), pp. 34-36 (or in offprint pp. 1-3); Stefan Strelcyn, *Catalogue of Ethiopic Manuscripts in the John Rylands University Library of Manchester* (Manchester 1974), pp. 85-87; and Jan Schmidt, *A Catalogue of the Turkish Manuscripts in the John Rylands University Library at Manchester* (Leiden 2011).

Processing, accessing and researching the manuscript collections have been revolutionized by rapid advances in technology, and the Rylands is a leading actor in these developments. As part of a pioneering international project, the Hebrew manuscripts in the Crawford and Gaster collections are being digitized and catalogued online, and thus for the first time rendered accessible publicly, easily, and around the world.<sup>11</sup>

### *Printed Books*

The printed Hebraica in the Rylands are similarly diverse, at once wide-ranging, eclectic and broadly representative of typographic history. Of university holdings in the British Isles outside of Oxford and Cambridge, the early and pre-modern printed Hebraica in the Rylands - divided between a dozen or more special collections – are especially rich. Of the 40 editions of the Hebrew Bible printed before 1600 as listed by Darlow and Moule, the Rylands holds 36, of which eight in the Spencer collection are from before 1500. In number of titles held across various collections, the Rylands' 18<sup>th</sup>-century Hebraica exceed the holdings of both the Cecil Roth collection at the University of Leeds<sup>12</sup> and the Ludwig Blau collection at the University of Glasgow.<sup>13</sup>

**INCUNABULA.** The 15 (or 16?) incunables, mostly in the Spencer Collection, comprise the largest number of such pre-1500 Hebrew 'cradle-books' held in a British university library outside of Oxford and Cambridge.<sup>14</sup> The incunables include products of six different Italian printers working between 1474 and 1494 in Mantua, Ferrara, Bologna, Soncino, Casalmaggiore, Naples, Brescia and perhaps elsewhere in the north, among them Josipon, or pseudo-Josephus, printed on vellum by Abraham Conat in Mantua in 1476; the first printed Hebrew liturgy, issued by the first generation of the Soncino printing family in 1486; and an edition of Maimonides' code of Jewish law, *Mishneh Torah*, printed in

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<sup>11</sup> On the creation of an online catalogue of these collections as part of a new digital platform, see the lecture by Prof. Smithuis at <http://www.bl.uk/hebrew-manuscripts/videos/hmdp-conference-2016-the-crawford-and-gaster-hebrew-collections-at-the-john-rylands-library>. For those Hebrew manuscripts which have been retrospectively digitized and/or provided with online cataloguing as part of the International Collection of Digitised Hebrew Manuscripts at the National Library of Israel, based on materials filmed and catalogued by the Institute for Microfilmed Hebrew Manuscripts (where e.g. 'Rylands' or 'Gaster' manuscripts as a category can be searched by keyword), see <http://web.nli.org.il/sites/NLIS/en/ManuScript/>. So far word-searchable cataloguing in Hebrew and English is available on this site for some 550 of the Rylands Hebrew manuscripts.

<sup>12</sup> Cecil Roth, *Handlist of Hebrew Manuscripts and other MSS. and Documents illustrating Jewish History and Literature in the collection of C. Roth, Oxford* (Philadelphia 1950, reprinted from *Alexander Marx Jubilee Volume*), and Malcolm C. Davis, *A Catalogue of the Pre-1850 Books in the Cecil Roth Collection* (Leeds 1994).

<sup>13</sup> On the Blau Collection of 193 volumes of antiquarian Hebrew printed books, see <https://www.gla.ac.uk/myglasgow/specialcollections/collectionsa-z/blaucollection/>.

<sup>14</sup> There has been some confusion in the literature concerning the number of Hebrew incunables in the Rylands. For an accurate record, see David Goldstein, *Hebrew Incunables in the British Isles: A Preliminary Census* (London 1985), p. 39 ('Index of Locations'), and A. K. Offenbergh with C. Moed-van Walraven, *Hebrew Incunabula in Public Collections: A First International Census* (Nieuwkoop 1990), p. xl (Register of Collections), listing 15 titles in 'Manchester, JRL'. (For a short-title list, see Appendix 29.)

Soncino in 1490. Also notable is a pristine copy of an undated, possibly incunable, edition of the first illustrated Hebrew book.<sup>15</sup> (For a checklist of the incunables, see Appendix 29; on the illustrated book, see Appendix 30.)

The first edition of a small duodecimo Latin primer for Hebrew, *Introductio utilissima hebraice discere cupientibus* printed by Aldus Manutius in Venice ca. 1500, has been considered the only copy extant.<sup>16</sup> One of the earliest instances of the use of red ink in combination with Hebrew type, it is part of the Rylands large corpus of bilingual Christian Hebraist works published over the centuries in Hebrew and Latin. Even older is the Jewish apostate Peter Schwarz's *Tractatus contra perfidos Judeos* (Esslingen 1475), which includes several Hebrew and Aramaic texts in transcription and a Hebrew alphabet in woodcut letters. Appearing the same year as the first dated Hebrew books were printed in Italy, Schwarz's *Tractatus* is considered the earliest instance of Hebrew in print in Germany or north of the Alps, where Hebrew books did not come off presses until the 16<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>17</sup>

**SPECIAL COLLECTIONS.** The Rylands' holdings of over four centuries of rare, pre-modern and continental Hebraica, from the post-incunable period to the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, are divided between the Marmorstein collection described below; the Haskalah collection acquired from Prof. C. Abramsky<sup>18</sup>; the smaller Teltscher collection of miscellaneous Hebraica and Judaica<sup>19</sup>; and hundreds of volumes of 15<sup>th</sup>- to 19<sup>th</sup>-century Hebraica scattered

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<sup>15</sup> The second edition of Ibn Sahula's illustrated *Meshal ha-kadmoni*, printed by Gershom Soncino without indication of place or date, has been considered a late 15<sup>th</sup>-century book by the bibliographer Moses Marx in *Sefer ha-yovel: A Tribute to Professor Alexander Marx*, ed. David Frankel (New York, 1943), pp. iii-iv, a view which then entered the literature, most recently A. K. Offenberg's most detailed study of Hebrew incunabula, *Catalogue of Books Printed in the XVth Century now in the British Library, BMC Part XIII: Hebraica* ('t Goy-Houten, Netherlands, 2004), pp. LIX, 74 (cf. also 70-72), 220, 223. On the question surrounding the date of printing, see Appendix 30 below.

<sup>16</sup> See Alexander Marx, 'Notes on the Use of Hebrew Type in Non-Hebrew Books, 1475-1520', in his *Studies in Jewish History and Booklore* (New York 1944; reprint Westmead 1969), pp. 307-308, citing [E. G. Duff's] *Catalogue of the Printed Books and Manuscripts in the John Rylands Library* (Manchester 1899), p. 921. Aldus' booklet was described by A. Panizzi in *Chi era Francesco da Bologna?* (London 1858), translated as 'Who was Francesco da Bologna?', *Fine Arts Quarterly Review*, nos. II and III. See also Anna Campos, 'La Grammatica ebraica di Aldo Manuzio', in *Aldo Manuzio e l'ambiente veneziano 1494-1515*, ed. Susy Marcon and Marino Zorzi (Venice 1994), pp. 103-106, and Martin Davies, *Aldus Manutius, Printer and Publisher of Renaissance Venice* (London 1995), pp. 52-59 (with page reproduced from the Rylands copy).

<sup>17</sup> A. Marx, pp. 300-301.

<sup>18</sup> Rebecca Wolpe, *A Research Guide to the Haskalah Collection at the John Rylands Library, Manchester* (Manchester 2015), typescript, 30 pp. This collection, comprised of over 700 titles in over 900 volumes, is not to be confused with another, posthumous, Abramsky collection described in the German auction catalogue, *Sammlung Chimen Abramsky: Judaica/Socialistica*, preface by Markus Brandis and Jack Abramsky (Berlin 2011) or otherwise dispersed. On the collector Chimen Abramsky, see Sasha Abramsky, *The House of Twenty Thousand Books* (New York 2014).

<sup>19</sup> Comprised of some 650 items, mostly of the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries but a small number from earlier centuries, the Teltscher collection was acquired from Mr and Mrs William Teltscher as the Richard Teltscher Memorial Trust,

in various other collections, at least 250 of them printed before 1700, in particular bilingual works of Christian Hebraism in Hebrew and Latin.<sup>20</sup> Additionally, the Gaster collection includes a large portfolio of miscellaneous Hebrew printed fragments<sup>21</sup>, some from incunabula, as well as a complete archive of Gaster's own published and unpublished studies.<sup>22</sup> (The Rylands' early and rare printed Hebraica are complemented by modern Judaica scattered in the main library of the University of Manchester.)

**MARMORSTEIN COLLECTION.** The largest collection of rare Hebraica and Judaica in the Rylands comes from the private library of Dr Arthur (Avraham) Marmorstein<sup>23</sup>, one of a parade of erudite Central Europeans, especially from Hungary, who since the late 18<sup>th</sup> century have enhanced Hebrew and rabbinic studies in the British Isles.<sup>24</sup> The collection is comprised of some 4,500 volumes principally in Hebrew (some 1,500 titles in about 1,300 volumes<sup>25</sup>), German, English and Hungarian, the rest in Latin, French, Italian and other

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named for William's immigrant father. I am grateful to Prof. Daniel Langton for providing background information on this collection.

<sup>20</sup> Some of these derive from or are part of named collections, including the Bible collection, the Richard J. Christie Printed Collection, the Unitarian College Printed Collection, the Walter L. Bullock Collection, the Methodist Printed Collections (Wesley College Bristol), David Lloyd Roberts Book Collection, Sedbergh School Printed Collections, and others.

<sup>21</sup> The portfolio of printed fragments is part of the Gaster Genizah collection. On this 'Gaster Printed fragments series', comprised of 653 items, see 'Introduction to Rylands Genizah' (as of Sept. 2013), pdf document online, pp. 3 and 5, and Smithuis, 'Short Introduction to the Genizah Collection', pp. 23 and 27. These items are yet to be identified individually. From our examination of the portfolio in July 2016, some of the fragments are recognizably from incunables or early Ottoman editions.

<sup>22</sup> On the acquisition of Gaster's own publications, personal manuscripts and letters presented by the Gaster family, see F. Taylor, 'The Writings of Moses Gaster,' in *BJRL* 40 (1958), 260-261, and Haralambakis [Cioata], 'A Survey', cited above. Dr Cioata has also prepared a typescript inventory of the various book catalogues preserved along with Gaster's papers. On the fate of Gaster's diverse collections of books and manuscripts now held in libraries and private collections on several continents, see Brad Sabin Hill, 'Moses Gaster's Library' (forthcoming).

<sup>23</sup> The acquisition, negotiated with Dr. Marmorstein's son Bruno Marmorstein, was reported by F. W. Ratcliffe in his 'Librarian's Report, Session 1977-78', *BJRL* 61 (1978-79), p. 6 [in digital version; page originally between pp. 495-508]. The survey booklet by C. Field and J. Shiel, *Theology and Church History: A Guide to Research Resources in the John Rylands University Library of Manchester* (Manchester: JRUL, 1990), p. 31, gives 1973 as the year of acquisition, as does the current official website for the Marmorstein Collection. However, the year 1978 is given in a typescript single-sheet appeal for funding, headed *John Rylands University Library of Manchester, The Marmorstein Collection of Judaica*, undated but prepared at some point (ca. 1985?) prior to Bruno Marmorstein's death in 1990.

<sup>24</sup> R. Loewe, 'The Contribution of German-Jewish Scholars to Jewish Studies in the United Kingdom', in *Second Chance: Two Centuries of German-speaking Jews in the United Kingdom*, ed. W. E. Mosse et al. (Tübingen, 1991), pp. 437-464, and B. S. Hill, 'From Bardejov to Oxford: The Contribution of Slovakian Jewry to Anglo-Hebrew Scholarship', *Report of the Oxford Centre for Hebrew and Jewish Studies 2000-2001* (Oxford 2001), pp. 114-133. On the first of the immigrant Hungarian Hebraists in Britain, see I. Goldziher, *Uri János* (offprint Budapest 1908); the entry on János in the *Dictionary of National Biography*; and A. Strbik, *Héber Nyelvtanok Magyarországon [Hebrew Grammars in Hungary (1635-1995): Bibliography of the Hebrew Grammars Published in Hungary or Written by Hungarian Scholars]* (Budapest 1998), pp. 50-51.

<sup>25</sup> The Librarian's Report cited above gives the figure of 10,000 as the number of volumes in the collection. According to an undated printed sheet of notes on 'Special Collections of Jewish Interest' in the Rylands, the

European languages, as well as Yiddish and Judeo-Arabic.<sup>26</sup> The collection is notable in particular for its Hebrew books from Central and East Central Europe of the late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries, as well as for German literature of the late *Wissenschaft des Judentums* and miscellaneous German Judaica from different corners of Europe, works which are generally not found in university research collections.<sup>27</sup>

## II.

### DR ARTHUR MARMORSTEIN AND HIS LIBRARY

#### *Life and Writings of a Scholar and Bibliographer*<sup>28</sup>

Arthur (Avraham) Marmorstein was born in Miskolc, Hungary, in 1882, and in his youth studied Talmud and classical Hebrew texts in Tapolcsány (today Topolčany in Slovakia)<sup>29</sup> and in the yeshiva (Talmudic academy) of Pressburg<sup>30</sup> (Bratislava). He received his secular

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Marmorstein collection contains some 6,600 printed items. Similarly, according to Prof. Samely, p. 4, “There are all in all 6,600 volumes, of which 2,000 are pamphlets, 1,400 unbound books, and 3,000 bound books.” Our tally of bibliographic records for all catalogued volumes – and excepting some problematic stragglers almost the entire collection is catalogued – comes to something around 4,000 (separate volumes or items). Further investigation may clarify the discrepancy between Ratcliffe’s figure of 1978, Samely’s of 1990, and our estimation based on University of Manchester online catalog data made available to the present writer in mid-2017.

<sup>26</sup> The proportions have been described variously, but the most accurate breakdown is Hebrew 40%, German 25%, English 22.5%, Hungarian 2.5%, and others 10% (as described below).

<sup>27</sup> With the support of the Raphael Djangly Charitable Trust and the Research Support Libraries Programme, the collection was fully catalogued online by 2003 and is now accessible as part of the University of Manchester library catalogue. The entirety of the collection is housed as a unit in an alcove on a lower floor of the John Rylands Library, in closed stacks.

<sup>28</sup> Our biographical sketch is based on several sources. ‘My Father: A Memoir’ by his son Emile prefaces Marmorstein’s posthumously published *Studies in Jewish Theology*, ed. J. Rabbinowitz and M. S. Lew (Oxford 1950; reprint Westmead 1970), pp. xv-xxvi; there is also a prefatory appreciation by the editors, pp. xi-xiv. For further details see G. Langyel, *Moderne Rabbinerausbildung in Deutschland und Ungarn: Ungarische Hörer an Bildungsinstitutionen des deutschen Judentums (1854-1938)* (Berlin 2012), pp. 284-285; R. Loewe, in *Second Chance*, p. 451; Hill, ‘From Bardejov to Oxford’, pp. 120-122; A. Tobias, ‘Marmorstein, Arthur’, in *Encyclopaedia Judaica* (Jerusalem 1972), vol. 11, col. 1013, and second edition (Detroit 2007), vol. 13, p. 557; ‘Marmorstein, Arthur ... and Bruno Marmorstein,’ in *The Palgrave Dictionary of Anglo-Jewish History*, ed. W. D. Rubinstein et al. (Basingstoke 2011), p. 650 (citing articles in the *Jewish Chronicle*); and R. J. Z. Werblowsky, ‘Prolegomenon’, in the reprint of A. Marmorstein, *The Doctrine of Merits in Old Rabbinical Literature, and the Old Rabbinic Doctrine of God: I. the Names and Attributes of God: II. Essays in Anthropomorphism* (New York: Ktav, 1968).

<sup>29</sup> His teachers in Tapolcsány were the rabbinic scholars Isaac Schweiger and Mandel (?) Deutsch. On Schweiger, whose *Birkat yitshak* was published posthumously (Galanta 1924), see Y. Y. Cohen, *Hakhme Hungaryah [Sages of Hungary and her Torah Literature]* (Jerusalem 1997), p. 462. Several scholars by the name of Mendel Deutsch are indexed in *Hakhme Hungaryah* and we are not certain which of them was Marmorstein’s tutor, though it may have been the author of novellae appended to those of David Deutsch, *Ohel David* (Ungvár 1867), and to the responsa of Solomon Tsevi Schuck, *She’elot u-teshuvot Rashban* (Szatmár 1905). We have not had a chance to examine the *Leichenrede* (Vukovar, Croatia, 1904) for one Emanuel Deutsch, delivered in Német Palánka (Serbia) by Marmorstein’s great-uncle Salamon Schück, but it seems likely he was the same person.

<sup>30</sup> According to Derek Taylor, *Defenders of the Faith: The History of Jews’ College and the London School of Jewish Studies* (London 2016), p. 173, he was at the ‘famous yeshiva at Hildesheimer’; presumably this is a garbled

education at the Calvinist gymnasium in his hometown before attending universities in Budapest, Berlin and Heidelberg, where he received his doctorate in 1904. After a period of travel and research in France, Italy and England examining manuscripts in the great European libraries, he served as rabbi in Jamnitz (Czech Jemnice, Moravia) in 1906, then in Vinkovce in Slavonia (Croatia) in 1908, and from 1908 to 1912 in Skotschau (Skoczów in Silesia). He then moved to Britain, where he taught at Jews' College in London for over three decades until his death in 1946.<sup>31</sup>

Born into a polyglot environment, Marmorstein was linguistically precocious. He and his father together read Deak and Kossuth in Hungarian, which he considered his mother tongue. He had expert training in Hebrew and Aramaic from rabbinic tutors, and a solid grounding in Greek and Latin from gymnasium. His rabbinic studies were conducted in Yiddish and his academic studies in German. At university he concentrated on Semitic languages and Assyriology, and his dissertation treated of the Targum of Pseudo-Jonathan and apocryphal literature. He also mastered cuneiform (Keilschrift), Syriac and Arabic, and took pride in having read all of the Quran in the original. During his post-graduate sojourns he gained familiarity with English, French and Italian.

One cannot but remark Marmorstein's cosmopolitan background. Often identified as Hungarian, he was educated in Germany, spent most of his adult life in England, wrote in six languages, and wrote about the literatures of at least two others. He was connected by education, family and early career with all the Slavic borderlands of Austro-Hungary. Apart from his years in Jemnice in Moravia, of whose Jewish community he wrote a history, he often visited his grandfather's town Szenice in Upper Hungary (today Senica, Slovakia), his first son was born in Vinkovci in Slavonia, where he privately published his first post-doctoral book, and prior to settling in England lived in Silesia (today Skoczów, Poland). His second son was born in Czernowitz (today Chernivtsi in Ukraine), and he had family relations in Bohemia and Serbia. Where or whether he acquired command of Slavic language is not recorded, but he did have a few books in Slovak, Croatian and Czech, as well as a book on Judeo-Slavic linguistic remains; he reviewed a medieval Slavonic text; and one of his studies touched on the earliest recorded reference to a Jewish speaker of Slavic.<sup>32</sup>

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reference to the yeshiva opened by Azriel Hildesheimer at Eisenstadt, in Austro-Hungary. Emile Marmorstein refers only to his father's studies at Pressburg, not at Hildesheimer's yeshiva.

<sup>31</sup> Marmorstein succeeded S. A. Hirsch as lecturer in Talmud, Codes and Bible, and Dr Naphtali Wieder succeeded Marmorstein as lecturer in Liturgy, Midrash and Talmud. On Jews' College during Marmorstein's tenure, see Albert M. Hyamson, *Jews' College, London 1855-1955* (London 1955), pp. 88, 111, 121, and Taylor, *Defenders of the Faith*, pp. 146, 173, 192,

<sup>32</sup> A. Marmorstein, 'Nouveaux renseignements sur Tobiya b. Eliezer', *Revue des études juives* 73 (1921), 92-97. On this study and its reception see B. S. Hill, 'Judeo-Slavic', in *Handbook of Jewish Languages*, ed. L. Kahn and A. D. Rubin (Leiden 2106), pp. 604, 606. Marmorstein was not the first scholar from the Hungarian-Slavic borderlands to take an interest in medieval Judeo-Slavic. Whether or not he was aware of works on the subject by Moritz

A prolific scholar, Marmorstein was the author of some 400 articles, including book chapters and contributions to festschriften and memorial volumes, over 50 encyclopedia entries<sup>33</sup> in German and Hebrew and over 60 book reviews. His first publications were in German and Hungarian; after his move to England he published in English and French; between 1918 and 1933 he wrote in English, French, German and Hebrew; and after 1933 mainly in Hebrew and English. Altogether he wrote for over 70 Jewish, orientalist, philological and theological journals and periodicals in all these languages.<sup>34</sup>

Marmorstein wrote, edited or co-edited some 26 volumes in German, Hebrew and English, published in Austro-Hungary, Germany, Britain and Romania, several of them subsequently reprinted:

- Studien zum Pseudo-Jonathan Targum, I: Das Targum und die Apokryphen Literatur* (Pozsony 1904);
- Talmud und Neues Testament* (Vinkovci 1908);
- Religionsgeschichtliche Studien*, I. Heft: *Die Bezeichnungen für Christen und Gnostiker im Talmud und Midrasch* (Skotschau 1910);
- Religionsgeschichtliche Studien*, II. Heft: *Die Schriftgelehrten* (Skotschau 1912);
- Midrash haserot ve-yeterot*, ed. A. Marmorstein (London 1917);
- The Doctrine of Merits in Old Rabbinical Literature* (London 1920);
- Catalogue of Hebrew Manuscripts in the Collection of Elkan Nathan Adler* [unattributed but supposedly compiled principally by Arthur Marmorstein] (Cambridge 1921);
- Catalogue of Hebraica and Judaica comprising the library of Hebrew and Jewish Books collected by the late S. Rehfisch* (London 1924);
- The Old Rabbinic Doctrine of God, I: The Names and Attributes of God* (London 1927);
- Teshuvot ha-ge'onim*, ed. Arthur Marmorstein and Ch. L. Ehrenreich (Deva 1928; reprinted Jerusalem 1968);
- Rabbinische Texte*, ed. Gerhard Kittel, K. H. Rengstorff and A. Marmorstein (Stuttgart 1933-1936), 14 vols;
- Occident and Orient: Being Studies in Semitic Philology and Literature, Jewish History and Philosophy, and Folklore in the Widest Sense, in Honour of Haham Dr. M. Gaster's 80th Birthday*, ed. Bruno Schindler and Arthur Marmorstein (London 1936);
- The Old Rabbinic Doctrine of God, II: Essays in Anthropomorphism* (London 1937);
- Studies in Jewish Theology* [*Sefer Zikaron li-khvod ha-rav d"r Avraham Marmorshtain*], ed. J. Rabbinowitz and M. S. Lew (Oxford 1950; reprint Westmead 1970);
- The Doctrine of Merits in Old Rabbinical Literature, and the Old Rabbinic Doctrine of God: I. The Names and Attributes of God, II. Essays in Anthropomorphism*, Prolegomenon by R. J. Zwi Werblowsky (New York: Ktav Publishing House, 1968) [reprint of the three volumes of 1920, 1927 and 1937].

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Grünwald (whose interests and trajectory were not dissimilar to his own in earlier years) or Samuel Spitzer (also resident in Croatia), their studies are not in his library.

<sup>33</sup> He contributed 15 entries to Eisenstein's *Otsar Yisra'el* and 41 to the German *Encyclopaedia Judaica*.

<sup>34</sup> The 'Bibliography of the Works of Arthur Marmorstein' lists 20 journals and organs in German, English, Hungarian, Hebrew and French to which he regularly contributed, apart from many others to which he made occasional submissions. In *Defenders of the Faith*, p. 173, Taylor quotes Isidore Epstein (from the Jewish Chronicle Archives), 'There is scarcely a scientific journal in the world devoted to Jewish or allied studies to which he was not a frequent contributor.'



The penultimate of these volumes, published as 'The Arthur Marmorstein Memorial Volume' after his death, brought together Marmorstein's most important studies in Hebrew and English, several of them translated from German and French, along with a memoir by his son Emile and a detailed bibliography of his publications. The last volume on the list, reprinted from two others with an appreciation by the scholar of comparative religion (and former lecturer at Manchester University) R.J.Z. Werblowsky, is testimony to the continued interest in Marmorstein's writings more than a generation after his death.

Marmorstein contributed to volumes in honour of many contemporary scholars, especially in Hungary, Germany, Britain and America, among them David Hoffmann, Kaufmann Kohler, Adolf Schwarz, Ludwig Blau, S. Poznański, A. M. Luncz, S. Hevesi, A. Freimann, Moses Gaster, J. L. Landau, S. Krauss, Eduard Mahler, J. Freimann, M. Lewin, J. H. Hertz, and Louis Ginzberg. These were the elite of Jewish learning in his day, and his participation in these festschriften and memorial volumes is a mark of his own academic profile and standing. His own works were reviewed by distinguished scholars such as Wilhelm Bacher.<sup>35</sup> Marmorstein was arguably the broadest in scope both intellectually and linguistically of the immigrant Jewish scholars in England from the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century to the mid-20<sup>th</sup>.

A main area of Marmorstein's research was rabbinic doctrine and belief. As is manifest in many of his studies, he was especially interested in the interrelations between the Jewish and non-Jewish worlds, and in Jewish parallels to early Christian literature. After his dissertation and first publication on Christian Hebraists in Hungary, he wrote about the Talmud and New Testament and edited manuscripts relating to the Hungarian Sabbatarians (a subject also of interest to Moses Gaster, who collected their manuscripts). He also studied rabbinic texts, midrash, gaonic literature and Jewish liturgical poetry. Among his published works were a critical edition of *Midrash Haseerot ve-yeterot* and an edition of gaonic responsa based on manuscripts, with his introduction and notes.

Other subjects of his publications were apocrypha, Rashi, messianism and false messiahs, biblical legends, patristic literature, papyri, Judaism and early Christianity, *minim* and Jewish Christians, Christians and gnostics in rabbinic literature, pseudepigrapha, Central European Jewish history and literature, the Hebrew alphabet, ancient Jewish apologetics, medieval Jewish-Christian polemic and Jewish anti-Christian polemic, Jewish folklore, Maimonides' *Mishneh Torah*, Karaism, Jewish law, ancient homiletics, ethics, eschatology and eternal life in rabbinic literature, names of God, Jewish theology and comparative Greek and Jewish theology, ancient Jewish and non-Jewish epigraphy and inscriptions, Baraita, Agada, and Jewish religious practice (notably covering the head, a subject also addressed by

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<sup>35</sup> An offprint of W. Bacher's review (1912) of *Religionsgeschichtliche Studien*, Heft I, is held in the collection. On Marmorstein's network of scholars in Hungary, Germany, Britain, America and British Palestine, see below.

his contemporary Jacob Lauterbach). His career in Britain led to work on the Jewish writings of Angevin England.<sup>36</sup>

Many of Marmorstein's publications, including numerous offprints as well as several bound volumes of his typescripts and handwritten drafts, are preserved at the Rylands.<sup>37</sup> As was common in his day, many of his shorter studies were offprinted, and these have been catalogued as monographs. Some of his publications, such as the original edition of *Teshuvot ha-geonim* and the separate print of *Some Hitherto Unknown Jewish Scholars of Angevin England* (Philadelphia 1928), are themselves rare.

Marmorstein was one of the last students of Moritz Steinschneider, and Steinschneider's polymathic and bibliographic interests, as well as his attention to detail, are evident in the student's work. It is apparent from the scope of his publications, their annotation, and the private index of names and terms which is preserved with his library that Marmorstein was very organized in his research. His bio-bibliographic study of early Christian Hebraists in Hungary, which appeared in *Zeitschrift für hebräische Bibliographie* in 1904-1905 and marked the beginning of his work on Jewish-Christian relations, remains a standard reference tool. Another contribution to the same journal in 1907-1908 surveyed the supercommentaries on Rashi's Pentateuch commentary, an interest shared by distinguished bibliographers including L. Zunz, J. Toledano, I. Schapiro and A. Freimann.<sup>38</sup>

If his bibliographic interests were overwhelmingly Hebraic, they did extend from Christian Hebraism (writings principally in Latin) to the various Jewish languages and Judaica. His supplement to Israel Davidson's *Thesaurus of Medieval Hebrew Poetry* appeared in the bibliographic journal *Kiryat Sefer* in 1932. He also compiled the *Catalogue of Hebraica and Judaica comprising the library of Hebrew and Jewish Books collected by the late S. Rehfisch* (London 1924). Most importantly, he is said to have been the principal compiler of the *Catalogue of Hebrew Manuscripts in the Collection of Elkan Nathan Adler* (Cambridge 1921), a classic work in the field of Hebrew codicology which also treats of texts in Jewish languages.<sup>39</sup>

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<sup>36</sup> *Some Hitherto Unknown Jewish Scholars of Angevin England*, offprinted from *Jewish Quarterly Review* 19 (1928), pp. 17-36, and *New Material for the Literary History of the English Jews before the Expulsion*, offprinted from *Transactions of the Jewish Historical Society* 12 (1931), pp. 103-115.

<sup>37</sup> Dozens of duplicate copies of many of the offprints are preserved in the collection, all catalogued individually!

<sup>38</sup> A. Marmorstein, 'Christliche Hebraisten in Ungarn', *ZHB* 8-9 (1904-1905), and 'Die Superkommentare zu Raschi's Pentateuchkommentare' *ZHB* 11-12 (1907-1908). For addenda to the former and works related to the latter see Shlomo Shunami, *Bibliography of Jewish Bibliographies* (Jerusalem 1969), pp. 140 and 755-757.

<sup>39</sup> The catalogue of the Rehfisch collection, cited by Shunami, is not recorded in the posthumous bibliography of Marmorstein's publications, an uncharacteristic oversight. Marmorstein's lion's share of responsibility for the Adler catalogue is noted by Benjamin Richler, *Guide to Hebrew Manuscript Collections*, 2<sup>nd</sup>, revised edition (Jerusalem 2014), p. 14, based on a statement by Gershom Scholem.

Marmorstein's interest in biography is displayed not only in the bio-bibliography of Christian Hebraists but also in the essays, articles and encyclopedia entries he wrote about Jewish scholars and other historical figures from the biblical period to modern times: Leo Modena, Pontius Pilate, Rashi, David Kohen (16<sup>th</sup> century), Joseph b. Abraham ha-kohen, Jesus Sirach, Eisik Tyrnau, Isaac Last, Leopold Zunz, Zvi Hirsch Koidanover, Tobias b. Eliezer, Meshulam b. Moses (Gaon), Hai Gaon, Akabia b. Mehalel, David b. Judah Hasid, Joshua b. Hanina (and Greek wisdom), Chaim Pollak, Leopold Dukes. He also wrote obituaries for contemporary scholars including Steinschneider. Following a family tradition of publishing sermons and addresses, he privately printed a eulogy for his grandfather Mayer Rosenfeld.

Marmorstein was a prolific writer not only of original studies but also of reviews of other scholars' works. These treat of Jewish history, in particular the history of the Jews in Germany, Hungary and elsewhere in Central and Eastern Europe; Talmud, Midrash and homiletics, other ancient and medieval rabbinic literature, Kabbalah and related modern scholarship; Jewish-Christian relations; biblical, apocryphal and pseudepigraphic literature;<sup>40</sup> Jewish elements in early Christianity and Roman elements in Talmudic literature; Christian, Jewish and Hungarian folklore; ancient Jewish religion and belief; Genizah fragments; Jewish inscriptions; and personal memoirs, namely those of Ber of Bolechow and Wilamowitz-Moellendorff.

Many of the works he reviewed were by distinguished Jewish and non-Jewish scholars, orientalist, historians and theologians: Gottheil, Vischnitzer, Margolis, A. Marx, Aptowitzer, Gaster (JRAS 1929), Dalman, Bischoff, Assaf, Herford, Gollancz, Klausner, Danby, Davidson, Grünwald, Stein, Friedländer, Guttmann, Strack, Blau, Krauss, Schweitzer, S. A. Wertheimer, Poznański, Bergmann, Strack; less known today are S. Klein, J. Bondi, Ch. Tschernowitz, Louis Lewin. A number of the works together with their reviews are preserved in the collection. These reviews, along with hundreds of offprints of studies by other scholars, are testimony of a wide academic network in England, Germany, Hungary, America and Palestine. Marmorstein was probably the last teacher at Jews' College to be so actively and widely engaged with the international scholarly community.

### ***Family Background, Rabbinic Antecedents, and Literary Relations***

Marmorstein's antecedents lived in the Hungarian borderlands for generations. His father Leopold Marmorstein and grandfather Bernát Mamorstein lived in Szenice (today Senica, Slovakia), a town he visited in his youth. His great-grandfather, Abraham Zwebner (known as Abraham Schag) of Kobersdorf (Burgenland), previously of Schag (Sag in the Banat,

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<sup>40</sup> On his controversial review of Aptowitzer's *Parteilpolitik der hasmonäerzeit im rabbinischen und pseudoepigraphischen Schrifttum*, see Emile Marmorstein, 'My Father: A Memoir', p. xxiii.

Romania), wrote a volume of responsa and Talmudic commentary, *Ohel Avraham* [*Tentorium Abrahami: de rebus Talmudicis*] (Jerusalem 1881; reprint Brooklyn 1991), with much biographical information, as well as a volume of sermons *Derashot ha-rosh* (Jerusalem 1904; reprinted and with a supplementary volume in 1980 and 2006).<sup>41</sup> Zwebner also authored *Die blühende Krone* (Vienna 1853), a German address on the Emperor's escape from an attempt on his life in 1853.<sup>42</sup>

Marmorstein's maternal grandfather, Mayer Rosenfeld, was the rabbi of Miskolc and author of published sermons and addresses in German on matters of Judaism, including *Das Verbot des Chamez am Pesach: ein treuer Wegweiser des Juden in den Irrgängen des Lebens* (Pressburg 1876), *Warum die am Sinai geoffenbarte Thorah ein ewiger "Bund Gottes" genant wird!* (Pressburg 1876), *Was heisst Amalekitismus, und welche Kämpfe sind die geeigneten gegen ihn* (Pressburg 1876), and *Charakterbild eines Vollkommenen Juden: Festrede bei Gelegenheit der Jubiläum-Feier zum hundertsten Geburtstage des Bart. Sir Moses Montefiore* (Erlau 1883). Several works by Abraham Shag and Mayer Rosenfeld are held in the collection.<sup>43</sup>

Marmorstein's great-uncle was the rabbinic author Solomon (Tsvi) Hirsch Schück (Shik) of Karczag.<sup>44</sup> His works include *Sidur ha-minhagim* (Munkács 1880-1888), two commentaries by Shik on Isaac Tyrnau's 16<sup>th</sup>-century compilation of Jewish customs; *Sidur rashban* (Vienna 1894); *Me-Mosheh 'ad Mosheh* (Munkács 1903), on his family's genealogy; and *Torah shelemah* (Szatmár 1909), on the antiquity of the vowel points and cantillation marks in the Pentateuch. The collection holds the printed funeral oration, *Leichenrede* (Vukovar 1904), which Shik delivered in Németh-Palánka (Serbia) for Emanuel Deutsch, probably the same Mandel Deutsch under whom Marmorstein studied in Tapolcsány.

Solomon Tsevi Shück's son Bernát (Berachjo) Schuck, Marmorstein's cousin, was the author of several controversial Hebrew, German, Yiddish and Hungarian publications, including *Dat ve-din=Religion und Staat: eine Studie=Hit és Állam: tanulmány* (Temesvár 1903-1904), in Hungarian and German, *Notgedrungene Bemerkungen zum Jahresbericht des Temesvarer Chevra-Kadischa pro-1903* (Temesvár 1904), *U-je-hatsdik tsadik*

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<sup>41</sup> On Abraham Zwebner see *Hakhme Hungaryah*, pp. 342-343.

<sup>42</sup> The address was translated into German (from what language?) by his student M. J. Cohn.

<sup>43</sup> We do not know if he was related to Joseph Elazar Rosenfeld, author of *Havat Y.a.r.* (Paks 1909), also held in the collection.

<sup>44</sup> On Solomon Schück see *Hakhme Hungaryah*, pp. 155-157 and 441-443; P. Z. Schwarz, *Shem ha-gedolim me-erets hagar* (Paks 1913; reprint 1958), pp. 242-243.

(Szászfalu/Temesvár 1912), in Yiddish, and *A zsidó családi otthon* [the Jewish home] (Lugoj 1926?).<sup>45</sup>

Marmorstein's uncle David Shik was also a published scholar whose books include *Imre David* on Talmud tractate Hulin (Munkács 1890) and several others in Hebrew and Yiddish published posthumously.<sup>46</sup> David's uncle was a famed Talmudic scholar Moses (known as Maharam) Schick, author of multiple volumes of rabbinic law and commentary.<sup>47</sup> Publications by these ancestors and relatives, some of them preserved in the collection, offer a literary portrait of a prolific multi-lingual rabbinic family in Hungary in the late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries.

Marmorstein's sons Emile and Bruno were also involved in scholarship and writing.<sup>48</sup> Emile published a number of academic books, articles and reviews on various Jewish historical and literary subjects, among them *A Note on the "Alphabet of Ben Sira"* (Philadelphia, 1951, from *Jewish Quarterly Review* vol. 41), *The Scholarly Life of Elkan Adler* (London 1962), *Heaven at Bay: The Jewish Kulturkampf in the Holy Land* (Oxford 1969). Emile also compiled a handlist of Hebraica in his father's library, the first inventory of any portion of Marmorstein's books.<sup>49</sup> Continuing the family preoccupation with biography, Bruno Marmorstein published an essay on another Hungarian associated with Jews' College, 'Adolph Büchler, Principal of Jews' College, 1906-1939', *Jewish Historical Studies* 30 (1987).

### *Marmorstein's Library*

Reflecting the scholar's many intellectual preoccupations, the Marmorstein Collection is so rich in its multiple areas that a selection of highlights is necessarily subjective. The early,

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<sup>45</sup> On Berachia Schick, see Y. Y. Cohen, *Hakhme Transilvanyah* [*Sages of Transylvania*] (Jerusalem 1989), p. 255, and Szonja Ráhel Komoróczy, *Yiddish Printing in Hungary: An Annotated Bibliography* (Budapest 2011), p. 244.

<sup>46</sup> On David Shik, see *Hakhme Hungaryah*, p. 373.

<sup>47</sup> On Moses (Maharam) Schick, see Y. Horowitz, 'Schick, Moses ben Joseph', *Encyclopaedia Judaica* 18 (Detroit 2007), pp. 127-128.

<sup>48</sup> On Emile Marmorstein, see the note by E. C. Hodgkin, 'In memoriam: Emile Marmorstein 1909-1983,' *Middle Eastern Studies* 20 (1984), pp. 131-132. On Bruno Marmorstein, see 'Marmorstein, Arthur ... and Bruno Marmorstein,' in *The Palgrave Dictionary of Anglo-Jewish History*, p. 650. (For further material related to Bruno see our next note, below.) Arthur Marmorstein's youngest son, Michael Cecil, was killed in action while leading British troops in Italy in 1943.

<sup>49</sup> This unsigned handwritten inventory, of which the present writer acquired a photocopy some 25 years ago, facilitated research on the collection, especially on its contents prior to its acquisition by the Rylands. That Emile Marmorstein was the compiler is confirmed in a letter dated 3 May 1983 to Dr Pegg from Emile's son Steven Marmorstein, preserved among the Marmorstein administrative documents in the Rylands. I am grateful to Jane Gallagher and Elizabeth Gow for drawing my attention to 6 boxes of correspondence surrounding the collection (separate from the two boxes of original Hebrew and German manuscripts which are part of the collection). One of the boxes of Marmorstein-related correspondence is comprised of materials relating to Bruno Marmorstein, a solicitor, in large part dealing with applications for release from detention of Jewish interned aliens during the war.

pre-modern and European Hebraica are its most valuable component, works which for the most part can be found only in the great national or university libraries, or in the major Jewish seminaries. The collection holds over 250 titles printed before 1800, most in Hebrew and a few in Yiddish. There are over 20 volumes from the 16<sup>th</sup> century, most in Hebrew; some 45 volumes from the 17<sup>th</sup> century, all but a handful in Hebrew; and nearly 200 vols from the 18<sup>th</sup> century, some 170 of them in Hebrew and a dozen non-Hebrew.

The collection holds many items of intellectual or historical importance, others of printing-historical or bibliographic significance, to which attention will be drawn in the account below. We have given attention first and foremost to the Hebrew and related literature, while also addressing in some detail the particularities of the German, Hungarian and other non-English holdings, which are less known and inaccessible to all but cognoscenti. Nor have we neglected, in the context of Hebraica, to highlight the Aramaic, Yiddish and Judeo-Arabic holdings which have been unremarked in accounts of the collection heretofore.

The Hebraica from the 16<sup>th</sup> to the 20<sup>th</sup> centuries (complemented by the other Rylands collections) provide a panorama of the geographic spread of Hebrew printing over the centuries in Europe, as well as examples from the Middle East and North Africa. The holdings of late 19<sup>th</sup>- and early 20<sup>th</sup>-century German-Jewish scholarship, the strongest of any university library in the UK outside of Oxford, Cambridge and London, are an adjunct to the literature of the Haskalah and an outgrowth of the *Wissenschaft des Judentums* movement. The German Judaica provide a similar printing-historical panorama of a now lost and forgotten landscape of German-language Jewish publishing far beyond the borders of today's Germanophone Europe.

The examples of individual works in the characterization below may give a sense of the variety and depth of the collection, as well as of its geographic and chronological range, not only of the Hebraica but also of the western-language works, especially the German and Hungarian. The thematic range of the collection could well serve as the basis for diverse exhibits, exhibition catalogues, or digital displays, e.g. of early Hebrew printing, Sephardica, Judeo-Arabic, German-Jewish publishing, Christian Hebraica or orientalist scholarship, some of these in conjunction with other collections in the Rylands (Spencer, Crawford, Gaster, Abramsky/Haskalah, Teltscher, and other named or general Special Collections).

Although almost entirely catalogued, with its bibliographic records publicly accessible in the University of Manchester's online catalogue<sup>50</sup> and in Worldcat, the Marmorstein Collection is little known. The present survey is intended to present the collection's thematic richness, linguistic variety, geographic range and printing-historical significance, and thereby render it

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<sup>50</sup> A small number of unprocessed/uncatalogued items, usually bibliographically problematic for whatever reason, are housed together with the rest of the collection in the Marmorstein alcove.

more meaningful to scholars and students in diverse fields. Salient details have been repeated wherever relevant in order to allow the reader to explore different areas of the collection without necessarily surveying the whole.

Would that this overview of the collection lead to a greater appreciation for the special contribution of this gifted and focused scholar to Hebraic and Judaic studies in Britain, as well as for this scholastic library which complements the Rylands' varied collections of Hebrew manuscripts and printed books.

### III. HEBRAICA

#### *Literary Periods and Subjects*

The Hebraica in the collection span the entire period from biblical writing to the 20<sup>th</sup> century. There are editions of the rabbinic Bible (*Mikra'ot gedolot*) and of individual biblical books; Aramaic translations (Targum); the Mishnah and anonymously redacted Talmudic texts (Babylonian and Palestinian); Midrash and other ancient rabbinic texts (Agada, Baraita, Mekhilta). Medieval and post-medieval literature includes legal codes and rabbinic law, liturgies, liturgical commentaries and translations, philosophy and mysticism, folklore, history, geography and travels, tales and fables, religious and secular poetry, sciences, mathematics, calendation, medicine and folk medicine, Hebrew language and lexicography, and Jewish languages, especially Judeo-Arabic and a small eclectic selection of Yiddish, as well as bibliography and reference.

Works by the gaonim Yehudai of the 8<sup>th</sup> century, Natronai and Amram of the 9<sup>th</sup>, and Saadiah and Sherira of 10<sup>th</sup> are among the earliest compositions of *known authorship* in the collection, along with the 9<sup>th</sup>-century commentary on *Sefer Yetsirah* by Isaac Israeli and the *Halakhot* of Eldad ha-Dani, and the 10<sup>th</sup>-century *Teshuvot* of Kalonymus of Luca and grammatical works by Ibn Janah and Hayyuj. Aside from a dozen authors from the 11<sup>th</sup> century, most importantly Rashi of Troyes, the major portion of Hebrew writing in the collection was produced between the 12<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries, and half of these in the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries.

Many classical texts are accompanied by medieval or post-medieval commentaries, such as the commentary by Elijah Gaon of Vilna on the *Sefer Yetsirah* (Jerusalem 1874). The Hebrew scholarship of the 19<sup>th</sup> and first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> centuries encompasses authors of the late *Wissenschaft des Judentums* and other modern rabbinic and literary-historical scholarship from such figures as Harkavy, Krochmal and Rubin to Jellinek, S. Buber, Wertheimer, Klausner and Scholem. S. D. Luzzatto is well represented in more than a dozen editions. (These works complement the enlightened secular writings of the Rylands' Haskalah collection.)

The Hebraica are richest in the so-called responsa literature, questions and answers in Jewish law, represented in some 120 volumes whose authors cover the entire chronological extent of this legal genre from the gaonic period in the late first millennium through the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Apart from Biblical and Talmudic commentaries, responsa are the best represented branch of rabbinic literature in the collection, covering writings from the Middle East, North Africa, and every corner of Europe.

### *History of Hebrew Printing*

In its own right, and all the more so in conjunction with the other Hebraica in the Rylands, the Marmorstein collection offers a panorama of the geographic spread of Hebrew printing over the centuries, mainly in Europe and especially from 1700, as well as a small number of exempla of Hebrew books from the Middle East and North Africa. Given the geographic and temporal extent of the collection's holdings, it may be useful to sketch here briefly the history of Hebrew printing, especially in Europe.<sup>51</sup>

Although Jews did not engage in the study of printing history until the 19<sup>th</sup> century, they were not insensible to the significance of the invention of movable type for mankind, and their pride in the new art was apparent in the earliest years of the press. Around a century and a half after the appearance of the first printed books, Jewish writers displayed an interest in the history of typography. Two books in the collection provide accounts of the invention of printing, - the first such in Hebrew literature, - one mythic, the other historic. The doctor Abraham Portaleone in his baroque encyclopedic *Shilte ha-giborim* (Mantua 1612), the first Hebrew book with western punctuation, makes the claim, citing a biblical verse, that printing was invented by Job (cf. Job 19:23).

Portaleone's elder contemporary, the Prague astronomer David Gans, hewed closer to the known facts. In his world chronicle *Tsemah David*, of which the collection holds a later edition (Offenbach 1768), Gans assigns the wondrous invention correctly to Gutenberg in the mid-15<sup>th</sup> century, describing it as 'a great invention, one that is useful for all inhabitants of the world; there is none beside it, and nothing can equal it among all sciences and inventions since God created man on the earth'. Gans could hardly have known, as we do now from archival documentation, that one of the earliest attempts at printing with moveable type was undertaken by one Waldfogel - of Prague, no less - in collaboration with a Jew, Davin de Caderousse, working between 1444 and 1446 at Avignon.

Whatever the back story, the printing of Hebrew *books* began in Italy ca. 1469, and spread to Spain, Portugal and Turkey before the end of the century. The Rylands holds among its

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<sup>51</sup> For a rounder summary of the course of Hebrew printing, most of it relevant to the holdings of the Marmorstein collection, see B. S. Hill, '[Hebrew] Printing', *Encyclopedia of Hebrew Language and Linguistics* (Leiden/Boston 2013), vol. 3, cols. 233-262.



15 (or 16?) Hebrew incunables no fewer than nine printed by Gershom Soncino or other members of his family in their native town Soncino and in nearby Casalmaggiore, as well as in Brescia and perhaps elsewhere in Northern Italy. Other volumes come from printers in Bologna, Naples, Ferrara and Mantua. These are the only whole-Hebrew books in the Rylands which are older than those in the Marmorstein collection.<sup>52</sup>

Printing books in Hebrew type was carried forward into the 16<sup>th</sup> century by Gershom Soncino, who issued books in a dozen northern Italian towns before leaving for Ottoman Salonika and Constantinople (Istanbul), in the wake of competition with two Christian master-printers at Venice, first Aldus Manutius and then Flemish-origin Daniel Bomberg. North of the Alps, Hebrew book printing was introduced after 1500 first at Prague and then at towns in Bavaria, Silesia and Poland, while presses flourished in Italy and the Ottoman East. From the 16<sup>th</sup> to the mid-18<sup>th</sup> centuries, Hebrew printing was undertaken by Jews, sometimes in collaboration with Christian Hebraists, humanists, or enterprising printers, in Western, Central and Eastern Europe.

From the late 18<sup>th</sup> century through the 19<sup>th</sup>, presses sprang up in towns throughout the pale of Jewish settlement in Eastern Europe, in Russian Poland and the Ukraine. Lemberg (Lwów), Warsaw, Vilna and Zhitomir became major printing centres, accompanied by dozens of secondary centres throughout the region, where pioneering presses had been launched in Cracow, Lublin and Zólkiew in earlier centuries. In the second half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, Brünn in Moravia was a minor centre of Hebrew printing, its books noticeably different in format and type from other presses.

Hebrew printing only began to spread widely in East Central Europe from the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century. Apart from a few instances of Hebrew type in books by Christian Hebraists (their works surveyed by Marmorstein) in the 17<sup>th</sup> century, Hebrew book printing was launched at non-Jewish presses in Pressburg and Budapest in the late 18<sup>th</sup> and early 19<sup>th</sup> centuries. Thereafter Jewish presses opened first in Pressburg in Upper Hungary and then at Ungvár and Munkács in sub-Carpathian Ruthenia. Later in the century presses opened in such places as Újhel, Paks, Miskolc, Vác, Bonyhád and Sighet.

In the 20<sup>th</sup> century new presses were opened in Maramures, Transylvania, Upper Hungary and Ruthenia. The geography of these larger or smaller presses included towns such as Szatmár, Szinérváralja (Seini) and Bártfa (Bardejov), and after World War I Beregszász (Berehovo) and Simleul-Silvaniei. Eventually Hebrew books come off minor presses in dozens of towns in Hungary and the formerly Hungarian borderlands, such as Déva,

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<sup>52</sup> The Rylands holds the first two polyglot texts, the Genoa Psalter of 1516 and the Alcalá de Henares Complutensian Bible of 1514-1517, which contain Hebrew texts in parallel with other ancient and oriental languages.

Kolozsvár, Temesvár, Kisvárd, Marghita, Trnava and Galanta. Within Europe, Hungary was secondary only to Poland in the totality of its Hebrew book production.

In the first half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, technological and cultural changes within and outside the Jewish world led to the spread of Hebrew and Judeo-Arabic printing throughout North Africa and in parts of the Middle East, especially in Ottoman Palestine, while Hebrew and Judeo-Spanish printing was introduced in towns in the Ottoman Balkans, and Judeo-Persian (or Judeo-Tajik) books were printed in Jerusalem from the fin-de-siècle. At the same time, in East Central Europe new Hebrew presses, devoted mainly to rabbinic literature, catered to traditional Jewry and rabbinic scholars in the Habsburg lands, in regions which today comprise Hungary, Slovakia, Romania and Ukraine.

Over the centuries Hebrew books came off presses in hundreds of towns in Europe and beyond. In different periods between the 16<sup>th</sup> to the mid-20<sup>th</sup> centuries, Venice, Istanbul, Leghorn, Amsterdam, Vilna, Warsaw, New York and Jerusalem dominated Hebrew book printing. Persecution of Jews and their books by church and state at critical moments over the centuries impeded or entirely halted the presses, sometimes altering the geography of Hebrew book production. Printed, stamped or handwritten censors' statements in different parts of Europe are evidence of external non-Jewish control over Jewish books. Rabbinic approbations in many works of religious content on occasion reflect internal Jewish censorship, sometimes in response to external pressures.

Persecution of Hebrew books was often punctuated by, or went in parallel with, Christian Hebraist scholarship, whether on the part of born Christians or Jewish apostates. Similarly, non-Jewish printers and typographers, whether stimulated by humanism or by the market, played an oversized role in the history of the Hebrew book. This aspect of Hebrew studies and of the history of the Hebrew book, which was an area of interest for Marmorstein as it was for his mentor Steinschneider, is not insignificant.<sup>53</sup> (A propos, the Rylands - taking all of its collections as a whole - is especially rich in Christian Hebraistic scholarship of the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries, including many bilingual Hebrew-Latin texts.)

### *Hebrew Printed Books in the Marmorstein Collection*

The history of the Hebrew book – especially in the two and a half centuries before the Holocaust – is well reflected in Marmorstein's library (and all the more so in conjunction with other Hebraica in the Rylands). The collection holds books from all the major

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<sup>53</sup> Cf. the index of non-Jewish printers, 'Typographi et Bibliopolae Christiani', in M. Steinschneider, *Catalogus Librorum Hebraeorum in Bibliotheca Bodleiana* (Berlin 1852-1860; reprinted 1964), and his *Christliche Hebraisten: Nachrichten über mehr als 400 Gelehrte, welche über nachbiblisches Hebräisch geschrieben haben* (reprint Hildesheim 1973); Marmorstein, 'Christliche Hebraisten in Ungarn', cited above; and Raphael Loewe, 'Hebraists, Christian', *Encyclopaedia Judaica* (Jerusalem 1971), vol. 8, cols. 9-71.

European centres of Hebrew printing, and from several printing towns in the Ottoman lands, the Middle East and North Africa.<sup>54</sup> (See Appendix I.) Altogether there are books and serials from over 140 places of Hebrew-character printing, from territories which comprise nearly 30 countries today. (For a list of towns by country, see Appendix 2.)

In this inventory of printing towns, the territories of four countries (by today's borders) stand out: Germany (27 towns), Poland (17 towns), Ukraine (19 towns), and Hungary (10 towns). However, a reckoning by today's geography obscures the political-cultural boundaries of the pre-World War I or interwar periods. The collection has examples of Hebrew printing from 35 towns in previously German-Prussian lands, i.e. including Silesia and East Prussia (over 300 titles); from 23 towns in Poland, i.e. including Galicia (over 320 titles); and no fewer than 30 towns in the territory of pre-Trianon Hungary, including Transylvania (now Romania), Upper Hungary (today Slovakia) and Sub-Carpathian Ruthenia (today Ukraine) (225 titles). The collection's books from the territory of today's Ukraine (200 titles) include examples from two towns, Rava-Ruska near Zholkva on the border between Ukraine and Poland and Svaliava in Carpathian Ruthenia, which are forgotten loci on the historical map of Hebrew printing in Ukraine.<sup>55</sup>

The collection's holdings can serve as a mirror to these regional, transnational, cultural-linguistic geographies, beyond simply cities and countries: Galicia, the Baltics, Transylvania, Ruthenia, North Africa, the Levant, Western Europe. (For the holdings in these regions, see Appendix 3.) The cultural affinity of the Jews of Transylvania, Ruthenia and 'Oberland' (Upper Hungary) - a landscape today effaced - is evident in their books. It's telling that Marmorstein's library was so rich in printing from the Hungarian lands (with all corners of which he was connected), especially insofar as Hebrew printing came late to this region and his exempla are all from the modern period.

One of the most interesting yet least studied and practically forgotten regions of Hebrew printing is the Baltics, predominantly Silesia and East Prussia. The collection holds examples of Hebrew books from many towns in this territory, today mostly in Poland, places which were not insignificant in the history of the Hebrew book: Breslau, Dyhernfurth, Johannisberg, Königsberg, Krotoschin, Lyck, Posen, Stettin, Thorn. The degree to which these places and their typographic history have been forgotten is apparent from their new names: Wrocław, Brzeg Dolny, Pisz, Kaliningrad, Elk, Poznań, Szczecin, Toruń. The collection's 40 books from these towns serve to illuminate a once immensely important intellectual and printing-historical landscape whence major Hebrew scholars and

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<sup>54</sup> This geographic coverage is complemented by the printed Hebraica in other Rylands collections. It would be salutary to compile a gazetteer of Hebrew printing towns represented in all of the Rylands holdings.

<sup>55</sup> Rava-Ruska near Zholkva and Svaliava (Szolyva) in Sub-Carpathian Ruthenia were both overlooked in the gazetteer of printing towns in Brad Sabin Hill, *Hebrew Printing in Ukraine* (Washington 2008).

bibliographers in Britain (e.g. J. Zedner, Emanuel Deutsch, H. Hirschfeld and L. Loewe) had emigrated in the 19<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>56</sup>

The European centres of Hebrew printing best represented in the collection are Vienna (114 titles), Berlin (110), and Warsaw (107). Other better represented towns in Eastern Europe are Lemberg (Polish Lwów) in Galicia (85), Vilna (78), Cracow (32), Zólkiew in Galicia (19) and Przemysl near Cracow (11). In Germany, best represented are Frankfurt am Main (39), Fürth (28), Leipzig (17), Breslau [today Wrocław, Poland] (16), and Sulzbach (10). Western Europe is best represented by Amsterdam (40 titles) and Paris (15), and Italy by Venice (37) and Leghorn (Livorno) (30). By virtue of Marmorstein's long career in England, the holdings of Hebrew printing from London are particularly strong (85).

Hebrew imprints from elsewhere are held in fewer than 10 examples per town, and most of them fewer than 5. On the other hand, Hebrew printing in Jerusalem from its inception in the Ottoman period through the British Mandate is relatively well represented (135 titles), including 30 from before 1900 and several of the first books printed in the holy city shortly after the introduction of Hebrew printing in 1841. (For a list of best-represented places of Hebrew printing in the collection, see Appendix 4.) That Marmorstein possessed more Hebrew books from Jerusalem than from any other place is a sign not only of his Hebraistic orientation but of the expansion of the press in Palestine during his own lifetime.

The collection holds more than 230 volumes printed between the 16<sup>th</sup> and the 18<sup>th</sup> centuries, including examples from presses in 40 towns in 10 countries (per today's political borders), among them Italy, Czechia, the Netherlands, Poland, Germany, France, Turkey, Greece, Austria and Ukraine. The 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries are even better represented, with 60 additional towns from the 19<sup>th</sup> century and a further 40 from the 20<sup>th</sup> (see Appendix 5), including presses launched in the Middle East and North Africa, at Aden, Baghdad, Cairo, Djerba, Haifa, Jaffa, Jerusalem, Marrakech, Oran, Tel-Aviv, Tiberias and Tunis. Some towns are only dimly remembered in Hebrew bibliography and printing-publishing history (and barely known altogether), such as Lyck, Pasewalk, Rava-Ruska, Svaliava, and Tatar Pazarchik.

### *16<sup>th</sup>-Century Hebrew Printing*

The collection holds some 20 Hebrew volumes of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, the products of presses in Rome and four towns in the north of Italy - Venice, Ferrara, Cremona and Mantua – of

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<sup>56</sup> This applies, of course, to German publishing in general, but in particular to German-Jewish publishing, in towns and regions where Jews were the main bearers of German culture.

which books from Venice predominate. (For a chronological list, see Appendix 6.) The oldest printed books in the collection are two volumes of Talmudic novellae, printed in 1523 in Venice by the famous Christian maecenas of Hebrew publishing, Daniel Bomberg. Other books from this century include biblical commentaries, a Talmudic lexicon, responsa on questions of Jewish law, a classic mystical tract, a historical chronicle, ethical treatises, a book of customs and the holiday liturgy. Ibn Susan's *Ibur shanim* (Venice 1578), on lunar intercalation, is one of the earliest printed illustrated scientific treatises in Hebrew.

In addition to Bomberg, who was devoted almost exclusively to Hebrew printing, most of the firms which issued these books were Christian publishing houses which normally issued Latin and Italian books but also produced Hebraica for a mainly Jewish audience, e.g. Giorgio de Cavalli, Giovanni di Gara and Daniel Zanetti at Venice, Meir of Padua and Jacob of Gazuolo at Mantua, Vincenzo Conti at Cremona, and Isaac de Lattes et Co. at Rome. The 1546 Rome edition of Nissim Gerondi's responsa is one of the few Hebrew books printed in Rome in that century. The 1556 Ferrara edition of Nahmanides' *Sha'ar ha-gemul*, printed by the former Marrano Abraham Ibn Usque, is the only example of Ferrarese printing in the collection.

### Hebrew Printed Books of the Sixteenth Century in the Marmorstein Collection<sup>57</sup>

#### Venice

- ALSHEIKH, MOSES. *Shoshanat ha-'amakim* (Song of Songs with commentary). Venice: Giovanni di Gara, 1591. [813745]
- BENJAMIN ZE'EV BEN MATTATHIAS OF ARTA. *Binyamin Ze'ev* (responsa). Venice: Bomberg, 1539. [815121]
- HAYYUN, JOSEPH. *Mile de-avot* (commentary on Mishnaic ethical tractate Avot). Venice: Daniel Zanetti, 1600. [815228]
- IBN ADRET, SOLOMON (Rashba). *Hidushe Berakhot* (Talmudic novellae). Venice: Daniel Zanetti, 1523. [813343]
- IBN HABIB, LEVI. *She'elot u-teshuvot* (responsa). Venice: [Giorgio de Cavalli or di Gara?], 1565. [815282]
- IBN SUSAN, ISSACHAR. *Ibur shanim* (on calendar). Venice: Giovanni di Gara, 1578. [813362]
- JACOB BEN ASHER. *Perush ha-torah* (commentary on Pentateuch). Venice: Bomberg, 1544. [813619]
- JAFFE ASHKENAZI, SAMUEL BEN ISAAC. *Yefeh mareh* (commentary on Agada). Venice: Giovanni di Gara, 1590. [813356]

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<sup>57</sup> This checklist may not be definitive. Due to time constraints we have not been able to check data in the online catalogue and the original handwritten inventory, on the basis of both of which the checklist has been compiled, against the books themselves; for this reason call-marks are provided here, to allow for checking the accuracy of the records. One should note, too, that some of the books listed are incomplete copies, and one is only a photographic reproduction. A fine facsimile of Aldus' *Alphabetum Hebraicum* printed in Venice in 1501 is cited below.

LITURGY. *Mahzor mi-kol ha-shanah* [liturgy]. Venice: Giorgio de Cavalli, 1568. Parts I + 2. [813587 + 813588]

MACHIR OF TOLEDO. *Avkat rokhel* (ethics). Venice: Giorgio de Cavalli, 1566 [photographic reproduction of original]. [813389]

NAHMANIDES, MOSES. *Hidushe Bava batra* (Talmudic novellae). Venice: Bomberg, 1523. [813342]

NATHAN BEN JEHIEL, of Rome. *Arukh* (Talmudic lexicon). Venice: Bomberg, 1532. [813370]

### Cremona

IBN ADRET, SOLOMON. *Ve-zot Torat ha-bayit* (dietary laws). Cremona: Vincenzo Conti, 1565.

[BD813442 (2)]

MEIR BEN BARUCH OF ROTHENBERG. *She'elot u-teshuvot* (responsa). Cremona: Vincenzo Conti, 1557.

[814460]

MOELLIN, JACOB (Maharil). *Maharil... Minhage k"k Ashkenaz* (Ashkenazic customs). Cremona: Vincenzo Conti, 1566. [813442]

### Ferrara

NAHMANIDES, MOSES. *Sha'ar he-gemul* (on heavenly reward). Ferrara: Abraham Ibn Usque, 1556.

[813777]

### Mantua

DE ROSSI, AZARIAH. *Me'or 'enayim* (Jewish history). Mantua: Moses Elishama, 1574. With manuscript notes by Jacob Emden (!). [813073]

LITURGY. *Mahzor* (festival liturgy, Roman rite). Mantua: Venturin Rufinello, 1559. [815662 + 815663]

ZOHAR. *Sefer ha-Zohar* (mysticism). Mantua: Meir b. Ephraim of Padua and Jacob b. Naftali of Gazuolo, 1558-1560. 3 vols. [814495, 814496, 815095]

### Rome

GERONDI, NISSIM BEN REUBEN. *She'elot u-teshuvot* (responsa). Rome: Isaac de Lattes (et al.), 1546.

[814461]

The collection holds a facsimile reprint of a single example of Hebrew printing older than any of these 16<sup>th</sup>-century Hebrew books. This is a limited-edition reproduction, issued for bibliophiles in Munich in 1927, of the *Alphabetum hebraicum* printed by the Italian master printer Aldus Manutius in Venice ca. 1501. This Hebrew alphabet booklet, produced shortly after Aldus abandoned a plan to print a polyglot Bible, is of significance to the Renaissance printing of Hebrew and the study of Hebrew by Christians; indeed, it was probably the first such work. It also figured in the conflict and competition between Aldus and the wandering Jewish printer Gershom Soncino.

### *17<sup>th</sup>-Century Hebrew Printing*

The 17<sup>th</sup> century is represented by over 40 volumes of Hebraica, printed in Prague, Amsterdam, Sulzbach, Frankfurt am Main, Fürth, Venice, Mantua, Cracow, Frankfurt an der Oder and Dessau. These were major centres of Hebrew printing in Central, Southern, Eastern and Western Europe, in which important Jewish and non-Jewish presses were

active, among them Di Gara, Zanetti, Bragadin and Vendramin in Venice, Eliezer d'Italia in Mantua, and Uri Fayvish, Attias and Caspar Stien in Amsterdam, Moses Bloch in Sulzbach, Meisels in Cracow, and Jacob Bak in Prague. The volume of responsa by Joel Sirkes (Frankfurt am Main 1697) was brought to press by the widow ('rabanit') of Meir Stern at the press of Johann Faust.

A few highlights are Saul b. David of Russia, *Tal Orot* (Prague 1615), on the sabbath laws, the collection's oldest imprint from Central Europe; Cordovero's kabbalistic ethical tract *Tomer Devorah* (Mantua 1623); Isserles' volume of responsa (Cracow 1640), the collection's earliest imprint from Poland or anywhere in Eastern Europe; and Simon Habillo's *Helek bene yehudah* (Venice 1695), a commentary on Ruth together with the text. Mention has already been made of Abraham Portaleone's *Shilte ha-giborim* (Mantua 1612), a quasi-encyclopedia of the sciences. (For a chronological list of the 17<sup>th</sup>-century Hebrew titles, see Appendix 7.)

### *18<sup>th</sup>-Century Hebrew Printing*

This century is represented with over 170 volumes printed within the geography of today's Italy, Czechia, Holland, Poland, Germany, France, Turkey, Greece, Austria and Ukraine. The more than 30 towns include Amsterdam, Frankfurt on the Oder, Sulzbach, Frankfurt on the Main, Berlin (1711), Venice, Homburg vor der Hohe (1740), Metz, Hanau (1715), Wilhermsdorf (1716), Hamburg (1718), Jessnitz, Constantinople/Istanbul (Mateh Yosef, 1717/1725), Mantua, Padua, Dyhernfurth (1732), Wandsbek (1733), Neuwied (1736), Fürth, Livorno (1742), Altona 1755, Prague, Turka (1764), Brünn (1764), Carlsruhe, Offenbach, Strasbourg (1777), Metz (1788), Halle (1789), Salonika (1792), Vienna (1796), Lemberg (1796), Warsaw (1796), and Zolkiew (1798).

Of particular note among these are the book *Shu"t Ge'onim batrai* (1764) from the press in Turka, which presaged the spread of Hebrew printing in Ukrainian territory in the late 18<sup>th</sup> century; one of the first Hebrew books printed in Warsaw, the sermons *Sama de-haye* (1796); and one of the early works, *Sefer ha-oyen* (1796) from the press of the ennobled Christian devotee of Hebrew printing at Vienna, Anton von Schmid. Another unusual item is Algazi's *Lehem setarim*, a commentary on Talmud tractate *Avodah Zarah* issued in Strasbourg (1777), an unlikely Sephardic work from this Alsatian outpost of Ashkenazi printing.

Several astronomical, scientific or mathematical treatises stand out from this period, including most notably *Yeshu'ah be-yisra'el* (Frankfurt am Main, 1720), David Gans' *Nehmad ve-na'im* (Jessnitz 1743), A. Margolioth's *Or 'olam* (Prague [Nowy Dwór?] 1777 [1782-1783?]), and J. Landsofer's volume of responsa *Me'il tsedakah* (Prague 1757), with

an appended translation of Euclid with geometric illustration. Yom Tov Heller's *Tsurat bet ha-mikdash* (Frankfurt a. M. 1714) is illustrated with architectural diagrams.

A handful of other titles might be cited for the sake of example: Jacob Abraham of Cracow, *Nahalat ya'akov* (Amsterdam 1722-1724), biblical commentary; Nahmanides, *Toldot adam* (Homburg vor der Hohe 1740), novellae on Talmud tractate Yevamot; Moses Isserles, *Darkhe Mosheh* (Fürth 1760), on Tur Shulhan 'Arukh; Mordecai b. Samuel, *Sha'ar ha-melekh* (Zólkiew 1774), on ethics; J. Reischer, *Hok Ya'akov* (Brünn 1764), on Passover customs, and his *Shevut Ya'akov* (Halle 1789), responsa.

### *19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup>-Century Hebrew Printing*

The great expansion of Hebrew printing, in Europe and beyond, took place in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Some 60 additional printing towns are represented among the collection's extensive holdings from this century, and a further 40 towns are added to the roster among the similarly extensive holdings from the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Among these are some 50 towns in Central, East Central and Eastern Europe, places within today's Austria, Bulgaria, Croatia, Czechia, Germany, Hungary, Lithuania, Poland, Romania, Russia, Slovakia and Ukraine. These offer a broad panorama of printing history in this part of Europe.

The once-German or Germanophone lands, including Silesia and elsewhere in East Prussia and parts of Austro-Hungary, are represented in some 30 Hebrew printing towns. Towns in the Hungarian lands and in Moravia and Silesia (territory today in Czechia, Slovakia, Ukraine, Poland as well as Hungary), where Marmorstein lived prior to leaving the continent, are particularly well represented with Prague (57 titles), Pressburg [today Bratislava] (52), Munkacs [Mukacheve] (46), Paks (29), Budapest (24), Breslau (16) and Brünn (11). As for Eastern Europe, there are some 500 titles from Poland, Ukraine, Lithuania and Russia combined.

Altogether the collection holds some 225 volumes printed in Hungary or in the once-Hungarian lands, apart from elsewhere in Austro-Hungary. Of these, there are altogether 150 volumes from Transylvania (today in Romania), Upper Hungary (today Slovakia), and Subcarpathian Ruthenia (today in Ukraine). Principally rabbinic books and a few serials come from some 25 towns in greater Hungary, including such places as Bártfa/Bardejov,<sup>58</sup> Bonyhád, Budapest, Galanta, Kolozsvár/Cluj, Munkács, Paks, Pressburg, Szatmár, Sziget,

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<sup>58</sup> The disproportionate number (seven) of titles from Bardejov suggest he may have had some personal connection with this town, one of the last minor centres of Hebrew printing in East Central Europe before the Holocaust. It is likely that Marmorstein was acquainted with J. M. Lowy, an orthodox Jew and bibliophile born in Bardejov, who became a member of the Board of Deputies of British Jews after his emigration from Czechoslovakia in 1938.



Szinérváralja (Seini), Szeghalom, Beregszász (Berehovo), Dés, Tyrnau (Trnava), Újhel, Ungvár and Vác.

Some of the printing and publishing towns, like those in East Prussia discussed above, are forgotten or their old toponyms unrecognizable today, especially in Upper Hungary and Transylvania: Érsekújvár, S. Warhol (Seini), Újhel and Simlau. This toponymy, effaced by the last century's political, cultural-linguistic and ethnic-demographic changes, remains alive in Hebrew bibliography and booklore, that is, on the title-pages of Hebrew books. It is no exaggeration to say that this printing-historical landscape is an altogether forgotten aspect of Central European cultural history.

There are also places today barely remembered for Hebrew books: Alsókubin, Csongrád, Érsekújvár, Nátafalva, Szilágysomlyó and Szolyva. At Stupava (Hungarian Stomfa, German Stampfen) in western Slovakia, Moses Samuel Herzog published in 1918, through the press of A. Alkalai, his history of the local Jewish community, *Korot batenu*, apparently the only Hebrew book under this imprint. It should be added that almost all the collection's Hebrew-character books from the Hungarian lands are in Hebrew, but there are a handful in Yiddish from Budapest and Paks.<sup>59</sup>

Marmorstein was associated with Hebrew printing in East Central Europe not only through family background and personal contacts but through his own publishing activity. His edition of gaonic responsa, *Teshuvot ha-geonim*, prepared in collaboration with Ch. J. Ehrenreich was printed in Deva in Transylvania in 1928. (Ehrenreich was editor of the rabbinic journal *Otsar ha-hayim*, one of several Hebrew journals from Hungary, Galicia and Romania in the collection.<sup>60</sup>) He clearly remained engaged with rabbinic literature in his native Hungary and the former Hungarian lands after his resettlement in England.

However, due to his distance from his native region, being cut off from these lands during the deteriorating political circumstances of World War I and then of the interwar period, if not to the fall in Hebrew book production in most of these places, Marmorstein had ever fewer books produced there in the interwar years, and even fewer from the Hitler years. His latest-dated Hebrew books from Central and Eastern Europe come from Cluj, Simlau and Deva in Romania (1927, 1928), Bratislava, Galanta, Bardejov and Berehovo (Beregszász) in Czechoslovakia (1922, 1927, 1929), Vác and Újpest in Hungary (1929, 1932), Warsaw in Poland (1935), Vienna in Austria (1936), and Berlin and Frankfurt in Germany

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<sup>59</sup> On Hebrew-character printing in Hungary, including both Hebrew and Yiddish, see the survey of bibliographical sources and background in Komoróczy, *Yiddish Printing in Hungary*, pp. 15-29.

<sup>60</sup> On Ehrenreich's publishing ventures and on Marmorstein's and Ehrenreich's collaboration, see *Hakhme Hungaryah*, p. 553.

(1937).<sup>61</sup> The two books in his library printed in Budapest in 1939 and 1940 probably reached him not from Europe but from Palestine where the author, Loewinger, was then living. In contrast, he has an ever-growing number of books printed in Jerusalem during these years.

These works indicate the degree to which Marmorstein's centre of gravity was the rabbinic world of Hungary and East Central Europe of his youth and the new centre of Jewish scholarship in Palestine, and not Poland or Lithuanian ('Litvak') Eastern Europe, as vibrant as that world still was until its destruction. It is telling that his last books from Lithuania and Poland were printed by émigrés from these countries already resident in England. The one book in his library from Lithuania, printed in Kaidan in 1931, was authored by a rabbi in London. His last book from Poland was by a rabbinic scholar like himself, Lithuanian-born and German-educated Samuel Atlas, who was then teaching in Cambridge.

Even from afar Marmorstein was closely connected to the last period of traditional Hebrew-Jewish culture in Europe on the eve of its destruction. The offprint of his essay in the Jacob Freimann festschrift printed in Berlin in 1937 was one of the last Hebrew publications from Germany before the Holocaust.<sup>62</sup> The publicist Ch. Ehrenreich who co-edited with Marmorstein *Teshuvot ha-ge'onim* (Deva 1928) - the latest-dated book in the collection from Transylvania - was deported from Slovakia and killed at Lublin in 1942. The long-distance involvement of émigrés with publishing in Central and Eastern Europe in the years before the Holocaust, of which other examples are mentioned above, merits a study of its own.

### *Art of the Hebrew Book*

Although the aesthetic of the Hebrew book differed right from the start from books in western languages, a concern with fine typography, ornamental letter and devices, and other graphic embellishments is in evidence to some degree throughout the course of Hebrew printing. That said, most of the graphic enhancement of Hebrew books over the centuries has been on the title-page. Indeed, it is no exaggeration to say that the title-page offers not only the most prominent but usually the only graphic or aesthetic element in the book. (For a select list of books in the collection according to specific aesthetic/graphic elements, see Appendix 8.)

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<sup>61</sup> The Rylands' catalogue record for S. Assaf's *Le-korot ha-rabanut* ('Odesa 1932') is in error; it should read 1922. (Printing in the Hebrew language was suspect from shortly after the revolution and altogether proscribed in the Soviet Union from the late 1920s.) However, this item is still of printing-historical interest. The journal from which the offprint comes was set in type at the Moriah Press in Odessa prior to the transfer of the press to Palestine, and then printed in Tel-Aviv by stereotype.

<sup>62</sup> H. Wassermann (et al.), *Bibliographie des Jüdischen Schrifttums in Deutschland 1933-1943* (Munich 1989), p. 31, no. 0319.

**TITLE-PAGES.** The Marmorstein collection offers a sampling of the range of title-page design, typographic arrangement, decoration and ornamentation. Some Hebrew title-pages are adorned with printers' marks, or some other prominent decorative device, such as in Ahai Gaon's *She'iltot* (Dyhernfurth 1786), which displays the municipal seal of this Silesian town which was once a major centre of Hebrew printing. More common, however, are ornamental borders or 'portals', as introduced in Venice in the early 16<sup>th</sup> century, of which the editions from Bomberg's Venetian press and from other Italian presses are classic examples.

There are examples of Baroque ornamental or decorative borders from the late 17<sup>th</sup> and the entire 18<sup>th</sup> century from towns in Germany, e.g. Sulzbach (*Sha'ar Efrayim*, 1688), Hanau (1715), and Fürth in Bavaria (1760, 1779). Some are especially elaborate, such as Joseph Teomim's *Rosh Yosef* (Frankfurt a. O. 1794). Also notable is the elaborate title-page with the printer's device of a caravan moving across an eagle rampant in *Lekah tov* by Eliezer Lipman of Zamosć (Frankfurt on the Oder, 1705). Shabtai ha-kohen's *Nekudot ha-kesef* (Hanau 1715) is noteworthy, too, on account of its being printed in the more refined 'Amsterdam type.' There are also 18<sup>th</sup>-century examples from Venice and Leghorn.

**ILLUSTRATION.** Illustration is very rare in Hebrew books, and in fact in most cases it can only be categorized as diagrammatic. Some Talmudic and rabbinic texts and commentaries have spatial diagrams, which are the most common non-textual element, next to title-page design and printers' ornaments. There are usually spatial diagrams in editions of tractate Eruvin (e.g. in the Vilna Shas) and in a few individual Talmud tractates, e.g. Sukah (Brünn, 1798). Books with images or floor-plans of the ancient temple in Jerusalem include Yom Tov Lipman Heller's *Tsurat Bet ha-mikdash* (Frankfurt am Main 1714). The fold-out plates in H. Flesch's modern edition of *Baraita* (Hamburg 1899) display the Temple artifacts.

Other genres of illustration are even rarer.<sup>63</sup> Astronomical charts or diagrams, such as in the elegant calendric treatise by Ibn Susan, *Ibur shanim* (Venice 1578), or in another astronomical-calendrical treatise, *Yeshu'ah be-yisra'el*, a commentary on Maimonides' laws of the new moon by Jonathan b. Joseph of Ruzhany (Frankfurt am Main 1720), are perhaps the most common of these rare graphic elements and at the same time the most striking. Editions of the 14<sup>th</sup>-century medical treatise by Meir Aldabi, *Shevile emunah* (Amsterdam 1708 and Lemberg 1863) contain some astronomical illustrations. (The oldest scientific illustration in a Hebrew book in the Rylands, not part of the Marmorstein collection, is appended in the second edition of *Meshal ha-kadmoni*, on which see Appendix 30.) The geometric illustrations which accompany the notes on Euclid appended

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<sup>63</sup> Cf. our '[Hebrew] Printing', cited above, pp. 252-253.

to Jonah Landsofer's responsa *Me'il tsedakah* (Prague 1757) are unique in their genre but betray an renewed interest in Euclid among East European Jewish scholars.<sup>64</sup>

Other examples of woodcut decoration or illustration are *Bet Aharon* by Aaron b. Samuel (Frankfurt a. O. 1691) and *Torat shelemim* by Isaiah Basan (Venice 1741), the latter with varied and busy ornaments. Other notable instances of decoration and ornament or some other aesthetic element include Baruch Lindau's *Minhat todah* (Berlin 1789) with star-signs on one page, and *Pa'aneah raza* by Isaac b. Judah (Amsterdam 1698) which features very cute manicules. The *Bet aharon* stands out typographically, too, every one of its pages printed in four columns.

Also of typographic interest are the books whose title-pages display a striking combination of Hebrew and Latin text and type, such as Mattitiah Neugroeschel's *Be'er sheva* (Prague 1814), whose title-page is half in German and Latin, a notable feature of Prague printing in this period (related to censorship) and one more example of the intersection of Hebraica and Latinity. The use of both Hebrew and Latin (or Cyrillic or Gothic) types in Hebrew/Jewish print shops has largely escaped the attention of bibliographers. The *Sidur ha-minhagim* (Munkács 1888) of Salamon Schück, 'rabbiner zu Karczag' and relation of Marmorstein, has an added title-page in German and even some German type within the Hebrew text. Rosenfeld's *Zekher tsadik* is in a combination of German, Hungarian and Hebrew.

The kabbalistic illustrations in editions of *Zeh sifre de-adam kadma'ah ... Raziel ha-malakh*, the pyro-prophylactic work (i.e. a charm against fire) ascribed to the angel Raziel (Józefów 1873) are another genre particular to Hebrew book illustration which stand out in their oddity. The octavo *Toldot adam* (Zólkiew 1720) [part of the collection but not yet catalogued as of this writing] is richly illustrated, containing also an early instance in print of a Star of David.<sup>65</sup> Graphic elements in all these works, as limited as they may be, would contribute to a '*Corpus illustrationum et ornamentationum hebraicarum*' which remains a desideratum of Hebrew bibliography and booklore.

A book whose illustration stands out for other culture-historical reasons is Abraham Farissol's *Igeret orhot 'olam* (Prague 1793), an early 16<sup>th</sup>-century geographical treatise with the first mention in Hebrew of the New World. The presence of copper engravings by the Czech graphic artist Antonín Balzer in this edition of a secular Hebrew book, printed by Eisenwanger, is a sign of new winds blowing not simply in book production but in the

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<sup>64</sup> This edition is not mentioned in the entry 'Euclid' in *Jewish Encyclopedia* 5 (New York 1906), p. 265.

<sup>65</sup> The first instance is within an arabesque ornament in the 1493 Constantinople *Arba'ah Turim*, cited in note 1 above.

acculturation of Bohemian Jewry in the late 18<sup>th</sup> and early 19<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>66</sup> The work of this noted non-Jewish graphic artist (his father Jan Balzer was even better known) deserves more attention in the history of Jewish book illustration. As in so many other respects, Hebrew printing – like other aspects of Jewish culture - in Prague can be seen as both idiosyncratic and as a forerunner of later developments.

**COLOURED PAPER.** The collection holds a few books printed in Central Europe in the early 19<sup>th</sup> century which stand out for their coloured papers, a phenomenon normally encountered in books printed farther East. The gaonic compilation *Halakhot gedolot* (Vienna 1810) is printed on blue paper. Some leaves of *Havat da'at* by Jacob of Lissa (Dyhernfurth 1810) are printed on blue paper, an example of the widespread use of this substandard paper in Hebrew books in that period, and a mark of the indifference on the part of the printers - and their audience - to paper colour. M. Neugroeschel's ethical treatise *Be'er sheva* (Prague 1814) is printed on tinted paper, one of few such books from Prague.<sup>67</sup>

**COLOURED INK.** The only colour (other than coloured papers) ever encountered in Hebrew books before modern times, more commonly from the 18<sup>th</sup> century in Central and Eastern Europe, is the red ink used for some words on the title-page, specifically the title and/or place of imprint. An example in the collection of an unusual instance of a different colour, almost unprecedented, is the use of green ink for a single illustration of the Temple candelabrum in Bornstein's *Megilat ta'anit* (Jerusalem 1908), at a time when colour was just beginning to be introduced – a virtually revolutionary innovation in Hebrew printing – in Palestine. Even more striking is the multi-coloured map in Samuel Klein's *Erets yisra'el: geografyah* (Vienna 1922).<sup>68</sup>

**JUDAICA, ANTI-JUDAICA, AND NON-JUDAICA.** A few non-Hebrew, or bilingual, volumes (discussed below) can also be cited for aesthetic embellishment. An engraved vignette appears on the title-page of *Pugio fidei* (Paris 1651), which like Beck's reworking of Pococke's *Porta Mosis* (1705) displays an attractive combination of red and black ink on the title-page, not uncommon in Christian Hebraica. The volume of Ugolino's *Thesaurus*

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<sup>66</sup> Cf. Iveta Cermanová, 'The Fall and Rise of Hebrew Book Printing in Bohemia 1780-1850', in *Hebrew Printing in Bohemia and Moravia*, ed. Olga Sixtová (Prague 2012), pp. 217, 223-224, with reproductions of several illustrated pages in this edition of Farissol. I am grateful to Olga Sixtová for kindly responding to my queries and drawing my attention to these illustrations.

<sup>67</sup> The only other example from Prague on blue or bluish paper of which we are aware is Jonathan Eybeschuetz's deluxe copy of Solomon Ibn Adret, *Torat ha-bayit ha-arukh* (Prague 1735), recorded in the auction catalogue of Kestenbaum & Co., *The Valmadonna Trust Library: Highly Important Hebrew Printed Books, Selections from the Historic Collection*, intro. Brad Sabin Hill (New York 2017), p. 106, no. 196.

<sup>68</sup> This map complements the coloured maps in a book in the Rylands' Haskalah collection (#369), Hillel Kahane's *Gelilot ha-arets* (Botosani 1901), all the more surprising for being printed at an unlikely provincial press in Romania.

(Venice 1752), containing the ancient rabbinic works Mekhilta and Sifra with Latin translation, is illustrated. Prideaux's *Histoire des juifs et des peuples voisins* (Amsterdam 1722) has several fold-out maps. Lastly, the Christian Hebraist John Spencer's *De legibus Hebraeorum ritualibus et earum rationibus* (Cambridge 1727), with a copper-plate portrait of the author opposite the title-page, is notable for its large paper, usually a deluxe feature. A printer's vignette of Felice Valgrisi appears on the title-page of Aristotle's *Liber de Poetica* (Venice 1584), one of the oldest non-Hebrew books in the collection.

### *Jewish Languages*

ARAMAIC. Marmorstein's doctoral dissertation at Heidelberg was on the Aramaic Targum of Pseudo-Jonathan, and he also wrote about newly discovered fragments of the Palestinian Targum. His library is unusually strong in editions of Targum, related secondary literature, and Aramaic lexicography. There are dozens of editions and studies of the various Targums to the Pentateuch and the later biblical books, including Onkelos, Pseudo-Jonathan and Targum Sheni to Esther.

Among these are *Hamishah humshe torah* [Pentateuch] with the Five Scrolls (Megillot), three Targums and Rashi (Amsterdam 1682); the Hebrew Bible with Rashi and Targum (Lunéville 1809); *Hamesh megilot* (Five Scrolls) with Targum and Rashi, including Targum sheni on Esther (Jerusalem 1845), notable as one of the very first Jerusalem imprints; and *Targum Onkelos 'al ha-Torah* (Berlin 1884), one of the few independent editions of this Aramaic text. Another scholarly edition is A. Sulzbach's *Targum scheni zum Buch Esther* (Frankfurt a. M., 1920), text and translation of an elaborate late midrash in Aramaic.

There are editions of the Talmud (in Hebrew and Aramaic), of individual tractates, and of commentaries on them. Important in intellectual history, significant in printing history, and among the oldest and most valuable books in the collection is the editio princeps of the *Zohar* (Matua 1558-1560). This classic work of medieval Jewish mysticism is the first printed book entirely in Aramaic. There is also a later edition (Amsterdam 1715), as well as the related *Tikune ha-zohar* (Slavita, s.a.). These and the aforementioned scholarly editions of Onkelos and of Targum sheni are among the few monographic Aramaic texts. Some liturgical texts in Aramaic can be found in editions of the festival and daily prayers (e.g. *Mahzor*, Mantua 1559 and Venice 1568).

Altogether, apart from incidental scattered passages in Aramaic, there are some 50 works in or about biblical and later Aramaic; the Targums of Onkelos or Pseudo-Jonathan to the Pentateuch, Song of Songs, Ruth and Esther; Aramaic papyri from Elephantine; Aramaic

inscriptions; Aramaic incantation texts; Samaritan Aramaic; specific Aramaic Jewish liturgical compositions (*Kol nidre*, Kaddish); Jewish marriage contracts (*ketubot*) in Aramaic; kabbalistic Aramaic poetry (N. Katofa, *Nevu'at ha-yeled*, Berlin 1788); Aramaic vocabulary (*teku*); and Talmudic, agadic and gaonic Aramaic.

Works of Aramaic and Talmudic lexicography include several early editions of Nathan b. Jehiel's *Arukh*, e.g. Bomberg's (Venice 1532), the third oldest book in the collection; J. Buxtorf's *Lexicon Chaldaicum* (Leipzig 1875); and Krauss' *Griechische und lateinische Lehnwörter im Talmud, Midrasch und Targum* (Berlin 1898).

Never mentioned in the context of Aramaic are the many Hebrew books bearing Aramaic titles, often drawn from recondite Talmudic phrases, from biblical Aramaic, the Targum, Aramaic liturgical texts, or the Zohar. The title-pages of these books, of which the collection holds dozens of instances, can be linguistically striking. The earliest of numerous examples in the collection is Joseph Hayyun's *Mile de-avot* (Venice 1600), a commentary on Mishnaic ethical treatise Avot. This idiosyncratic category, which parallels the use of Greek titles for Latin books or Latin titles for books in modern western languages, has never been surveyed either linguistically, in terms of literary allusions, or bibliographically. (See Appendix 9 for a list of such titles among works in the collection.)

**JUDEO-ARABIC.** Marmorstein studied Arabic in university, and prided himself on his thorough reading of the Quran. He was also one of the last students of Steinschneider around the time the latter produced his bibliographic survey, *Die arabische Literatur der Juden* [*Bibliotheca Arabico-Judaica*] (1902), which provoked the prolix review by Poznański, *Zur jüdisch-arabischen Litteratur* (1904). These two works, both in the collection, provide detailed documentation on medieval and early post-medieval texts in this language, including Karaite and Samaritan writings. Marmorstein's familiarity with and particular interest in Judeo-Arabic, never expressed directly, is apparent in the three dozen editions of texts and translations in this language and related secondary literature which he assembled.

Modern scholarly editions of medieval Judeo-Arabic works and/or relevant scholarship include Ibn Janah, Saadiah, the Karaite Aaron b. Elijah, Judah Hayyuj, Maimonides and others. These edition of *Ma'aseh nisim* (Paris 1867), questions by Daniel Ha-Bavli on Maimonides' *Sefer ha-mitsvot* and replies by Abraham son of Maimonides, in Judeo-Arabic with Hebrew translation by Nisim Shemama Qayid, was published by Jehiel Brill but possibly intended also for export to North African Jews. Another modern edition is *Ma'aseh yerushalmi* by the same Abraham b. Maimon, edited by R. Patai (Jerusalem 1946), in Hebrew and Judeo-Arabic. The secondary literature on Judeo-Arabic also includes such works as Bacher's *Die hebräische und arabische Poesie der Juden Jemens* [*Shire Teman*] (1910).

Most interestingly, the collection holds exempla of modern Judeo-Arabic books printed by and for native speakers in Italy, the Maghreb and the Middle East. (For a title list see Appendix IO.) These works include translations of the biblical books Song of Songs and Ruth; a commentary on the Decalogue; laws of the Sabbath; a translation of the Mishnaic ethical tractate Avot; wedding songs, Sabbath hymns and other liturgical poetry; and more.

The editions from Italy are among the earliest books in Judeo-Arabic produced by or for native speakers (1825 and 1854), before printing in this language was introduced and spread among Jews in the Arab world. The edition of Song of Songs in Hebrew, Aramaic and Judeo-Arabic (Leghorn 1854), all vocalized, is one of the few instances of pointed Judeo-Arabic. Other exempla include books from Oran (1885), Jerusalem (1888, 1913), Baghdad (1906), Aden (1925) and Djerba (1904, 1913, 1926). One of these stands out in bearing a Judeo-Arabic (rather than Hebrew) title: *Kitab Atmar al-afal* (Djerba 1913), a translation of Y. Mili's *Tapuhe ha-zahav*, a 17<sup>th</sup>-century abridgement of Elijah de Vidas' mystical tract *Reshit hokhmah*.

The collection also holds many texts and studies based on discoveries in the Cairo Genizah (mainly Genizah materials in Cambridge), including a bound series of articles from the *Jewish Quarterly Review* by H. Hirschfeld, *The Arabic Portion of the Cairo Genizah* (London, 1903-1906). The printed Judeo-Arabic texts in the Marmorstein collection complement the manuscripts and especially the Genizah fragments in this language which are preserved in the Rylands' Gaster collection. There are few university libraries in either Europe or America which hold original manuscripts or printed texts in this language, let alone wide-ranging collections.

Classic works of medieval and later Judeo-Arabic literature were transmitted in translation to Jews outside the Arabophone world. Aside from original texts in Judeo-Arabic, the collection holds numerous editions of Hebrew translations of Judeo-Arabic texts, such as Bahya's *Hovot ha-levavot* (Brünn 1854 and later editions) and Abulafia's *Kitab al-rasa'il = Sefer igrot* (Paris 1871). There are also treatises translated from the Arabic (not Judeo-Arabic) into Hebrew, e.g. *Igeret ba'ale hayim* by Ikhwan al-safa, together with Aristotle's *Sefer ha-tapuah* (Warsaw 1879).

Marmorstein possessed a few Arabic texts in Arabic characters, including biblical texts published by the British and Foreign Bible Society in London, such as *Sifr al-mazamir* [Psalms] (1871) and the Gospel of Matthew, *Kitab al-ahd al-jadid li-rabbina ... Yasu al-masih* (London 1899). The earliest Arabic-character printing in the collection and in a category of its own is Beck's reworking of Pococke's *Porta Mosis*, with Maimonides' Judeo-Arabic texts rendered in Arabic characters (Leipzig 1705).



**YIDDISH.** There is no mention of Yiddish in the biographical sketch of Marmorstein written by his son. Yet Yiddish was certainly one of the languages of his youth, used during his rabbinical studies, and he was connected with the language to some degree throughout his polyglot life. A series of articles on the Jewish drive to assimilation appeared under his name in the London Yiddish journal *Dos fraye vort* in 1934. His library includes Yiddish books of the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries as well as by contemporary writers in London, the local periodical *Loshn un lebn*, and other publications from the London printer Naroditzky.<sup>69</sup>

Marmorstein's awareness of pre-modern Yiddish literature is reflected in his extended series of notes, published in *Mitteilungen zur jüdischen Volkskunde* in 1911-1914, on Salomon Goldschmidt's German translation of *Tsene-rene*, the classic Yiddish text of Jewish women's literature.<sup>70</sup> That he was in contact with Yiddish scholars is apparent from works in his library including L. Landau's *A Hebrew-German Paraphrase of the Book of Esther* (Urbana 1920); D. Ginsberg's study of Yiddish correspondence from 1533 (Wilna 1938); M. Gaster's *Yiddish Literature of the Middle Ages* (London 1927); Jakob Meitlis's *Das Ma'asebuch: seine Entstehung und Quellengeschichte* (1933); and the offprinted catalogue by D. S. Löwinger, *Jiddische Handschriften in Breslau* (1936).

The Marmorstein collection has exempla of Yiddish printed texts from four centuries, and over twenty places of printing. Among these are texts in both Western and Eastern Yiddish, from towns today in a dozen countries: Amsterdam, Basel, Breslau, Budapest, Czernowitz, Dessau, Dyhernfurth, Frankfurt, Hanover, Kolomea, Krotoschin, Lemberg, London, Metz, New York, Paks, Paris, Prague, Przemysl, Sulzbach, Vilna and Warsaw. For a collection not focused on Yiddish, this is a surprising geographic range. (For a chronological list of the Yiddish books, see Appendix II.)

The oldest Yiddish-related work in the collection is one of the first instances of 'Christian Yiddishism', the manual for reading Judeo-German appended in Buxtorf's *Thesaurus Grammaticus linguae sanctae hebraeae* (Basel 1663). Apart from the 17<sup>th</sup> century responsa by Joel Sirkes (Frankfurt a. M. 1697) which incorporate depositions in Yiddish with Hebrew translation throughout the text, and an unidentified Yiddish edition of Isaac Aboab, *Menores ha-Mor* [*Menorat ha-ma'or*] [Sulzbach 1662? or 1755?, or Amsterdam?], the oldest Yiddish books in the library are an edition of *Seyfer Tam ve-yosher* [*Tam ve-yashar*] (Sulzbach 1783); *Amudey ha-loshn* [*Amude ha-lashon*] (Prague 1803), a textbook

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<sup>69</sup> On *Dos fraye vort*, edited by Y. N. Shteynberg and to which both Marmorstein and Esther Kreitman contributed, see Leonard Prager, *Yiddish Culture in Britain: A Guide* (Frankfurt am Main 1990), p. 247.

<sup>70</sup> *Mitteilungen zur jüdischen Volkskunde* 14 (1911), no. 1, pp. 37-47, no. 2, 49-63, no. 3, 130-135; 15 (1912), no. 2, 49-71; 16 (1913), no. 1, 21-25, no. 4, 14-31; 17 (1914), no. 1, 9-10, and no. 3, 92-95. Offprints of most of these are held in the collection.

of Hebrew grammar in Yiddish; Isaac Euchel's Yiddish translation of Proverbs, *Darkhe no'am* (Dessau 1804); and the ethical treatise *Sheyvet muser* [*Shevet musar*] (Dyhernfurth 1804).

There are various other works in western Yiddish from Amsterdam and towns within or on the margins of the German lands, including Hanover, Sulzbach, Breslau, Dyhernfurth, Krotoschin, Metz and Prague. The small number of Yiddish books from Eastern Europe include editions from Warsaw, Vilna, Lemberg (Lwów/Lviv), as well as J. Kreppel's *Di yudishe fohn fun prag* (Przemysl 1924), an historical tale of the Jewish flag in Prague. Other Yiddish works stem from Yiddish literary circles in London and a few from New York. The parodistic journal *Der grager: humoristisch Tugblatt* (Cernauti 1926) is a little-known instance of romanized Yiddish from a period of sporadic experimentation with orthography, an aspect of publishing history in this language which has not yet been surveyed in its totality.

Closer to home for Marmorstein are several books which reflect the Western Yiddish environment of Hungary, e.g. *Der falshe meshiekh shabse tsvi* (Budapest 1882), on the Sabbatian movement; Gershon Stern's sermons in *Birkas ha-neyfesh* [*Birkat ha-nefesh*] with *Mosuk le-neyfesh* [*Matok la-nafesh*] (Paks 1910); and Stern's *Yalkut ha-gershuni* (Paks 1926), a Yiddish commentary on Avot, one of the collection's numerous commentaries on the Mishnaic ethical treatise; and Israel Welcz, *Hok le-yisra'el* (Budapest 1927), laws of Passover in Judeo-German.<sup>71</sup> Two earlier Yiddish works by Hungarian rabbis are *Igeres El'asaf oder zendshrayben aynes afrikanishen rebin zaynen kollegen in eyropa* by Aaron Chorin of Arad (Prague 1826), an example of Yiddish 'orientalism', a still largely unexplored genre, and the responsa by Hillel Lichtenstein, *Eys lasoys* [*Et la'asot*] (Kolomea 1925).<sup>72</sup>

The Yiddish texts include biblical translations, homiletics, special liturgies (grace after meals, penitential and graveside prayers), religious law and customs, ethical treatises, history, biography and hagiography, and belles-lettres (poetry, stories, novels, humour, folklore), a journal, and translation of the New Testament (London 1896), aside from modern scholarship. Local writing includes works by the little-known S. Palme, *Royte royzn* (1924), J. Sokhatshevski's *Shma yisroel* (London 1943), and Jacob Taubes, whose *Gezamlte lider* (London 1946) may have been one of the last books acquired by Marmorstein. One of the two volumes by Esther Kreitman (sister of Isaac Bashevis Singer),

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<sup>71</sup> On Yiddish books from Hungary, see S. R. Komoróczy, *Yiddish Printing in Hungary*, cited above.

<sup>72</sup> On Lichtenstein and Yiddish, see S. R. Komoróczy, 'Language assimilation and dissimilation in the works of R. Hillel Lichtenstein', in *Studies in Responsa Literature = Teshuvot u-She'elot*, ed. Viktória Bányai and S. R. Komoróczy (Budapest, 2011), pp. 107-121, and Komoróczy's 'Jiddisch ist die Sprache der Juden: R. Hillel Lichtensteins Kampf gegen sprachliche Assimilation', *Judaica* 68, no. 2 (2012), 156-171.

the novel *Brilyantn* (London 1944) and the short stories *Yikhes* (London 1950), was added to the collection after his death.

**OTHER JEWISH LANGUAGES.** Marmorstein's living experience of Yiddish, his academic interest in Aramaic and acquired familiarity with Judeo-Arabic were evidently complemented by an awareness of other Jewish languages, including Ladino (Judezmo/Judeo-Spaniah), Judeo-Persian, Judeo-Provençal, Judeo-Greek and Judeo-Slavic.

The few Ladino books now in the collection are *Tefilot kol peh, Libro de tefilah con Ladino* (Vienna, 1884), the Sephardic liturgy with Ladino translation; *Haggadah shel pesah*, the Passover Haggadah with Ladino translation (title-page missing, perhaps Vienna 1894?); and Halimov, *Los ki sofrin por el onor* (Tatar Pazarchik 1894), on Jewish persecutions. (Tatar Pazarchik is a barely remembered locus of Judeo-Spanish printing in the Balkans.) An early work of western scholarship on Ladino is the French scholar M. Schwab's *Homélie judéo-espagnols* (Paris 1917), on sermons.

The few examples of original printed Judeo-Persian (or Judeo-Tadjik) printed books in the collection include *Mikra meforash* (Jerusalem 1926), Genesis and Exodus with Judeo-Persian translation by Joseph Kohen of Bukhara. The collection holds several of E. N. Adler's books and studies, including *The Persian Jews and their Ritual*, a major contribution to Judeo-Persian booklore prepared in collaboration with the Hungarian scholar S. Bacher. Marmorstein assisted Adler on several publications, not least the sumptuous *Catalogue of Hebrew Manuscripts in the Collection of Elkan Nathan Adler* (Cambridge, 1921), which describes inter alia various texts in Jewish languages.

Medieval Jewish languages are addressed in several works. M. Schwab's edition of the *Livre de comptes de Mardoché Joseph (manuscrit hébréo-provençal)* (Paris 1913) is one of the most important texts in Judeo-Provençal. Harkavy's *Ha-yehudim u-sefat ha-slavim* [*Die Juden und die slawischen Sprachen*] (Wilna 1867) deals with Judeo-Slavic glosses in medieval Hebrew texts, and the 13<sup>th</sup>-century *Or zaru'a* by Isaac b. Moses of Vienna (Zhitomir 1887) contains the oldest lexemes in Judeo-Czech. Two works by Marmorstein's Hungarian contemporary Samuel Krauss (who came as a refugee to Britain in 1938), *Griechische und lateinische Lehnwörter im Talmud, Midrasch und Targum* (1898) and *Studien zur byzantinisch-jüdischer Geschichte* (1914), deal in part with Judeo-Greek. The collection's extensive holdings of texts and studies of Aramaic are noted above.

#### IV. NON-HEBRAICA

Altogether some 25 languages are represented in the Marmorstein collection. Apart from Hebrew, which predominates, the holdings of German, English and Hungarian are the most extensive, followed by works or texts in French, Italian, Latin, Aramaic, Yiddish and Judeo-Arabic; there are also volumes in Greek, Syriac, Arabic, Ladino (Judeo-Spanish), Judeo-Persian, Dutch, Czech, Croatian, Serbian, Romanian, Danish and Swedish. At least half a dozen additional languages (Assyrian, Hittite, Turkish, Judeo-Slavic, Judeo-Provençal, Judeo-Greek, etc.) are dealt with as the subject of editions, critical commentary, catalogues or philological research. (The Jewish languages in Hebrew characters are discussed above.)

The collection holds 20 volumes in Latin, Greek, Italian, French, English or German printed before 1800. (For a chronological checklist see Appendix 12.) The two oldest (excluding the bibliophile facsimile of Aldus' Latin grammar of Hebrew from 1501) are Philo's *Opera* in Greek (Paris 1552), which is the oldest item of Judaica in the collection, and the Latin edition of Aristotle's *Liber de Poetica* (Venice 1584), one of the few items of non-Judaica among the early printed books. Notable among the 6 volumes from the 17<sup>th</sup> century are the Latin translation of Ibn Verga's history of the Jews (1651), an early item of non-Hebrew Judaica from Amsterdam; the Paris edition of Raymond Martini's classic anti-Jewish polemic *Pugio Fidei* of the same year; and a Hebrew-Latin dictionary by the distinguished Christian Hebraist and bibliographer Buxtorf, *Thesaurus Grammaticus linguae sanctae hebraeae* (Basel 1663), with his introductory guide to Yiddish, one of the first examples of Christian Yiddishism.

Most of the dozen non-Hebrew volumes from the 18<sup>th</sup> century are works by Christian Hebraists in Germany, England and Italy, namely V. Loescher, J. C. Wolf, John Spencer, John Gill, B. Ugolino and G. Pasini. Wolf's *Bibliotheca Hebraea* is one of the first comprehensive works of Hebrew bibliography and a classic in this field. Spencer's *De legibus Hebraeorum* (Cambridge 1727) was notorious for suggesting that ancient Israelite religion was borrowed from the Egyptians. Humphrey Prideaux's *Histoire des Juifs et des peuples voisins* (Amsterdam 1722), translated from the English, is the oldest French book in the collection. Of several titles in English from this century, Charles Leslie's conversionist tract *A Short and Easy Method with the Jews* (London 1753) can be considered the collection's earliest dealing with English – or living – Jews. Salomon Maimon's famous autobiography, *Lebensgeschichte* (Berlin 1793), is the earliest German-language book.

#### *Greek and Latin*

Marmorstein's classical learning is evident in all his works. Two of his studies even have Greek in the title, another study was devoted to the Talmudic sage Joshua b. Hananiah and

Greek wisdom, and in his last year he published a study dealing with a Greek lyric. In the course of his involvement with classical, Hellenistic and patristic literature, Marmorstein acquired a number of editions of Greek and Latin texts and related secondary scholarship. He was especially interested in Philo and one of the two oldest books in the collection - the oldest item of non-Hebrew Judaica - is the editio princeps of Philo in Greek (Paris 1552). His published studies involved ancient and early Christian literature and thought. Apart from the Greek Septuagint, *Ἡ Παλαια Διαθηκη* [He palaia Diatheke] (Oxford 1848), there are patristic texts in Greek, Latin and Syriac.

The collection includes a number of volumes of Judaica – and anti-Judaica – in Latin. Most of these, relating to Hebrew language or texts or Judaic subjects, are by Christian Hebraists, several of whom were of Jewish or possibly Jewish origin (Ugolino, Ch.-M. Veil). The facsimile of Aldus' *Alphabetum Hebraicum* (Venice 1501), one of the earliest examples of Christian Hebraism in print, is cited above. There are three works by the 17<sup>th</sup>-century Swiss Christian Hebraist J. Buxtorf, *Concordantiae Bibliorum Hebraicae et Chaldaicae* (Basel 1627 or 1629? and Stettin? 1867?), *Thesaurus Grammaticus linguae sanctae hebraeae* (Basel 1663), and a later edition of his *Lexicon Chaldaicum, talmudicum et rabbinicum* (Leipzig 1875).

Valentin Loescher's *De Causis Linguae Ebraeae Libri III* (Frankfurt/Leipzig 1706) is the collection's oldest book printed in Germany. Mention has already been made of English Hebraist John Spencer's *De legibus Hebraeorum ritualibus et earum rationibus* (Cambridge 1727) and Pasini's *Grammatica linguae sanctae institutio* (Padua 1790). A lesser-known work is *De judaeo cive* (Turin 1793) by Pietro Giovanni Regis, professor of theology and oriental languages at Turin. (Both Marmorstein and his mentor Steinschneider published bibliographic surveys of Christian Hebraist literature, and it is fortuitous that the Marmorstein collection's Latin grammars of Hebrew and related works are complemented by a large number of Latin works of Christian Hebraism preserved in other Rylands collections.)

Of particular note is the *Historia Judaica* (Amsterdam 1651), a Latin translation of Solomon Ibn Verga's *Shevet yehudah*, a chronicle of persecutions of the Jews since the destruction of the Temple in Jerusalem until the 16<sup>th</sup> century. From the same year is one of the most notorious of anti-Jewish polemics, the 13<sup>th</sup>-century *Pugio Fidei* (Paris 1651) by Raymond Martini. Of textual, linguistic and printing-historical interest is the biblical commentary extracted from Maimonides' Mishnah commentary as edited and annotated by Pococke, *Notae miscellanae philologico-biblicae* (Leipzig, 1705), with Judeo-Arabic citations here rendered in Arabic rather than Hebrew type. J. C. Wolf's 4-volume *Bibliotheca Hebraea* (Hamburg 1715-1733) is notable as one of the earliest works of Hebrew bibliography.

The commentary on the Song of Songs (Paris 1676) by the Jewish convert to Christianity C.-M. Veil (less known than his scholarly Hebraist brother Louis de Weil), and one volume of the *Thesaurus antiquitatum sacrarum* (Venice 1752) by the Jewish-origin Italian polyhistor Ugolino, with a Latin translation of Portaleone's *Shilte ha-giborim*, are part of an entire corpus of Latin literature by Jewish apostates on Jewish-related subjects. The collection also holds Hilka's and Söderhjelm's modern edition (Heidelberg 1911) of the 12<sup>th</sup>-century *Disciplina Clericalis*, the earliest medieval collection of tales and a classic of medieval Latin literature by Peter Alphons, another Jewish convert.

At the other end of the spectrum of Judeo-Latinity is *De Flavii Josephi arte narrandi*, offprinted from *Eos* 33 (Leopoli/Lwów 1931), a study of Josephus by the Polish classical scholar and Hebraist Edmund Stein who died at Majdanek in 1943. The offprint in the Marmorstein collection can be considered a rare relic (there are copies in the National Library of Poland and in Hebrew Union College in Cincinnati), one of the last exempla of Neo-Latin publication by a Jew in Europe before the Holocaust.<sup>73</sup> A survey of Neo-Latin writing by Jews remains a desideratum of Latin literary history.<sup>74</sup>

### *German*

The entire gamut of German-Jewish scholarship, virtually without exception of any author, is represented in the collection. The scholars whose works figure here, in every area of Hebraic, Judaic and Semitic studies, insofar as these fields were cultivated in the late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup>, centuries, number in the hundreds. Many or most of these authors are reckoned among the last generation of the *Wissenschaft des Judentums*, or as their students and heirs.<sup>75</sup> The German-language holdings of the Marmorstein collection complement perfectly the Hebrew literature of the Abramsky Haskalah collection.

The collection is replete in the works of German, Austrian, other Central European Germanophone or German-trained Jewish scholars. Of the dozens of writers represented in the holdings, a large proportion is of such import in intellectual history, or the history of scholarship, that biographical entries on them can be found in the various Jewish encyclopedias.<sup>76</sup> These include such names as Berliner, Frankel, Graetz, Hildesheimer,

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<sup>73</sup> As it turned out, Stein's Hebrew translation of Suetonius was the last Hebrew book printed in Poland before the Holocaust, and the only one bearing the date 1940. See *Yad Vashem Bulletin* 20-22 (1967), p. 46.

<sup>74</sup> This literature is not covered in the otherwise comprehensive compendium edited by Sarah Knight and Stefan Tilg, *The Oxford Handbook of Neo-Latin* (Oxford 2015).

<sup>75</sup> This German literature complements the Hebrew holdings of the Abramsky Haskalah collection. On the intellectual movement known as *Wissenschaft des Judentums*, see the bibliography in Tamás Turán and Carsten Wilke (eds.), *Modern Jewish Scholarship in Hungary: The 'Science of Judaism' between East and West* (Oldenbourg 2016).

<sup>76</sup> Cf. H. Schmuck, *Jüdischer Biographischer Index=Jewish Biographical Index*, second edition (Munich 2006), 4 vols.

Jellinek, Kayserling and Zunz, to cite only some of the most prominent of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, and Albeck, Aptowitzer, Brann, Freimann, Lauterbach and Sperber of the 20<sup>th</sup>.

The collection also holds works by the great Hungarian Jewish scholars who wrote in German, whether in Hungary or in emigration, among them Blau, Bacher, Büchler, Kaufmann, Krauss, Löw and Neubauer. Some of them, especially from the margins of the Hungarian lands, led very transnational lives even well before the Holocaust and wrote in multiple languages. Many of these were figures whom Marmorstein knew personally or with whom he was in contact, either before or after his move to England. Attention should be drawn, too, to the German writings of Judaic scholars from the margins – or beyond them - of Germanophone Europe, such as Poznański and Tykocinski in Poland and L. Gulkowitsch in Estonia. (Gulkowitsch, in Tartu, was one of the last academicians of Jewish studies to teach in German during the period of the Holocaust, before he was killed in 1941.)

Especially well represented among the scholars writing in German (whether of German, Austrian, Hungarian or other national or linguistic background) are Elbogen, Epstein, Friedländer, Geiger, Grünwald, Güdemann, Heinemann, Hildesheimer, Hirschfeld, Lewin, Pereles, Scheftelowitz, Schoeps, Schwarz, and Steinschneider. Instances of émigré scholars of Central European origin or education living in America and British Palestine and publishing in German include Kaufmann Kohler, A. J. Heschel, Alexander Marx and E. Sukenik.<sup>77</sup>

This literature provides the entire spectrum of traditional Hebraistic and rabbinic learning and of modern critical scholarship in this field in Germany from the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century through to the extinction of this intellectual world in the 1930s. As such the collection provides a still-life of German-Jewish Wissenschaft, a complement to the Hebrew works of the principally East European Jewish enlightenment preserved in the Abramsky Haskalah collection. (For a list of German or German-educated scholars writing in German, see Appendix I3.) This particular corpus of Judaica is found in very few research libraries outside of the major universities or the Jewish seminaries.

**GERMAN CHRISTIAN HEBRAISTS.** Also included are works by the leading German Christian Hebraists of the 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries (apart from those of earlier centuries, from Buxtorf to Wolf, who wrote mostly in Latin). Among these are such figures as Bischoff, Kahle, Wünsche, Strack, Dalman and Delitzsch all of whose names still resonate today, not to mention Kittel with whom Marmorstein collaborated until the non-Jewish scholar published an obsequious anti-Semitic tract (*Die Judenfrage*, 1933) to protect himself under

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<sup>77</sup> On immigrant Germanophone or German-educated Jewish scholars in Britain, see *Second Chance*, cited above.

Nazi rule.<sup>78</sup> (In a separate category are the non-Jewish German orientalists and classicists, such as H. Winckler, O. Weinreich and O. Weber, many of whose works are also held in the collection.)

**GEOGRAPHY OF GERMAN-JEWISH PUBLISHING.** The collection is almost as significant for German, especially German-Jewish, publishing history as it is for intellectual history. The German-language holdings derive from nearly 100 places in Germany, Austria, Switzerland, Hungary, the Baltics and elsewhere in Central and Eastern Europe, as well as from the end-points of German-Jewish emigration. Best represented, of course, are the major publishing centres, viz. Berlin, Vienna, Breslau (today Wrocław in Poland), Frankfurt am Main, and Leipzig. Among the other towns are many unlikely or little-known addresses of German-Jewish settlement and publishing, such as Ansbach, Anschaffenburg, Coesfeld, Gebweiler, Gelsenkirchen, Hindenburg O.S., Kempen, Nakel, Nordhausen and Oldenburg in Gr.

This German portion of the collection encompasses Judaic scholarship and publishing from the entire geography not only within the post-World War II borders of Germany and Austria but from all of the once-German territories and other adjacent parts of Europe, in Silesia, East Prussia and the Habsburg lands and beyond, where German was used by Jews and others as a medium, or second language, of scholarship, education, or culture. (For a list of places of Jewish publishing in German as represented in the collection, see Appendix 14.) In many of these places, such as Olmütz in Moravia, Jews comprised a significant portion of the Germanophone population.

Apart from a small number of slightly better-known towns in Bohemia, Moravia, Alsace, Silesia, East Prussia, Galicia, Upper Hungary and other Austro-Hungarian lands, such as Breslau, Brünn, Budapest, Cracow, Czernowitz, Lemberg, Posen, Prague, Pressburg, Strasbourg, Stettin and Trieste, as well as Warsaw and Wilna, most of these place-names - in territory now in Hungary, Poland, Czechia, Slovakia, Romania, Ukraine, Russia, Estonia, Lithuania, Serbia, Croatia and Italy - are today even unimaginable loci of German-Jewish scholarship and publishing.

The far-flung geography includes such places as Alsókubin, Beograd, Bielitz, Buczacz, Darkehmen, Dorpat, Erlau, Essegg, Galgotsch, Gleiwitz, Glogau, Gross-Kanischa, Inowrocław, Jassy, Kecskemét, Krotoschin, Myslowitz, Nakel, Odessa, Olmütz, Pinne, Pleschen-Schwimm, Skotschau, Temesvár, Trencsen, Trieste, Trnava, Vinkovci and Wilna. (At Vinkovci in Slavonia, today Croatia, Marmorstein published in 'Selbstverlag' his first

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<sup>78</sup> On this episode, see Emile Marmorstein in 'My Father: A Memoir', p. xxii, and now Horst Junginger, *The Scientification of the "Jewish Question" in Nazi Germany* (Leiden 2017), pp. 128-129.



post-dissertation book, before his emigration to England.<sup>79</sup>) There are also a number of cities beyond the borders of the German world, even across the seas, where émigré or local publishing houses especially in the Nazi period issued German-language books, including Amsterdam, Antwerp, Cincinnati, Jerusalem, Leiden, New York and Uppsala.

This forgotten and (to today's ears) exotic-sounding landscape of German-language Jewish publishing, outside of today's Germany and even beyond Habsburg or Prussian lands, is a sub-category of German publishing and merits a bibliographic study in its own right. Many of the towns, today known under different names in other languages, are forgotten even within German culture and sometimes barely identifiable.<sup>80</sup> The many such works in the Marmorstein collection could serve as the basis of a physical or digital display which would be an original contribution to German and German-Jewish booklore and publishing history whose far-flung contours have never been surveyed before.

Apart from the handwritten communal register from Jamnitz (Jemnice) in Moravia begun in 1781, the oldest German-language work in the collection is the celebrated *Lebensgeschichte* (Berlin 1793) by Salomon Maimon (Berlin 1793), one of the first German-Jewish autobiographies, written by a Polish-born contemporary of Mendelssohn. The farthest extent of German-Jewish publishing is represented in such works as Sukenik's *Jüdische Gräber Jerusalems um Christi Geburt* (Jerusalem 1931) and Abraham Joshua Heschel's *Das Wesen der Dinge nach der Lehre Gabirols* (Cincinnati 1939).

The places of printing of German-language Christian Biblica/Hebraica/Judaica, as well as Orientalia, Classical philology, and other non-Judaica may seem to differ – at least per the holdings of the Marmorstein collection – from that of German-Jewish publishing. Whether or not this is significant cannot be determined here (and in any case some of the authors of works from these places may have been of Jewish background, a detail which may or may not be relevant). Towns which don't appear in the collection's elenchus of German-Jewish publishing include Bielefeld, Gotha, Gütersloh, Kirchhain N.L., Paderborn, Regensburg, Rostock and Tübingen. Some places are of cultural interest for other reasons, e.g. Fünfkirchen (Pécs in Hungarian), where a Hungarian nobleman published a book.

### *Anglo-Judaica*

Marmorstein spent most of his life in England, and his library is naturally composed in large part of books in English, or published in England. This corpus has a significance

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<sup>79</sup> On the publication of this book in Vinkovci, see C. Bethke, *(K)eine gemeinsame Sprache? Aspekte deutsch-jüdischer Beziehungsgeschichte in Slawonien, 1900-1945* (2013), p. 66.

<sup>80</sup> Cf. Klaus Garber, 'Eine Bibliotheksreise durch die Sowjetunion: alte deutsche Literatur zwischen Leningrad, dem Baltikum und Lemberg', *Neue Rundschau* 100 (1989), 5-38. I am grateful to Heike Tröger for kindly locating this study.

beyond the subject matter of the individual works. It represents the field of Hebrew and Jewish studies in the Anglo-American world as it existed before the end of World War II, before American and English-speaking Jewry became the major portion of world Jewry and the intellectual engine of Hebraic and Judaic studies. Moreover, the collection holds a large number of Hebrew books printed in London, providing a considerable corpus of publishing in this language in the British capital held in hardly any other university research library.

The library contains many works on Anglo-Jewish history and literature, a field to which Marmorstein contributed, as well as numerous Anglo-Jewish liturgies and occasional prayers. Mention has already been made of Steinschneider's offprint, *Zu Berachja Ha-Nakdan* (1883), dealing with a Hebrew writer generally associated with medieval Oxford. English Christian Hebraism of the 18<sup>th</sup> century is represented by Spencer's *De Legibus Hebraeorum* (Cambridge 1727). A more recent instance of Anglo-Hebrew literary creativity is Nathan Horowitz's Hebrew translation of Byron's Hebrew Melodies (London 1930). One can only smile at the juxtaposition of these authors with the French curiosity by Théo-Daedalus, *Israel chez John Bull: l'Angleterre Juive* (1913).

The library is chock full of English and Hebrew works by Marmorstein's contemporary Anglo-Jewish scholars. As in America, the proponents of Hebraic and Judaic studies in Britain were in Marmorstein's time almost all immigrants and products of European rabbinic educations. A roster of these names, such as Y. Abramsky, Duschinsky, J. Hertz, Hyamson, Maybaum, Sassoon, Schechter and I. W. Slotki, conjures a bygone age of Hebrew and Judaic scholarship. Books and studies by some others, such as I. Abrahams, E. N. Adler, S. Daiches, M. Gaster and his son Theodor, H. Gollancz, H. Hirschfeld, H. Loewe, Louis Rabinowitz, S. Rawidowicz, Cecil Roth and Leon Roth, are especially well represented; there is even a bound volume of Hirschfeld's offprinted studies with its own title-page. Works by the non-Jewish Hebraist Travers Herford and the ecumenist James Parkes also stand out.

Works by immigrant scholars from Central Europe in Britain, especially from Hungary, made London, Oxford and Cambridge world centres of Hebrew and Jewish studies and bibliography.<sup>81</sup> Their names and works still resonate today: the Arabist and bibliographer H. Hirschfeld; the Bodleian curator Neubauer and the Cambridge academic Schiller-Szinessy; H. Löwe, A. Büchler, W. Bacher, who did not live in England but collaborated with E. N. Adler on his study of Judeo-Persian manuscripts, and L. Blau, who likewise did not live in Britain but whose rare Hebraica is now preserved at the University of Glasgow.<sup>82</sup>

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<sup>81</sup> Cf. B. S. Hill, 'From Bardejov to Oxford', pp. 114-133.

<sup>82</sup> One could even add the Hebrew bibliophile of Baghdadi background D. S. Sassoon, who with Adler and Gaster made up the triumvirate of Anglo-Jewish collectors in the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Sassoon was connected by

One notes that a disproportionate number of the works by these scholars is comprised of first editions from manuscripts or fragments, most held in the great national or university collections, not least those in England.

The coterie of immigrant scholars and writers who had so considerable an impact on Hebrew and rabbinic studies in the country did not work in a vacuum. By virtue of their cosmopolitan education and travels they had extensive contacts in Europe and beyond. During his career at Jews' College, most of Marmorstein's contacts in the English-speaking world were in London, Oxford and Cambridge, but he held works by scholars at the American Jewish seminaries, in particular Boaz Cohen, Louis Finkelstein and Alexander Marx at the Jewish Theological Seminary in New York, Kaufmann Kohler and Jacob Lauterbach at Hebrew Union College in Cincinnati, and Solomon Zeitlin at Dropsie College in Philadelphia. This international network of scholars, especially those working in German, English and Hebrew in the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, undergirds the scope and depth of Marmorstein's library.

Like the collection's corpus of German Judaica, the Anglo-Judaica comprises a still-life of a field, however not at its end but rather in its infancy. Marmorstein was one of the last active participants in the age when modern Hebrew and Judaic scholarship was pursued not in universities but in the great rabbinical seminaries in Germany, Hungary, America and England, of which only those in England and America continued to flourish after the Holocaust. The widespread incorporation of Judaic studies in American and British university curricula came about after Marmorstein's death.

### *Hungarian*

Marmorstein emerged from the cultural environment of traditional Hungarian Jewry, Hungarian was his mother tongue, and the world of Hungarian-Jewish scholarship was his first intellectual sphere. He published a study of Rashi in Hungarian in 1905, and his bibliographic survey of Christian Hebraism in Hungary was his first post-doctoral publication.<sup>83</sup> Due to having pursued his entire academic career abroad and not in Hungary, Marmorstein is not perceived as having played a role within Hungarian Jewish Wissenschaft, despite his earliest writings.<sup>84</sup> Yet notwithstanding his distance from the centre, he remained involved with the Hungarian intellectual milieu through personal and academic contacts throughout his life. Indeed, his library betrays his engagement with

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his son's marriage with a bookish Dutch-German-Jewish clan, and in their household German was spoken as much as Judeo-Arabic.

<sup>83</sup> This series of articles is still an essential tool in the field, as is evident in Strbik, *Héber Nyelvtanok Magyarországon* [*Hebrew Grammars in Hungary*], cited above, in which it is cited throughout.

<sup>84</sup> Thus Marmorstein's name does not figure in Turán and Wilke (eds.), *Modern Jewish Scholarship in Hungary*, cited above.

Hungarian Jewish studies, albeit more so in the early part of his career, prior to his settlement in Britain.

Apart from works in German and English authored by Hungarian-origin scholars, the collection holds some 100 items - books, journals, offprints - in whole or in part in Hungarian. About a third of the Hungarian works were published in the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Most of the Hungarian titles in the collection were published between the last decades of the 19<sup>th</sup> century and World War I, a period which marked the decisive entrance of Jews into Hungarian language and culture and at the same time the zenith of Hungarian Jewish scholarship. As Marmorstein's engagement with Hungarian writing was more limited after his settlement in Britain, there are works by only 10 authors from the interwar period.

(It is not coincidental that the oldest Hungarian works in the library – hardly earlier than the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century – are not strictly Judaica. The earliest is Széchenyi's political discussion of 1847 (though Széchenyi was important in debates about Jewish emancipation), followed by disparate works about Hungarian epic poetry, János Arany, the Council of Nicaea, Greek papyri and Christian apocrypha, along with a Christian Bible [Old and New Testaments]. Other non-Judaica in the collection are devoted to Lajos Kossuth, German grammar and German drama, and Ehrenfeld's codex on Hungarian etymology [though Ehrenfeld was himself a Jewish collector].)

The Hungarian Judaica encompass Jewish religion, literature, history and culture. Foremost are works dealing with classical Jewish texts, including the Aramaic Bible translation (Targum Onkelos), the Talmud, the Midrash and other rabbinic literature, Judeo-Arabic literature and manuscripts. There is an edition of Philo, a work on Jewish legends, and one on the Exodus from Egypt in literature. There are works about Moses, the Talmudic sage Simon bar Yohai, Maimonides, Joseph Ibn Akin, and two 15<sup>th</sup>-century Spanish scholars, Saadiah Ibn Danan and the philosopher Isaac Arama. Antal Kertész's address on Spinoza (Kosice s.a.) is one of several works in the library devoted to the 17<sup>th</sup>-century philosopher. There are works on circumcision and on cremation in Jewish law.

Hungarian-Jewish historiography in the collection includes studies of the Jews of Szeged, Miskolc (Marmorstein's native town), Sopron and Szatmár, and on the Jews of Croatia. In addition to works on family history and genealogy, there are more than a dozen sermons and eulogies, ranging from the installation of rabbis, the dedication of the Israelite Temple in Eger and the archbishop's Lyceum to one on the death of Kossuth and a memorial tribute to the emperor Franz Josef. A work by Marmorstein's cousin Bernát Schück deals with Judaism, religion and the state.

About 75 authors are represented among the Hungarian-language works. The list of names (see Appendix I5) is a roll-call of Hungarian Jewish academics, scholars and writers, some of whom, such as M. Pollak and Vilmos Steiner, were deported, killed or died during the Holocaust. Best represented are Immanuel Löw, perhaps the most outstanding name of Jewish scholarship in Hungary in the 19<sup>th</sup> century; the rabbi and historian Mór Weisz; and Sándor (Alexander) Scheiber, one of the youngest and surely the most precocious of scholars educated at the Budapest Rabbinical Seminary before the War. The collection holds Scheiber's studies of Jewish legends, folklore and Semitic paleography.

Among the latest Hungarian publications in the collection are works by M. Hajdú and O. Komlós from 1939, the *Évkönyv* [Yearbook] of the Ferencz József Országos Rabbiképző Intézet [Franz Joseph Rabbinical Seminary] in Budapest of the same year, and Artúr Stein's *A zsidók köz-és magánjoga Magyarországon a honfoglalástól napjainkig* [personal and communal rights of the Jews in Hungary from the Hungarian conquest to our day] of 1940. Scheiber's 1946 bibliography of Hungarian literature about Maimonides was apparently one of the last publications acquired by Marmorstein before his death.

Nearly 30 places of Hungarian printing are represented in the collection, most of them within the borders of present-day Hungary. There are also Hungarian-language publications from Sziget, Szatmár, Temesvár (today Romania); from Kassa (today Kosice, Slovakia); and Vukovar (today Croatia). These works reflect a landscape of Hungarian-language Jewish writing and publishing which no longer exists and is now nearly forgotten.<sup>85</sup> Like the geography of German-Jewish publishing and of Hebrew printing in East Central Europe, this bibliographic panorama is well-represented in the collection and could serve as the basis for a unique physical or digital display. (See Appendix I6.)

'Hungarica Judaica' of course encompass more than the books in Hungarian. The collection is rich in Jewish scholarship by individuals who were born, lived or settled in Hungary and like Marmorstein published in German, Hebrew and other languages as well as Hungarian, whether in Hungary or elsewhere. In addition to works in Hungarian the collection holds some 220 books in Hebrew and 50 in German printed in Budapest or elsewhere in Hungary or the pre-Trianon Hungarian lands. (Given the breadth of Marmorstein's orientalist learning one can only wonder at the absence of any work by Goldziher in his library.)

The collection holds many Hebrew, German and Hungarian-language works published in territories which were in Hungary at the time of Marmorstein's birth and before his

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<sup>85</sup> On Hungarian Jewish literature, see János Kőbányai, 'Hungarian Literature', *YIVO Encyclopedia* (New Haven 2008), vol. I, pp. 763-770 (with appended bibliography of secondary literature in Hungarian), and Petra Török, *Angezogen und abgestossen: Juden in der ungarischen Literatur* (Frankfurt a. M. 1999).

resettlement in Britain, ceded after World War I to Czechoslovakia, Romania, Croatia and Serbia. These lands were vividly remembered by émigrés such as Marmorstein – who was personally connected with several of them – as part of the Hungarian-Jewish geographic-cultural-linguistic landscape of old. Foremost among them were Upper Hungary (now Slovakia) and Transylvania (now in Romania). A memorial address on Herzl in Hungarian and Romanian printed in Satu Mare (Szatmár) in 1937 reflects the new political and linguistic environment of the interwar years, as well as the continued identification of Transylvanian Jewry with the Hungarian language.

There are also many works by distinguished émigré Judaic scholars of Hungarian birth who like Marmorstein lived abroad and wrote principally in German or English or Hebrew, notably L. Dukes, J. Hertz, S. Krauss, D. S. Loewinger, A. Neubauer, R. Patai and S. A. Wertheimer. Particular mention should be made of the many works by D. S. Loewinger, a bibliographer and paleographer in Jerusalem. Several works by the young Patai were among the last Marmorstein acquired or received in his life.

Marmorstein's interest in personal biography as well as his engagement with Hungarian-Jewish scholarship is further evidenced (apart from his bio-bibliographic compendium of Christian Hebraists in Hungary or his Hungarian essay on Rashi, published in 1905 when he was still a student) in the many festschriften, memorial volumes and other biographical works devoted to luminaries of Hungarian-Jewish scholarship: Lajos Blau, Mózes Bloch, A. Büchler, M. Handler, Simon Hevesi, David Kaufmann, A. Kohut and Leopold Löw.

Additionally, several dozen Hungarian or Hungarian-origin figures are the subject of some biographical or literary-historical treatment, among them J. Aszód, Meir Friedmann, Joseph Hertz, Theodor Herzl, A. Neubauer, S. Schiller Szinessy, Armin Stein, Imre Szerencsés, and the Sofer family. Several works are connected with Marmorstein's relations, not least his own eulogy for his grandfather, *Főtisztelendő Rosenfeld Mayer miskolczi förabbi emlékezete* (Kunszentmiklós 1909), in Hungarian but bearing the Hebrew fore-title *Zekher tsadik*.

### ***French and Italian***

Marmorstein spent some time in France after his university studies and went on to publish articles in French throughout his career. (Offprints of 16 of his French studies are held in the collection.) The collection holds over 50 items in French, mostly from the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, including offprints and journal issues, especially of the *Revue des études juives* (REJ). The gaonic period is the subject of some of these works. The few older items among the French books include Prideaux's *Histoire des juifs et des peuples voisins* (1722).

Among the French offprints, aside from 16 studies by Marmorstein himself, there are studies by Salo Baron, Abraham Epstein, Cecil Roth and Solomon Zeitlin, reminiscent of an age when French was an international written language of Jewish scholarship and *REJ* was a venue for scholars working in different corners of Europe. Most important among the issues of this journal is one containing Israel Lévi's edition of the early medieval apocalypse *Sefer Zerubavel*, heavily hand-annotated by Marmorstein with variant readings from a different manuscript in the British Museum (now British Library); these notes could serve as the basis for a new critical edition.

The 'French connection' is of course not limited to works in French. There are many editions of texts and literary-historical studies relating to Jews and Hebrew literature in medieval France and Provence, as well as Hebrew and Judeo-Arabic texts printed in Paris. Algazi's *Lehem setarim* (Strasbourg 1777), a commentary on Talmud tractate Avodah zarah on idolatry, has already been mentioned. Of Greek and Latin Judaica printed in France, the editio princeps of Philo Judaeus in Greek, *Opera Graeca* (Paris 1552) is the earliest non-Hebrew book in the collection.

Apart from 85 volumes printed in Hebrew in Italy between the 16<sup>th</sup> and the 19<sup>th</sup> centuries, including the oldest books in the collection, and several volumes in Latin of which Aristotle's *Liber de Poetica* (Venice 1584) is the second-oldest non-Hebrew book, there are some 50 items in Italian. The oldest is P. F. Salce's *Oratione* (Venice 1618) dealing with Venetian politics. Of historical interest is the Italian translation of Ch. W. von Dohm's famous treatise on Jewish emancipation, *Riforma politica degli ebrei* (Mantua 1807). Of Jewish authorship is an early bilingual liturgy in Hebrew and Italian, *Tefilot yisra'el = Preghiere degli Israeliti*, according to the Ashkenazic rite, translated by Lelio della Torre (Vienna: Schmid, 1846).

More modern works include studies by such figures as Moise Lattes, Benedetto Levi and Marco Mortara, as well as several memorial volumes for Jewish scholars including H. P. Chajes (1930), and M. Tedeschi's eulogies for S. D. Luzzatto. G. Gabrieli's compendium *Italia Judaica* (Rome 1924) is one of the first bibliographies of Italian Jewry. There are two dozen offprinted studies by Marmorstein's contemporary Judaic scholar Eugenio Zolli, chief rabbi of Rome, later known for his post-war conversion to Catholicism.

Apart from works in Italian and Latin, the collection holds numerous Hebrew works by Italian Jewish writers from the Middle Ages through the 19<sup>th</sup> century, such as Bertinoro, De Rossi, Di Fano, Di Trani, Immanuel of Rome, Lonzano, Modiano, Nathan b. Jehiel of Rome, Portaleone, Reggio and Romanelli, many in editions of the 16<sup>th</sup>, 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries. Of Judaica in Latin, mention has already been made of works of Christian

Hebraism, namely Ugolino's *Thesaurus* (Venice 1752) and Pasini's Latin grammar of Hebrew (Padua 1790).

### *Other Languages*

Prior to settling in England, Marmorstein studied, held positions, visited or had family relations in the Slavic borderlands of Austria-Hungary, in territory which is now Czechia, Slovakia, Poland, Croatia, Ukraine and Serbia. Traces of this life experience show up in his library. Marmorstein's Slavic-Jewish interests, albeit marginal, can be gleaned from his review of the Slavonic recension of Josephus, as well as his copy of Harkavy's pioneering work on medieval Judeo-Slavic glosses; his study of a Byzantine Hebrew text with the earliest known reference to a Jewish speaker of Slavic is cited above.

After his university years and post-graduate research travels, Marmorstein served as rabbi of the town Jemnice (German Jamnitz), one of the oldest Jewish communities in Moravia, about which he published an historical study. The library holds a single volume in Czech, *K historii Židu v Čechach, na Morave a v Slezsku* (1906), a history of the Jews in Bohemia, Moravia and Silesia. A single book in Slovak, Braxtoris' *Historia Cirkve Evangelickej A. V. Senickej* (Myjava 1922) is devoted to the history of the Evangelical church in Senica (Hungarian Szenice), a town in Slovakia where his father and grandfather served as rabbis.

There is a single item in Serbian, *Jevreji u Beogradu* (1926), on the Jews of Belgrade. Items in Croatian include an issue of a rare monthly *Zidovska Smotra* (ca. 1916); *Izvjestaj kralj* (Vinkovci, 1909), the yearbook of the Jewish day school in the Slavonian town where Marmorstein's first son Emile was born; and *Spomenica posvecena uspomeni blagopokojnoga Viktora Bauma začasnoga predsjednika Vukovarske Izraelitske, bogoštovne općine* (Osijek [1910]), a memorial volume dedicated to Viktor Baum, president of the Jewish community of Vukovar by Chief Rabbi Julije Diamant.

The handful of Dutch items, by L. Hirschel and J. C. Matthes, deal with Jewish-Christian relations, including Hirschel's *Een Godsdienst dispuut te Amsterdam in het begin der 17de eeuw* (1929). The two Swedish items are Schoeps' essay on the 18<sup>th</sup>-century doctor and Spinozist Gumpertz Levison (1944) and August Strindberg's (!) work on biblical names (1910) which carries the Hebrew words *Luah ha-shemot* on the title-page. The one Danish item is the *Festskrift* for the chief rabbi of Copenhagen, David Simonsen (Copenhagen 1923).

Lastly, although most of the Hebraica is entirely in Hebrew or another Hebrew-character Jewish language (Aramaic, Yiddish, Judeo-Arabic, Ladino, Judeo-Persian), a few volumes



have added or parallel text in Latin, German, Italian, etc. These include editions of ancient or medieval Hebrew, Aramaic, or Judeo-Arabic texts, as well as editions of the Jewish liturgy.

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## GENRES AND SUBJECTS

### Hebraica and Judaica

Not directly a participant in the Hungarian branch of the *Wissenschaft des Judentums* due to his career abroad, Marmorstein was nevertheless an heir to this movement and its exponents, in Hungary and elsewhere, as well as to modern rabbinic scholarship as it developed in the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, until the Holocaust.<sup>86</sup> His library in all of its components – especially Hebrew, German and English - comprises a still life of this last period of Hebraic and Judaic studies in Central Europe and Britain, before the rise of 'Jewish Studies' in the Anglo-American world and Israel in the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, after his death.

The Hebraica collection is comprised in large part of rabbinic literature, including Talmudic and other classical rabbinic texts, Midrash, Jewish law and especially responsa, biblical texts and commentaries, homiletics, and medieval Hebrew literature. Hundreds of volumes deal with Jewish religion, religious history, religious law and practice, doctrine and apologetics, as well as belief, superstition, and mutual borrowings. There are editions of all of the classical and major medieval Hebrew texts, including homiletics, law, philosophy, ethics, mysticism and liturgy. The range of normative, orthodox, esoteric, and heterodox Jewish thought is represented, and traditional texts are complemented by secular literature, including history, biography, belles lettres, the sciences, and philosophy.

Works on religion, history and culture include much modern secondary scholarship in European languages as well as Hebrew. Christian Hebraism, Jewish-Christian and Jewish-Muslim relations and intercultural influences are well represented. The library is well stocked in bibliographic literature and in personal and institutional festschriften and memorial volumes. There are large subsections of Hungarian Judaica and of academic offprints in Judaic studies from dozens of scholarly and specialized serials in multiple languages. Lastly, there is much literature on the ancient Near East, early Christianity and patristics, and other adjunct areas of Marmorstein's researches.

#### *Bible, Commentaries, Homiletics*

Apart from nine incunabula Hebrew Bible texts and commentaries, the oldest Hebrew biblical commentary in the library is preserved in the Marmorstein collection. This is

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<sup>86</sup> As noted, Marmorstein is not mentioned in Turán and Wilke (eds.), *Modern Jewish Scholarship in Hungary: The 'Science of Judaism' between East and West*, but he was certainly connected with many of the figures discussed.

Bomberg's edition of Jacob b. Asher's *Perush ha-torah* [commentary on the Pentateuch] (Venice 1544). Also among the 16<sup>th</sup>-century books is di Gara's edition of *Shoshanat ha-'amakim* (Venice 1591), the text of the Song of Songs with commentary by Moses Alshekh.

The collection is strong in biblical studies, more precisely in the Jewish or rabbinic vein, including over 400 volumes of editions of texts, translations (especially the Aramaic Targum), traditional Jewish exegesis and homiletics, modern critical commentaries, lexicography and secondary scholarship on the Hebrew Bible, the Pentateuch, or individual biblical books. There are over 100 volumes of sermons and related homiletical literature in Hebrew, generally based on the Pentateuch, apart from vernacular sermons in German, English and Hungarian.

The oldest biblical commentary in the collection is the *Perush ha-Torah* (Venice 1544) by Jacob b. Asher, the Spanish legalist better known for his legal code *Arba'ah turim*; this book, like the four older ones in the collection, was printed by the Christian patron of Hebrew publishing Daniel Bomberg. There are at least 7 editions of the Hebrew Pentateuch with commentaries or homilies based on the text. The edition of *Hamesh megilot* [Five Scrolls] with Aramaic Targum and Rashi (Jerusalem 1845) is one of the first Hebrew books printed in the holy city. Marmorstein was interested in supercommentaries on Rashi, of which he published a bibliography, and the collection has several supercommentaries on Rashi's Pentateuch commentary, such as Yisakhar Div Litoyer, *Da'at yisakhar* (Ofen 1827).

Many works are devoted to individual biblical books. There are five volumes of commentary or homiletics on Genesis, three on Exodus and Numbers, two on Leviticus and Proverbs, and one on Deuteronomy, Psalms, Ruth, Isaiah and Samuel. A few examples are Simon Habillo's *Helek bene yehudah* (Venice 1695) on Ruth together with the text; Alshekh's various commentaries on Song of Songs, Ruth, Lamentations and Ecclesiastes (Czernowitz, 1853-1856); and Benjamin Zusman's *Simlat Binyamin* (Paks 1901) on Deuteronomy. Saadiah's commentary on the Song of Songs is one of a number of works in the collection by or about the 10<sup>th</sup>-century sage. Among several works relating to Elijah Gaon of Vilna is his commentary on Jonah (Warsaw 1837). *Homat 'anak* (Vienna 1890), a commentary on the Pentateuch and on the biblical scrolls Esther, Lamentations and Ecclesiastes, is one of several works by the wandering bibliographer and exegete H.J.D. Azulai.

Apocrypha, pseudepigrapha and the intersection of Talmud and New Testament were areas of Marmorstein's own research. In addition to the canonical Hebrew Bible, there is much intertestamental apocryphal literature, pseudepigraphic literature, as well as editions of

literary history and criticism of the New Testament, in particular in relation to Jews and rabbinic literature. Apocryphal texts include the famous reconstructed Hebrew edition of *Ben Sira* (Vienna 1818), not to mention Emile Marmorstein's *A Note on the Alphabet of Ben Sira* (Philadelphia 1951).

### *Mishnah, Talmud, Midrash, Rabbinic Literature*

**MISHNAH AND AVOT.** There are 50 volumes of editions of and commentaries on the Mishnah, the basic text of rabbinic law, among them *Mishnayot Kav ve-naki* (Warsaw 1889), the latter with a Yiddish translation. There are over a dozen editions, translations or commentaries of the Mishnaic tractate [Pirke] Avot ('Chapters of the Fathers'), the classic Jewish ethical treatise, of which the oldest in the collection is Joseph Hayyun, *Mile de-avot* (Venice 1600).

**TALMUD AND COMMENTARIES.** Altogether there are 500 volumes of editions of text or medieval and post-medieval commentaries, novellae and secondary modern and critical scholarship on the Babylonian and Jerusalem Talmuds, or on individual tractates. There is a complete edition of the Babylonian Talmud in large folio volumes from the famous Romm press (Vilna, 1896). Later editions of individual tractates include 7 of tractate Berakhot, 4 of Hulin, 3 of Ketubot and Avodah Zarah, 2 of Kidushin and Shevuot, and at least one of Rosh ha-shanah, Megilah, Bava Kama, Bava metsi'ah, Pesachim, Betsa, Makot, Eruvin, Sanhedrin, Moed, Nedarim, Sukah and Shabat.

Nahmanides' novellae on Talmud tractate Bava Batra and Solomon Ibn Adret's on Berakhot (both printed by Bomberg in Venice in 1523) are the oldest books in the collection (and the oldest Hebrew books in the Rylands after the 16 incunabula). The several dozen volumes of novellae from the 16<sup>th</sup> to the 18<sup>th</sup> centuries come from presses in Venice, Strasbourg, Lemberg (Lwów/Lviv), Sulzbach, Frankfurt an der Oder, Frankfurt am Main, Vienna, Fürth, Amsterdam, Dyhernfurth, Prague, Karlsruhe, Homburg vor der Höhe, Leghorn (Livorno), Berlin, Dessau and Brünn. Algazi's *Lehem setarim* (Strasbourg 1777) on tractate Avodah zarah is the first work to come off a Jewish press in Alsace.

Mention must be made, too, of Solomon Judah Friedlander's notorious 'forged' edition of *Seder Kodashim* of the Jerusalem Talmud (S. Warhol/Szinérváralja, 1907-1909), considered one of the greatest forgeries in the history of Hebrew or rabbinic literature.<sup>87</sup> This curious production is a paradigmatic if extreme example of the Ashkenazic interest in - or infatuation with, or fetishization of - medieval or premodern Sephardic writing. (Cf. Appendix 20 for a list of Sephardic and oriental Hebrew authors, most of whose editions in

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<sup>87</sup> Cf. Abraham Schischa, 'Friedlaender, Solomon Judah', *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, second edition (Detroit 2007), vol. 7, p. 276.

the collection came off Ashkenazic presses). The collection's variety of editions and commentaries on both Talmuds would make for a diverse display of text and typography relating to a single genre of Hebrew-rabbinic literature.

**MIDRASH AND OTHER ANCIENT RABBINIC LITERATURE.** There are over 50 volumes of various midrashim and connected literature in the collection. The *Midrash Shoher tov* on Psalms (Prague 1613-1622), Simon ha-Darshan's *Yalkut ha-torah* (Frankfurt am Main 1687), and *Midrash rabah* (Fürth 1692) are the oldest printed midrashim in the the collection. Related works of Midrash and Agada include Jacob Ibn Habib's classic collection of Talmudic agadata (narrative tales), *En Ya'akov* (Vilna 1895), as well as N. H. Levin's *Binyan yerushalayim* (Warsaw 1864), a compilation of agadot from the Palestinian Talmud not included in *En Ya'akov*. The collection also contains critical editions of Midrash, Agadah, Baraita, Tosefta, and later rabbinic and halakhic literature. H. Flesch's edition of *Baraita* (Hamburg 1899) has a fold-out plate with illustration of Temple artifacts. (Marmorstein edited *Rabbinische Texte* with G. Kittel, and wrote entries about various Talmudic tractates for the German *Encyclopaedia Judaica*.)

### *Responsa*

The collection is especially rich in responsa (*she'elot u-teshuvot*), i.e. questions and answers in Jewish law, a genre of rabbinic literature cultivated from the early medieval period.<sup>88</sup> Responsa deal with all and sundry subjects, personal matters, issues of contemporary concern, communal problems, and sometimes international controversy.<sup>89</sup> As such, this literature is a rich repository of social and cultural history, and often of linguistic interest, too. (The responsa literature relating to marriage and divorce is described below.) Marmorstein taught Jewish law, was interested in this corpus, collected it, and in particular studied the works of the gaonic period (7<sup>th</sup> to 11<sup>th</sup> centuries); one of his books was an edition of gaonic responsa.

The collection holds dozens of texts and studies of the Babylonian gaonim such as Sherira and Saadiah, as well as western authorities such as 10<sup>th</sup>(?)-century Kalonymus of Luca. Among these are early editions of gaonic literature, including *She'elot u-teshuvot ha-ge'onim batrai* (Turka 1764) and *Sha'are tzedek ... teshuvot ha-ge'onim* (Salonika 1792), as well as later scholarly editions, from David Cassel's *Teshuvot ge'onim kadmonim*

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<sup>88</sup> Prof. Alexander Samely first drew attention to this particular strength of the collection in his survey 'Sources and Materials for Jewish Studies Research in the John Rylands University Library of Manchester', typescript ca. 1990/1991.

<sup>89</sup> For concise surveys of this literature, see I. M. Ta-Shma, S. Tal and M. Slæ, 'Responsa', in *Encyclopaedia Judaica* (Detroit 2007), vol. 17, pp. 228-239, and the bibliographic sketches by Israel Schapiro in *Report of the Librarian of Congress for ... 1923* (Washington 1923), pp. 94-96, and *Report of the Librarian of Congress for ... 1936* (Washington 1936), pp. 205-215. Schapiro was Marmorstein's exact contemporary and one cannot but wonder whether they met during their mutual university studies in Berlin, where both were disciples of Steinschneider.

[*Rechtsgutachten der Geonim*] (Berlin 1848) and Jacob Mussafia's *Teshuvot ha-geo'onim* (Mefitse Nirdamim Society, Lyck 1864) to others published by Chaim Horowitz, S. A. Wertheimer and S. Assaf, in part from Genizah manuscripts. Marmorstein's own edition of gaonic responsa, *Teshuvot ha-ge'onim* (Deva 1928), was based on manuscripts in the Bodleian Library at Oxford and in the private Adler collection.

Scholarly studies include Joel Müller's introduction to the gaonic literature, *Mafteah li-teshuvot ha-ge'onim* [*Einleitung in die Responsen der babylonischen Geonen*] (Berlin 1891). B. Lewin's *Erets Yisra'el bi-teshuvot ha-ge'onim* (Jerusalem 1926) and S. Assaf's *Darkhe ha-Talmud* (Jerusalem 1927) deal respectively with the Holy Land and Talmudic methodology in gaonic responsa. An essential bibliography of the printed responsa literature from the gaonic period to the 20<sup>th</sup> century is *Kuntres ha-teshuvot* (Budapest 1930; since reprinted); prepared by Marmorstein's correspondent Boaz Cohen, it remains a useful tool for contextualizing the Rylands' holdings of this legal genre.

The collection holds the classic responsa of Europe and North Africa from the middle ages on, some in early or first editions. Authors of the 11<sup>th</sup> to 13<sup>th</sup> centuries include Rashi of Troyes (*Likute Pardes*, Amsterdam 1715), David Ibn Abi Zimra (Radbaz) of Cairo, Judah b. Barzilali and Solomon Ibn Adret of Barcelona, Nissim Ibn Shahin of Kairouan (Tunisia), Joseph Bonfils and Jacob Tam of France, Joseph Ibn Migash of Spain, Eliezer b. Nathan of Mainz, Jacob of Marvège, Meir of Rothenburg, Hayim ben Isaac (*Or Zaru'a*) of Vienna, and Maimonides.

Authors of the 14<sup>th</sup> to the 17<sup>th</sup> centuries include the Sephardic sages Nissim Gerondi of Gerona, Aaron b. Joseph of Barcelona, Zemah Duran of Algiers, Benjamin Ze'ev and Joseph Trani of Greece, the Portugese rabbis Isaac Jesurun of Hamburg and Moses Zacuto of Amsterdam, and Joshua Benveniste of Constantinople. Ashkenazic authorities of these centuries include Israel Isserlein (author of *Terumat ha-deshen*) of Marburg (Maribor, Slovenia), and the Polish sages Solomon Luria, Moses Isserles and Joel Sirkes. Many authors of this transnational literature, like German-born Asher b. Jehiel of Toledo, were often migrants from land to land.

The collection is strongest in authors of the early modern period. Outstanding names of the 18<sup>th</sup> century are Ezekiel Landau of Prague, Tsevi Hirsh Ashkenazi (Haham Tsevi), Meir Eisenstadt, Isaiah Basan, Mordecai Halberstadt, Raphael Ricchi, Joseph Landsofer, Jacob Jonah Alfandari and Moses Hagiz. Eliezer Shangi's (*Sefer Dat ve-din*, Constantinople 1726) is one of the collection's few books printed in the Ottoman capital. The 19<sup>th</sup> century works tend towards figures from the Hungarian sphere, including Akiva Eger, members of the Sofer dynasty, Judah Aszód, Moses Grünwald, Abraham Shag

(Marmorstein's grandfather), Moses 'Maharam' Schick, Joseph Sonnenfeld and J. J. Rosenberger.

The responsa literature – which has never been the subject of an exhibition - is diverse in subject matter and as geographically wide-ranging, in terms of both the origins of authors and the places of publication. The historic and geographic range of editions in the collection – four centuries of printing from 50 towns in Central, Southern, Western and Eastern Europe as well as Ottoman Turkey and Greece – demonstrates the ongoing cultivation of this genre of rabbinic-legal literature throughout the Jewish diaspora. There are one or two titles from most of these towns, and between 7 and 12 from a handful of others (Fürth, Warsaw, Lemberg/Lwów, Munkács, Berlin, Jerusalem).

Of the collection's 175 volumes of responsa, some 30 were printed before 1800, 25 in the 18<sup>th</sup> century, 70 in the 19<sup>th</sup>, and 45 in the 20<sup>th</sup>. Responsa are disproportionately represented among the oldest printed books in the collection. Four of the 16<sup>th</sup>-century editions are the responsa of Benjamin Ze'ev of Arta (Venice 1539), Nisim Gerondi (Rome 1546), Meir b. Baruch of Rothenburg (Cremona 1557), and Levi Ibn Habib (Venice 1565). The edition of Moses Isserles (Cracow 1640), printed by M. N. Meisels, is one of the few early East European imprints in the collection. Also from the 17<sup>th</sup> century is the index to Jewish law and responsa by Isaac Jesurun, *Panim hadashot* (Venice 1651), one of the earliest book-length indexes in Hebrew.

The 17<sup>th</sup>- and 18<sup>th</sup>-century imprints are mainly from the German towns Sulzbach, Fürth, Halle, Frankfurt am Main, Wandsbek and Neuwied, the latter one of the least-known places of Hebrew printing. There are also 18<sup>th</sup>-century editions from Prague in Bohemia and Brünn in Moravia, as well as from Amsterdam, Venice, Livorno, Constantinople and Salonika, the five port cities which were the main centres of Hebrew printing in western and southern Europe. Two volumes of gaonic responsa, the 1764 rarity from Turka, whose press presaged the broad expansion of Hebrew publishing in Poland and Ukraine as of the second half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, and the collection's one book from Ottoman Greece (Salonika 1792) have already been mentioned. (For a chronological list of pre-1800 editions of responsa in the collection, see Appendix 17.)

The collection's 19<sup>th</sup>- and 20<sup>th</sup>-century editions of responsa are almost exclusively from Central and Eastern Europe. Printing towns in the German lands are Berlin, Frankfurt am Main, Fürth, Halberstadt, Leipzig, Mainz, Rödelheim and Vienna, as well as Lyck and Stettin in East Prussia (today in Poland), Altona in Denmark (now in Germany), and Prague. Editions from Eastern Europe include Bilgoraj, Cracow, Józefów, Lublin, Przemysl and Warsaw in Poland, others from Husiatyn, Lemberg and Zólkiew in Galicia (today Ukraine) and Vilna (today Vilnius, Lithuania). There are also volumes from Livorno,

Cairo, Paris and especially Jerusalem. (For places of publication of responsa literature in the collection, see Appendix 18.)

It is not surprising that Marmorstein held a disproportionate amount of responsa from Hungary. A. Fried's *Omer le-tsiyon* (Újhely 1872) is but one example from the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Aside from Jerusalem imprints, his 20<sup>th</sup>-century responsa were mainly from Hungarian or formerly Hungarian towns, among them Bonyhád, Budapest, Paks, Szeghalom, Újhely and Vác, as well as Bártfa/Bardejov, Érsekújvár and Pressburg in Upper Hungary (Czechoslovakia between the wars, now Slovakia), Déva, Szatmar and Sighet in Transylvania (in Romania after World War I), and Munkács, Szilágysomlyó (Simlau) and Szolyva (Svaliava) in sub-Carpathian Ruthenia (today Ukraine). Among these were responsa by medieval authorities, such the 12<sup>th</sup>-century Eliezer b. Nathan of Mainz (Simlau 1926).<sup>90</sup>

J. J. Rosenberger's *Torat Yekutiel* (Bardiov 1920) is one of the last volumes of pre-Holocaust continental responsa in the collection. Sadkah Hussein's *Tsedakah u-mishpat* (Jerusalem 1926) and Jacob Toledano's *Yam ha-gadol* (Cairo 1931) are late examples of responsa from Sephardic or oriental authorities. The latest-dated responsa edition acquired by Marmorstein is a volume published in London in 1941 by the refugee Talmudic scholar Yehezkel Abramsky, who spent two years in a Siberian prison camp before his release after international pressure and departure from the Soviet Union; he often gave testimony in British courts as the world's foremost expert in Jewish law.<sup>91</sup>

The volumes *Minhat Yitshak* (London 1955) by the Hungarian-born Holocaust survivor Isaac Jacob Weiss, who headed the rabbinic court in Manchester, were added to the collection by the Marmorstein family. This rabbinic genre was also of interest to Marmorstein's successor at Jews' College, H. J. Zimmels, whose *Magicians, Theologians, and Doctors: Studies in Folk-Medicine and Folklore As Reflected in the Rabbinical Responsa* (London 1952) and his edition of responsa by Solomon Hirschel, first Chief Rabbi of London, *Pesakim u-teshuvot* (London 1967), came to the Rylands with the collection.

One of the most memorable titles in the responsa corpus is *She'elot u-teshuvot Min ha-shamayim* ['from heaven'] (Lemberg 1862), so-titled because the questions and answers came to the 13<sup>th</sup>-century author, Jacob of Marvège, in dreams. Jacob Alfandari's dramatically titled *Mutsal me-esh* ['rescued from a fire'] (Pressburg 1878) were all that

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<sup>90</sup> On the responsa literature in Hungary, see the collection edited by Bányai and Komoróczy, *Studies in Responsa Literature*, cited above. Boaz Cohen's bibliography of responsa has an index by place of printing.

<sup>91</sup> Yehezkel Abramsky was the father of Prof. Chimen Abramsky, the historian and expert in Hebrew bibliography whose Haskalah collection is held in the Rylands.

remained after a conflagration in Constantinople destroyed most of the 17<sup>th</sup>-century author's manuscripts. M. Steinhardt's *Divre igeret* (Rödelheim 1812) deals with lenient decisions of the Consistoire Israélite in Westphalia. Jonah Landsofer was an expert in scribal practice, but his responsa volume *Me'il tzedakah* (Prague 1757) is better known in Hebrew booklore for its appended illustrated notes on Euclid. Also among the responsa is *Sha'are simhah* on dietary laws (Bilgoraj 1911) by J. S. Rehfsich, the catalogue of whose library was prepared by Marmorstein.

### *Law Codes and Customals*

The Hebrew Bible, the Mishnah and the Talmud are the foundation texts of Jewish law. Apart from these works, commentaries on them, and the responsa literature, there are treatises on the biblical commandments by medieval and post-medieval authors such as Moses of Coucy, Joseph Almosnino, Eleazar Azkiri and David of Lida. The corpus of texts and commentaries of rabbinic Jewish law includes the classic codes, i.e. Maimonides' *Mishneh Torah*, Caro's *Shulhan arukh* and Jacob b. Asher's *Arba'ah Turim*, or commentaries on them (especially on the section Yoreh De'ah).<sup>92</sup>

The oldest works in the collection devoted to a single area of Jewish law are Ibn Adret's *Torat ha-bayit* (Cremona 1565 and later edition Venice 1608), on the dietary laws; Judah Saltaro's *Mikveh Yisra'el* (Venice 1607), on the ritual bath; and the treatise on the sabbath laws, *Tal Orot* (Prague 1615) by Saul b. David of Russia. In addition to this literature in Hebrew, the collection holds modern secondary scholarship in western languages from the Wissenschaft period and later dealing with these works and aspects of rabbinic-Jewish jurisprudence.

Adjunct to legal texts is the literature on communal customs. One of the oldest Hebrew books in the collection is the compendium of Ashkenazic customs by Jacob Mölin (Maharil), *Minhage k"k Ashkenaz* (Cremona 1566), published in the wake of the burning of the Talmud in 1553, which led to a shift in Jewish book production to other genres of Jewish literature. Among rabbinic digests of customs in the collection is one connected with Marmorstein's own family, a modern multi-volume edition of Tyrnau's *Sidur ha-minhagim* (Munkács 1880-1888) with two commentaries by his great-uncle Tsevi Hirsh Schück (Shik). This is one of dozens of books in the collection produced at Munkács in Carpathian Ruthenia, the major centre of Hebrew printing in Hungary in the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century.

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<sup>92</sup> Among the Spencer incunables are second editions of Maimonides' *Mishneh Torah* (Soncino 1490) and Moses of Coucy's *Sefer Mitsvot gadol* (Soncino 1488). These are the Rylands' only editions of rabbinic law older than the books in the Marmorstein collection.



### *Philosophy and Ethics*

The collection contains editions of ancient, medieval and later Jewish philosophical literature, as well as some classical and patristic texts and studies. The earliest two non-Hebrew books in the collection are the first edition of the Hellenistic Jewish author Philo in Greek (Paris 1552) and a Latin translation of Aristotle's *Poetics* (Venice 1584). Hebrew works include editions or studies of such diverse figures and texts as Philo, Albo, Maimonides, the *Kuzari*, and Krochmal. The interest in medieval Spanish philosophy in early modern Ashkenaz (Central and East European Jewry) is apparent in an edition of Albo's *Ikarim* printed in Galicia (Zólkiew 1772).

There are several studies relating to Spinoza in the collection. Among these are Ismar Elbogen's *Der Tractatus de intellectus emendatione und seine Stellung in der Philosophie Spinoza's*; addresses by Adolf Schwarz, *Baruch Spinoza: Vortrag im Verein für jüdische Geschichte und Literatur* (Magdeburg 1892), and by Max Grunwald, *Was ist uns Spinoza?* (Vienna 1899); Antal Kertész's *Spinoza B.: viszonyba a zsidósághoz és a kereszténységhez* (Kosice s.a.); and L. Roth's *Spinoza and Cartesianism* (s.l.e.a.). In a library devoted largely to Judaica and religio-theological literature, it is somewhat surprising to find *The Works of the Honourable Robert Boyle* (London 1744); perhaps this is due to the debate, mediated by Henry Oldenburg, between the two famous philosopher-scientists at Oxford and Rotterdam.

Adjunct to philosophy is the literature on ethics. There are some 70 volumes of editions and commentaries of ancient and medieval ethical treatises and related philosophical and *musar* literature. The earliest printed ethical treatise in the the collection (albeit only a photographic reproduction) is *Avkat rokhel* by Makhir of Toledo (Venice 1566). The collection's oldest original editions of ethical treatises are Joseph Hayyun's *Mile de-avot* (Venice 1600), a commentary on the Mishnaic tractate Avot ('ethics of the fathers'), and Elyakim b. Naftali's *Tov shem* (Venice 1606).

Other ancient and medieval ethical tracts run from the Mishnaic tractate Avot in various editions and commentaries to the medieval and post-medieval treatises by Cordovero, *Tomer Devorah* (Mantua 1623); Judah he-Hasid, *Sefer Hasidim* (Sulzbach 1685 and Frankfurt a. M. 1712); Bahya Ibn Pakuda, *Hovot ha-levavot* (Brünn 1797 and other editions); Koidanover, *Kav ha-yashar* (Venice 1743); Mattitiah Neugroeschel, *Be'er sheva* (Prague 1814); Jedaiah Bedersi, *Behinat 'olam* (Vienna 1852); and the Hebrew translation of Aristotle's *Ethics* (Lemberg 1867). There are also numerous editions of *Sefer ha-yashar*, a treatise on ritual and ethics, often attributed to the medieval French authority Rabenu Tam.

### *Kabbalah (Cabala) and Mysticism*

The field of Jewish mysticism in its broadest sense is represented in some 100 volumes of original texts, commentaries, and secondary studies, among them a number of early editions of the 16<sup>th</sup> to the 18<sup>th</sup> centuries. (For a chronological selection, see Appendix I9.) Most important is the three-volume editio princeps of the classic text of Jewish mysticism known as *Zohar* ('The Book of Splendor'), printed in Mantua in the 16<sup>th</sup> century after the public burning of the Talmud led to a turn to mystical literature. There is also a later edition of this text (Amsterdam 1715) and the related *Tikune zohar* (Slavita s.a.).

Other early editions of kabbalistic texts of the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries include expositions of biblical and liturgical texts such as *Arze Ievanon* (Venice 1601), containing Gikatilla's *Sod ha-hashmal*, and works of gematria such as Nathan Nata Spira's *Megaleh 'amukot* (Fürth 1691), Isaac ben Judah ha-Levi's *Sefer Pa'aneah raza* (Amsterdam 1698), and Hayim Vital's *Sha'are kedushah* (Sulzbach 1758). Other authors of kabbalistic and related tracts include such names as Abraham Azulai, Reuben Heshke Katz, Solomon Basilea, Menahem Azariah di Fano, Raphael Ricchi and Isaac Ber Kremnitz. There are also editions or secondary studies of *Sefer Yetsirah* (one with the commentary by Elijah Gaon of Vilna), the *Hekhalot* literature, the writings of Isaac Luria and Hayim Vital, as well as S. Dreznits' biography of Luria, *Shivhe ha-Ari* (Warsaw 1875).

Several works are particular or unique in their genres. The index of the *Zohar Mareh Kohen* (Amsterdam, 1673) is one of the earliest published indexes of a Hebrew work. The pyro-prophylactic treatise ascribed to the angel Raziel, *Raziel ha-malakh* (Józefów 1873), is one of the few imaginatively illustrated Hebrew books, of which a copy was held in most Jewish libraries as a protection against fire, a superstitious custom to which Marmorstein was perhaps not immune. Several works of popular charms and cures are noted below. Something between superstition, folklore and local history is *Ruah hayim* (Brünn 1885), an account of a dybbuk (a spirit invading a body) at Nikolsburg (today Mikulov in Moravia).

**SABBATIANISM AND FRANKISM.** The collection holds several works relating to Sabbatianism, some of them famous tracts. Among the few Constantinople (Istanbul) imprints in the collection are the two volumes of *Hemdat yamim* (1737), once attributed to the Sabbatian Nathan of Gaza.<sup>93</sup> Works relating to the Emden-Eybeschuetz controversy include Jonathan Eybeschuetz's controversial *Luhot 'edut* (Altona 1755), now known to be a Sabbatian work incorporating hidden Christological amulets<sup>94</sup>, and Eliezer Fleckeles' *'Olat hodesh* (Prague 1800).

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<sup>93</sup> An international conference on Nathan of Gaza is being held in Skopje, Macedonia, in 2017.

<sup>94</sup> Reported sensationally by Prof. Pawel Maciejko (of Hebrew University and Johns Hopkins) at the conference on the German orientalist O. G. Tychem held in Rostock in 2017.

There is a facsimile reproduction of *Der erzbetrüger Sabbatai Sevi, der letzte falsche Messias der Juden* (Halle 1760), whose title is ironic in light of the contemporary post-Sabbatian messianic movement led by Jacob Frank; on the latter there is Graetz's rare and separately printed historical chapter *Frank und die Frankisten* (1868). Another work on Sabbatianism is *Der falshe meshiekh Shabse tsvi* (Budapest 1882) in Yiddish. The Hebrew *Me'orot tsevi* (Warsaw 1903) is a collection of dreams and warnings against false messiahs. The manuscript of the memoir of Ber of Bolechow, who served as interpreter at a Frankist debate, is noted below. H. Schoeps' study of the 17<sup>th</sup>-century Polish-Jewish-origin Christian Kabbalist and Sabbatian Johan Kemper in Uppsala introduces a personality *sui generis* who is today the subject of new attention.

**SECONDARY STUDIES.** The original works are complemented by a number of secondary studies in this now highly intellectualized academic field including – apart from Schoeps on Kemper and Graetz on Frank - the Spinozist S. Rubin's *Heidenthum und Kabbala* (Vienna 1893); M. Gaster's *The Origin of the Kabbalah* (1893) and his *The Sword of Moses: an Ancient Book of Magic* (1896); E. Bischoff's *Die Kabbalah: Einführung in die jüdische Mystik und Geheimwissenschaft* (Leipzig 1903); and P. Bloch's *Die Kabbalah auf ihrem Höhepunkt und ihre Meister* (Pressburg 1905). Of bibliographic interest is Gershom Scholem's compilation *Mafteah la-perushim 'al 'eser sefirot* [Index of commentaries of the 10 Sefirot] (Jerusalem, from *Kiryat Sefer* vol. 10).

A work in a category of its own and which had an enormous impact on the popular imagination, on fantastic literature in many languages, and on literary history is Chajim Bloch's *Der Prager Golem von seiner Geburt zu seinem Tod, nach einer alten Handschrift bearbeitet* (Vienna 1919). Hungarian-born Bloch's account, of which this is the first edition, later translated into English, popularized the supposed antiquity of the story of the Maharal and his constructed creature such as was promulgated a few years earlier in Yiddish by the rabbinic fantacist Yudl Rosenberg in Montreal. The book figures prominently in the trajectory of the Golem motif in western literature and art.

### *Liturgy and Liturgical Poetry*

A scholar of liturgical history, Marmorstein wrote a definitive study, *The Oldest Form of the Eighteen Benedictions* (Philadelphia 1943).<sup>95</sup> Another study, 'The Jewish Blessing of Virginité', was published posthumously.<sup>96</sup> His library reflects this interest. The collection holds some 200 volumes of Jewish liturgy for different holidays and special occasions (daily

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<sup>95</sup> The text of the eighteen benedictions has been the subject of more recent research in another Rylands collection, namely by Alexander Samely, 'Writing in an (almost) classical vein: the art of Targum in an Aramaic Paraphrase of the Amidah', *BJRL* 75 (1993), 175-264.

<sup>96</sup> A manuscript by H. G. Farmer under the same title, dated 1944, is catalogued among the printed books. On the relation between the two, see note below.

siddur, festival *mahzor*, *azharot*, *selihot*, etc.) according to various regional or local rites around the world and in several languages, along with editions of liturgical poetry, liturgical commentaries, and studies of liturgical history.

Two editions of the Jewish festival liturgy are among the oldest books in the collection: the incomplete copy of the *Mahzor* according to the Roman rite (Mantua 1559) and the *Mahzor* according to the rite of Bohemia, Moravia and Poland (Venice 1568).<sup>97</sup> There are also three editions of *Sefer Abudarham* (Prague 1784, Warsaw 1877, and Cluj [Klausenburg] 1927). There are various editions of the Passover Haggadah, e.g. from Vilna, Lemberg, Warsaw, Jerusalem, Vienna and Prague, some with commentaries and/or translations, and liturgies from and for various oriental communities, e.g. Marrakech, Djerba and Baghdad. At once exotic and before its time among the liturgies is *Seder tefilot ha-falasim* [prayers of the Ethiopian Jews] (Paris 1876), edited by Joseph Halévy, the only book in the collection with a fore-title in Ethiopic.

Special liturgies include such works as *Arba Ta'aniyot*, the fast day liturgy according to the Sephardic rite (Vienna 1822 and Livorno 1894). Along with Yiddish and Hebrew deathbed prayers and the mourning liturgy *Kitsur ma'avar yabok* (Rödelheim 1825) is the complementary volume by Aaron Berechiah of Modena, *Zikhron aharon* (Sulzbach 1722), an introduction to *Ma'avar yabok*. There are several editions of the graveside liturgy *Mayne Ioshn* [*Ma'aneh lashon*] (Metz 1823 and Zhitomir 1854). *Derekh hayim* (Livorno 1801) is a commentary on the formula of *hatarat nedarim* (the release from vows). There are secondary studies of *Kol Nidre*, the release from vows pronounced on the eve of Yom Kipur, as well as of the Kaddish, the prayer for the dead.

### *Sephardic, Oriental and non-Ashkenazic Literature*

Hebraica in the collection encompass original editions, reprintings, or academic editions from manuscripts of over 200 Sephardic, North African, Middle Eastern and Oriental, as well as Italian, Provençal, and other non-Ashkenazic authors from over a millennium of rabbinic and Hebrew literature. These include some 70 Sephardic authors from medieval Spain, Europe and the Ottoman lands; over 40 authors from North Africa and the Middle East; 35 from Italy; 30 from Provence and France, others from Byzantium/Greece (including Tobias b. Eliezer, the subject of one of Marmorstein's studies), as well as a number of Karaites.

An incomplete list of individual or family names in this non-Ashkenazic corpus (see Appendix 20) comprises a vast repertoire of Jewish intellectual and literary history. Abravanel, Albo, Crescas, Ibn Tibbon, Kimhi, Luria, Manasseh Ben Israel, Nahmanides,

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<sup>97</sup> The Rylands holds among its Hebrew incunables the first printed Hebrew liturgy, namely, the *Mahzor* begun in Soncino by the eponymous family in 1485 and completed in nearby Casalmaggiore in 1486.

Najara, Saadiah, Sassoon and Vital are only the best known or most evocative. There are some 70 works by or about the 12<sup>th</sup>-century philosopher and legalist Maimonides. Whether by design or chance, almost all of the 16<sup>th</sup>-century and about a third of the 17<sup>th</sup>-century books in the collection are the works of Sephardic, North African, Middle Eastern or Italian (non-Ashkenazic) Jewish authors.

It is not insignificant in intellectual history that works by most of these Sephardic and other non-Ashkenazic writers were issued from presses in Ashkenazic lands, e.g. Aldabi (Amsterdam 1708), Algazi (Strasbourg 1777), Adret (Brünn, 1798), Judah Ayyash (Afra de-ara, Johannesburg [East Prussia] 1855), and Maimonides' *Be'ur milot ha-higayon* (Berlin 1765) and *Moreh Nevukhim* (Lemberg 1866). The ongoing interest in medieval Sephardic and translated Judeo-Arabic texts in Ashkenazic Europe is exemplified in the sundry works by the 'Ibn's (Pakuda, Adret and Tibbon), Elazar Azikri, and Isaac Nuñez Belmonte, all printed in the early modern period at Brünn in Moravia.

An exotic item of Sephardica is the 13<sup>th</sup>-century *Sefer Gan ha-meshalim ve-ha-hidot* (London 1926) by Todros ha-Levi Ibn Abulafia, transcribed from a manuscript belonging to Saul Joseph of Hong Kong and published by Moses Gaster, an Ashkenazi who assumed the rabbinic mantle of Spanish and Portuguese Jewry in England. Mention has already been made of Halévy's edition of the prayers of the Ethiopic Jews. On Karaites in Eastern Europe, see below.

### *Sects, Branches, Movements*

Marmorstein's principal concerns were in the field of Jewish theology, religious thought, and eschatology. He was particularly interested in sects and in sectarian, heterodox, heretical and messianic movements within Judaism as well as apostasy, conversion, proselytism from antiquity to modern times, including ancient *minim* and Judeo-Christians, Karaites, Sabbatians, Frankists, Hasidim, Samaritans, Falashas, etc., and the relevant polemical and apologetic literature. He wrote about Christians and gnostics in Talmud and Midrash, and he identified and edited an anti-Karaite polemical midrash.<sup>98</sup> The library holds works reflecting all these areas. Graetz's *Gnosticisimus und Judenthum* (1846) is just one example of the genre.

A number of works deal with Karaite history, literature and thought, and given Marmorstein's interest in Karaite studies it is not surprising that he possessed one particular contribution to interreligious dialogue. In an entirely separate category from responsa literature – although it consists of questions and answers – is the unique work by the Polish

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<sup>98</sup> On Marmorstein's contributions to Karaite studies and the responses by Jacob Mann, see Barry Walfish and Mikhail Kizilov, *Bibliographia Karaitica: An Annotated Bibliography of Karaites and Karaism* (Leiden/Boston 2011).

Karaite Mordecai b. Nisan, *Dod mordekhai* (Vienna 1830), responding to a range of queries posed in 1698 by the Dutch Reformed theologian Jacob Trigland. It is especially important for the history of Karaism in Europe and also for Karaite bibliography.

The literature of Jewish anti-Christian polemic includes Isaac Troki's apologetic *Hizuk emunah* (Amsterdam 1705), and the still standard work on the 'anti-gospel' *Toldot Yeshu* by S. Krauss, *Das Leben Jesu nach jüdischen Quellen* (1902), an apocryphon about which Marmorstein too wrote. The collection also holds studies on these subjects by Christian writers, among them Hebraists of earlier centuries and modern theologians. A little-known example is Ludwig Conrad's *Altchristliche Sagen über das Leben Jesu, mit einem Anhang: Jüdische Sagen über das Leben Jesu, auf Grund ... des Talmud* (Gütersloh 1909).

**SABBATIANISM AND FRANKISM.** Works relating to Sabbatianism and the Sabbatian controversy, some of them famous tracts, have been noted above. Mention has already been made of the original edition of *Hemdut ha-yamim* (Istanbul 1737), once attributed to the Sabbatian Nathan of Gaza; the facsimile reproduction of *Der erzbetrüger Sabbatai Sevi, der letzte falsche Messias der Juden* (Halle 1760), which appeared at nearly the same time as the pseudo-messianic movement led by Jacob Frank; Graetz's rare and separately printed chapter *Frank und die Frankisten* (1868); the Yiddish *Der falshe meshiekh Shabse tsvi* (Budapest 1882); and the Hebrew *Me'orot tsevi* (Warsaw 1903), a collection of dreams and warnings against false messiahs.

**CONVERSION AND APOSTASY.** Apart from Sabbatianism and Frankism, and in addition to the aforementioned Latin works written by Jewish converts to Christianity in the middle ages and later, the literature relating to proselytes and apostates includes Graetz's *Die jüdische Proselyten in Rom* (1884), Siegfried Stein's *Phillipus Ferdinandus Polonus: A Sixteenth-century Hebraist in England* (London 1942), and H. Schoeps' study of the 17<sup>th</sup>-century Sabbatian convert to Christianity, *Johann Kemper in Uppsala: ein Beitrag zur Geschichte und Theologie der Sabbatianer* (Uppsala 1946). Notably, the collection includes a large number of offprinted studies by Eugenio Zolli, with whom Marmorstein must have been in contact over the years before the former's conversion to Catholicism in Rome just after the war, shortly before Marmorstein's death.

**HASIDISM, SAMARITANS, FALASHAS.** In the small group of books on Hasidism is the first edition of Nahman of Bratslav's *Likute moharan* (Ostroho 1821) and *Mikhtav me-habesht ve-talmidav* (Lemberg 1923). There is also some material on the Samaritans, including catalogues of Samaritan manuscripts and textual, linguistic or historical studies, such as Kirchheim's *Karme shomron* (1851). Reference has already been made to Halévy's Geez-titled Hebrew edition of Falasha prayers. These are only a few of the collection's

many works dealing with Gnosticism, heterodoxy, cross-religious influences, apostasy, converts and conversion, sects, and parallel or competing religious movements.

### *Sex, Marital Laws, Women*

With the exceptions of his series of notes on the German translation of *Tsene-rene*,<sup>99</sup> the classic work of Yiddish women's literature *Tsene-rene* in which he seems to have had a considerable interest, and his posthumously published liturgical study of 'The Blessing of Virginity',<sup>100</sup> Marmorstein did not address any subject directly related to women, let alone to issues of women's history or proto-feminism. Yet his library contains a number of works relevant to women's studies. The general works, products of their age, are all by men: Kayserling's *Die jüdischen Frauen in der Geschichte, Literatur und Kunst* (Leipzig 1879); Zuckerman's study *Die Befreiung der Frauen von bestimmten religiösen Pflichten nach Tosefta und Mischna* (s.l.e.a.); and Grunwald's *Die moderne Frauenbewegung und das Judentum* (Vienna 1903). S. Feigin's *Yetsirat ha-ishah ba-mikra* (New York 1938) deals with the subject *ab initio*.

**MARRIAGE AND DIVORCE.** There are rabbinic texts and commentaries, albeit written by men, relating to marriage, divorce and menstruation, viz., the Talmudic tractates Kidushin, Gitin and Nidah of which the collection holds editions and traditional commentaries or new interpretations (*hidushim* or novellae). Among the commentaries on Seder nashim (laws relating to women) of the Mishnah, Tosefta and both the Babylonian and the Jerusalem Talmuds are editions from Pressburg (*Tosefta Seder nashim*, 1890), S. Warhol, Ungvár, Waitzen, Zhitomir and Jerusalem.

A number of volumes of responsa literature similarly deal with laws of Kidushin (marriage), Ketubot (marriage contracts), Gitin (divorce), and Nidah (menstrual laws), e.g. Isaiah Bassan's *Torat shelamim* (Venice 1741), Akivah b. Judah Leyb's *Ohel 'olam* (Frankfurt am Main 1714), and Samuel b. David's *Nahalat shivah* (Fürth 1739). An increasingly relevant question in 20<sup>th</sup>-century responsa was the marital status of those women (so-called 'Agunot') whose husbands disappeared at the front and were presumed but not certainly dead, a subject addressed E. Deutsch's *Tsemah ha-sadeh* (Paks 1917).

L. M. Epstein's *The Jewish Marriage Contract: A Study in the Status of Women in Jewish Law* (1927) is one of several works dealing with the ketubah (about which Gaster also wrote a book). The treatise *Sefer gitin va-halitsah* (Vilna 1863) deals with divorce and the

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<sup>99</sup> Marmorstein's detailed notes on S. Goldschmidt's German translation of the Ze'ena Ure'ena appeared as a series of articles in *Mitteilungen zur jüdischen Volkskunde* cited above.

<sup>100</sup> A study under this title was published previously by George Farmer in 1944. Both the printed article and a handwritten study under this title are held in the collection (and catalogued separately). The study written by Marmorstein was published posthumously as 'The Jewish "Blessing of Virginity"', in *Journal of Jewish Studies* I, no. I (1948), pp. 33-34.

levirate ceremony. The works on Jewish law relating to niddah (menstruation) include novellae by E. Ashkenazi (Vilna, 1880) and S. Baumberg, *Shalsholet ha-zahav*=*The golden chain: a treatment of the religious laws of menstruation and purification from a scientific point of view* (London 1929), the latter one of the early western-language works treating of this area of Jewish law.

The orthography of male and female names is the subject of a legal literature relating to documents of marriage and especially divorce, of which the collection holds various examples. Solomon Luria's *Yam shel shelomoh* (Prague 1812) deals not only with the orthography of personal names but also with toponyms, as required in deeds of divorce. So too does David Pipano's *Hagor ve-efod* (Sofia 1925), one of the collection's few Balkan imprints. A. Jellinek's bibliography *Kuntres ha-mazkir* (Vienna 1877) surveys this onomastic literature. Albeit rooted in a religio-legal issue, these works shed light on spelling conventions in Hebrew, Yiddish and other Jewish languages.

**BY OR ABOUT WOMEN.** A few important literary works by Jewish women in German, Hebrew and Yiddish include Nahida Ruth Lazarus' *Das jüdische Weib* (1896); the Hebrew drama by Rahel Don-Yahya, *Im shahar: halom bat yisra'el* [At dawn: Dream of a Daughter of Israel] (London 1917), one of the earliest books by a woman writing in Hebrew; and two works of Yiddish fiction (one of them not part of the original collection) by Esther Kreitman, the female member of the remarkably literary Singer family, the novel *Brilyantn* (London 1944) and the short stories *Yikhes* (London 1950). Born into a rabbinical family (in Warsaw), Kreitman emerged from a religious world very close to Marmorstein's own but followed a different trajectory; one can only wonder at the connection of these two émigré scholarly-literary personalities, so different yet with so much in common, in London in those years.

Several other works by or about women in the collection include Rebecca Reuben, *The Bene Israel of India* (Cambridge University Press, 1913), one of the earliest instances of modern academic Jewish scholarship by a woman, and Helen Rosenau's study of synagogue architecture, including *The Synagogue and the Diaspora* (1937?). The now-famous Bertha Pappenheim's *Sisyphus-Arbeit* (Berlin, s.a.) deals with prostitution in Germany, and there is also a sermon against prostitution by the British Chief Rabbi, Joseph Hertz, *Reconquering a Holy Land*, issued by the Women's Printing Society in 1927.

Published addresses by or about women include Jenny Durège's *Judentum im Christentum: Vortrag gehalten in Prag am 12. Februar 1912 im Säulensaal des Deutschen Hauses* (Magdeburg 1912) and Nina Salaman's *Jacob and Israel* (Cambridge, 1920). The memorial address by I. Stern, *Bertha Friedlaender: the Mother of the College* (London, 1927), the only monograph about a woman in the collection, is devoted to a significant



personality in the history of Jews' College, one of Europe's principal rabbinical seminaries. The volume *Essays and Studies in Memory of Linda R. Miller* (1938) is one of the very few scholarly festschriften or memorial volumes devoted to a Jewish woman.

**WOMEN PRINTERS.** Over the centuries some women were entrepreneurs in printing and publishing, some of them widows of established printers who went on to manage their husbands' business.<sup>101</sup> The collection has examples of Jewish or non-Jewish women involved in the printing of Hebrew texts in Germany, Moravia, Austrian Galicia, Holland and Russian Poland. Some women acted as publishers of their late husbands' works, such as the responsa by Joel Sirkes (Frankfurt am Main 1697) brought to press by the widow ('rabanit') of Meir Stern at the press of Johann Faust, and a treatise on rabbanite and Karaite marriage laws by the Reform leader Samuel Holdheim, *Ma'amar ha-ishut* [*Abhandlung über die Ehe*] (Berlin 1861), published posthumously 'im Selbstverlage der Wittwe des sel. Verfassers'.

Hebrew books from non-Jewish houses managed by women are Reischer's *Hok ya'akov* (Brünn 1764), printed by the widow Franziska Neumann, and *Hagorat Shemuel* (Frankfurt on the Oder 1772) and *Milin de-rabanan* (Frankfurt on the Oder 1781), both printed by the widow of Dr Grillo. Books from Jewish houses include S. Katsenelenboigen's *Shenem 'asar derashot* (Lemberg 1798) printed by Yehudis wife of R. Tsevi Hirsh, and *Teshu'ot hayim* (Lublin 1923) printed by Nehamah wife of Jacob Hershenhorn. At different times the firm Proops, a leading Dutch Hebrew press, was directed or co-directed by a woman. The collection has Meir Barlash's *Ezrat ha-sofer* on Esther (Amsterdam 1796) printed by Joseph Proops and the widow and sons of Jacob Proops, and *Zikhron Mosheh* (Amsterdam 1851) printed by the widow of David Proops.

A few other works display, if only by virtue of their uniqueness or originality, how little the subject of women figured in Marmorstein's day - or at least earlier in his life, or in his milieu - compared to our own. The title alone of S. Shik's [Schück] *Trauerrede gehalten an der Bahre der Frau Sando Frank, geborene Julianne Brayer* [=Eulogy for the wife of Sando Frank, née Julianne Brayer] (Budapest 1894) is a voice from a different age. (For a chronological list of selected works in the collection by or about women, see Appendix 21.)

### *History and Geography*

Hundreds of volumes in English, Hebrew, German and Hungarian are devoted to sundry aspects of Jewish history, including persecutions of the Jews and antisemitism, as well as culture and education in different periods and geographic regions. There are works devoted

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<sup>101</sup> For a summary of this subject, see Jennifer Breger's sub-entry on 'Women Printers' in *Encyclopaedia Judaica* (Detroit 2007), vol. 16, pp. 539-540.

to aspects of Jewish history in at least 25 countries (or their historic territory): Czechoslovakia, Austria, Turkey, Poland, Ukraine, Hungary, Croatia, Russia, Germany, France, Spain, Portugal, Italy, Greece, Britain, Yemen, Iraq (Babylonia), Egypt, pre-Israel Palestine, Iran, India, China and America. Dozens of works relate to Jews and Jewish life in Hungary and the former Hungarian lands. Most of these are products of the late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries, but there are several older Hebrew works of note. (For a chronological selection of mostly Hebrew works, see Appendix 22.)

Apart from Azariah de Rossi's *Me'or 'enayim* (Mantua 1574), of which Marmorstein's exceptional copy contains the manuscript notes of Jacob Emden (!),<sup>102</sup> early historical chronicles in Hebrew include Joseph ha-kohen's history of the Roman and Ottoman dynasties, *Divre ha-yamim le-malkhe tsorfat ve-togarmah* (Amsterdam 1733); David Gans' world chronicle *Tsemah David* (Offenbach 1768); an edition of the 10<sup>th</sup>-century *Yosifon*, that is Josipon or pseudo-Josephus, ascribed to Gorionides (Prague 1784)<sup>103</sup>; as well as M. A. Ausländer's *She'erit yisra'el* (Lemberg 1874), Jewish history to 1743, with an addendum on the Damascus blood libel of 1840. Wolf Jawitz's *Divre ha-yamim le-'am bene Yisra'el* (Warsaw 1893/1894) is a late maskilic history of the Jews. The Neo-Latin *Historia Judaica* (Amsterdam 1651) is a translation of Ibn Verga's *Shevet yehudah*, a chronicle of Jewish history since the destruction of the Temple.

Among works devoted to regional history are *Oz mivtahah* on the Hamburg terror (Amsterdam 1739); A. Berliner's *Sarid Me'ir* (Cracow 1893) on the Jews of Rome; *Tsofnat paneah* (Vienna 1894), a polemic on the organization of the Paris commune attributed to N. H. Diskin (one of several works in the collection with this title drawn from an enigmatic phrase in Genesis); and *Tuv mitsrayim* (Jerusalem 1908) on the Jews of Egypt. Jerusalem-born H. J. D. Azulai's *Ma'agal tov* (Livorno 1878) is an itinerary of his travels in North Africa.

There are several works on natural disasters: *Bekhi neharot* (Amsterdam 1784) on the Rhine floods; *Shivhe todah* (Livorno 1743), a liturgy commemorating the Livorno earthquake; and *Zevah todah* by Matityah Zakuta (Livorno 1829, not noted by Steinschneider, below) on earthquakes in Alexandria. (The liturgies and historical accounts of effects of earthquakes on Jewish communities - and of their effects on the course of Hebrew printing, as in Fez and Safed - would make an interesting study.)

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<sup>102</sup> Another copy of this work with supplementary text in manuscript is held in the Jacob M. Lowy Collection at Library and Archives Canada (formerly National Library of Canada), Ottawa.

<sup>103</sup> Among the Spencer incunabula is the first edition of this work, printed by Abraham Conat in Mantua in 1474-1477. This and Judah Messer Leon's treatise on rhetoric *Nofet tsufim*, produced by Conat in the same period, are the two oldest Hebrew printed books in the Rylands.

Recent history and Palestine are addressed in a number of works, including A. M. Luncz on the current situation in Jerusalem (1900) and D. Moskovits' *Ragle mevaser* (Cluj/Klausenburg 1921), polemics on Zionism, one of various works on Zionism in the collection. Of cartographic interest for ancient and modern Palestine are the plates in Prideaux's *Histoire des Juifs* mentioned above, and the coloured maps in S. Klein's *Erets Yisra'el: geografyah* (Vienna 1922). The latter work came out in a period of incipient efforts at polychrome Hebrew printing in Central Europe, in Palestine and in North America.<sup>104</sup>

There are editions of Graetz's *Geschichte* in both Hebrew and English, as well as late editions of Josephus in Hebrew (Vilna 1861-1863) and in German. Steinschneider's *Die Geschichtsliteratur der Juden in Druckwerken und Handschriften* (Frankfurt am Main 1905) is still a basic tool for Jewish historiography and local history, and always rewards readers with its historical and cultural and linguistic panorama. Lastly, in consequence of Marmorstein's career in England, the holdings on Anglo-Jewish history and literature - another field to which he contributed - is extensive.

Marmorstein's interest in historiography is evident not only from his own publications (on the Jews of Jamnitz and on the Slavonic Josephus) and the multiple historical texts and studies in the collection, but also from the manuscripts in his possession, several of them communal registers from towns where he or his father held rabbinical positions (today Jemnice in Czechia and Senica in Slovakia). Most important, however, is the manuscript of personal memoirs by Ber of Bolechow (1723-1805), complemented by M. Vishnitser's editions in Hebrew (Berlin 1922) and in English translation (Oxford University Press 1922). Marmorstein had written about Ber's memoir in *Zeitschrift für hebraeische Bibliographie* in 1913, and reviewed Vishnitser's editions in the *Monatsschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judentums* in 1925.<sup>105</sup>

### *Belles-Lettres*

Among the bibliographic works is the original edition of Zeitlin's *Bibliotheca Hebraica Post-Mendelsohniana* (1891-1895), which records the entire corpus of secular Hebrew literature in all these areas and is still the best tool for this genre (reprinted several times).<sup>106</sup>

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<sup>104</sup> In the Rylands' Haskalah Collection, there is another outstanding example of a coloured map within a Hebrew book, namely Hillel Kahane's *Gelilot ha-arets* [Op didactic de geografie], printed in Botosani (!) in Romania in 1901. The book (Haskalah collection #369) is noted by Dr Rebecca Wolpe in her report, *A Research Guide to the Haskalah Collection at the John Rylands Library, Manchester* (2015), p. 13.

<sup>105</sup> An interest in history and politics apparently ran in the family. We have already noted the address by Marmorstein's grandfather Abraham Zwebner on the Emperor's deliverance from an attempt on his life in 1853, and that Marmorstein's sons both wrote historical and biographical studies.

<sup>106</sup> William Zeitlin, [*Kiryat Sefer*]: *Bibliotheca Hebraica Post-Mendelsohniana* (Leipzig 1891-1895; reprinted New York 1980 and Hildesheim 1983).

In addition to the works of historiography noted above, the collection holds select editions of medieval, post-medieval and early modern belles-lettres including drama, poetry, fables, tales, maxims and folklore. These works complement the rich assemblage of secular literature in the Rylands' Haskalah Collection.

Apart from liturgical poetry, exempla of secular poetry include Moses Zacuto's *Tofteh arukh, marganita de-let lah timi* (Venice 1715), an excerpt from Dante in Hebrew translation; *Mikhtamim* (Leipzig 1842) by Isaac Benjacob of Vilna, better known as the compiler of the first comprehensive bibliography of Hebrew printed books, *Otsar ha-sefarim*; and a new edition of Immanuel of Rome's *Mahberot* (Lemberg 1870).<sup>107</sup> Instances of occasional poetry ('*Gelegenheitsgedichte*') are Jacob Fischer's *Ashrekha melekh* (Vienna 1888) on the 40<sup>th</sup> anniversary of Franz Josef's accession to the throne, and M. H. Luzzatto's bridal poem *La-yesharim tehilah* (Lemberg 1899). Joseph ha-Efrati's *Melukhat sha'ul* (Cracow 1822) is an instance of haskalah drama.

Of significance as Anglo-Hebraica are two translations, one by Nathan Horowitz, of Lord Byron's Hebrew Melodies, *Shire yeshurun* (Leipzig 1890) and *Shire Yisra'el* (London 1930). Also relevant to Anglo-Hebraica are two editions of the medieval fables based on Marie de France, *Mishle shu'alim* (Warsaw 1874) and *Mishle hayot mishle shu'alim* (Bardiov 1925), along with Steinschneider's study of the author (often identified with Benedictus le Puncteur of medieval Oxford), *Zu Berachja Ha-Nakdan* (1883). A more recent collection of oriental tales is Israel Costa's *'Aravim ba-tokhah* (Livorno 1880). In a different genre is Ottensosser's *Hokhmat bene kedem* (Fürth 1851), oriental maxims in Hebrew and German.

### *Sciences, Mathematics, Medicine, Material Culture*

That Marmorstein's catholic interests encompassed the sciences is apparent from the various editions and studies of several medieval and post-medieval Hebrew treatises on astronomy, calendation and chronology, mathematics, medicine and other fields, some of them illustrated. These include works extending from the high middle ages to early modern times, the older ones of Sephardic authorship and the later ones Ashkenazic compositions. The majority of the collection's scientific works, from the early modern period, were issued at presses in Central Europe: Jessnitz, Frankfurt, Prague, Rödelheim, Berlin. (For a chronological selection of scientific texts, see Appendix 23.)

The earliest such work in the collection is Ibn Susan's work on calendation, *'Ibur shanim* (Venice 1578), handsomely produced at the famed Di Gara press. (The only older scientific illustration in the Rylands, not part of the Marmorstein collection, is found in the

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<sup>107</sup> Among the Rylands incunabula is the first edition of this work (Brescia 1491), considered one of the first two secular texts printed in Hebrew.

second edition of Ibn Sahula's *Meshal ha-Kadmoni*, printed in Northern Italy either shortly before or after 1500, on which see our Appendix 30.) Other works on astronomy include David Gans' *Nehmad ve-na'im* (Jessnitz 1743); the commentary by Jonathan b. Joseph of Ruzhany on Maimonides' laws of the new moon, *Yeshu'ah be-yisra'el* (Frankfurt a. M. 1720); and Gershon b. Solomon's 13<sup>th</sup>-century *Sha'ar ha-shamayim* (Rödelheim 1801). Abraham Portaleone's *Shilte ha-giborim* (Mantua 1612), on the architecture of the Temple, includes disquisitions on all the sciences.

Appended in Judah Landsofer's volume of responsa, *Me'il tsedakah* (Prague 1757), is a text of Euclid in Hebrew translation, with geometric illustration. Works on mathematics and natural sciences include *Minhat todah* (Berlin 1789) by Baruch Landau (Lindau) and *Sefer Ha-Berit ha-shalem* (Lwów 1865) by Pinhas Hutwitz, the latter one of the most celebrated Hebrew books of its age.<sup>108</sup> J. Margoliot's treatise on the natural sciences, *Or 'olam 'al hokhmat ha-teva* (Prague 1777 [or 1782? 1783?]) has a complicated printing history, its place of publication or printing also believed to be Nowy Dwór in Poland, and its date of printing given differently on its two title-pages.

Works of popular medicine and superstition include Benjamin Benush b. Judah Leyb's *Amtahat Binyamin* (Wilhermsdorf 1716) and Samuel Heller's *Refu'ot u-segulot* (Jerusalem 1907). Meir Aldabi's *Shevile emunah* (Amsterdam 1708), on Jewish doctrine and medicine, contains a *luah refu'ot* (table of cures). Modern secondary scholarship includes works on medicine in the Hebrew Bible, Assyro-Babylonian medicine (*Keilschriftmedizin*), ancient and biblical chronology, rabbinic mathematics, astronomy, astrology, magic and the natural sciences, such as J. Bergel's *Studien über die naturwissenschaftlichen Kenntnisse der Talmudisten* (1880), M. Silberberg's edition and translation of Ibn Ezra's arithmetical treatise *Sefer ha-mispar: das Buch der Zahl: ein hebräisch-arithmetisches Werk* (Frankfurt a. M. 1895), and L. Venetianer's *Asaf Judaeus, der älteste medizinische Schriftsteller in hebraeischer Sprache* (1917), on the earliest medical writer in Hebrew.

Architecture is barely addressed in rabbinic literature. Editions of the Talmudic tractate Sukah contain skeletal diagrams, and floor-plans are found in early works on the construction of the ancient Temple in Jerusalem. The discussion of the Temple in Portaleone's work is wide-ranging, and several later illustrated Hebrew treatises are noted above. Apart from the studies on synagogue architecture by Helen Rosenau there is Alois Breier's (et al.) *Holzsynagogen in Polen* (1934). The collection holds some works on Jewish music, art, material culture, ancient numismatics and synagogue frescoes. U. Wiesenthal's *Bewässerungssysteme Palästinas* (Berlin 1933) deals with irrigation in ancient

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<sup>108</sup> On this work see David Ruderman, *A Best-Selling Hebrew Book of the Modern Era: The Book of the Covenant of Pinhas Hurwitz and its Remarkable Legacy* (Seattle 2014).

Palestine. (Unrelated to any of these works is the edition of Boyle's *Works* (1744), perhaps in the collection on account of his controversy with Spinoza, as noted above.)

### *Philology and Lexicography*

A student of ancient and modern languages, Marmorstein acquired many works of philology and lexicography. There is a wide array in some 50 volumes of lexicons, grammars, and lexical studies of all sorts for Hebrew and Aramaic as for other Semitic and Near Eastern languages. These include Hebrew lexical compilations of earlier centuries, pre-modern works of Christian Hebraism (and Yiddishism) in Latin, and modern linguistic studies and critical editions of medieval grammatical texts. H. Hirschfeld's *Literary History of Hebrew Grammarians and Lexicographers* (Oxford 1926) is still a useful survey.

The oldest Hebrew philological work in the collection is Bomberg's edition of the *Arukh*, a 11<sup>th</sup>-century Talmudic lexicon by Nathan b. Jehiel of Rome (Venice 1532). Later lexical compilations in Hebrew are Menahem Lonzano's *Shete yadot* (Venice: Bragadin, 1618), on foreign words in the Talmud; Benjamin Mussafia's *Zekher rav* (Prague 1868); and Solomon Hanau's *Binyan shelomoh* (Frankfurt a. M. 1708).

Among medieval and later Hebrew grammarians represented in the collection, especially in modern scholarly editions or studies, are Ibn Janah, Hayyuj, Ibn Parhon, S. D. Luzzatto, Ibn Ezra, Solomon Hanau, Menahem b. Saruq, Archevolti, Profiat Duran, and Moses b. Isaac ha-Nesiah. One of the most important early works of Christian Hebraism and Hebrew lexicography is J. Buxtorf's *Thesaurus Grammaticus linguae sanctae hebraeae* (Basel 1663), which includes his introduction to Yiddish. Nineteenth-century works on biblical and Talmudic lexicography include Mandelkern's *Vetus Testamenti Concordantiae hebraicae atque chaldaicae* (Leipzig 1896) and S. Krauss' *Griechische und lateinische Lehnwörter im Talmud, Midrasch und Targum* (Berlin 1898).

The range of works in other areas of Semitic and Near Eastern lexicography (see below) extends from the *Assyrisches Handwörterbuch* (1896) to Hirschfeld's *An Ethiopic-Falasi Glossary* (1921).

### *Christian Hebraism*

Marmorstein's particular interest in Christian Hebraism was evident in his first published study, the aforementioned bio-bibliographic compendium of Christian Hebraists in Hungary. The collection holds a number of works by non-Jewish students of Hebrew and rabbinics across the centuries. The facsimile of Aldus Manutius' *Alphabetum Hebraicum*, originally printed in Venice in 1501 and one of the very first printed editions of its genre, is noted above, as are a volume of Ugolino's *Thesaurus* (Venice 1752) and Pasini's Latin grammar of Hebrew (Padua 1790). Works by non-Jewish Hebraists from the German

lands stand out: Buxtorf in the 17<sup>th</sup>-century and the more recent volumes by Delitsch, Dalman, Bischoff, Strack, and the eventual refugee Paul Kahle, not to mention the compromised Kittel, with whom Marmorstein had collaborated before the Nazi period.

The non-Jewish English Hebraists and orientalist include – apart from the 18<sup>th</sup>-century John Spencer – George Box, W. Oesterley, T. Walter, Edward Robertson (cataloguer of the Samaritan manuscripts in the Rylands), W. H. Bennett, Beryl Smalley, A. R. Stokes and R. Travers Herford. The 16<sup>th</sup>-century Polish-born Hebrew lecturer at Oxford and Cambridge, Philip Ferdinand, who has more in common with the continental Jewish-origin Hebraist converts to Christianity, is the subject of the afore-mentioned study by Siegfried Stein offprinted from the Hertz festschrift. These complement the strong holdings of Christian Hebraism, starting from the 16<sup>th</sup> century, in the Rylands' various special collections.<sup>109</sup>

Apart from the books entirely in Hebrew characters, there are some bilingual editions in Hebrew and a western language, or non-Hebrew books with some running Hebrew text, whether the work of Christian Hebraists of earlier centuries or of modern Jewish scholars. There are also various instances of non-Hebrew books bearing Hebrew 'fore-titles', that is, short titles in Hebrew at the head of title-pages otherwise entirely in a western-language.<sup>110</sup> Some of these are works of Christian Hebraist scholarship, such as Pasini's *Dikduk leshon ha-kodesh, hoc est, Grammatica linguae sanctae* (Padua 1790), August Strindberg's (!) *Luah ha-shemot = Bibliska Egennamn* (Stockholm 1910), and August Wünsche's *Yisur ha-mashiah* (Leipzig 1870).

The use of such Hebrew 'fore-titles' was common in non-Jewish European scholarship of the 16<sup>th</sup> to 18<sup>th</sup> centuries, but it came eventually to be practiced widely in Jewish books, in liturgies, translations of Hebrew texts, and other sacred or even learned contexts. Marmorstein's eulogy for his grandfather Mayer Rosenfeld, *Elegie auf den Tod des R. Zadok* (Kunszentmiklós 1909) with the Hebrew fore-title *Zekher tsadik*, is one of many examples of this convention encountered in Jewish publications, a mark not so much of linguistic schizophrenia as of cultural diglossia combining ancient sacral and modern vernacular languages.

### *Jewish-Christian and Jewish-Muslim Relations*

A scholar of early Jewish-Christian relations and Christian-Jewish polemic, Marmorstein was especially interested in the New Testament and Christianity in relation to Judaism, a

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<sup>109</sup> I am grateful to Jane Gallagher for providing a very useful chronological list of pre-1700 printed Hebraica in the Rylands, derived from the University of Manchester's online catalogue.

<sup>110</sup> Such works are sometimes identifiable in the catalogue records by square brackets [ ] around Hebrew words preceding the western-language title.

subject explored in his first book *Talmud und Neues Testament* (Vinkovci 1908) and later in *Les rabbins et les évangiles* (1932). He also wrote about Origen and the Jews, and the collection contains much relevant early Christian and patristic literature, that is, writings of the Church Fathers of East and West. There are texts and studies related to Amphilochius, Proclus of Constantinople (by the British Museum bibliographer of Syriac and Hebrew C. Moss), Tatian and Theophilus, Dionysius Areopagita, Gregorius Thaumaturgius, Methodius of Olympus, Eusebius of Caesarea, Augustine, Jerome and Artemidorus of Daldis, Macarius the Egyptian, as well as Mingana's study of Judeo-Christian Syriac texts (published in *BJRL*).

Jewish-Christian polemical and apologetic literature was another principal area of Marmorstein's work, and the collection holds original editions of several historic texts: the anti-Jewish polemic by the Dominican friar Ramón Martí (Raymond Martini), *Pugio Fidei* (Paris 1651); the defense of Judaism by the Karaite Isaac Troki, *Hizuk emunah* (Amsterdam 1705); and the responses by another East European Karaite, Mordecai b. Nisan, to a series of questions from a Christian theologian, *Dod Mordechai* (Vienna 1830). Charles Leslie's *A Short and Easy Method with the Jews* (London 1753) is one of the earliest examples of anti-Jewish conversionist literature in English.

There are Jewish anti-Christian polemical texts by Benjamin b. Moses (*Teshuvot ha-notsrin*, Oxford 1899) and Crescas (*Bitul 'ikre ha-notsrin*, Frankfurt am Main 1890). Several items deal with the medieval Jewish anti-gospel *Toldot Yeshu*, including S. Krauss' critical edition, *Das Leben Jesu nach jüdischen Quellen* (1902) and Vaysenberg's study *Ueber eine Toledot Jeschu (Leben Jesu) Handschrift* (1912). Marmorstein wrote about this apocryphon in 1912, as well as a review of Dzubas' edition of *Igeret Raban Yohanan b. Zakai* (Antwerp 1929), a little-known modern pseudepigraphic tract related to this subject.

The collection's extensive holdings on Jewish-Christian relations include standard works by Travers Herford, Levinstein, Livingstone, and the distinguished ecumenist James Parkes. It is the subject of one of the few Dutch titles, J. C. Matthes, *De Joden en het Christendom* (s.l.e.a.). A work from an author from far afield, better known for his bio-bibliographical compendia of Hebrew writers, is K. Lippe's *Das Evangelium Matthei: vor dem Forum der Bibel und des Talmud* (Jassy 1889). Marmorstein's first bibliographic work on Christian Hebraists in Hungary, still a standard tool, should also be mentioned in this regard.

Marmorstein took pride in his study of Arabic and the Quran, and his library reflects the burgeoning interest in Arabic and Muslim topics by Jewish orientalists in the late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries, particularly in Germany but also in England and America. The literature in and scholarship on Judeo-Arabic is noted above. Aside from studies of medieval and later Judeo-Arabic writing, fragments from the Cairo Genizah, and Jewish



literature within the Arab and Islamic world, the collection holds works on Muslim-Jewish relations and mutual religio-cultural influences. Among these are three studies by H. Hirschfeld, his trailblazing *Jüdische Elemente im Koran* (1878), *Mohammedan Criticism of the Bible* (1901), and *A Hebraeo-Sufic Poem* (1920).

Related studies include Abraham Geiger, *Was hat Mohammed aus dem Judentum aufgenommen?* (1902); Jacob Leveen, *Mohammed and his Jewish Companions* (1926); Boaz Cohen, *Une légende juive de Mahomet* (1929); and Charles Torrey's *The Jewish Foundation of Islam* (1933). Of literary-cultural interest is M. Grünert's *Der Löwe in der Literatur der Araber* (1899). An original and even historic contribution to Hebrew-Arabic studies is Jacob Goldenthal's *Sefer maspek li-yedi'at lashon 'aravi* [*Grammaire arabe, écrite en Hébreu, à l'usage des Hébreux de l'orient*] (Vienna 1857), the first such work in Hebrew for a Jewish audience.

### ***Jewish and non-Jewish Intercultural Influences and Confrontation***

Marmorstein was particularly interested in intercultural exchange and mutual influence, syncretism, cultural parallels and comparisons, and the confrontation of religions and cultures, especially between Judaism and Christianity. Aside from Talmud and New Testament, he wrote about Paul and the rabbis, the Jews and Jesus (he also reviewed Klausner's celebrated *Yeshu ha-notsri*), Antoninus, Diocletian, Julian and Epicureans in rabbinic literature, and R. Hanina and Greek wisdom. He wrote about Iranian and Jewish religion, about comparisons between Greek and Jewish religious customs, about conceptions of God, the Holy Spirit and redemption, and about Egyptian myths and Babylonian magic in Bible and Talmud. The latter concern is no doubt behind his acquiring Spencer's *De legibus Hebraeorum* (1727), which daringly posited an Egyptian basis for Israelite religion.

Many works in his library, including ones he reviewed, reflect this concern with cultural influences across a broad spectrum. The range is almost kaleidoscopic, as can be seen in the following examples, apart from works already cited above:

- Blau, *Papyri und Talmud in gegenseitiger Beleuchtung* (1913)  
Glasson, *Greek Influence in Jewish Eschatology* (1961)  
Goldenthal, *Vortrag über den Einfluss der arabischen Philosophie auf das Mittelalter* (1848)  
Graetz, *Gnosticismus und Judentum* (1846)  
Gunkel, *Israel und Babylonien: der Einfluss Babylonien auf die Israelitische Religion* (1903)  
Krauss, *Griechische und lateinische Lehnwörter im Talmud, Midrasch und Targum* (1898)  
Kröll, *Die Beziehungen des klassischen Altertums zu den Hl. Schriften des Alten und Neuen Testaments* (1907)  
Lippe, *Das Evangelium Matthei: vor dem Forum der Bibel und des Talmud* (Jassy 1889)  
Newman, *Jewish Influence on Christian Reform Movements* (1925)  
Porges, *Bibelkunde und Babelfunde* (1903)  
Scheftelowitz, *Die altpersische Religion und das Judentum* (1920) [on Zoroastrianism and Judaism]  
Ziegler, *Das magische Judentum: eine Studie zu Oswald Spengler's 'Der Untergang des Abendlandes'* (1923).

Various works deal with Jewish elements in European (Spanish, French, German, English) authors, literatures and thought, for example, H. Gollancz, *Shakespeare and Rabbinic Thought* (1916), A. Möller, *George Eliots Beschäftigung mit dem Judentum und ihre Stellung zur Judenfrage* (1934), and L. G. Zelson, *The Celestina and its Jewish Authorship* (1930?), and works on Voltaire and Kant mentioned below.

### *Biography and Autobiography*

Marmorstein was particularly interested in biography and autobiography.<sup>111</sup> Among his first published works were an essay on Rashi and a bio-bibliographic compendium of the Christian Hebraists of Hungary. Early in his career he wrote (in *Zeitschrift für hebraische Bibliographie* 1913) about the celebrated memoir of the Polish merchant Ber Birkenthal of Bolechow, a manuscript of which came into his possession (today Marmorstein ms. # 1), and he later wrote a review of an edition of the text (1925). He also wrote entries on Talmudic sages for the German *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, and published a eulogy for his grandfather Mayer Rosenfeld, rabbi of Miskolc.

Marmorstein's library reflects this interest in 'life-writing.' The collection holds dozens of volumes of rabbinic history and biography, monographs, as well as a few printed eulogies, on sages, scholars, communal leaders, sectarians and renegades from antiquity to modern times.<sup>112</sup> Apart from Josephus, Rabbi Akiva and Shimon bar Yohai, medieval figures include such names as Abulafia, Immanuel of Rome, Isaac Luria, Joseph Karo, Maimonides, Rashi and Saadiah. Among early moderns are such varied personalities as Israel Baal Shem, Sabbatai Zevi, Jacob Frank, Samson Wertheimer, Mendelsohn, Solomon Maimon, Elijah Gaon of Vilna and Spinoza.

Figures of the 19<sup>th</sup> century include *inter alios* Berthold Auerbach, David Kaufmann, Zacharias Frankel, Hillel Salanter, Luzzatto, Krochmal, Mickiewicz, Montefiore, Zunz and Neubauer. There are also a few works on dynastic rabbinic families, e.g. a hagiographic work from the Hungarian realm, *Hut ha-meshulash* (Paks 1887), on the rabbinic family Sofer. The collection is notably strong, too, in biographical material relating to scholars in Hungary or of Hungarian origin. Some of the Hebrew and German biographical studies emanate from the circles of the Wissenschaft des Judentums. (Cf. the Appendix 24 for a preliminary list of subjects of biographies.)

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<sup>111</sup> This interest was carried into the next generation. As noted, Emile Marmorstein wrote the memoir of his father which introduces the posthumous collection of Arthur Marmorstein's studies, *Studies in Jewish Theology* (Oxford 1950), pp. xv-xxvi, and Bruno Marmorstein wrote about another immigrant scholar of Hungarian birth who preceded his father at Jews' College, Adolph Büchler, in *Jewish Historical Studies* 30 (1989), 219-234.

<sup>112</sup> A number of these were not part of Marmorstein's own library but were rather added later by the family. See the discussion below of 'Posthumous Additions to Marmorstein's Library'.

The oldest German-language book in the collection is Salomon Maimon's *Lebensgeschichte* (Berlin 1793), the first edition of the celebrated autobiography of the Polish-born enlightenment philosopher and rogue member of the circle of Mendelssohn. From approximately the same period but in a different language is the Hebrew memoir by the cosmopolitan Ber of Bolechow, of which the collection holds both an original manuscript and the printed editions of which Marmorstein wrote a review). The manuscript of Ber of Bolechow is the most important of the small number of original manuscripts in the collection, and the subject of continuing interest and investigation.

There are also a number of studies devoted to famous non-Jewish figures, whether Christian, Muslim or pagan, in relation to Jews, Judaism, Hebrew and Jewish literature. Among these are the roman emperors Antoninus, Diocletian (subject of a study by Marmorstein), Hadrian and Titus; Thomas Aquinas (Guttman, *Das Verhältniss des Thomas von Aquino zum Judenthum und zur jüdischen Litteratur*, Göttingen 1891); Mohammed (Geiger, *Was hat Mohammed aus dem Judenthum aufgenommen?*, 1902); Voltaire (Emmrich, *Das Judentum bei Voltaire*, 1930), and Kant (Guttman, *Kant und das Judentum*, 1908).

### *Festschriften and Memorial Volumes*

Since the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the Festschrift (or Jubelschrift, Livre d'hommage, Sefer ha-yovel, etc.) has been cultivated as a prestigious vehicle of Hebrew and Judaic academic studies.<sup>113</sup> Marmorstein contributed to over a dozen memorial volumes and festschriften and was himself an editor of the festschrift *Orient and Occident* (1936) for the polymath Sephardi Haham Moses Gaster (a portion of whose library and archive is also preserved in the Rylands). Some of the more than 30 festschriften or memorial volumes in the collection are classic works of this genre, such as the *Livre d'hommage à la mémoire du Dr. Samuel Poznański* (Warsaw 1927); *Studies in Jewish Bibliography and related subjects in memory of Abraham Solomon Freidus* (1867-1923) (New York 1929), one of the few such volumes devoted to librarians or bibliographers; and the elegantly produced *Essays in honour of the Very Rev. Dr. J. H. Hertz, Chief Rabbi* (London 1942), issued at a time when Jewish life in Europe hung in the balance.

A number of festschriften and memorial volumes are devoted to Hungarian Jewish scholars, including Mózes Bloch, David Kaufmann, Lipot Löw, A. Kohut, Simon Hevesi and Ludwig Blau. (The posthumously published collection of Marmorstein's studies served simultaneously as a memorial volume.) Among other notable examples is the volume for chief rabbi David Simonsen (Copenhagen 1923), the only Danish-language work in the

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<sup>113</sup> Cf. Charles Berlin, 'Festschriften in Jewish studies', *Harvard Library Bulletin* 19 (1971), 366-374.

collection. The only festschrift or memorial volume for a woman is *Essays and Studies in Memory of Linda R. Miller* (1938).

There are also volumes for J. L. Landau, Israel Abrahams, Israel Hildesheimer, H. Graetz, Louis Ginzberg, Adolf Schwarz, Israel Brodie, A. Freimann, Jakob Freimann, Heinrich Brody, Kaufmann Kohler, W. Feilchenfeld, Jakob Guttmann, Moses Schor, Eduard Mahler and Cecil Roth. Apart from their various scientific studies, often related to the field of the honoree, these volumes are unique sources for the biography of the honorees and the bibliography of their writings. As such they are of valuable for the history of scholarship in their particular field and in Judaic studies generally. (For a list of honorees of Festschriften, see Appendix 24.)

### *Serials*

A contributor to scholarly serials in multiple languages, Marmorstein assembled runs of various lengths, or individual issues, of over 50 Jewish, orientalist and theological serials (journals, periodicals, annuals, yearbooks, annual reports) in many languages, including German (25 titles), Hebrew (13), Hungarian (10), English, French, Yiddish and others. (These runs and issues are aside from the offprints of articles from these same publications and dozens of others. For a list of the serial runs or individual issues, see Appendix 25; for a list of journals from which the collection's many offprints derive, see Appendix 26.)

The German titles expose a panorama of German-Jewish scholarship – the last period of the *Wissenschaft des Judentums* - which flourished early in Marmorstein's career and is today unimaginable.<sup>114</sup> The Hebrew periodicals, from all across Europe, likewise reflect a world which became extinct before the end of his life. The *Revue des études juives*, one of the few journals in French and to which he contributed, was in Marmorstein's day one of the three most important scholarly organs in the field of Hebraic and Judaic studies in the world and the most international. His heavily annotated copy of one issue is noted below.

Some of the Hebrew serials in the original Marmorstein collection were extremely rare and are found in hardly a university library. Particular attention should be drawn to the long run, bound in 3 volumes, of the Haskalah journal *Kokhve yitshak* (Vienna 1847-1869); the rare issues of the Hungarian rabbinic journals *Bet va'ad le-hakhamim* (Szatmár, 192-?), *Ohel yitshak* (Szatmár 1901-1905), *Davar be-'ito* (Paks 1907), and especially the 36 issues of the rabbinic journal *Otsar ha-hayim* (Deva 1924?-).<sup>115</sup>

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<sup>114</sup> Cf. Kerstin von der Krone, *Wissenschaft in Öffentlichkeit: Die Wissenschaft des Judentums und ihre Zeitschriften* (Berlin 2011).

<sup>115</sup> On these serials see Isaac Lewin, *Otsar Kitve 'et toraniyim [Bibliography of Hebrew Rabbinical Periodicals which appeared in Israel, Eastern and Western Europe, Russia, China (Shanghai), North Africa and North America during the years 1691-1948]* (New York, 1980).

In a related category are the annual and other reports (Bericht, Jahresbericht, etc.) of the various rabbinical seminaries in Budapest, Berlin, Breslau, London, Ramsgate and Cincinnati, as well as some festschriften or historical studies devoted to these institutions. These include the *Bericht der Hochschule für die Wissenschaft des Judentums* (Berlin); *Bericht des jüdischen-theologischen Seminars* (Breslau); Hebrew Union College in Cincinnati; *Hochschule für die Wissenschaft des Judentums* (Berlin); *Jahresbericht der Landes-Rabbinerschule* (Budapest); Jews' College London (where Marmorstein spent his entire academic career); Judith Montefiore College Ramsgate (with which Gaster was associated); and the *Lehranstalt für die Wissenschaft des Judentums* in Vienna.

The collection also holds a near-complete run of the publications of the Dropsie College in Philadelphia which appeared during Marmorstein's time.

### *Offprints*

A particularity of the collection are the hundreds of offprints, most from scholarly or professional journals, and dozens from memorial volumes or festschriften for individuals or institutions. (For a list of of periodicals from which the offprints are drawn, see Appendix 26.) Many come from the *Jewish Quarterly Review*, in Marmorstein's day the most important scholarly serial in English in the field of Hebrew and Jewish studies. In their totality the offprints provide a record of international scholarly networking among Judaic scholars in Europe, Britain, America and Palestine in the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, right up to his death in 1946.

In subject matter, some of the offprints are significant contributions to bibliography. Berliner's study of censorship and his bibliography of Steinschneider's works. Also notable are Poznański's review of *Schechter's Saadyana* (1904) and of Steinschneider's survey of Judeo-Arabic writings, *Zur jüdisch-arabischen Litteratur* (1904). Others are of particular literary-cultural interest, e.g. Gollancz's *Shakespeare and Rabbinic Thought* (1916) and August Wünsche's *Der Kuss in Bibel, Talmud und Midrasch* (Berlin 1911), on kissing in ancient Hebrew literature. Among the offprints of studies which appeared in the last year of his life are several bibliographic works: H. Schoeps' two studies, *Schwedisches in der hebräischen Bibliographie* (Uppsala 1946) and *Hebräische Erstdrucke vor 1600 in der Universitätsbibliothek Uppsala* (1946), and S. Scheiber's *Maimóni Magyarországon* [A Hungarian Bibliography of Maimonides] (Budapest 1946).

There are offprints from journals in 12 languages published in nearly 20 countries. The largest number are in English (at least 34 items), then German (15), Italian (11), Hebrew (8), French (4), Yiddish (2), and one each in Dutch, Polish and Swedish. Among the offprints are some 75 studies and reviews by Marmorstein himself. An unusual offprint - if it can be described as such - is the bibliographer B. Friedberg's *Yosef Karo* (Drohobycz

1895), extracted from the *Drohobitscher Tsaytung*, a Yiddish (or rather Judeo-German) newspaper in eastern Galicia.

### *Bibliographic and Reference Literature.*

One of the last students of Steinschneider in Berlin, Marmorstein was a bibliographer as well as an intellectual historian. While still a student he published his bio-bibliographic survey of Christian Hebraists in Hungary in *Zeitschrift für Hebräische Bibliographie* in 1904. He assisted E. N. Adler, one of the greatest Jewish bibliophiles in England in his day (the other was Moses Gaster) on several publications, most importantly on the *Catalogue of Hebrew Manuscripts in the Collection of Elkan Nathan Adler* (Cambridge, 1921).<sup>116</sup> As noted, several bibliographic studies by his correspondents Scheiber in Budapest and Schoeps in Uppsala may have been the last works added to his library before his death.

Given his predilections, it is not surprising that the collection holds over a hundred volumes of bibliographic and reference literature, some of them classic works in this field. (For a selected list, see Appendix 27.) These include library history and catalogues of manuscripts and books; studies of manuscripts and fragments; printing history and censorship; indexes of various sorts; antiquarian booksellers' catalogues; literary, linguistic, regional, personal and subject bibliographies; Jewish encyclopedias and lexicons, as well as dictionaries and various lexicographic works; bibliographic surveys; exhibition catalogues; and other tools for research. Many of these are by Marmorstein's contemporaries, acquaintances or correspondents, such as Boaz Cohen, A. Freimann, E. N. Adler, H. Hirschfeld, D. S. Loewinger, Leopold Löwenstein, and not least Steinschneider.

- 1 Classic Works
- 2 Libraries
- 3 Manuscripts
- 4 Printing History
- 5 Censorship
- 6 Jewish Languages
- 7 Subject Bibliographies
- 8 Indexes
- 9 Personal Bibliographies
- 10 Encyclopedias

1 **CLASSIC WORKS.** Apart from the many works cited below, attention must be drawn to some early and classic works of Hebrew bibliography. The index of the *Zohar Mareh Kohen* by Issachar Berman Katz (Amsterdam 1673) is one of the earliest published indexes of a Hebrew work. Other early indexes include Isaac Jesurun's *Panim hadashot* (Venice

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<sup>116</sup> According to Benjamin Richler, *Guide to Hebrew Manuscript Collections*, second edition, p. 14, Gershom Scholem reported that Marmorstein was the principal compiler of the Adler catalogue. We have repeated the ascription to Marmorstein in our 'From Bardejov to Oxford', cited above, pp. 120-122.

1651), an index to Jewish law and responsa; Aaron b. Samuel, *Bet Aharon* (Frankfurt on the Oder, 1691), a biblical concordance; and the index of midrash by Abraham b. Elijah of Vilna, *Sefer rav po'alim, makor le-khol midreshe razal ve-agadotehem* (Warsaw 1894). Such works figure in the history of Hebrew indexes (a subject of interest to Moses Gaster) which has yet to be written.

The Christian Hebraist J. C. Wolf's *Bibliotheca Hebraea* in 4 volumes (Hamburg 1715-1733), H. J. D. Azulai's bio-bibliographic lexicon *Shem ha-gedolim* of which the collection holds several 19<sup>th</sup>-century editions (Vienna 1864; Warsaw 1876), and the comprehensive bibliographies of Hebrew printed books by I. Benjacob, *Otsar ha-sefarim* [*Thesaurus Librorum Hebraicorum*] (Vilna 1880), and B. Friedberg, *Bet 'eked sefarim* [*Lexique bibliographique de tous les ouvrages de la littérature hébraïque et judéo-allemande, y compris les ouvrages arabes, grecs, italiens, espagnols-portugais, persans, samaritains et tartares en caractères hébraïques, imprimés et publiés de 1475 à 1900*] (Antwerp 1928-1931), the latter two in original editions, remain monuments in this field.

The collection holds catalogues of several private libraries which were eventually acquired by major institutions in England and today comprise the world's greatest collections of Hebraica: Isaac Metz's *Kohelet David* (Hamburg, 1826, with index by J. Goldenthal, Leipzig 1843), the catalogue of Hebrew books in the famous Oppenheimer collection acquired by the Bodleian in Oxford in 1829; the original edition of *Otsrot hayim* (Hamburg 1848), edited by Zunz and Steinschneider, the catalogue of the Michael collection of Hebrew books acquired by the British Museum; and the *Catalogue de la bibliothèque de littérature hébraïque et orientale* (Padua 1864), describing the Almanzi collection whose manuscripts went to the British Museum (now British Library).

E. M. Pinner's *Prospectus der Odessaer Gesellschaft für Geschichte und Alterthümer gehörenden ältesten hebräischen und rabbinischen Manuscripte* (Odessa 1845) was one of the first catalogues of a Jewish collection of Hebrew manuscripts. D. S. Sassoon's two-volume *Ohel David* (London 1932), describing a collection later dispersed, is considered the most de luxe catalogue of Hebrew manuscripts ever prepared. These and other works of cultural-historical interest, many of them illustrated, could well serve as the basis for an exhibition on the history of Hebrew bibliography, a field to which the John Rylands Library has long contributed.

**2 LIBRARIES.** E. N. Adler's *The Hebrew Treasures of England* (offprint Edinburgh 1914), surveys the great institutional and private libraries (including Gaster's) as they existed in his day. Catalogues of other British collections include Gaster's *Catalogue of Pamphlets belonging to the library of Zunz* in the *Report* of the Judith Montefiore College in Ramsgate (1892) and Hodgson & Co.'s *A Catalogue of a Further Selection of Books from*

*the Library of the Late William Aldis Wright* (London 1915). The *Katalog der Bibliothek des verewigten Ludwig Blau* (Budapest 1936) describes a collection later acquired by the university of Glasgow, the northernmost collection of Hebraica in the British Isles and the only one which can be compared in some of its rare Hebraica to Marmorstein's.

Other catalogues of private libraries include the inventory edited by G. Wolf of the library of Bernhard Beer (Berlin 1863) and the prospectus of the library of Solomon J. Halberstam, *Eine seltene Privat-Bibliothek* [Berlin, ca. 1881-1883?]. (Surprisingly, Marmorstein's catalogue of the Rehfish library [London 1924] seems not to be held in the collection.) Adjunct to literature on libraries are biographical essays on the librarians and bibliographers A. Neubauer, S. Schiller-Szinessy, and Alexander Marx. Berliner's preliminary bibliography of Steinschneider's writings is one of over a dozen personal bibliographies of some of the most prolific late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> century scholars. (The Festschriften and memorial volumes also contain bibliographies of the honorees.)

**3 MANUSCRIPTS.** Catalogues of manuscripts and related codicological works include Harkavy and Strack's *Catalog der hebräischen Bibelhandschriften der Kaiserlichen Öffentlichen Bibliothek* (1875) and Harkavy's *Bibelhandschriften* (1884) on the Bible manuscripts in St Petersburg; S. Schiller-Szinessy's *Description of the Leyden Manuscript of the Palestinian Talmud* (Cambridge 1878), and *Catalogue of the Hebrew Manuscripts preserved in the University Library, Cambridge* (1876); and *Pardes ha-Torah ve-ha-hokhmah* [*Catalog des "Zion Wejeruscholaim"*] (Jerusalem 1898), describing manuscripts in the collection of Isaac Badhab.

As noted, Marmorstein assisted in the preparation of the catalogue of manuscripts in the collection of Elkan Nathan Adler, one of the most sumptuous catalogues of Hebrew manuscripts ever prepared, after whose publication the collection was acquired by the Jewish Theological Seminary in New York. A more modest compilation is Ephraim Deinard's *Or Me'ir* [*Or Mayer: catalogue of the old Hebrew manuscripts and printed books of the library of Hon. M. Sulzberger*] (New York 1896). Apart from catalogues of private libraries, there are a number of catalogues and studies of Hebrew manuscripts in the great English institutions (London, Oxford, Cambridge), as well as some collections abroad (Breslau, Budapest, Berlin, New York).

A few facsimiles of medieval manuscripts and fragments are devoted to Babylonian Bible manuscripts, e.g. P. Kahle, *Die hebräischen Bibelhandschriften aus Babylonien* (1928), as well as the Palestinian Targum, Aramaic papyri, Judeo-Arabic fragments from the Cairo Genizah, Hebrew magical texts, Greek Bible manuscripts and Greek papyri. Several of the catalogues of manuscripts, not least those of Adler and Sassoon, include numerous facsimile plates.



Paleography and the preparation of Torah scrolls are the subjects of several works. Hirschfeld contributed to paleography in a small way with his study of the dot in Hebrew writing, and Marmorstein more conclusively in his study of final letters in Hebrew manuscripts. Several basic works on the scribal arts are L. Landsofer, *Bene yonah* (Prague 1802), on Torah scrolls; S. B. Bamberger, *Meleket ha-shamayim* (1860); S. Ganzfried, *Keset ha-sofer* (Bártfa 1902); and Leopold Löw, *Graphische Requisiten und Erzeugnisse bei den Juden* (1871).

4 **PRINTING HISTORY.** Printing-historical literature includes Freimann's study of Hebrew printing in Rome; Friedberg's monographs on Hebrew typography in Cracow and Lublin; Habermann's book on the Renaissance Italian Jewish printing family Soncino, eponymous with the town where they launched their first press in 1483; and various works by E. N. Adler, including his study *Talmud Incunables of Spain and Portugal* (1935) and *A Gazetteer of Hebrew Printing* (1917) listing all places of Hebrew printing and the date of their first books. A barely known contribution to Hebrew printing history is Schoeps' *Schwedisches in der hebräischen Bibliographie* (1946), which may well have been the last publication acquired by Marmorstein before his death.

5 **CENSORSHIP.** Studies by A. Berliner include *Censur und Confiscation hebräischer Bücher im Kirchenstaate: auf Grund der Inquisitions-Akten in der Vaticana und Vallicellana* (1891) and *Ueber den Einfluss des ersten hebräischen Buchdrucks auf den Cultus und der Cultur der Juden* (1896). Also relevant to church or state censorship is the defense of the Talmud provided by the learned Christian censor Karl Fischer at Prague, *Gutmeinung über den Talmud der Hebräer* (Vienna 1883). (In the context of censorship one notes Marmorstein's copy of Isaac Dühren, *Sha'are Dura* [Jessnitz 1724], with Russian and Polish censors' stamps on the title-page.) Related to internal censorship is L. Löwenstein's index of rabbinic approbations in Hebrew printed books.

6 **JEWISH LANGUAGES.** Bibliographic surveys of Jewish languages include the substantive volumes on Judeo-Arabic by Steinschneider and Poznański cited above; Adler's survey (with W. Bacher) of Judeo-Persian books and manuscripts; and Löwinger's inventory of Yiddish manuscripts in Breslau (1936). Harkavy's survey of medieval Judeo-Slavic glosses is cited above. Also relevant is Steinschneider's *Die fremdsprachlichen Elemente im Neuhebräischen und ihre Bedeutung für die Linguistik* (Prague 1845). The above-mentioned catalogue of E. N. Adler's manuscripts, prepared largely by Marmorstein, includes texts in sundry Jewish languages.

7 **SUBJECT BIBLIOGRAPHIES.** Several bibliographic compendia for specific subjects, themes or genres include the original edition of William Zeitlin's *Bibliotheca Hebraica Post-Mendelssohniana* (Leipzig 1891-1895), recording all secular Hebrew books (sciences,

mathematics, astronomy, medicine, history, geography, belles-lettres, etc.) from the Mendelssohnian enlightenment through the Wissenschaft des Judentums up to the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Reprinted several times, Zeitlin's still little-known work is one of the most important works of Hebrew bibliography and remains a basic and indispensable tool for research in the Haskalah and all secular genres of pre-modern Hebraica. Similarly, Steinschneider's chronologically arranged compendium *Die Geschichtsliteratur der Juden in Druckwerken und Handschriften* (1905) surveys all historical literature in Hebrew over the centuries with the master's habitual rich annotation.

Other compendia of rabbinic literary genres include E. Landshut, *Amude 'avodah* [(*columnae cultus*) *Onomasticon auctorum hymnorum hebraeorum eorumque carminum, cum notis biographicis et bibliographicis, e fontibus excusis et mss.*] (1857-1862), a bio-bibliography of Hebrew hymnologists, and Lippe's surprisingly little known *Bibliographisches Lexicon der gesammten jüdischen Literatur der Gegenwart und Adress-Anzeiger* (1881), a unique bio-bibliographic source for late 19<sup>th</sup>-century Hebrew and rabbinic literature. Diverse rabbinic genres are surveyed in a series of original bibliographic compilations by Jellinek. Bischoff's *Kritische Geschichte der Talmud-Übersetzungen* (1899) is still a useful bibliographic overview.

8 **INDEXES OF BOOKS AND SERIALS.** Aside from the 17<sup>th</sup>-century indexes noted above, indexes of rabbinic genres include J. Müller's index of gaonic responsa (1891); A. Hyman, *Bet va'ad le-hakhamim* (London 1902), index to the agadot; Y. Gefen, *Otiyot mahkimot* (Jerusalem 1906), a topical index of Talmud; M. A. Haikin, *Kelale ha-poskim u-mareh mekom ha-dinim* (London 1923), an index to Karo's code; and Löwenstein's *Index Approbationum* for rabbinic works (1923). In an age of Scholemania, it is worth drawing attention to Marmorstein's rare copy of Scholem's index of commentaries on the 10 Sefirot, offprinted from *Kiryat Sefer*. Keys to modern scholarship include Marcus and Bilgray, *Index to Jewish Festschriften* (1937), and indexes to *Revue des études juives* (1910) and *Transactions of the Jewish Historical Society of England* (1945).

9 **PERSONAL BIBLIOGRAPHIES.** Along with Berliner's preliminary bibliography of Steinschneider's writings, there are personal bibliographies of Samuel Krauss, Abraham Berliner, Wilhelm Bacher, Max Grunwald, Louis Ginzberg, Israel Friedlaender, Michael Guttmann, David Hoffmann and Solomon Schechter. (A comprehensive bibliography of Marmorstein's own publications is included in the posthumous collection of his studies, *Studies in Jewish Theology*, 1950.) Another nearly forgotten but indispensable source of bio-bibliographic documentation for Hebrew and rabbinic authors of the late 19<sup>th</sup> century is B. D. Lippe's above-cited *Bibliographisches Lexicon* (1881).

Bibliographies of medieval literary figures include Poznański's on Saadiah and Scheiber's on Maimonides cited above. The *Mahberot* of Immanuel of Rome with a biographical note by Steinschneider (Lemberg 1870) and Steinschneider's study of Berachja ha-Nakdan (1883?) are contributions to medieval Hebrew literary bio-bibliography.

<sup>10</sup> **ENCYCLOPEDIAS.** Marmorstein reviewed the *Enzyklopädie des Judentums* (Berlin 1926), and he contributed to the German *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, of which he had a near-complete set (Berlin 1928-). The collection holds 50 volumes of Jewish encyclopedias in German, English and Hebrew, including the *Real-Encyklopädie für Bibel und Talmud* (1874) and Eisenstein's Hebrew *Otsar yisra'el* (New York 1907-1912). The *Probeheft of Ha-Eshkol / Enzyklopädie des Judentums* (Berlin 1926) is an example of advance prospectuses of Hebrew reference and bibliographic works, many of which were never realized or completed.

M. Guttman's *Mafteah ha-talmud* [*Clavis talmudi sive Encyclopaedia rerum quae in utroque Talmude, Tosifta ...*] (Csongrád/Budapest 1906), one of several bibliographic and reference works produced in Hungary, was a unique compilation and forerunner of later scholarship in this field. (The added elaborate title in Latin, like that of Landshut's work cited above, harks back to a different age in the education of Central and East European Jewish scholars. As noted, Marmorstein's great-grandfather's volume of rabbinic-Talmudic learning, published in Jerusalem in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century, bore an added title in Latin.)

### **Orientalia, Classica, Non-Judaica**

(Ancient Near East, Classica, Hellenistica, Patristica, Occidentalia)

In consequence of his philological training, Marmorstein possessed a number of works with texts in or about Semitic, ancient Near Eastern and cognate languages, including Assyrian, Akkadian, Hittite, Hurrian (Mittani), Ugaritic, Cuneiform, Aramaic, Syriac, Ethiopic, Turkish and Coptic, and in the field of Egyptology. Meissner's studies of Assyriology and Old Babylonian law, Meyer's edition of the Elephantine Papyrus (1912), Sobernheim's *Inscriptions of Palmyra* (1905), and J. Pedersen's *Inscriptiones semiticae* are just a few examples. Of bibliographic interest is W. Worrell, *The Coptic Manuscripts in the Freer Collection* (1923).

Marmorstein was interested in papyri as in texts from the Genizah; he was also interested in ancient Jewish inscriptions and archaeology. The collection holds studies of Aramaic and Greek papyri, e.g. *The Adler Papyri: The Greek Texts* (1939). Marmorstein reviewed S. Klein's *Jüdisch-palästinisches Corpus Inscriptionum* (Vienna 1920), Gottheil's *Fragments*

*from the Cairo Genizah in the Freer Collection* (New York 1927), and Grenfell and Hunt's *Fragment of an Uncanonical Gospel from Oxyrhynchus* (1908).

Trained in Greek and Latin, Marmorstein acquired a number of classical and Hellenistic texts in original or translation, including an edition of the Septuagint in Greek (Oxford 1848), the *Novum Testamentum Graece* = Η Καινη Διαθηκη [He Kaine Diatheke] (Cologne 1871), as well as texts or studies of the ancient Hellenistic or Latin authors Philo, Josephus, Aristotle, Alexander Polyhistor, Cicero, Tertullian, Seneca, and Apuleius (the latter known for his mention of 'the woman who believed in one god', sometimes taken as a reference to Jewish belief).

The first edition in the original Greek of the works of the ancient Jewish philosopher Philo Judaeus, *Opera Graece* (Paris 1552), and the Latin translation of Aristotle's *Poetics* (Venice 1584, an edition not held in the British Library) are the oldest non-Hebrew books in the collection. (Apart from the *editio princeps*, there are several volumes of Philo from the Harvard Loeb series.)

Christian religion, classical Latin literature and Christianity, early Church history and theology, liturgies and liturgical history, patristic literature, apologetics and polemics, Gnosticism, Manichaeism and apocalyptic literature were all in Marmorstein's purview. The collection holds literature in all these areas, apart from Christian *Biblica/Hebraica/Judaica*. A reference tool is Kittel's *Theologisches Wörterbuch zum neuen Testament* (1935). Texts and studies of patristic authors include Augustine, Jerome, Eusebius of Caesarea, Gregory Thaumaturgos, Ambrose, Dionysius the Areopagite, Hippolytus of Rome, Methodius, and Macarius the Egyptian. The gnostic Christian Ptolemy's *Epistle to Flora* (ed. Harnack, 1904) expresses his views of Old Testament law. Studies of Proclus and the *Scholia* of Bar-Hebraeus along with Mingana's *Early Judaean-Christian Documents in the John Rylands Library* (1917) all deal with Syriac texts.

Works of western history, ancient and modern, include Gibbon's *The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* (1817 and later), Macaulay's *Essays and Lays of Ancient Rome* (1885), and Otto Spengler's (!) *Der Untergang des Abendlandes* (1922). Perhaps if only for distraction, an edition of Alexander Pope also figured in Marmorstein's *Belesung*. The breadth of Marmorstein's cultural interests – he was an inveterate museum-goer as well as a reader – is reflected in various exhibition catalogues of European art.

## VI. MANUSCRIPTS

### *Original Hebrew and German Manuscripts*

The Marmorstein collection holds 11 original manuscripts, kept in two archival boxes, of which ten are in Hebrew and one is in German. (For a list of the manuscripts, see Appendix 28.) At least three of the manuscripts are from the 18<sup>th</sup> century, and several derive from Moravian or Slovak territory.

The most significant of the Hebrew manuscripts, and the only one which has been the subject of published studies, is the memoir by Ber [Birkenthal] of Bolechow (dated 1801).<sup>117</sup> Marmorstein first wrote about 'Die Memoiren Beer Bolechovs' in *Zeitschrift für Hebraeische Bibliographie* (1913), pp. 84-91. A Hebrew edition of the memoir edited by Mark Wischnitzer, *Zikhronot R. Dov Bolekhov*, was published in Berlin in 1922. Marmorstein reviewed Vishnitzer's English edition of *The Memoirs of Ber of Bolechow (1723-1805)*, published the same year by Oxford University Press (reprint New York 1973), in *Monatsschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judentums* 64 (1925), 121-122.<sup>118</sup>

The sole non-Hebrew manuscript, entitled *Gemeinde Rechnung der Jamnitzer Judenschaft* [Communal register of the Jews of Jamnitz] (late 18<sup>th</sup> century), in German in Latin script, is one of the earliest instances of the use of German and not Yiddish/Hebrew for a communal *pinkas* among Ashkenazic Jewry. Jamnitz (Czech Jemnice) was the Moravian town where Marmorstein served as rabbi at the beginning of his career and about which he published a historical study, *Zur Geschichte der Juden in Jamnitz* (Skotschau 1910, reprinted from *Mitteilungen zur jüdischen Volkskunde*).<sup>119</sup>

The remaining manuscripts have yet to be studied, or given the same bibliographic-codicological attention to which the other Hebrew manuscripts in the Rylands have been subject.<sup>120</sup> Apart from these, there are a few other items in the category of 'manuscripts' or

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<sup>117</sup> Ber of Bolechow's memoir is the only one of the Marmorstein manuscripts which has to date been assigned a shelf-number. It is labeled Marmorstein ms. # 1.

<sup>118</sup> The Rylands manuscript is the subject of new research by Prof. Gershon Hundert, reported at the conference 'The Other Within: The Hebrew and Jewish Collections of the John Rylands Library', Manchester (UK), June 2016.

<sup>119</sup> On the Jews of Moravia, see Michael Miller, *Rabbis and Revolution: The Jews of Moravia in the Age of Emancipation* (Stanford, 2015). I am grateful to Elizabeth Gow for providing the skeletal 'accessions list' of the Marmorstein manuscripts. Notes on the Marmorstein manuscripts prepared by Prof. Miller have not been available to the present writer.

<sup>120</sup> Marmorstein's manuscripts are not mentioned in the entry on the Rylands in Benjamin Richler's *Guide to Hebrew Manuscript Collections*, second, revised edition (Jerusalem 2014).

'non-print' material not kept in the said boxes of manuscripts but rather housed among the printed books: a manuscript (or typescript?) of S. Birnbaum's study 'A Sheet of an Eighth Century Synagogue Scroll' and a typescript by Eugen Neuman entitled 'Mattan Torah: the Revelation on Sinai in Jewish Thought of the Middle Ages' (Manchester? 1939?).

### ***Between Manuscript and Print***

Aside from the said original manuscripts proper, some printed books in the collection contain added manuscript leaves, marginal annotation, or handwritten pages replacing missing leaves of printed text. Such combinations of manuscript and print are examples of the multiple possible overlaps between manuscript and print in Hebrew books which deserve further attention by printing historians, codicologists and paleographers. (On Marmorstein's own marginal annotations on *Sefer Zerubavel*, see below.)

Most significant is the edition of the historical chronicle by Azariah de Rossi, *Me'or 'enayim* (Mantua 1574) with manuscript notes by the 18<sup>th</sup>-century anti-Sabbatian polemicist Jacob Emden.<sup>121</sup> There are also instances of hand-written marginal notes alongside printed text, e.g. in Isaac Dühren, *Sha'are Dura* (Jessnitz 1724; the volume is also distinguished by Russian and Polish censors' stamps on the title-page), or *Derekh hayim* by Menahem di Lonzano (Vienna 1931), heavily annotated by hand. Another curious example is Berachiah ha-Nakdan's fable-book *Mishle Shu'alim* (Warsaw 1874) [815284], hand-annotated in red ink, with sheets of notes in the same red ink inserted at end.

There are also printed books with several pages of handwritten text bound in as replacement for missing leaves. In the copy of Joseph Ha-Efrati's Haskalah drama *Melukhat Sha'ul* (Cracow 1822) the first two missing leaves have been replaced with handwritten pages. The same is true of the missing title-page and the last pages of Luzzatto's *La-yesharim tehilah* (Lemberg 1799). Especially notable is the volume of responsa *Shu"t Maharam me-rotenburg* (Cremona 1557), in which 7 missing pages at the beginning and 11 at the end have been restored in manuscript. A handwritten title-page replacing the missing original page is bound in with *Aderet eliyahu* (Frankfurt on the Oder 1694).

### ***Marmorstein's Personal Papers***

Apart from the two boxes of original Hebrew manuscripts, an additional 4 boxes of Marmorstein's own papers contain bound manuscripts and typescripts of the scholar's own studies and addresses in German, English, Hebrew and Hungarian.<sup>122</sup> (Among the

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<sup>121</sup> As noted, another copy of this work with added text in manuscript is held in the Jacob M. Lowy Collection at Library and Archives Canada (formerly National Library of Canada), Ottawa

<sup>122</sup> Closer examination of these manuscripts and typescripts, and checking against the bibliography of Marmorstein's publications, may determine whether all these writings were in fact published, and if so in what language.

typescripts is found, for example, his study ‘Zur Geschichte der Juden in Jannitz.’) In addition to these bound volumes of manuscripts, typescripts and preparatory notes, all identical in dimensions, there is another bound volume, slightly smaller in dimensions, of (Marmorstein’s?) papers and typescripts – in Hebrew, German, Hungarian and English - which has been catalogued and housed with the printed books (shelf mark 8I4758).

Marmorstein’s interest in Jewish eschatology is evident in his personal copy of *Revue des études juives* 68 (1914), the issue containing Israel Lévi’s edition of *Sefer Zerubavel* based on a Bodleian manuscript. Lévi’s text is heavily annotated in Marmorstein’s hand with variant readings from a manuscript in the British Museum (now British Library). This copy with Marmorstein’s annotations could serve as the basis for a new edition of this 7<sup>th</sup>-century Palestinian Hebrew apocalypse.<sup>123</sup>

Lastly, in addition to the bound manuscripts and typescripts of Marmorstein’s own writings, there is a wooden box containing unequally-sized small slips of scrap paper with names, terms and titles in Hebrew, all alphabetically arranged, referring to literature or sources. Presumably this is apparently his own working ‘index nominum et rerum’, prepared for private use in conjunction with his research. As such it provides a rare glimpse of working methods at the London desk of a magisterial Hebrew scholar from Central Europe in the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century.

## VII.

### POSTHUMOUS ADDITIONS TO MARMORSTEIN’S LIBRARY

The Marmorstein collection at the Rylands includes some 200 volumes published over the course of 25 years after his death, added by the Marmorstein family to the original collection. Apart from Jewish institutional, organizational and communal reports and works on Jewish-Christian relations, e.g. the Annual Report of the Council of Christians and Jews, and various ephemeral Anglo-Jewish liturgies, there are biographies of Maimonides, Saadiah Gaon, Montefiore, Abrabanel, Rashi, Joseph Karo, Mendelssohn, Israel Baal Shem, Zunz, Hatam Sofer, Menasseh Ben Israel and Herzl.

The addenda include works by such Anglo-Jewish scholars as I. W. Slotki, Theodor Gaster, S. Daiches, H. Rabinowitz, J. Rabinowitz and K. Kahana, as well as the Yiddish author Esther Kreitman. The more recent English-language Judaica include books and studies by Marmorstein’s successor at Jews’ College, the émigré rabbinic scholar Dr H. J. Zimmels, as well as by (the later Chief Rabbi Sir) Immanuel Jakobovits. There are also several publications by Marmorstein’s elder son Emile. In addition, some dozen items derive from the large private library of the Oxford historian Lionel Kochan.

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<sup>123</sup> I am grateful to Prof. Philip Alexander for drawing my attention to this hand-annotated copy of *REJ*.

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- 1 Hebraica in the Rylands
  - a. Manuscripts
  - b. Printed Books
- 2 Dr Arthur Marmorstein
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  - 4 Hungarian Jewry
  - 5 Hebrew Printing

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held in the Marmorstein Collection  
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## APPENDIX I

### Places of Hebrew Printing represented in the Marmorstein Collection (and approximate number of titles held)

Aden 1	Hanau 1
Alexandria (Na Amon) 4	Hanover 6
Alsókubin I [Ya'ir netiv 1897]	Homburg vor der Hohe 4
Altona 4	Husiatyn 8
Amsterdam 40	Istanbul (Constantinople) 4
Antwerp 5	Izmir 2
Baghdad 2	Jaroslaw 1
Bamberg 1	Jerusalem 135
Bardejov/Bártfa 7	Jessnitz 3
Berdichev 5	Johannesburg SA 1
Beregszász 1	Johannisburg (Pisz) 1
Berlin 110	Józefów 5
Bilgoraj 1	Kaidan 1
Bonyhád 2	Karlsruhe 3
Botosani 1	Kiev 1
Breslau 16	Kolomea 5
Brünn 11	Königsberg 2
Budapest 24	Krotoschin 1
Buczacz 1	Kunszentmiklós 1 [Rosenfeld Zekher tsadik 1909]
Cairo 1	Lausanne 1
Cambridge 3	Leghorn (Livorno) 30
Cluj (Kolozsvár/Klausenburg) 3	Leipzig 17
Cracow 32	Lemberg/Lwów 85
Cremona 3	London 85
Csongrád 1	Lublin 3
Czernowitz 5	Lunéville 1
Dés 1 [Divre yosher 1912]	Lyck 9
Dessau 2	Mainz 4
Déva 2	Manchester
Djerba 3	Mantua 10
Drohobycz 3	Marrakech 1
Dyhernfurth 5	Metz 2
Érsekújvár (Nové Zámky) 1 [Pe'at ha-sadeh 1907 pt. 2 printed in Munkács]	Munich 4
Ferrara 1	Munkács (Mukacheve) 46
Florence 1	Nacina Ves (Nátafalva) 1 [Homat esh 1906]
Frankfurt a. M. 39	Neuwied 1
Frankfurt a. O. 9	New York 26
Fürth 28	Odessa 2
Galanta 4	Ofen (Buda/Budapest) 5
Haifa 4	Offenbach 1
Halberstadt 1	Oran 1 1855
Halle 1	Ostroho 2
Hamburg 3	Oxford 3
	Padua 1

Paks 29	Szeghalom I [Samuel Leuchter Teshuvah]
Paris 15	Szilágysomlyó (Simleu Silvaniei/Simlau) 3
Pasewalk I	Szinérváralja (Seini/S. Warhol) 2 see 1907
Petersburg 4	Tatar Pazarchik I
Philadelphia 3	Tel-Aviv 9
Pietrkov 4	Thorn I
Podgorze near Cracow 2	Tiberias I
Posen I	Tolcsva 2
Prague 57	Tunis I
Pressburg (Bratislava/Pozsony) 52	Turka I
Przemysl II	Tyrnau (Trnava/Nagyszombat) 2
Rava-Ruska I	Újhely (Sátoraljaújhely) I
Reggio I	Újpest I
Roedelheim 8	Ungvár (Uzhhorod) 8
Rome I	Vác (Waitzen) 7 dates vol. p. 9
S. Warhol 2	Venice 37
Salonika I	Verona I
Szatmár (Satu Mare) 5	Vienna II 4
Sighet 8	Vilna 78
Slavita I	Wandsbek 2
Sofia I	Warsaw I 07
Stettin 4	Wilhermsdorf 2
Strassburg 2	Yafo (Jaffa) 3
Stupava I	Zagreb (Agram)
Stuttgart 2	Zhitomir 6
Sulzbach I 0	Zólkiew (Zholkva) I 9
Svaliava (Szolyva) I	

## APPENDIX 2

### Places of Hebrew Printing by Countries

as represented in the Marmorstein Collection  
(for historical accuracy and current findability, towns are listed  
in countries per present-day political borders and also  
per political borders at time of printing)

<i>Algeria</i>	Frankfort a. O. 9
Oran 1	Fürth 28
	Halberstadt 1
	Halle 1
<i>Austria</i>	Hamburg 3
Vienna 114	Hanau 1
	Hanover 6
<i>Belgium</i>	Homburg vor der Hohe 4
Antwerp 5	Jessnitz 3
	Johannisburg (Pisz)→Poland
<i>Bulgaria 2</i>	Karlsruhe 3
Sofia 1	Krotoschin (Krotoszyn)→Poland
Tatar-Pazarchik	Leipzig 17
	Lyck (Elk) 9 →Poland
<i>Croatia</i>	Mainz 4
Zagreb (Agram) 1	Munich 4
	Neuwied 1
<i>Czechia 68</i>	Offenbach 1
Brünn 11	Posen (Poznan)→Poland
Prague 57	Pasewalk 1
	Roedelheim 8
<i>Denmark 6</i>	Strassburg (Strasbourg)→France
Altona→Germany	Stuttgart 2
Wandsbek→Germany	Sulzbach 10
	Stettin (Sztetin)→Poland
<i>Egypt 5</i>	Thorn (Toruń)→Poland
Alexandria (Na Amon) 4	Wandsbek 2
Cairo 1	Wilhermsdorf 2
<i>France 20</i>	<i>Greece</i>
Lunéville 1	Salonika 1
Metz 2	
Paris 15	
Strasbourg (Strassburg) 2	
	<i>Hungary 74</i>
<i>Germany 267</i>	(not including Transylvania, Upper Hungary or Ruthenia)
Altona 4	Alsókubin (Dolný Kubin)→Slovakia
Bamberg 1	Bártfa (Bardejov, Bartfeld)→Slovakia
Berlin 110	Beregszász (Berehovo)→Ukraine (Ruthenia)
Breslau (Wroclaw)→Poland	Bonyhád 2
Dessau 2	Budapest 24
Dyhernfurth (Brzeg Dolny)→Poland	Csongrád 1 [see 1906 + my dates vol. p. 9]
Frankfort a. M. 39	

Dés→Dej Romania (Transylvania) I [Divre yosher 1912]  
 Déva (Deva)→Romania (Transylvania) 2  
 Érsékújvár (Nové Zámky/Neuhäusel)→Slovakia  
 Galanta 4 →Slovakia  
 Kolozsvár (Cluj) 3 →Romania (Transylvania)  
 Kunszentmiklós [Rosenfeld Zekher tsadik 1909]  
 Munkács (Mukacheve)→Ukraine (Ruthenia)  
 Nagyszombat (Trnava)→Slovakia  
 Nátafalva (Nacina Ves)→Slovakia I  
 Ofen 5  
 Paks 29  
 Pozsony (Bratislava/Pressburg)→Slovakia  
 Stomfa (Stupava)→Slovakia  
 Szatmár (Satu Mare)→Romania  
 Szeghalom I [Samuel Leuchter Teshuvah]  
 Sziget (Sighetu Marmatiei)→Romania  
 Szilágysomlyó [Siladi] (Simleu Silvaniei/Simlau)  
 →Romania (Transylvania)  
 Szinérváralja (Seini/S. Warhol) 2→Romania 2 [see 1907 Transylvania]  
 Szolyva (Svaliava) →Ukraine (Ruthenia) I  
 Tolcsva 2  
 Tyrnau (Trnava) 2 → Slovakia  
 Újhely (Sátoraljájhely) I  
 Újpest I  
 Ungvár (Uzhhorod)→Ukraine (Ruthenia)  
 Vác (Waitzen) 7 [dates vol. p. 9]

*Iraq*  
 Baghdad 2

*Israel 155*  
*(Ottoman Palestine and British Mandate Palestine)*  
 Haifa 4  
 Jaffa (Yafo) 3  
 Jerusalem 135  
 Tel-Aviv 9  
 Tiberias I

*Italy 86*  
 Cremona 3  
 Ferrara I  
 Florence I  
 Leghorn (Livorno) 30  
 Mantua 10  
 Padua I  
 Reggio I  
 Rome I

Turin (Torino)  
 Venice 37  
 Verona I

*Lithuania 79*  
 Kaidan I  
 Vilnius 78

*Morocco*  
 Marrakech I

*Netherlands*  
 Amsterdam 40

*Palestine →Israel*

*Poland 200*  
 Bilgoraj I  
 Brzeg Dolny (Dyhernfurth) 5  
 Buczacz→Ukraine  
 Cracow 32  
 Drohobycz (Drohobych)→Ukraine  
 Elk (Lyck) 9  
 Husiatyn→Ukraine  
 Jaroslaw I  
 Józefów 5  
 Kolomea→Ukraine  
 Krotoszyn (Krotoschin) I  
 Lublin 3  
 Lwów (Lviv/Lemberg)→Ukraine  
 Piotrków 4  
 Pisz (Johannisburg) I  
 Podgorze near Cracow 2  
 Poznan (Posen) I  
 Przemysl II  
 Szczecin (Stettin) 4  
 Toruń (Thorn) I  
 Turka I→Ukraine  
 Warsaw 107  
 Wilna→Lithuania  
 Wroclaw (Breslau) 16  
 Zólkiew (Zholkva)→Ukraine

*Romania 25*  
 Botosani I  
 Cernauti (Chernivtsi/Czernowitz)→Ukraine  
 Cluj (Kolozsvár/Klausenburg) 3  
 Dej (Dés) → Romania I [Divre yosher 1912]  
 Deva (Déva) 2  
 Satu Mare (Szatmár) 5

Seini (Szinérváralja/S. Warhol) 2 [see 1907]  
Sighetu Marmatiei (Sziget) 8  
Simleu Silvaniei (Szilágysomlyó/Simlau) 3

*Russia 6*

Kaliningrad (Königsberg) 2  
St Petersburg 4

*Slovakia 69*

Dolný Kubin (Alsókubin) I [Ya'ir netiv 1897]  
Bardejov (Bardiov/Bártfa/Bartfeld) 7  
Bratislava (Pozsony/Pressburg) 52  
Galanta 4  
Nacina Ves (Nátafalva) I [Homat esh 1906]  
Nové Zámky (Érsekújvár/Neuhäusel) I  
[Pe'at ha-sadeh 1907 pt. 2 pr. in Munkács]  
Stupava 1  
Trnava (Tyrnau) 2

*South Africa*

Johannesburg 1

*Switzerland*

Lausanne 1

*Tunisia 4*

Djerba 3  
Tunis 1

*Turkey (Ottoman) 6*

Istanbul (Constantinople) 4  
Izmir 2  
Salonika (Ottoman Greece)→Greece

*Ukraine 200*

Berdichev 5  
Berehovo (Beregszász) 1  
Buchach (Buczacz)  
Chernivtsi (Czernowitz) 5  
Drohobych (Drohobycz) 3  
Husiatyn 8  
Kiev 1  
Kolomea 5  
Lviv (Lwów/Lemberg) 85  
Mukachevo (Munkács) 46  
Odessa 2  
Ostroho 2  
Rava-Ruska 1  
Slavita 1  
Svaliava (Szolyva) 1  
Turka 1  
Uzhhorod (Ungvár) 8  
Zhitomir 6  
Zholkva (Zólkiew) 19

*United Kingdom 91*

Cambridge 3  
London 85  
Oxford 3

*United States 29*

New York 26  
Philadelphia 3

*Yemen*

Aden 1

### APPENDIX 3

## Places of Hebrew Printing by Regions *as represented in the Marmorstein Collection*

#### *Africa II*

Alexandria 4  
Cairo I  
Djerba 3  
Johannesburg I  
Marrakech I  
Oran I  
Tunis I

#### *Alsace-Lorraine 3*

Metz 2  
Strassburg I

#### *Balkans 3*

Zagreb (Agram) I  
Sofia I  
Tatar Pazarchik I

#### *Baltics (East Prussia) 40*

Breslau 16  
Dyhernfurth 5  
Johannisburg I  
Königsberg 2  
Krotoschin I  
Lyck 9  
Posen I  
Stettin 4  
Thorn I

#### *Bohemia*

Prague 57

#### *Bukovina*

Czernowitz 5

#### *Galicia 102*

Buczacz I  
Drohobycz 3  
Husiatyn 8  
Kolomea 5  
Lemberg 85

#### *Levant/Middle East 166*

Aden I  
Alexandria (Na Amon) 4  
Baghdad 2  
Cairo I  
Haifa 4  
Istanbul 4

Izmir 2

Jaffa (Yafo) 3  
Jerusalem 135  
Tel-Aviv 9  
Tiberias I

#### *Moravia*

Brünn II

#### *North Africa II*

Alexandria (Na Amon) 4  
Cairo I  
Djerba 3  
Marrakech I  
Oran I  
Tunis I

#### *Ruthenia (Sub-Carpathian) 56*

Berehovo (Beregszász) I  
Mukachevo (Munkács) 46  
Svaliava (Szolyva) I  
Uzhhorod (Ungvár) 8

#### *Scandinavia 6*

Altona 4  
Wandsbek 2

#### *Silesia 21*

Breslau 16  
Dyhernfurth 5

#### *Transylvania 24*

Cluj (Kolozsvár) 3  
Dej (Dés) I  
Deva 2  
Seini (Szinérváralja/S. Warol) 2  
Satu Mare (Szatmár) 5  
Simleu Silvaniei (Szilágysomlyó/Simlau) 3

#### *Western Europe*

Amsterdam  
Antwerp  
Cambridge  
London  
Lunéville  
Metz  
Oxford  
Paris  
Strasbourg

## APPENDIX 4

### Places of Hebrew Printing Most Represented in the Marmorstein Collection (10 or more titles held)

#### by number of titles held

135 Jerusalem	32 Cracow
114 Vienna	30 Leghorn
110 Berlin	29 Paks
107 Warsaw	28 Fürth
85 London	26 New York
85 Lwów	24 Budapest
78 Vilna	19 Zólkiew
57 Prague	17 Leipzig
52 Pressburg	16 Breslau
46 Munkács	15 Paris
40 Amsterdam	11 Brünn
39 Frankfurt a.M.	11 Przemyśl
37 Venice	10 Sulzbach

#### alphabetical by place

Amsterdam 40	Munkács 46
Berlin 110	New York 26
Breslau 16	Paks 29
Brünn 11	Paris 15
Budapest 24	Prague 57
Cracow 32	Pressburg 52
Frankfurt a.M. 39	Przemyśl 11
Fürth 28	Sulzbach 10
Jerusalem 135	Venice 37
Leghorn 30	Vienna 114
Leipzig 17	Vilna 78
London 85	Warsaw 107
Lwów 85	Zólkiew 19



## APPENDIX 5

### Places of Hebrew Printing by Century

as represented in the Marmorstein Collection  
(with year of earliest examples from 16<sup>th</sup>-18<sup>th</sup> centuries\*)

\* These refer to the earliest-dated exempla in the collection, not to the actual introduction of Hebrew printing in the given towns. In some cases, the first example in the collection is from not long after the introduction of printing; in other cases the earliest example in the collection is from well after the introduction of Hebrew printing - sometimes not even in the same century. E. N. Adler, with whom Marmorstein worked closely, published *A Gazetteer of Hebrew Printing* (1917), which was later superseded by the more comprehensive compilation by A. Freimann, *A Gazetteer of Hebrew Printing* (1946), reprinted in *Hebrew Printing and Bibliography*, ed. Ch. Berlin (1976). The latter is still the most concise and readily accessible tool for consultation in this regard, but is best used in consultation with the *Bibliography of the Hebrew Book*, available online via the National Library of Israel.

#### 16<sup>th</sup> century

Cremona (1557)  
Ferrara (1556)  
Mantua (1558)  
Rome (1546)  
Venice (1523)

#### 17<sup>th</sup> century

Amsterdam (1648)  
Cracow (1640)  
Dessau (1698)  
Frankfurt am Main (1797)  
Frankfurt an der Oder (1691)  
Fürth (1691)  
Prague (earliest 1615)  
Sulzbach (1685)

#### 18<sup>th</sup> century

(aside from any towns listed above)

Altona 1755  
Brünn (1764)  
Carlsruhe (1773)  
Constantinople/Istanbul (1717/1725? Match)  
Dyhernfurth (1732)  
Halle (1789)  
Hamburg (1718)  
Hanau (1715)  
Homburg vor der Hohe (1740)  
Jessnitz (1723)  
Lemberg (1796)  
Livorno (1742)

Metz (1788)  
Neuwied (1736)  
Offenbach (1768)  
Padua (1729)  
Salonika (1792)  
Strasbourg (1777)  
Turka (1764)  
Vienna (Schmid, 1796)  
Wandsbek (1733)  
Warsaw (1796)  
Wilhermsdorf (1716)  
Zólkiew (1798)

19<sup>th</sup> century (aside from any towns listed above)

Alsókubin  
Baghdad  
Berdichev  
Berlin  
Bonyhád  
Breslau  
Brünn  
Budapest  
Cambridge  
Cracow  
Czernowitz  
Dessau  
Drohobycz  
Florence  
Halberstadt  
Hanover  
Istanbul  
Izmir  
Jaroslaw  
Jerusalem  
Józefów  
Kolomea  
Königsberg  
Krotoschin  
Leipzig  
Lemberg  
Lublin  
Lunéville  
Lyck  
Magdeburg

Mainz  
Munich  
Munkács  
Odessa  
Ofen  
Offenbach  
Oran  
Ostroho  
Paks  
Pasewalk  
Piotrków  
Posen  
Pressburg (Bratislava)  
Przemysl  
Rava-Ruska  
Reggio  
Rödelheim  
Slavita  
St Petersburg  
Stettin  
Sziget  
Tatar Pazarchik (1894)  
Thorn  
Újhel  
Ungvár  
Verona  
Vienna  
Vilna  
Warsaw  
Zhitomir

20<sup>th</sup> century (aside from any towns listed above)

Aden  
Zagreb (Agram)  
Alexandria  
Antwerp  
Bardejov/Bartfeld  
Beregszász  
Bilgoraj  
Botosani  
Cairo  
Cluj/Klausenburg  
Csongrád  
Dés  
Deva  
Djerba  
Galanta  
Haifa  
Husiatyn  
Jaffa (Yafa)  
Kaidan  
Kiev  
London

Lusanne  
Marrakech  
Montreal  
Nátafalva  
New York  
Nové Zamký  
Oxford  
Paris  
Philadelphia  
Szatmár (Satu Mare)  
Szilágysomlyó (Simleu Silvaniei/Simlau)  
Svaliava  
Sofia  
Stomfa (Stupava)  
Szinérváralja (Seini/S. Warhol)  
Tel-Aviv  
Tiberias  
Tunis  
Tyrnau  
Vác (Waitzen)

## APPENDIX 6

### Hebrew Printed Books of the Sixteenth Century

in the Marmorstein Collection\*

(by date, place and printer)

[JRL call-marks in brackets]

- 1523 **Venice: Bomberg.** Solomon Ibn Adret (Rashba), *Hidushe Berakhot* (Talmudic novellae) [813343]
- 1523 **Venice: Bomberg.** Nahmanides, *Hidushe Bava batra* (Talmudic novellae) [813342]
- 1532 **Venice: Bomberg.** Nathan b. Jehiel of Rome, *Arukh* (Talmudic lexicon) [813370]
- 1539 **Venice: Bomberg.** Benjamin Ze'ev b. Mattathias of Arta, *Binyamin Ze'ev* (responsa) [815121]
- 1544 **Venice: Bomberg.** Jacob b. Asher, *Perush ha-torah* (commentary on Pentateuch) [813619]
- 1546 **Rome: Isaac de Lattes et al.** Nissim b. Reuben Gerondi, *She'elot u-teshuvot* (responsa) [814461]
- 1556 **Ferrara: Abraham Ibn Usque.** Nahmanides, *Sha'ar he-gemul* (on reward and punishment) [813777]
- 1557 **Cremona: Vincenzo Conti.** Meir b. Baruch of Rothenberg, *She'elot u-teshuvot* (responsa) 814460
- 1558-1560 **Mantua: Meir of Padua and Jacob of Gazuolo.** *Sefer ha-Zohar* (mysticism), 3 vols  
[814495, 814496, 815095]
- 1559-1560 **Mantua: Venturin Rufinello.** *Mahzor* (festival liturgy, Roman rite) [815662 + 815663]
- 1565 **Cremona: Vincenzo Conti.** Solomon Ibn Adret, *Ve-zot Torat ha-bayit* (dietary laws) [BD813442(2)]
- 1565 **Venice: [Giorgio de Cavalli or di Gara?].** Levi Ibn Habib, *She'elot u-teshuvot* (responsa) [815282]
- 1566 **Cremona: Vincenzo Conti.** Jacob Molin, *Maharil... Minhage k"k Ashkenaz* (customs) [813442]
- 1566 **Venice: Giorgio di Cavalli.** Machir of Toledo, *Avkat rokhel* (ethics) [photographic reproduction; not original]  
[813389]
- 1568 **Venice: Giorgio di Cavalli.** *Mahzor mi-kol ha-shanah* (liturgy Bohemia, Polish, Moravia), 2 vols  
[813587 + 813588]
- 1574 **Mantua: [Meir ben Ephraim].** Azariah de Rossi, *Me'or 'enayim* (Jewish history), with ms. notes by Jacob Emden(!) [813073]
- 1578 **Venice: Giovanni di Gara.** Issachar Ibn Susan, *Ibur shanim* (on calendar) [813362]
- 1590 **Venice: Giovanni di Gara.** Samuel b. Isaac Jaffe Ashkenazi, *Yefeh mareh* (commentary on Agada) [813356]
- 1591 **Venice: Giovanni di Gara.** Moses Alshekh, *Shoshanat ha-'amakim* (Song of Songs with commentary)  
[813745]
- 1600 **Venice: Daniel Zanetti.** Joseph Hayyun, *Mile de-avot* (commentary on Mishnah ethical tract Avot) [815228]

\* This list may not be definitive, and some titles are of uncertain identification. Call-marks have been given here for those titles which appear in the online catalogue. As the bibliographic records in the online catalogue - from which most of the information here is drawn - are sometimes imperfect, the given titles and call-marks must be checked against the books themselves to confirm their correct identification. Note, too, that some of the copies listed here may be incomplete, and one is only a photographic reproduction.

## APPENDIX 7

### Hebrew Books of the Seventeenth Century in the Marmorstein Collection (*chronological selection*)

- I600 Venice. Joseph Hayyun, Mile de-avot (ethics)  
I601 Venice. Arze Ievanon (Kabbalah)  
I605 Venice. Moses Alshekh, Torat Mosheh (Pentateuch commentary)  
I606 Venice. Elyakim ben Naftali, Tov shem (ethics)  
I607 Venice. Judah Saltaro, Mikveh Yisra'el (on the ritual bath)  
I608 Venice. Solomon Ibn Adret, Torat ha-bayit (dietary laws)  
I612 Mantua. Ayelet ha-shahar (liturgical texts)  
I612 Mantua. Abraham Portaleone, Shilte ha-giborim (encyclopedia of sciences)  
I615 Prague. Saul ben David of Russia, Tal orot (Sabbath laws)  
I616 Prague. David ben Judah, Migdal David (laws and customs)  
I618 Venice. Lonzano, Shete yadot (on foreign words in Talmud)  
I620 Venice. Mordecai Jaffe, Levush (legal treatise)  
I613-I622 Prague. Midrash shokher tov: midrash tehilim (midrash on Psalms)  
I623 Mantua. Moses Cordovero, Tomer Devorah (ethics)  
I640 Cracow: Moses Isserles, Responsa  
I641 Prague. Isaac Jesurun (or Samuel Aboab), Sefer ha-zikhronot (Jewish law)  
I648 Amsterdam. Menahem di Fano, Ma'amar Yonat elem (Kabbalah)  
I649 Amsterdam. Menahem di Fano, 'Asarah ma'amarot (Kabbalah)  
I650 Amsterdam. Jacob Templo, Tavnit hekhal (on Temple of Solomon)  
I651 Venice. Isaac Jesurun. Panim hadashot (index of Jewish law)  
I673 Amsterdam. Issachar Berman ben Naftali, Mareh kohen (index to Zohar)  
I684 Amsterdam. 'Ein Yisra'el (Aggada)  
I685 Sulzbach. Abraham Azulai, Hesed le-avraham (Kabbalah)  
I685 Sulzbach. Judah ben Samuel, Sefer ha-hasidim (ethics)  
I687 Frankfurt am Main. Simon ha-darshan, Yalkut ha-Torah (midrash)  
I688 Sulzbach. Ephraim b. Jacob, Sha'ar efrayim (response)  
I691 Fürth. Nathan Nata Spira, Megaleh 'amukot (Kabbalah)  
I691 Frankfurt an der Oder. Aaron ben Samuel, Bet aharon (biblical index/concordance)  
I692 Amsterdam. Hayim ben Tsevi of Posen, Sam hayim (sermons)  
I692 Fürth. Solomon Algazi, Zehav sevah (commentary on Talmud)  
I692 Fürth. Joseph Lev, Sefer rev'i of his responsa  
I692 Fürth. Midrash rabah, with commentary Yefeh to'ar  
I693 Fürth. Tsevi Hirsh Chotsh, Shevata de-rigla (on High Holidays)  
I693 Prague. Moses Hazan [Meisters], Panim masbirot (on Aggada)  
I694 Frankfurt an der Oder. Elijah ben Kalonymus of Lublin, Aderet Eliyahu (sermons)  
I694 Frankfurt an der Oder. Joseph ben Moses of Przemysl, Tsafnat paneah (sermons)  
I695 Venice. Simon Habbillo, Helek bene Yehudah (commentary on Ruth)  
I696 Venice. Abraham Brudo. Birkat Avraham (sermons)  
I697 Frankfurt a. M. Joel Sirkes, Bayit hadash (responsa, with depositions in Yiddish throughout)  
I698 Amsterdam. Isaac ben Judah ha-levi, Pa'aneah raza (Kabbalah)  
I698 Dessau. Judah ben Nissan, Bet yehudah (aggada and halakha)  
I699 Frankfurt a. M. Gershon Ashkenazi, Avodat ha-gershuni (responsa)

## APPENDIX 8

### Aesthetic and Graphic Elements in Hebrew Books

(Illustration, Decoration, Tinted Paper, Coloured Ink)  
in the Marmorstein Collection  
(selected examples, chronological)

#### Illustration

(and some miscellaneous ornament)

- 1650 Amsterdam. Templo, Tavnit hekhal  
1698 Amsterdam. Isaac b. Judah, Pa'aneah raza (manicules)  
1708 Amsterdam. Meir Aldabi, Shevile emunah (astronomical)  
1720 Zólkiew. Toldot adam (kabbalistic illustration)  
1741 Venice. Isaiah Basan [Bassani], Torat shelamim (some woodcut decorations)  
1752 Venice. Blasio Ugolino, Thesaurus, containing Mekhilta and Sifra in Hebrew and Latin (illustrations)  
1789 Berlin. Baruch Lindau, Minhat todah (star signs on one leaf)  
1793 Prague. Igeret orhot 'olam (illustrations in copper engraving)  
1863 Lemberg. Meir Aldabi, Shevile emunah (astronomical illustrations)  
1873 Józefow. Zeh sifre de-adam kadma'ah ... Razi'el ha-malakh (kabbalistic illustration)  
1899 Hamburg. Baraita, ed. H. Flesch (folded diagram with illustrations of Temple artifacts)  
1922 Vienna. Samuel Klein, Erets yisra'el: geografyah (multi-coloured map)

#### Astronomical charts, geometric or scientific illustration

- 1578 Venice. Ibn Susan, 'Ibur shanim (astronomical illustrations)  
1757 Prague. J. Landsofer, Me'il tsedakah (Euclidean geometry)  
1720 Frankfurt a. M. Maimonides and Jonathan of Ruzhany, Yeshu'ah be-yisra'el (astronomical illustrations)  
1777 Prague. J. Margolioth, Or 'olam 'al hokhmat ha-teva (scientific or mathematical illustration)

#### Spatial diagrams

(not including Talmudic tractates, e.g. *Eruvin* and *Sukah*)

- 1650 Amsterdam. Templo, Tavnit hekhal (images or diagrams of ancient Temple)  
1714 Frankfurt a. M. Yom Tov Lipman Heller, Tsurat bet ha-mikdash (diagrams or floor-plans of Temple)

#### Ornamental Title Pages

(Baroque decorative borders or portals, elaborate printers' devices)

- 1641 [rather: ca. 1647-1652] Prague. Aboab, Sefer ha-zikhronot (ornamental borders)  
1688 Sulzbach. Ephraim b. Jacob, Sha'ar Efrayim (ornamental border)  
1691 Frankfurt an der Oder. Bet aharon (woodcut title-page)  
1705 Frankfurt a. O. Eliezer Lipman of Zamosc, Lekah tov (printer's device of caravan across eagle rampant)  
1712 Venice. Selihah (ornamental border)  
1715 Hanau. Shabtai ha-kohen (Shakh), Nekudot ha-kesef (ornamental border; also with 'Amsterdam type')  
1715 Venice. M. Zacuto, Tofteh arukh (t.p. and preface with ornamental border)  
1720 Frankfurt am Main. Maimonides and Jonathan of Ruzhany, Yeshu'ah be-yisra'el (elaborate ornamental border)  
1741 Venice. Liturgy, Seder Tikun lel hoshana rabah (ornamental border)  
1760 Fürth. Moses Isserles, Darkhe Mosheh (ornamental border)  
1779 Fürth. Nathaniel Weil, Netiv hayim (ornamental border)  
1779 Leghorn. Isaiah di Trani, Sefer ha-makhri'a (ornamental border)  
1786 Ahai Gaon, She'iltot (with seal of municipality)  
1794 Frankfurt a. O. Joseph Teomim, Rosh Yosef (decorated border)

### **Blue or tinted paper**

1810 Vienna. Halakhot gedolot (printed on blue paper)

1810 Dyhernfurth. Jacob of Lissa, Havat da'at (some leaves printed on blue paper)

1814 Prague. Be'er sheva (printed on tinted paper)

### **Coloured Ink**

*(aside from using red ink on the title-page)*

1908 Jerusalem. Bornstein, Megilat ta'anit (green ink for illustration of Temple candelabrum)

1922 Vienna. Samuel Klein, Erets yisra'el: geografyah (multi-coloured map)

### **Judaica**

*(Non-Hebrew)*

1584 Venice. Aristotle, Liber de Poetica (printer's vignette)

1651 Paris. Raymond Martini, Pugio fidei (engraved vignette, also combination of red and black ink on t.p.)

1705 Leipzig. Beck, reworking of Pococke, Porta Mosis (t.p. in red and black)

1727 Cambridge. John Spencer, De legibus Hebraeorum ritualibus et earum rationibus (on large paper)

1752 Venice. Blasio Ugolino, Thesaurus, containing Mekhilta and Sifra (with illustrations)

## APPENDIX 9

### Aramaic Titles of Hebrew Texts

in the Marmorstein Collection  
*(including titles partially in Aramaic,  
and some titles of Aramaic texts)*

Afra de-ara  
Aklida de-rahame  
Alef zeira  
Amude gavra  
Ara de-rabanan  
Asmakhta  
Atvan de-oraita  
Bava batra  
Bava kama  
Eser milin de-hasiduta  
Hakhanah de-rabah  
Hiluka de-rabanan  
Kise de-birkheta  
Kol nidre  
Marganita de-let lah timi  
Ma'aseh de-rav kahana  
Mekhilta  
Mekhilta de-rabi shimon  
Mekhilta de-rabi yishma'el  
Midrash Bereshit zutreta  
Mile de-avot  
Milin de-rabanan  
Mishnat de-rabi akiva  
Otiyot de-rabi akiva  
Paneah raza  
Pesikta rabati  
Pesikta rabati de-rav kahana  
Sama de-haye 1906  
Seder Eliyahu zuta  
Sherage tuva  
Shevata de-rigla  
Sifra  
Sifra de-adam kadma'ah  
Sifra de-agadata  
Sifra de-ve rav  
Sifre  
Sifre zuta  
Tana de-ve eliyahu  
Tana de-ve eliyahu zuta  
Tanhuma  
Tanya rabati  
Tosefta  
Tosefta atikta be-agadata u-ve-hilkhata  
Tosefta atikta de-rabanan  
Va-yikra raba

## APPENDIX IO

### Judeo-Arabic Printed Books

in the Marmorstein Collection  
(excluding academic editions)  
(*by place of publication and date*)

#### Aden

1925 Zemiroth = Hupat hatanim, by Shalom Shabazi, Hebrew and mostly Yemenite Judeo-Arabic liturgical songs

#### Baghdad

1906 Sefer ha-shirim (liturgical poetry)

#### Djerba

1904 Divre shalom, Judeo-Arabic commentary on Decalogue by Shalom Shimoni

1913 Kitab Atmar al-afal

1925 Shir yedidot

1926 Orah hayim, Avot with Judeo-Arabic translation and novellae by Hadad

#### Jerusalem

1913 Ben Meir, Sabbath laws (Hilkhot shabat) with translation in Moroccan Judeo-Arabic by Meir Corcos of Mogador

#### Livorno (Leghorn)

1825 Bikurim le-h., with Azharot of Rubash and Rashbag, & Book of Ruth (Megilat Rut) in Judeo-Arabic

1854 Shir ha-shirim, Song of Songs in Hebrew, Judeo-Arabic and Aramaic, all vocalized, with Targum Sheni

#### Oran

1885 Shivhe Elohim, supplications and poems in Judeo-Arabic

#### Paris

1867 Ma'aseh nisim, questions by Daniel Ha-Bavli on Maimonides' Sefer ha-mitsvot, with replies by Abraham son of Maimonides, in Judeo-Arabic with Hebrew translation by Nisim Shemama Qayid

1871 Kitab al-rasa'il = Sefer Igrot, Meir Abulafia (on Maimonides about resurrection)



## APPENDIX II

### Yiddish Printed Books in the Marmorstein Collection (*chronological*)

- 1663 Basel. Buxtorf, Thesaurus Grammaticus linguae sanctae hebraeae, with guide to reading Judeo-German  
1697 Frankfurt a.M. Joel Sirkes, Shu"t Bayit hadash, responsa with depositions in Yiddish, with Hebrew translation, throughout the text  
[1739? 1769? 1789? Amsterdam? Fürth? Sulzbach? (unidentified 18<sup>th</sup>-century ed.)]. Isaac Aboab, Menoras ha-Mor [Menorat ha-ma'or] (ethics)  
1783 Sulzbach. Sefer Tam ve-yosher [Tam ve-yashar], Yiddish translation by Jacob Trevis  
1788 Metz. Bakoshe [Bakashah], Hebrew and Yiddish  
1803 Prague. Joel Loewe [Brill], Amudey ha-loshn [Amude ha-lashon]... ayn handbukh far Lehrer (Hebrew grammar in Yiddish)  
1804 Dessau. Darkhe no'am, Yiddish translation of Proverbs by Isaac Euchel  
1804 Dyhernfurth. Elijah ha-kohen ha-Itamari, Sheyvet musar [Shevet musar] (ethical treatise)  
1823 Metz. Mayne loshn [Ma'aneh lashon], graveside liturgy with Y. trans. by Jacob b. Abraham Solomon Shinnah ?  
1824 Breslau. Raphael Fürstenthal, Slikhes Metiv sofo [Selihot Metiv safah], penitential prayers in Judeo-German  
1826 Prague. Aaron Chorin of Arad, Igeres Elasaf, oder zendshrayben aynes afrikanishen rebin zaynen kollegen in eyropa  
1840 Hanover. Solomon Zalman London, Keheles shloyme [Kohelet shelomoh], customs, Hebrew and Yiddish  
1848 Krotoschin. Isaac Aboab, Menoras ha-mor [Menorat ha-ma'or], with Judeo-German translation  
1858 Amsterdam. Simon of Frankfurt, Sha'ar shimon, supplications with Yiddish translation  
1878 Vilna. I. M. Dick, Masekhte aniyes [Masekhet aniyut], parody  
1881 Warsaw. Nahman of Bratslav, Sipurey maysey [Sipure ma'asiyot], hasidic tales, Hebrew and Yiddish  
1882 Budapest. Der falshe meshiekh shabse tsvi, Judeo-German account of false messiah Sabbatai Zevi  
1887 Warsaw. Medresh aseres ha-dibres [Midrash 'aseret ha-dibrot], on 10 Commandments, Hebrew and Yiddish  
1889 Kolomea. Hillel Lichtenstein, Eys lasoys [Et la'asot]  
1889 Warsaw. Mishnayes kav ve-noki [Mishnayot kav ve-naki] (Mishnah with commentary of Bertinoro and Yiddish trans.)  
1894 Paks. Eliezer b. Isaac Papo, Pela yoyets [Pela yo'ets], ethics, with Judeo-German translation and commentary  
1896 London. Dos Naye testament, Yiddish translation by Y. A. Adler  
1910 Paks. Gershon Stern, Birkas ha-nefesh [Birkat ha-nefesh], sermons with Mosuk le-neyfesh [Matuk la-nefesh] [post-1912? or 192-?] Jerusalem. Elijah Landa, Hadras Eliyohu [Hadrat Eliyahu], Yiddish biography of Vilna Gaon  
1919 Urbana. Leo Landau, A Hebrew-German Paraphrase of the Book of Esther of the 15<sup>th</sup> Century  
1923 Vilna. H. D. Gildenblatt, Ayzikel lets (humor)  
1924 London. S. Palme, Royte royzn  
1924 Przemysl. Kreppel, Di yudishe fohn fun Prag ... historishe ertsehlung (story of Jewish flag in Prague)  
1924 Przemysl. Kreppel, Di rebe r. ayzik r. yekels shuhl in kroko  
1926 Cernauti [Czernowitz]. Der grager: humoristisch Tugblatt, parodistic newspaper in romanized Yiddish  
1927 Budapest. Israel Welcz, Hok yisro'el [Hok yisra'el], laws of Passover in Judeo-German  
1931 New York. J. Meitlis, Der bodleyaner ksav-yad "Libes-brif", a far-haskoledike reform-shrift  
1934 Paris. Der yidisher velt kongres  
1934 London. Dos fraye vort, Yiddish journal  
1936 Breslau. D. S. Löwinger, Jiddische Handschriften in Breslau  
1937 Montreal. Y. L. Avida, Idisher vits un humor  
1938 Vilna D. Ginsberg, Private yidishe briv funem yor 1533  
1942 London. J. Lew, Yalkut Yosef: geklibene maymorim (on Talmud)  
1943 London. J. Sokhatshevski, Shma yisroel  
1944 Esther Kreytman, Brilyantn (novel)  
1944 London. Jacob Taubes, Der khiyev fun aveyles  
1946 London. Jacobn Taubes, Gezamlte lider  
1950 Esther Kreytman, Yikhes (shortn stories)  
1946(?) London. Loshn un lebn (serial)  
[s.a.] Lemberg. Shivhe rama"l fun dem heyligen tsadik [R. Moses Leyb of Sasov] [815559] [unrecorded?]

## APPENDIX I2

### Non-Hebrew Printed Books of the Sixteenth to Eighteenth Centuries (Greek, Latin, Italian, French, English, German) in the Marmorstein Collection

#### 16<sup>th</sup> century

1552 Paris. Philo Judaeus, Opera Graece

1584 Venice. Aristotle, Liber de Poetica

#### 17<sup>th</sup> century

1613-1618 Venice. Pier Francesco Salce, Oratione

1651 Amsterdam. Solomon Ibn Verga, Historia Judaica

1651 Paris. Ramón Martí, Pugio Fidei.

1663 Basel. Johann Buxtorf, Thesaurus Grammaticus linguae sanctae hebraicae

1676 Paris. Charles Veil, Commentarius in Canticum

#### 18<sup>th</sup> century

1706 Frankfurt/Leipzig. Valentin Loescher, De Causis Linguae Ebraeae libri III

1715 -1733 Hamburg/Leipzig. J. C. Wolf, Bibliotheca Hebraea

1722 Amsterdam. Humphrey Prideaux, Histoire des Juifs et des peuples voisins

1727 Cambridge. Spencer, De legibus hebraeorum

1728 London. John Gill, Prophecies of the Old Testament respecting the Messiah

1744 London. Robert Boyle, The Works of the Honourable Robert Boyle

1751 Venice. Blasio Ugolino, Thesaurus antiquitatum sacrarum

1753 London. Charles Leslie, A Short and Easy Method with the Jews

1757 London. Alexander Pope, The Works of Alexander Pope

1790 Padua. Giuseppe Pasini, Dikduk leshon ha-kodesh, hoc est, Grammatica linguae sanctae

1793 Turin. Petrus Rex (Regis), De judaeo cive

1793 Berlin. Salomon Maimon, Lebensgeschichte

## APPENDIX I3

### German-Jewish Authors

German, Austrian, other Central European, Germanophone or German-trained  
Jewish scholars represented in German-language publications  
in the Marmorstein collection  
(*selected names*)

Albeck  
Aptowitz  
Bacher, W.  
Baron, S.  
Berliner  
Biber  
Blau, L.  
Brann  
Büchler  
Elbogen, I.  
Epstein, A.  
Frankel  
Freimann, A.  
Friedberg, C.  
Friedländer, M.  
Geiger, Abr.  
Graetz  
Grunwald, Max  
Güdemann, M.  
Gulkowitsch  
Guttman, M.  
Heinemann, Isaac  
Hildesheimer, Esriel  
Hirschfeld, H.

Hoffmann, D.  
Jellinek  
Kaufmann, A.  
Kaufmann, D.  
Kayslerling  
Klein, S.  
Kohler, K.  
Krauss, Samuel  
Lauterbach, J.  
Lewin, Louis  
Löw, L.  
Marx, A.  
Neubauer, A.  
Perles, F.  
Poznański, S.  
Scheftelowitz, I.  
Schoeps, H.  
Schwarz, A.  
Sperber  
Steinschneider  
Tykocinski  
Zolli  
Zunz

## APPENDIX 14

### Places of Jewish Publishing in German represented in the Marmorstein Collection

#### Germany, Austria, Switzerland

*(per post-WWII borders)*

Altona	Hanover
Ansbach	Heidelberg
Anschaffenburg (some in 'Selbstverlag')	Hindenburg O.S.
Basel	Jena
Berlin	Kempen
Bonn	Köln
Braunschweig	Leipzig
Breslau	Locarno
Coesfeld	Magdeburg
Darmstadt	Mainz
Dessau	Mannheim
Dresden	Münster
Erlangen	Nordhausen
Frankfurt a.M.	Nürnberg
Freiburg im Breisgau	Offenbach
Gebweiler	Oldenburg in Gr.
Gelsenkirchen	Stuttgart
Giessen	Trier
Göttingen	Vienna
Gr. Lichterfeld	Würzburg
Halle	Zurich
Hamburg	

#### Outside of Germany, Austria, Switzerland

*(per post-WWII borders)*

Alsókubin	London
Amsterdam	Myslowitz (Myslowice, Silesia)
Antwerpen	Nakel (Naklo nad Notecia, Poland) (Prussia)
Basel	New York
Beograd	Odessa
Bielitz (Bielsko, Silesia)	Olmütz (Olomouc)
Breslau (Wroclaw, Poland)	Pest
Brünn	Pinne (Pniewy, Poland) (Prussia?)
Budapest	Pleschen-Schwimm (Pleszew, Poland)
Cincinnati	Posen (Poznan)
Czernowitz (Chernivtsi, Bukovina, Ukraine)	Prag
Darkehmen (East Prussia)	Pressburg
Dorpat (Tartu, Estonia)	Skotschau (Skoczów, Silesia)
Erlau (Eger, Hungary)	St. Petersburg
Essegg (Osijek, Croatia)	Stettin
Galgotsch (Hung, Galgóc) (Hlohovec, Slovakia)	Strassburg
Gleiwitz (Gliwice, Silesia)	Szegedin
Glogau (Glogów, Silesia)	Tartu→Dorpat
Gross-Kanischa (Gross-Kanizsa/Nagykanizsa, Hungary)	Temesvár (Timosoara)
Inowroclaw (Hohensalza, Poland)	Trencsén (Trencin/Trentschin, Slovakia)
Jassy	Trieste
Jerusalem	Trnava (Tyrnau)
Kecskemét	Uppsala
Krakow	Vinkovci (Slavonien)
Krotoschin (Silesia)	Warsaw
Leiden	Wilna
Lemberg (Lwów/Lviv, Ukraine)	

## APPENDIX 15

### Hungarian-Language Jewish Writers

represented in the Marmorstein Collection

Adler, Elias (Illés)	Links, Izsák
Blau, Lajos	Loewinger, D. S.
Blumgrund, N.	Lörincz, S.
Borsák, Endre	Lövy, Ferencz
Braun, Salamon	Löw, Immanuel
Büchler, Sándor	Löw, Lipót
Diamant, Gyula	Mahler, Ede
Endrei, Gerzson	Mandl, Bernát
Enten, Manó	Márkus, Samu
Fischer, Fülöp	Marmorstein, Arthur
Fischer, Izidor	Mezei, Ferenc
Friediger, Mózes	Mittelmann, Bernát
Friedmann, Illés	Neumann, Ede
Gerstl, Ignác	Perles, Avraham
Görg, Nándor	Pollák, Miksa
Grosszmann, Gyula	Rosenfeld, József
Grünwald, Illés	Rudolfer, A.
Guttman, Michael (Mihály)	Scheiber, Sándor
Hajdú, Miklós	Schreiner, Martin
Hertz, Joseph	Schück, Berachjo/Bernát
Hevesi, Ferenc	Schwaiger, József
Hevesi, Simon	Stein, Artúr
Jordán, Sándor	Stein, Miksa
Kandel, Sámuel	Steiner, Vilmos
Katona, Lajos	Steinherz, Jakab
Kecskeméti, Lipót	Stern, Mór
Kertész, Antal	Vajda, Béla
Kiss, József	Vécsei, Pál
Klein, Mór	Venetianer, A.
Komlós, Ottó	Weisz, Mór
Kun, Bertalan	Weizmann, Noé
Liebermann, Kálmán	

## APPENDIX I6

### Places of Hungarian-Language Printing and Publishing represented in the Marmorstein Collection

Bécs (=Vienna, Austria)  
Buda  
Dévabánya  
Eger  
Esztergom  
Fogarás (county)  
Ipolyság (county)  
Karczag (Karcag)  
Kosice (Slovakia)  
Kunszentmiklós  
Losonc (Lucenec, Slovakia)  
Lugoj (Romania)  
Miskolc  
Nagykanizsa  
Nagyszombat (Trnava, Slovakia)  
Nagyvárad (Oradea, Romania)  
Orosháza  
Pestújhely (Budapest)  
Pozsony (Bratislava, Slovakia)  
Szatmár (Satu Mare, Transylvania)  
Szeged  
Székesfehérvár  
Sziget (Máramarossziget, Sighetu Marmatiei, Romania)  
Temesvár (Timisuara, Transylvania)  
Törökszentmiklós  
Újhely (Sátoraljaújhely)  
Vienna (in Hung. Bécs, Austria)  
Vukovar (Croatia)

## APPENDIX I7

### Responsa Literature Sixteenth to Eighteenth Centuries in the Marmorstein Collection (*chronological selection*)

- 1539 Venice: Bomberg. Benjamin Ze'ev b. Mattathias of Arta, *Binyamin Ze'ev* [815121]  
1546 Rome: Isaac de Lattes et al. Nissim b. Reuben Gerondi, *She'elot u-teshuvot* [814461]  
1557 Cremona: Vicenzo Conti. Meir b. Baruch of Rothenberg, *She'elot u-teshuvot* [814460]  
1565 Venice: [de Cavalli or di Gara?]. Levi Ibn Habib, *She'elot u-teshuvot* [815282]  
1640 Cracow: Moses Isserles, *She'elot u-teshuvot*  
1651 Venice. Isaac Jesurun, *Panim hadashot*  
1688 Sulzbach. Ephraim b. Jacob, *Sha'ar efrayim*  
1692 Fürth. Joseph Lev, *Sefer rev'i ... She'elot u-teshuvot*  
1697 Frankfurt a. M. Joel Sirkes, *She'elot u-teshuvot Bayit hadash* (with depositions in Yiddish)  
1699 Frankfurt a. M. Gershon Ashkenazi, *Avodat ha-gershuni*  
1712 Amsterdam. Zevi Hirsh Ashkenazi, *She'elot u-teshuvot*  
1712 Prague. *Shu"t ha-geonim batrai*  
1715 Amsterdam. Rashi, *Likute ha-pardes*  
1723 and 1738 Sulzbach. Meir Eisenstadt, *She'elot u-teshuvot*  
1726 Constantinople. Eliezer Shangi, *Sefer dat ve-din*  
1733 Wandsbek. Moses Hagiz, *Shete ha-lehem*  
1736 Neuwied. Isaac ben Samuel, *She'elot u-teshuvot*  
1741 Venice. Isaiah Bassan, *Torat shelamim*  
1757 Prague. Jonah Landsofer, *She'elot u-teshuvot Me'il tzedakah* (with appended notes on Euclid)  
1767 Amsterdam. Joseph ben Mordecai Gershon, *She'elot u-teshuvot ... She'erit Yosef*  
1768 Fürth. Solomon Luria, *She'elot u-teshuvot Rashal*  
1778 Fürth. Isaiah Isserlein, *Terumat ha-deshen*  
1780 Livorno. Moses Zacuto, *Igrot ha-remez*  
1781 Fürth. Zemah Duran, *Shu"t ha-Radbaz*  
1781 Livorno. Isaac Alfasi, *She'elot u-teshuvot*  
1782 Livorno. Zemah Duran, *Yakhin u-bo'az*  
1789 Halle. Jacob Reischer, *Shevut Ya'akov*  
1789 Brünn. Mordecai Halberstadt, *Ma'amar Mordekhai*  
1792 Salonika. *Sha'are tsedek ... teshuvot ha-ge'onim*

## APPENDIX 18

### Places of Publication of Responsa Literature

represented in the Marmorstein Collection

(with number of volumes per town)

Altona 1	Mainz 1
Amsterdam 3	Munkács 10
Bardejov 1	Neuwied 1
Berlin 11	Paks 5
Bilgoraj 1	Paris 1
Bonyhád 1	Prague 4
Brünn 2	Pressburg (Bratislava) 5
Budapest 4	Przemysl 1
Cairo 1	Rödelheim 1
Constantinople 1	Rome 1
Cracow 4	Salonika 1
Cremona 1	Sighet 2
Deva 1	Simlau 3
Érsekújvár (Nové Zámky) 1	Stettin 1
Frankfurt am Main 4	Sulzbach 3
Fürth 7	Svaliava 1
Halberstadt 1	Szatmár (Satu Mare) 1
Halle 1	Szeghalom 1
Husiatyn 4	Turka 1
Jerusalem 12	Ujhel 1
Józefów 1	Vác 1
Leipzig 1	Venice 4
Lemberg/Lwów 8	Vienna 7
Livorno 6	Vilna 2
London 1	Wandsbek 1
Lublin 1	Warsaw 7
Lyck 2	Zólkiew 1



## APPENDIX 19

### Kabbalah and Mysticism in the Marmorstein Collection (*chronological selection*)

Including *Sefer Yetsirah*, *Zohar*, *later Kabbalistic literature*, *Sabbatian Kabbalah*, *Emden-Eybeschuetz controversy*, *magic and superstition*, and *secondary scholarship*

- 1558-1560 Mantua. Zohar (first edition of classic work of Jewish mysticism)  
1601 Venice. Arze levanon, including Gikatilla, Sod ha-hashmal  
1648 Amsterdam. Menahem di Fano, Ma'amar Yonat elem  
1649 Amsterdam. Menahem Azariah di Fano, Asarah ma'amarot  
1673 Amsterdam. Issachar Berman Katz, Mareh Kohen (index to Zohar)  
1685 Sulzbach. Abraham Azulai, Hesed le-avraham  
1691 Frankfurt a.O. Aaron b. Samuel, Bet Aharon  
1691 Fürth. Nathan Nata Spira, Megaleh 'amukot (classic exposition of gematria)  
1698 Amsterdam. Isaac b. Judah ha-levi, Paaneah raza  
1711 Berlin. Isaac Ber of Kremnitz, Pithe yah  
1712 Homburg an der Hohe [not Hamburg]. Reuben Heshke Katz, Yalkut re'uveini  
1715 Amsterdam. Zohar  
1716 Wilhermsdorf. Benjamin Benush ben Judah Leyb, Amtahat Binyamin (popular charms)  
1727 Amsterdam. Raphael Ricchi, Hoshev mahshavot  
1729 Padua. Solomon Basilea, Emumat hakhamim  
1737 Constantinople/Istanbul. Hemdat yamim, attributed to Nathan of Gaza  
1740 Amsterdam. Mishnat Hasidim (prayerbook of Lurianic rite)  
1755 Altona. J. Eybeschuetz, Luhot 'edut (refutation of accusations against his amulets)  
1758 Sulzbach. Hayim Vital, Sha'are kedushah  
1760 Halle. Der erzbetrüger Sabbatai Sevi, der letzte falsche Messias der Juden (facsimile reprint)  
1788 Berlin. Nahman Katofa, Nevu'at ha-yeled (kabbalistic Aramaic poetry)  
1800 Prague. Eliezer Fleckeles Olat hodesh ha-revi'i (anti-Sabbatian tract)  
1860 Lemberg. Sefer Yetsirah ('Book of Creation' with medieval commentaries, including Saadia)  
1860 Lemberg. Reuben Katz, Yalkut Re'uveini  
1865 [not 1825] Jerusalem. Reuven b. Avraham, Sefer ha-segulot (charms, i.e. folk superstition)  
1868 Breslau. H. Graetz, Frank und die Frankisten  
1873 Józefow. Zeh sifra de-adam kadma'ah ... Razi'el ha-malakh  
1874 Jerusalem. Sefer Yetsirah ('Book of Creation') with commentary of Elijah Gaon of Vilna  
1880 Florence. Donnolo, Sefer Hahkmoni (commentary on Sefer Yetsirah)  
1880 London. F. W. Farrar, A Talmudic Miscellany ... extracts from the Talmud, the Midrash and the Kabbalah  
1882 Jerusalem. Y. Slatki, Ner Moshah (on Zohar)  
1883 Pietrkov. Sefer Hekhalot  
1884 Jerusalem. Kahana, Toldot yitshak (on Elijah Gaon's commentary on Sefer Yetsirah)  
1885 Brünn. Ruah hayim (account of Nikolsburg dybbuk)  
1893 Vienna. S. Rubin, Heidenthum und Kabbala  
1894 Ramsgate. M. Gaster, The Origin of the Kabbala  
1896 Jerusalem. R. Ohanah, Yesod ma'aravi ... tikun ha-berit  
1902 London. Sefer Yetsirah ('Book of Creation', based on Oxford manuscript)  
1903 Warsaw. Me'orot tsevi (collection of dreams and warnings against false messiahs)  
1903 Leipzig. E. Bischoff, Die Kabbalah: Einführung in die jüdische Mystik und Geheimwissenschaft  
1905 Pressburg. P. Bloch, Die Kabbalah auf ihrem Höhepunkt und ihre Meister  
1907 Jerusalem. Samuel Heller, Sefer refu'ot u-segulot (charms and cures)  
1911 Jerusalem. U. Y. Kadish, Me'ore tsiyon (dictionary of Kabbalah)  
1913 Jerusalem. Angelino, Livnat ha-sapir ... tosefta le-sefer ha-Zohar  
1918 Berlin. David Joel, Die Religionsphilosophie des Sohar  
1922 London. Z. Tanenboim, Mafteah ha-kabalah (commentary on Zohar)  
1922 London. S. A. Hirsch. The Cabbalists and other Essays  
1922 Berlin. A. Franck, Die Kabbala oder die Religionsphilosophie der Hebräer  
1929 Vienna. J. Kühn, Die Musik in den heiligen Schriften, im Talmud und in der Kabbalah  
1930 Budapest. N. S. Libowitz, Penine ha-Zohar (proverbs from Zohar)  
1933 Philadelphia. N. S. Libovits (ed.), Midreshe ha-Zohar  
1934 Philadelphia. N. S. Libowitz, Sifra de-agadta: Agadot ha-zohar 'al pi Arakhin (index to Zohar)  
1934 Jerusalem. G. Scholem, Mafteah la-perushim 'al 'eser sefirot

## APPENDIX 20

### Sephardic, Oriental and Non-Ashkenazic Authors

represented in the Marmorstein Collection

(*alphabetical list of authors, whether original texts,  
modern critical editions, or subjects of secondary studies*)

Aaron b. Elijah of Nicomedia	Ibn Janah
Abba Mari of Lunel	Ibn Kaspi
Aboab	Ibn Migash
Abraham of Posquières	Ibn Nahmias
Abravanel	Ibn Pakuda
Abudarham	Ibn Parhon
Abulafia	Ibn Saruq
Albo	Ibn Shahin
Aldabi	Ibn Tibbon
Alfandari	Ibn Verga
Alfasi	Ibn Zabara
Algazi	Immanuel of Rome
Al-Harizi	Jedaiah Bedersi
Almosnino	Karo
Alshekh	Kimhi
Ayyash	Lonzano
Azkari	Luria
Azkin	Maimonides
Azulai	Meiri
Bahya ben Asher	Menasseh Ben Israel
Bahya Ibn Pakuda	Modiano
Bekhor Shor	Moskoni
Belmonte	Mussafia
Benveniste	Nadaf
Bertinoro	Nahmanides
Cordovero	Najara
Covo	Nathan ben Jehiel of Rome
Crescas	Nathan of Gaza
Culi	Nieto
De Rossi	Oliveyra
De Vidas	Papo
Di Fano	Portaleone
Di Trani	Rashi
Donnolo	Reggio
Dunash	Ricchi
Ezobi	Romanelli
Gerondi, Nissim	Rosanes
Habillo	Saadiah
Hagiz	Sassoon
Hai Gaon	Shabazi
Hayyun	Sherira Gaon
Ibn Adret	Tam
Ibn Daud	Templo
Ibn Ezra	Troki
Ibn Ghiyyat	Vital
Ibn Habib	Zacut

## APPENDIX 2I

### Women's Literature

Writing by or relating to Women\*  
in the Marmorstein Collection  
(selected works, chronological)

- 1863 Vilna. Seder gitin ve-halitsah  
1879 Leipzig. Kayserling, M. Die jüdischen Frauen in der Geschichte, Literatur und Kunst  
1911 Breslau. Zuckerman, M. S. Die Befreiung der Frauen von bestimmten religiösen Pflichten nach Tosefta und Mischna  
1880 Vilna. Ashkenazi, Elhanan. Sidre tohorah, hidushe hilkhot nidah  
1894 Budapest. S. Shik, Trauerrede gehalten an der Bahre der Frau Sando Frank, geborene Julianne Brayer  
1896 Berlin. Lazarus, Nahida Ruth, Das jüdische Weib  
1903 Vienna. Max Grunwald, Die moderne Frauenbewegung und das Judentum  
1911-1913 Vienna. Marmorstein, Notes on S. Goldschmidt's German translation of Zeena Ureena  
(off-prints from Mitteilungen zur jüdischen Volkskunde)  
1912 Magdeburg. Jenny Durège, Judentum im Christentum: Vortrag im Säulensaal des Deutschen Hauses  
1913 Cambridge. Rebecca Reuben, The Bene Israel of India  
1917 London. Rahel Don-Yahya, 'Im shahar: halom bat yisra'el [one of earliest Hebrew books by a woman]  
1920 Cambridge. Nina Salaman, Jacob and Israel  
1922 Cairo. Mas'ud Hai, Shem hadash [on male and female names for marriage and divorce documents]  
1927 London. I. Stern, Bertha Friedlaender: the Mother of the College  
1927 London. Joseph Hertz, Reconquering a Holy Land (Women's Printing Society 1927) [against prostitution]  
1927 New York. L. M. Epstein's The Jewish Marriage Contract: A Study in the Status of Women in Jewish Law  
1929 London. Baumberg, Shalshelet ha-zahav=The golden chain: a treatment of the religious laws of menstruation and purification from a scientific point of view  
1929 [193-?] Berlin. Bertha Pappenheim, Sysiphus-Arbeit (Berlin 193-?) [on prostitution in Germany]  
1930 Berlin. S. Asch, Die Mutter  
1936 Jerusalem. Helen Rosenau, A Note on Synagogue Orientation  
1937 London. Helen Rosenau, The Synagogue and the Diaspora  
1938 New York. Feigin, Yetsirat ha-ishah ba-mikra  
1938 New York. Essays and Studies in Memory of Linda R. Miller [one of first festschriften or memorial volumes devoted to a Jewish woman]  
1944 London. Esther Kreitman [Kreytman], Brilyantn [Yiddish novel]  
1944 George Farmer, 'The Blessing of Virginity', article, pp. 74-75\*\*  
1950 London. Esther Kreitman [Kreytman], Yikhes [Yiddish short stories]

#### Printed or published by women

- 1697 Frankfurt am Main. Joel Sirkes, Bayit hadash (response) [brought to press by widow ('rabanit') of Meir Stern]  
1764 Brünn. Reischer, *Hok ya'akov* [printed by widow Franziska Neumann]  
1772 Frankfurt on the Oder. *Hagorat Shemuel* [printed by widow of Dr Grillo]  
1781 Frankfurt on the Oder. *Milin de-rabanan* [printed by widow of Dr Grillo]  
1796 Amsterdam. Meir Barlash, *Ezrat ha-sofer* on Esther [pr. by Joseph Proops & widow & sons of Jacob Proops]  
1798 Lemberg. S. Katsenelenboigen, *Shenem 'asar derashot* [printed by Yehudis wife of R. Tsevi Hirsh]  
1851 Amsterdam. *Zikhron Mosheh* [printed by the widow of David Proops]  
1861 Berlin. Samuel Holdheim, *Ma'amar ha-ishut* [*Abhandlung über die Ehe*] [published by widow of author]  
1923 Lublin. *Teshu'ot hayim* [printed by Nehamah wife of Jacob Hershenhorn]

\* Excluded are Talmud tractates Kidushin (marriage laws), Ketubot (marriage contracts), Gitin (divorce laws) and Nidah (laws relating to menstruation), and similar legal texts of which the collection holds numerous editions, traditional commentaries, or original interpretations (novellae).

\*\* There is also a handwritten study under this title catalogued separately. A study by Marmorstein under this title was published posthumously as 'The Jewish "Blessing of Virginity"' in *Journal of Jewish Studies* I, no. 1 (1948), pp. 33-34.

## APPENDIX 22

### Historiography and Geography

in the Marmorstein Collection  
(*selection of original texts,  
chronological by date  
of publication*)

#### Hebrew

- 1574 Mantua. Azariah de Rossi, Me'or 'enayim (historical chronicle), with manuscript notes by Jacob Emden(!)\*  
1733 Amsterdam. Joseph ha-Kohen, Divre ha-yamim le-malkhe tsorfat ve-togarmah (historical chronicle)  
1739 Amsterdam. 'Oz mitvaha (on Hamburg terror)  
1743 Livorno. Shivhe todah (liturgy commemorating Livorno earthquake)  
1768 Offenbach. David Gans, Tsemah David (world chronicle)  
1784 Prague. Yosifon (Josipon or pseudo-Josephus, 10<sup>th</sup>-century historical chronicle ascribed to Gorionides)  
1784 Amsterdam. Bekhi neharot (on Rhine floods)  
1829 Livorno. Matityah Zakuta, Zevah todah (on earthquakes in Alexandria)  
1861-1863 Vilna. Josephus, Sefer Milhamot ha-yehudim 'im ha-roma'im (ancient Jewish history)  
1874 Lemberg. M. Ausländer, She'erit yisrael (Jewish history to 1743 + addendum on 1840 Damascus blood libel)  
1878 Livorno. H. J. D. Azulai, Ma'agal tov (on travels in North Africa)  
1893 Cracow. A. Berliner, Sarid Me'ir (on Jews of Rome)  
1894 Vienna. Tsofnat paneah (polemic on organization of Paris commune, attributed to N. H. Diskin)  
1900 Jerusalem. (Several works by A. M. Lunz on current situation in Jerusalem ca. 1900)  
1908 Jerusalem. Tuv mitsrayim (on the Jews of Egypt)  
1921 Klausenburg (Cluj). Ragle mevaser (polemics on Zionism)  
1922 Berlin. Ber of Bolechow, Zikhronot  
1922 London/Oxford. The Memoirs of Ber of Bolechow, trans. M. Vishnitzer  
1922 Vienna. Samuel Klein, Erets Yisra'el: geografyah (geography of Palestine, with coloured map)

#### Yiddish

- 1882 Budapest. Der falshe meshiekh shabse tsvi (Judeo-German account of false messiah Sabbatai Zevi)  
1924 Przemysl. Di yudishe fohn fun Prag ... historishe ertsehlung (story of Jewish flag in Prague)

#### Latin

- 1651 Amsterdam. Ibn Verga, Historia Judaica (Latin translation of his historical chronicle Shevet yehudah)

Cf.

M. Steinschneider Die Geschichtsliteratur der Juden (1905), annotated bibliography of Jewish historiography

\*Another copy of this work containing supplementary text in manuscript is held in the Jacob M. Lowy Collection at Library and Archives Canada (formerly National Library of Canada), Ottawa.

## APPENDIX 23

### Sciences, Mathematics, Medicine

Hebrew texts in the Marmorstein Collection  
(*chronological selection*)

- 1578 Venice. Ibn Susan, *Ibur shanim* (on calendation, illustrated)
- 1612 Mantua. Portaleone, *Shilte ha-giborim* (on the Temple, with disquisitions on all the sciences)
- 1708 Amsterdam. Aldabi, *Shevile emunah* (contains a luah refu'ot)
- 1716 Wilhermsdorf. Benjammin Benush b. Judah Leyb, *Amtahat Binyamin* (on charms and cures)
- 1720 Frankfurt am Main. Maimonides, *Yeshu'ah be-yisra'el* (on new moon, with commentary by Jonathan of Ruzhany, illustrated)
- 1743 Jessnitz. David Gans, *Nehmad ve-na'im* (astronomy)
- 1757 Prague. Jonah Landsofer, responsa *Me'il tzedakah* (with illustrated notes on Euclid)
- 1777 Prague. Judah Margoliot, *Or 'olam 'al hokhmat ha-teva* (on mathematics and natural sciences)
- 1789 Berlin. Baruch Landau (Linda), *Minhat todah* (introduction to natural sciences)
- 1801 Rödelheim. Gershon b. Solomon, *Sha'ar ha-shamayim* (astronomy)
- 1865 Lwów. Pinhas Hurwitz, *Sefer Ha-Berit ha-shalem* (on natural sciences)
- 1895 Frankfurt am Main. Ibn Ezra, *Sefer ha-mispar*, ed. Silberberg (on mathematics)
- 1907 Jerusalem. Heller, *Sefer Refu'ot u-segulot* (popular medicine, charms, superstition)

## APPENDIX 24

### Biography, Autobiography, Festschriften and Memorial Volumes

*(including essays and eulogies)*  
in the Marmorstein Collection

#### Ancient

Akiva  
Josephus  
Shimon bar Yohai

#### Medieval

Abulafia, Abraham  
Bechor Shor  
Cohen, David  
Ibn Adret  
Immanuel of Rome  
Karo (Caro), Joseph  
Luria, Isaac Luria  
Maimonides  
Rashi  
Saadiah Gaon  
Sherira Gaon

#### Early Modern

Aszód, J.  
Bacharach family  
Ber [Birkenthal] of Bolechow  
Berlin, Isaiah  
Elijah Gaon of Vilna  
Frank, Jacob  
Israel Baal Shem  
Maimon, Salomon  
Moscato, Judah  
Oppenheimer, Solomon  
Shabtai Tsevi  
Spinoza  
Wertheimer, Samson

#### Modern

Auerbach, Berthold  
Benet, M.  
Berlin, Isaiah  
Blau, Ludwig  
Brayer, Julianne  
Brüll, Nehemiah  
Deutsch, David  
Deutsch, Emanuel  
Flesch family  
Frankel, Zacharias  
Friedlaender, Bertha  
Herzl, Theodor  
Kaufmann, David  
Krochmal, Nachman  
Luzzatto, S. D.  
Mahler, Eduard

Maimon, Salomon  
Mendelssohn, Moses  
Mickiewicz, Adam  
Mohilever, Samuel  
Montefiore, Moses  
Munk, Salomon  
Neubauer, Adolf  
Rosenfeld, Mayer  
Sachs, Michael  
Salanter, Hillel  
Schechter, Solomon  
Sofer family  
Stein, Ármin  
Szerencsés, Imre  
Wertheimer, Samson  
Zunz, Leopold

### Hungarians

Aszód, J.  
Blau, Ludwig  
Bloch, Mózes  
Brayer, Julianne  
Brody, Heinrich  
Freimann, Jakob  
Handler, Márk  
Hertz, Joseph  
Herzl, Theodor  
Hevesi, Simon  
Kaufmann, David  
Kaufmann, David

Kohut, A.  
Krauss, Samuel  
Löw, Lipót  
Mahler, Eduard  
Marmorstein, A.  
Munk, Salomon  
Neubauer, Adolf  
Rosenfeld, Mayer  
Sofer family  
Stein, Ármin  
Szerencsés, Imre

### Festschriften

Abrahams, Israel  
Blau, Ludwig  
Bloch, Mózes  
Brodie, Israel  
Brody, Heinrich  
Chajes, H. P.  
Dangoor, Ezra Reuben  
Feilchenfeld, W.  
Freidus, S. A.  
Freimann, Aron  
Freimann, Jakob  
Gaster, M.  
Ginzberg, Louis  
Graetz, H.  
Guttmanns, Jakub  
Handler, Márk  
Hertz, Joseph  
Hevesi, Simon  
Hildesheimer, Israel  
Hoffmann, David  
Kaufmann, David  
Kohut, A.  
Krauss, Samuel  
Landau, J. L.  
Lévi, Israel  
Löw, Lipót  
Mahler, Eduard  
Marmorstein  
Marx, Alexander  
Poznański, Samuel  
Roth, Cecil  
Schor, Moses  
Schwarz, Adolf  
Simonsen, Davi

## APPENDIX 25

### Serials

Journals, Periodicals, Yearbooks, Annual Reports, etc.  
whether runs of any length or single issues  
held in the Marmorstein Collection  
(*by language*)

#### Croatian

Zidovska smotra (1909)

#### English

Christian News from Israel  
Jewish Annual  
Jewish Quarterly Review  
Jewish Year Book  
Judith Montefiore College Report  
Report of the Anglo-Jewish Association  
Synagogue Review

#### French

Revue critique d'histoire et de littérature  
Revue des études juives  
Revue juive de Genève  
La Semaine Israélite

#### German

Bericht, Lehranstalt für die Wissenschaft des Judentums (Vienna)  
Bericht der Hochschule für die Wissenschaft des Judentums in Berlin  
Bericht des jüdisch-theologischen Seminars (Breslau)  
Die Feder: Halbmonatschrift für die deutschen Schriftsteller und Journalisten  
Freie jüdische Lehrstimme  
Israelitische Monatsschrift  
Jahrbuch des Traditionstrauen Rabbiner-Verbandes in der Slowakei (Trnava 1923)  
Jahrbuch für die Geschichte der Juden und des Judentums  
Jahrbuch für jüdische Volkskunde  
Jahrbücher der biblischen Wissenschaft  
Jahrbücher für jüdische Geschichte und Literatur  
Jahresbericht der Israeliten  
Jahresbericht der Landes-Rabbinerschule in Budapest  
Jahresbericht des jüdisch-theologischen Seminars  
Jahres-Bericht des Kuratoriums . . . Hochschule für die Wissenschaft des Judentums in Berlin  
Jahres-Bericht des Rabbiner Seminars zu Berlin  
Jeschurun: Monatsschrift für Lehre und Leben im Judentum  
Jüdisches Archiv  
Jüdisches Literaturblatt (Magdeburg)  
Literaturblatt des Orients  
Magazin für die Wissenschaft des Judentums  
Monatsschrift für die Literatur und Wissenschaft des Judentums  
Monatsschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judentums  
Mitteilungen zur jüdischen Volkskunde



Monatsschrift für Literatur und Wissenschaft des Judenthums  
Nachalath Z'wi: eine Monatsschrift für Judentum in Lehre und Tat  
Orient, Der  
Orientalische Literaturzeitung  
Populär-wissenschaftliche Monatsblätter zur Belehrung über das Judentum (Frankfurt am Main)  
Theologische Literaturzeitung  
Ungarische Wochenschrift  
Zeitschrift für die Geschichte der Juden in Deutschland  
Zeitschrift für Missionskunde  
Zeitschrift für hebraeische Bibliographie

### Hebrew

Bet midrash (Vienna 1865)  
Bet va'ad la-hakhamim (Szatmár 192-?), rabbinic periodical, 3 issues, nos. II, I2, I5  
Davar be-'ito (Paks 1907), ed. Judah Krausz of Lakenbach, 2 issues from Oct. and Nov.  
Ha-Magid (mainly 1862-1884)  
Ha-Soker  
Ha-Tsofeh le-hokhmat yisra'el  
Keneset yisra'el (Kovno/New York 1932), periodical of rabbinical college of Slobodka  
Kiryat Sefer  
Kokhve yitshak, ed. M. E. Stern (Wien), 3 bound vols incomplete set issues no. 9-36 (1847-1869)  
Meged yerahim, ed. Joseph Kohn (Lemberg 1855)  
Ohel yitshak (Szatmár 1901-1905)  
Omanut  
Otsar ha-hayim (Deva), rabbinic journal, 36 issues  
Otsar hokhmah, ed. Joseph Kohn (Lemberg 1859)  
Seder ha- 'itim (12<sup>th</sup> year)  
Tsiyon vi-yrushalayim (Jerusalem 1899)  
Tsofeh me-erets hagar

### Hungarian

A Budapesti Ferencz József Országos Rabbiképző-Intézet: Evkönyve  
Ethnographia  
Évkönyv, Izraelita Magyar Irodalmi Társulat [IMIT]  
Izr. Tanügyi Értesítő  
Jabneh: homiletikai folyóirat  
Magyar Izrael  
Magyar Könyvszemle  
Magyar rabbik  
Magyar Zsidó Hadi Archivum Almanachja  
Magyar-Zsidó Szemle (1914-1916)  
Magyar Zsinagóga  
Morijah: Pedagógiai folyóirat  
Szombati Újság

### Yiddish

Loshn un lebn (London)

## APPENDIX 26

### Sources of Offprints in the Marmorstein Collection (titles of serials by language)

#### Dutch

Israelitische Letterbode

#### English

American Anthropologist  
American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures  
Bulletin of the Bible Readers' Union  
Bulletin of the John Rylands Library  
Congress of the History of Religion  
Economic History Review  
Edinburgh Review  
Harvard Theological Review  
Hebrew Union College Annual  
Jewish Chronicle  
Jewish Historical Society of England Transactions  
Jewish Quarterly Review  
Jewish Review  
Jewish Social Studies  
Journal of Biblical Literature  
Journal of Comparative Legislation  
Journal of English and Germanic Philology  
Journal of Religion  
Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society  
Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society  
Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society  
Judaism and Christianity  
Judith Montefiore College Ramsgate, Report  
Juridical Review  
Miscellanies of the Jewish Historical Society of England  
Palestine Exploration Quarterly  
Proceedings of the American Academy for Jewish Research  
Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology  
Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society  
Publications of the University of Manchester  
Rand Daily Mail  
Review of Religion  
Synagogue Review  
The Search, a quarterly  
Transactions of the Jewish Historical Society of England  
United Synagogue Recorder  
Yearbook of the Central Conference of American Rabbis

#### French

Notices et extraits de la Bibliothèque nationale  
Revue des études juives  
Revue d'histoire du droit

### German

Abhandlungen der preuss. Akademie der Wissenschaften  
Bericht der Hochschule für die Wissenschaft des Judentums  
Drohobyzer Zeitung  
Jahrbuch der jüdischen literarischen Gesellschaft  
Jahresbericht des Landesrabbinerschule zu Budapest  
Jeschurun  
Jüdisches Centralblatt  
Monatsschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judentums  
Mitteilungen der anthropologischen Gesellschaft in Wien  
Mitteilungen des Seminars für orientalische Sprachen zu Berlin  
Nachrichten der Kaiserlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen  
Orientalische Literaturzeitung  
Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft  
Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde des Judentums  
Zeitschrift für hebraeische Bibliographie

### Hebrew

Ha-Goren  
Ha-Tor  
Ha-Tsofeh le-hokhmat yisra'el  
Kiryat sefer  
Otsar tov (supplement to Magazin für die Wissenschaft des Judentums)  
Tiferet yisra'el  
Yerushalayim ('iton bibliografi)  
Yeshurun

### Italian

Archeologia Aeliana  
Atti del Reale Istituto di Scienze, lettere ed Arti  
Atti dell'Accademia Veneto-Trention-Istria  
Atti delle Reale Accademia delle Scienze di Torino  
Giornale della Società sciatica Italiana  
Rassegna mensile di Israel  
Rivista degli studi orientali  
Rivista di Antropologia  
Rivista Laves Organo del Comitato Nazionale per le tradizioni Popolari  
Rivista Porta Orientale della Compagnia Volontari Giuliani e Dalmati  
Studi e materiali di storia delle religioni

### Latin

Eos (Leopoli/Lwów)

### Polish

Rocznik Orientalistyczny

### Swedish

Kyrkohistorisk Arsskrift  
Lychnos, Lardomshistorika Samfundets Arsbok  
Nordisk Tidskrift for Bok- och Biblioteksväsen

### Yiddish

Drohobitsher Tsaytung  
YIVO-Bleter

## APPENDIX 27

### Bibliographic and Reference Literature

in the Marmorstein Collection

(selected works)

Including literature on *Libraries, Manuscripts, Printing History, Censorship, Jewish Languages, Subject Bibliographies, Indexes, Personal Bibliographies, and Encyclopedias*

- Adler, E. N. *The Adler Papyri: the Greek Texts* (1939)  
\_\_\_\_\_. *A Gazetteer of Hebrew Printing* (1917) [list of all places of Hebrew printing and date of first books]  
\_\_\_\_\_. *About Hebrew Manuscripts* (1905)  
\_\_\_\_\_. *The Hebrew Treasures of England* (Edinburgh 1914)  
\_\_\_\_\_. *The Persian Jews: Their Books and Ritual* (Oxford 1898)  
\_\_\_\_\_. *Talmud Incunables of Spain and Portugal* (1935)  
[Almanzi, J. = Giuseppe]. *Catalogue de la bibliothèque de littérature hébraïque et orientale* (Padua 1864)  
Azulai, H. J. D. *Shem ha-gedolim* (1864, 1876)  
Badhab, I. *Pardes ha-Torah ve-ha-hokhmah* (Jerusalem 1898) [catalogue of Hebrew manuscripts]  
Bamberger, S. B. *Meleket ha-shamayim* (1860) [on scribal laws]  
Beer, Georg. *Faksimile-Ausgabe des Mischnakodex Kaufmann A 50* (1931) [review]  
Benjamin, I. *Otsar ha-sefarim* [*Thesaurus Librorum Hebraicorum*] (Vilna 1880)  
Berliner, A. *Censur und Confiscation hebräischer Bücher im Kirchenstaate: auf Grund der Inquisitions-Akten in der Vaticana und Vallicellana* (1891)  
\_\_\_\_\_. *Die Schriften des Dr. M. Steinschneider zu seinem 70. Geburtstage* (1886) [bibliography]  
\_\_\_\_\_. *Ueber den Einfluss des ersten hebräischen Buchdrucks auf den Cultus und der Cultur der Juden* (1896)  
Birnbaum, S. *A Sheet of an eighth-century Synagogue Scroll* (1959?)  
Bischoff, E. *Kritische Geschichte der Talmud-Übersetzungen* (1899)  
Blau, Ludwig. *Katalog der Bibliothek des verewigten Ludwig Blau* (Budapest 1936)  
\_\_\_\_\_. *Papyri und Talmud in gegenseitiger Beleuchtung* (1913)  
Brown, M. D. *David Salomons House: Catalogue of Mementos* (London 1968)  
Chones, Sz. M. *Toldot (ha-geonim) ha-poskim ... Shemot ha-sefarim* (Warsaw 1910)  
Cohen, Boaz. *Kuntres ha-teshuvot* (Budapest 1930)  
[Dangoor]. *Pi zikaron* (Baghdad 1931) [memorial volume for printer Ezra Reuben Dangoor]  
Davidson, Israel. *Otsar ha-shirah ve-ha-piyut* [Thesaurus of Mediaeval Hebrew Poetry] (New York 1924-1933)  
\_\_\_\_\_. *A New Supplement to the Thesaurus of Mediaeval Hebrew Poetry* (Cincinnati 1938)  
Deinard, E. *Or Me'ir* [*Or Mayer: Catalogue of the Old Hebrew Manuscripts and Printed Books of the Library of Hon. M. Sulzberger*] (1896)  
*The East and West Library* [list of publications] (London s.a.)  
Eisenstein, David, ed. *Otsar yisra'el* (1907-1912)  
*Encyclopaedia Judaica* (Berlin 1928-). Near-complete set.  
*Enzyklopädie des Judentums* (Berlin 1926)  
Epstein, A. *Ma'amar 'al sefer Halakhot gedolot, 'im reshimah mi-shemot ha-anashim ve-ha-sefarim ha-nizkarim bi-shete ha-mahadurot shel ha-halakhot gedolot* (Beredichev 1902)  
Fischer, Izidor. *Az Ehrenfeld-Codex Nyelvárása* (Budapest 1902)  
Fischer, Karl. *Gutmeinung über den Talmud der Hebräer* (Vienna 1883)  
Freidus, A. S. *Studies in Jewish Bibliography and Related Subjects in Memory of Abraham Solomon Freidus (1867-1923)* (New York 1919)  
Freimann, A. *Die hebräischen Drucke in Rom im 16. Jahrhundert* (1937)  
\_\_\_\_\_. *Katalog der Judaica und Hebraica* (Frankfurt a.M. 1932)  
\_\_\_\_\_. *Kuntres ha-mefares ha-shalem* (Berlin 1914)  
\_\_\_\_\_. *Manuscript Supercommentaries on Rashi's Commentary on the Pentateuch* (1941)  
Friedberg, B. *Ha-Defus ha-'ivri be-Kraka* (Cracow 1900)  
\_\_\_\_\_. *Toldot ha-defus ha-'ivri be-Polanya* (Antwerp 1932)  
\_\_\_\_\_. *Bet 'eked sefarim* [*Lexique bibliographique*] (Antwerp 1928-1931)  
\_\_\_\_\_. *Le-toldot ha-defus ha-'ivri be-Lublin* (Cracow 1900).  
Gabrieli, Giuseppe. *Italia Judaica: saggio d'una bibliografia storica e archeologica degli Ebrei d'Italia* (Rome 1924)

- Ganzfried, S. *Keset ha-sofer* (Bartfeld 1902) [on scribal laws]
- Gaster, M. Catalogue of Zunz's Miscellanea [Catalogue of Pamphlets belonging to the library of Zunz, now in Judith Montefiore College, Ramsgate] (London 1892)
- Goldschmidt-Lehmann, Ruth. *Jews College Library: A History* (1967)
- Gottheil, Richard, and W. H. Worrell. *Fragments from the Cairo Genizah in the Freer Collection* (1923)
- Guttman, M. *Mafteah ha-talmud* [*Clavis talmudi sive Encyclopaedia rerum quae in utroque Talmude, Tosifta, Mechilta, Sifra, Sifre, talmudicisque libris occurrunt alphabetice ordine disposita ...*] (Csongrád/Budapest 1906)
- Habermann, A. M. *Ha-Madpisim bene Soncino* (Vienna 1933)
- [Halberstam, S. J.]. *Eine seltene Privat-Bibliothek* (s.l.e.a.)
- Harkavy, A. *Neuaufgefundene Bibelhandschriften* (St Petersburg 1884)
- \_\_\_\_\_, and H. L. Strack. *Catalog der hebräischen Bibelhandschriften der Kaiserlichen Öffentlichen Bibliothek in St Petersburg* (St Petersburg 1875)
- Heilprin, Jehiel. *Seder ha-dorot* (Warsaw 1870)
- Hirschfeld, H. *Descriptive Catalogue of the Hebrew Mss. of the Montefiore Library* (1904)
- [Hodgson & Co.]. *A Catalogue of a further selection of books from the library of the late William Aldis Wright* (London 1915)
- Hyman, A. *Bet va'ad le-hakhamim* (London 1902) (index to agadot)
- Horowitz, Israel W. *Erets yisra'el u-shekhenoteha: entsiklopedyah geografit-historit* (Vienna 1923)
- Index alphabétique des cinquante premiers volumes de la Revue des études juives* (1910)
- Issachar Berman ben Naphtali ha-Kohen. *Mareh Kohen* (Amsterdam 1673) [index to Zohar]
- Jellinek, A. *Kuntres ha-kelalim* (1878)
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Kuntres ha-rambam* (1878-1893)
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Kuntres ha-mafteah* (1881)
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Kuntres ha-magid* (1878)
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Kuntres ha-mazkir* (1877)
- [Jews' College]. *Catalogue of an Exhibition of Books by Members of the Academic Staff and Alumni at the Jews' College Library* (London 1955)
- Kahle, P. *Die hebräischen Bibelhandschriften aus Babylonien* (1928)
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Masoreten des Westens* (Stuttgart 1927-1930)
- Kandel, S. *Genizai kéziratok* [Genizah fragments in library of Hungarian Academy] (1909)
- Kauffmann, J. *Bücher aus verschiedenem Besitz: Hebraica, Judaica, Handschriften, Inkunabeln, Bücher des 16.-20. Jahrhunderts* (Frankfurt 1933?)
- Kaysersling, M. *Bibliothek jüdischer Kanzelredner: eine chronologische Sammlung* (Berlin 1870?)
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Die jüdischen Frauen in der Geschichte, Literatur und Kunst* (1879), with chapter on women printers
- Kiryat Sefer: bibliographical quarterly of the Jewish National and University Library* (indexes)
- Klapper, J. *Exempla aus Handschriften des Mittelalters* (Heidelberg 1911)
- Krauss, S. *Merkwürdige Siddurim* (New York 1929)
- Landshut, E. *Amude'avodah* [*Columnae Cultus*] (1857-1862) [bio-bibliography of Hebrew hymnologists]
- Landsofer, L. *Bene yonah* (Prague 1802) [on writing of Torah scrolls]
- Libowitz, N. S. *Sifra de-agadta: Agadot ha-zohar 'al pi Arakhin* (Philadelphia 1934) [index to Zohar]
- Lippe, B. D. *Bibliographisches Lexicon der gesamten jüdischen Literatur der Gegenwart und Adress-Anzeiger* (Vienna 1881)
- Loewe, H. *The Heythrop College Maimonides* (Oxford 1937)
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Starrs and Jewish Charters Preserved in the British Museum* (Cambridge 1930)
- Loewinger, D. S. *Jiddische Handschriften in Breslau* (Budapest 1936)
- Löw, Leopold. *Graphische Requisiten und Erzeugnisse bei den Juden* (1870)
- Löwenstein, Leopold. *Mafteah ha-haskamot* [*Index Approbationum*] (Frankfurt a.M. 1923)
- Löwy, Gustav. *Worte der Trauer: an der Bahre eines armen Buchbinders: Armin Stein* (Kecskemét 1907?)
- Marcus, Jacob Rader and A. Bilgray. *An Index to Jewish Fedtschriften* (Cincinnati 1937)
- Margoliouth, George. *Descriptive List of the Hebrew and Samaritan MSS. in the British Museum* (1893)
- [Marmorstein, A.]. *Catalogue of Hebrew Manuscripts in the Collection of Elkan Nathan Adler* (Cambridge 1921)
- Marx, Alexander, and H. Meyer (eds.). *Festschrift für Aron Freimann* [Soncino-Gesellschaft der Freunde des jüdischen Buches] (Berlin 1935)
- Metz, Isaac. *Kohelet David* (Hamburg, 1826), with index by J. Goldenthal (Leipzig 1843).
- Meyer, E. *Der Papyrusfund von Elephantine: Dokumente einer jüdischen Gemeinde der Perserzeit und das älteste erhaltene Buch der Weltliteratur* (Leipzig 1912)
- Michael, H. J. *Or ha-hayim* (Frankfurt 1891) [bio-bibliography of Hebrew literature]

- [Morgenstern]. *An Index to Biblical Passages in the Writings of Julian Morgenstern* (1937)
- Mosad Harav Kuk. *Reshimat ha-sefarim* (1943)
- Müller, J. *Mafteah li-teshuvot ha-ge'onim* (1891)
- Nadaf, A. H. *Hoveret* [Bibliography of Shalom Shabazi] (Jerusalem 1927)
- Neubauer, A. *Catalogue of the Hebrew Manuscripts in the Jews' College, London* (Oxford 1886)
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Petersburger Bibliothek* (1866)
- Pinner, M. *Prospectus der Odessaer Gesellschaft für Geschichte und Alterthümer gehörenden ältesten hebräischen und rabbinischen Manuscripte* (Odessa 1845)
- Poznański, S. *Schechter's Saadyana* (1904)
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Zur jüdisch-arabischen Litteratur* (1904)
- Probeheft of Ha-Eshkol / Enzyklopädie des Judentums* (Berlin 1926)
- Rauschen, G. *Neues Licht aus dem alten Orient: Keilschrift und Papyrusfunde aus dem jüdisch-christlichen Altertum* (1913)
- Real-Encyklopädie für Bibel und Talmud* (1874)
- Roth, Cecil. *Magna Bibliotheca Anglo-Judaica* (London 1937)
- Sachau, E. *Aramäische Papyrus aus Elephantine* (1911)
- Sanders, H. A. *The Old Testament Manuscripts in the Freer Collection* (1917)
- Sassoon, D. S. *Ohel David [Ohel Dawid]: Descriptive Catalogue of the Hebrew and Samaritan Manuscripts in the Sassoon Library* (London 1932), 2 vols.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Thesaurus of Mediaeval Hebrew Poetry* (s.l.e.a.) [review]
- Sayce, A. H., and A. E. Cowley. *Aramaic Papyri discovered at Assuan* (London 1906) [with portfolio of plates]
- Schechter, S. *An Unknown Khazar Document* (1912)
- Scheiber, S. *Maimúni Magyarországon [A Hungarian Bibliography of Maimonides]* (Budapest 1946)
- Schiller-Szinessy, S. *Catalogue of the Hebrew Manuscripts preserved in the University Library, Cambridge* (1876)
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Description of the Leyden Manuscript of the Palestinian Talmud* (Cambridge 1978)
- Schoeps, H. *Hebräische Erstdrucke vor 1600 in der Universitätsbibliothek Uppsala* (Uppsala 1946)
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Schwedisches in der hebräischen Bibliographie* (1946)
- Scholem, G. *Mafteah la-perushim 'al 'eser sefirot* (Jerusalem 1934)
- Schwab, M. *Répertoire des articles relatifs à l'histoire et à la littérature juives parus dans les périodiques de 1665 à 1900* (Paris 1914-1923)
- Staerk, W. *Die jüdisch-aramäischen Papyri von Assuan* (1907)
- Steinschneider, M. *Die Geschichtsliteratur der Juden in Druckwerke und Handschriften* (1905)
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Jüdisch-arabische Literatur [Bibliotheca Arabico-Judaica]* (1902)
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Otsrot hayim [Katalog der Michael'schen Bibliothek]* (Hamburg 1848), into. Zunz
- Wagner, J. H. *Bibliothek Jacob H. Wagner: eine Übersicht* (Breslau 1926)
- Weisz, Max (Miksa). *Katalog der hebräischen Handschriften und Bücher in der Bibliothek des Professors Dr. David Kaufmann* (Budapest 1906)
- Wolf, G. (ed.). *Catalog der Bibliothek des sel. Herrn Dr. Bernhard Beer in Dresden* (1863)
- Wolf, J. C. *Bibliotheca Hebraea* (Hamburg 1715-1733), 4 vols
- Worrell, W. H. *The Coptic Manuscripts in the Freer Collection* (New York 1923)
- Yelin, David. *Shene [sic] dapim mi-ketav yado shel ha-rambam* (Jerusalem 1930)
- Zeitlin, W. [*Kiryat Sefer*] *Bibliotheca Hebraica Post-Mendelssohniana* (Leipzig 1891-1895)
- Zuckermann, M. S. *Der Wiener Tosefta-Codex* (Magdeburg 1877)
- Zuckermann, B. *Katalog der Seminar Bibliothek* (Breslau 1870)
- Zunz, L. *Zur Geschichte und Literatur*, vol. I (Berlin 1845) [includes 'Annalen der hebräischen Typographie von Prag, vom Jahre 1513 bis zum Jahre 1657']

There are also personal bibliographies of the following scholars (apart from bibliographies appearing in Festschriften and memorial volumes listed in Appendix 24):

Wilhelm Bacher, Abraham Berliner, Ludwig Blau, Nehemiah Brüll, Israel Friedlaender, Louis Ginzberg, Max Grunwald, Michael Guttmann, David Hoffmann, Alexander Kohut, Samuel Krauss, Alexander Marx, Solomon Schechter.

## APPENDIX 28

### Original Hebrew and German Manuscripts

in the Marmorstein Collection

(excluding personal papers of Dr Arthur Marmorstein\*)

[1]

Zikhronot, i.e. Memoirs, of Ber of Bolechow (Birkenthal) (1801). Cf. the offprint of the study by M. Wischnitzer [Vishnitzer], *A Jewish Diarist of the eighteenth century: social and economic conditions of the Jews in Eastern Europe* (Philadelphia 1921, from *Jewish Quarterly Review* vol. 12) and Wischnitzer's editions of the text, in Hebrew *Zikhronot* (Berlin 1922) and in English *The Memoirs of Ber of Bolechow (1723-1805)* (London: OUP, 1922), reviewed by Arthur Marmorstein in *Monatsschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judentums* 64 (1925), pp. 121-122. Marmorstein had written earlier about 'Die Memoiren Beer Bolechovs' in *Zeitschrift für hebraische Bibliographie* (1913), pp. 84-91. See also 'Ber of Bolechów', *YIVO Encyclopedia of Jews in Eastern Europe* (New Haven 2008), vol. 1, pp. 168-169.

[2]

Statutes of the Jewish communities of Kremsier [Kromeriz], Kunitz [Dolní Kounice] and Holleschau [Holesov] in Moravia.

[3]

Account book (?), composite, 1787

[4]

Records of the Burial Society (Hevra kadisha) of Szenice (now Senica in Slovakia), 18<sup>th</sup>-19<sup>th</sup> centuries. [Leopold Marmorstein, grandfather of Arthur Marmorstein, was rabbi of this community from 1892 to 1931.]

[5]

Gemeinde-Rechnung der Jamnitzer Judenschaft, i.e. Records of the Jewish community of Jamnitz (Jemnice) in Morsavia, October 1781 – October 1782. German.

[6]

Liturgical commentary? With insert.

[7]

Kabbalistic text? Binding stamped E.S.Z.

[8]

Commentary on Pentateuch, Moravia?, 1745

[9-11]

Manuscripts in various hands ('drafts?'), including letters concerning rabbinical controversy in Pápa (Hungary).

\* Aside from the several bound volumes of handwritten drafts and typescripts of Arthur Marmorstein's published papers and addresses, which are kept together with the manuscripts listed above, there is also a bound volume of manuscript or typescript writings presumably by Marmorstein, catalogued and housed with the printed books, under the heading 'Rabbi, scholar and teacher: papers covering many aspects of Judaism' [call mark 814758].

N.B.

The above checklist is based on notes provided by Elizabeth Gow of the John Rylands Library.

We have not had an opportunity to examine these manuscripts in detail, nor to compare all of them with the list of 'Manuscripts' which comprises the first page of the handwritten inventory [prepared by Emile Marmorstein] of Hebraica in the library of Arthur Marmorstein.

The latter records the following 10 items, several of which are immediately identifiable with the items listed above, but others need further examination and clarification:

- 1) Bet Ya'akov by R. Jacob of Lissa, presented to R. Isaac Kowler of Stanislau, from whom it came to his grandson Isaiah Landsman
- 2) Sha'are rahamim. Sefer Likute ha-yirah [?]. Written (vocalized) in Rovigo in 1756 by Ephraim Consili for the High Festivals of the Ashkenazic rite
- 3) Gemeinde-Rechnung der Jamnitzer Judenschaft I October 1781 to end of October 1782
- 4) Gemeinde-Rechnung der Jamnitzer Judenschaft from 1787 to beginning of 19<sup>th</sup> century?
- 5) Divre binah, Memoirs of Ber of Bolechow (1801)
- 6) Statutes of Moravian communities Kremsier, Holleschau, Kunitz
- 7) Tur Orah hayim (large section) confusedly bound with fragment of Orhot hayim (on vellum) by R. Aaron Lunel. 15<sup>th</sup> century or earlier
- 8) Torah bukh, collection of rabbinical notes, probably 19<sup>th</sup> century Hungarian or Moravian
- 9) Letters concerning rabbinical controversy in Pápa (Hungary), probably drafts
- 10) Twenty fragments of early manuscripts, probably taken from bindings of old prints



## HEBREW INCUNABLES IN THE JOHN RYLANDS LIBRARY

## A Checklist

The only Hebrew books in the John Rylands Library older than those in the Marmorstein Collection are the I5 (or I6?) incunables, some or all of which derive from the Spencer collection at Althorp acquired by Mrs Rylands in 1892 (first described in Dibdin's *Bibliotheca Spenceriana*). Fifteen of these are recorded in David Goldstein, *Hebrew Incunables in the British Isles* (London 1985), p. 39 ('Index of Locations' under MJR), and in A. K. Offenbergh with C. Moed-van Walraven, *Hebrew Incunabula in Public Collections: A First International Census* (Nieuwkoop 1990), p. xl ('Register of Collections', s.v. 'Manchester, JRL').<sup>124</sup> (For more detail on the I6<sup>th</sup>, see Appendix 30, below.)

Rabinowicz in *Treasures of Judaica*, pp. 148-151, dilates on some of the incunabula along with the library's early historic Christian Hebraica, notably the four polyglot Bibles (Alcalá, Antwerp, Paris, London); Peter Schwarz's *Tractatus contra perfidos judeos* (Esslingen 1475), the first instance of Hebrew printing in Germany<sup>125</sup>; and Wakefield's *Oratio de laudibus et utilitate trium linguarum* (London 1524), one of the first English books to use Hebrew and Arabic type. In his survey 'Sources and Materials for Jewish Studies Research in the John Rylands University Library of Manchester' (typescript ca. 1991), pp. 6-7, Prof. Alexander Samely also gives a brief account of the incunabula and other early printed Hebraica.

A possible sixteenth Hebrew incunable in the Rylands is the second edition of Ibn Sahula's illustrated *Meshal ha-kadmoni*, printed by Gershom Soncino without indication of place or date, which many bibliographers have believed to be an early I6<sup>th</sup>-century imprint, probably from Fano in northern Italy ca. 1505. One printing historian, however, argued it to be a late I5<sup>th</sup>-century book, a view then adopted in several standard incunabulistic bibliographies and most recently in a meticulous study of Hebrew incunabula in the British Library. (In any case the record in the University of Manchester online catalogue needs correction.) Whatever the actual place or date, this second edition, like the first, is very rare.

In the absence of a more detailed catalogue of Hebrew incunables in the Rylands, and given that these are the Rylands' only whole-Hebrew books older than those in the Marmorstein collection (the library also holds the first two multi-alphabet polyglots, the I516 Genoa Psalter and the I517 Complutensian Bible), we provide here a short-title checklist of these pre-1500 editions, all from Italian presses (Mantua, Ferrara, Bologna, Soncino, Casalmaggiore, Naples, Brescia, and perhaps one or two other unspecified towns). Altogether these comprise the fourth most important collection of Hebrew 'cradle-books' in the British Isles, after the British Library, the Bodleian in Oxford, and Cambridge University Library. They are listed below according to the now standard Offenbergh number.

<sup>124</sup> According to Harry M. Rabinowicz's chapter on 'The John Rylands Library, Manchester' in his *Treasures of Judaica*, p. 145, the library holds 'twelve Hebrew incunabula'; according to John Hodgson, *A Guide to Special Collections of the John Rylands University Library*, p. 34, the library holds 20 Hebrew incunables, a figure repeated on the JRL's web-page for 'Jewish, Near Eastern and Oriental Studies'. We cannot account for these discrepant figures vis-à-vis our I5 (or I6) and do not know what the supposed five additional titles may be.

<sup>125</sup> On this and other non-Hebrew incunables using Hebrew type or relating to Jews, see Alexander Marx, 'Notes on the Use of Hebrew Type in Non-Hebrew Books, 1475-1520', in his *Studies in Jewish History and Booklore* (New York 1944; reprint Westmead 1969), pp. 296-345; A. Freimann, 'Incunables about Jews and Judaism', in *Essays in honour of the Very Rev. Dr. J. H. Hertz [Sefer ha-yovel]* (London 1942), pp. 159-186; Israel Schapiro, 'Incunabula Judaica [of the Vollbehr Collection]', in *Report of the Librarian of Congress . . . 1931* (Washington 1931), pp. 312-314; and the two studies by Cecil Roth, 'Jewish Printers of Non-Jewish Books in the Fifteenth & Sixteenth Centuries' and 'A Jewish Printer in Naples, 1477', reprinted in his *Studies in Books and Booklore: Essays in Jewish Bibliography and Allied Subjects* (Westmead 1972), pp. 43-58 and 59-70 (in the latter arguing that a very rare edition of Dante held in the Rylands was issued by a Jewish printer, but this view is not now accepted). We have not checked the titles cited in these bibliographic discussions against the Rylands catalogue to determine if any of them beyond Schwarz's *Tractatus* are held in the library.

by Offenbergs number\*

- 11 Biblia Hebraica. 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. [Naples: Israel Joshua Soncino, 1492] (S)
- 12 Biblia Hebraica. 3<sup>rd</sup> ed. Brescia: Gershom Soncino, 1494 (S)
- 13 Biblia Hebraica. Pentateuch. Bologna: Abraham ben Hayim, 1482
- 27 Biblia Hebraica. Former Prophets, with commentary of David Kimhi. Soncino: Joshua Solomon Soncino, 1485 (S)
- 29 Biblia Hebraica. Latter Prophets, with commentary of David Kimhi. Soncino: Joshua Solomon Soncino, ca. 1485 (S)
- 34 Biblia Hebraica. Psalms. [Italy]: Joseph and Neriya Hayim etc., 1477
- 43 Biblia Hebraica. Proverbs, with commentary of Immanuel of Rome. [Naples: Joseph ben Jacob Gunzenhauser, 1487] (S)
- 46 Biblia Hebraica. Job, with commentary of Gersonides and Rashi, and Lamentations. Naples: [Joseph ben Jacob Gunzenhauser], 1487
- 51 Gersonides. Commentary on Job. [Ferrara]: Abraham ben Hayim, 1477
- 58 Immanuel of Rome. Mahberot. Brescia: Gershom Soncino, 1491 (includes signs of the Zodiac)
- 60 \*\* Isaac ben Solomon Ibn Sahula. Meshal ha-kadmoni. [Northern Italy]: Gershom Soncino, [ca. 1497?] (=the first fully illustrated Hebrew book)
- 79 Joseph ben Gorion [Gorionides]. Josipon. [Mantua]: Abraham Conat, 1475 (according to Alexander Marx, this is the only known copy of a book from Conat's press printed on parchment)
- 80 Judah ben Jehiel Messer Leon. Nofet tsufim. [Mantua]: Abraham Conat, ca. 1474-1475 (=second book from the Mantua Hebrew press, and first Hebrew book printed in the lifetime of the author)
- 83 Liturgy. Mahzor. Soncino/Casalmaggiore: Sons of Soncino, 1485-1486
- 88 Maimonides. Mishneh Torah. Soncino: Gershom Soncino, 1490
- 95 Moses of Coucy. Sefer Mitsvot gadol. [Soncino]: Gershom Soncino, 1488

\* According to Alexander Marx, 'The Literature of Hebrew Incunabula' in his *Studies in Jewish History and Booklore* (New York 1944; reprint Westmead 1969), p. 283, some 13 Hebrew incunabula are recorded in E. Gordon Duff's *Catalogue of the Printed Books and Manuscripts in the John Rylands Library* (Manchester 1899). Due to time constraint we have referenced neither this nor Dibdin's descriptive catalogue of the original Spencer collection at Althorp, *Bibliotheca Spenceriana* (London 1814-1823).

\*\* This is a possible 16<sup>th</sup> Hebrew incunable in the Rylands Library. Of uncertain date and place of printing, it has been reckoned by some bibliographers as having been printed (or begun in press) before 1500. For further details, see Appendix 30 below.

## THE EARLIEST ILLUSTRATED HEBREW BOOK IN THE JOHN RYLANDS LIBRARY

Another book in the Rylands collection, of uncertain date and place of printing, has been described by some bibliographers as an incunable, that is, as having been printed before 1500. This is the second edition of *Meshal ha-kadmoni*, a book of fables by the 13<sup>th</sup>-century Isaac ben Solomon Ibn Sahula of Guadalajara, which was – in either edition – one of the first printed secular works in Hebrew and the first illustrated Hebrew book. The first edition, printed by Gershom Soncino probably in Brescia in northern Italy ca. 1491, was one of the first two secular Hebrew texts. (The other was the poetical *Mahberot*, ‘notebooks’, by the late 13<sup>th</sup>-century Immanuel of Rome, printed by Gershom Soncino in Brescia earlier that same year.)

The edition of *Meshal ha-kadmoni* in the Rylands was heretofore described in the University of Manchester online catalogue as a post-incunable, with a question as to its title (‘Mascal Kadmoni?’ [sic]), with an erroneous place of printing and an assigned date not in the book (‘Constantinople 1506’), and without giving the name of the printer. However, upon autopsy by the present writer (who was intrigued by the entry in the online catalogue when he came across it), the book was correctly identified (in September 2017) as the second edition of Ibn Sahula’s work, issued by the same wandering Jewish printer Gershom Soncino who produced books in more than ten towns in Northern Italy in the late 15<sup>th</sup> and early 16<sup>th</sup> centuries. Although Soncino did settle decades later in the Ottoman East, first in Salonika and then in Constantinople, the book in question has no connection with Constantinople and was certainly printed in his Italian period, whether before or after the turn of the century.

Unlike the first edition, which provides no information on printer, place or date, the second edition provides at least the printer’s name. Indeed, the name is given explicitly in one of the earliest printer’s marks in any Hebrew book: a tower surrounded by two figures with the printer’s name, ‘Gershom the son of Moses the son of Israel of Soncino’, these words engraved on two strips flanking the top of the tower, with a biblical verse set in large type above and below the whole image, ‘A mighty tower is the name of the Lord; into it run the righteous and exalted’ (Proverbs 18:10). This elaborate device fills the frontispiece, that is, the recto of the first leaf. The place of printing had to be in Northern Italy, where the peripatetic Gershom was active in these years, but both that and the date remain the subject of hypothesis.

Some bibliographers and bibliographies in the wake of a reexamination of the book by Moses Marx (see below) have dated it ‘ca. 1497’, thus early in Soncino’s wanderings and prior to the inexplicable hiatus in Hebrew printing between ca. 1497 and 1503, just before and after which he was the only active Jewish printer in the world. This was against the view of the printing historians De-Rossi in Parma in the late 18<sup>th</sup> century and then Steinschneider in Oxford in the 19<sup>th</sup> who assigned the book to Gershom Soncino’s most productive albeit ever more nomadic period in the early 16<sup>th</sup> century, and specifically to his time in Fano or Pesaro between 1504 and 1507. Many of the subsequent bibliographies and catalogues give the place and date as ‘Fano? 1505?’, with or without a question mark in either detail.

Long before Marx, the assignation to Fano and an early 16<sup>th</sup>-century date had been accepted at the British Museum (later British Library) by Steinschneider’s elder contemporary J. Zedner, who in the *Catalogue of the Hebrew Books in the Library of the British Museum* (London, 1867; reprint 1964), p. 380, gives

[Fano? 1505?]; then by Frank Isaac, *An Index to the Early Printed Books in the British Museum* (London 1938), p. 129; and finally in the *Short-Title Catalogue of Books Printed in Italy and of Italian Books Printed in Other Countries from 1465 to 1600 now in the British Library* [prepared by A. F. Johnson et al.] (reprinted London 1986), p. 597, here giving 'Fano? 1505', now without any question as to the year.

De-Rossi and Steinschneider were also followed by Federico Sacchi in *I Tipografi ebrei di Soncino: Studi bibliografici* (Cremona 1877; reprint 1986), p. 37, who gives 'Fano? 1505?', although Giacomo Manzoni, *Annali tipografici dei Soncino* (Bologna 1885-1886), Vol. II, plate after p. 164, Vol. III, pp. xviii-xx and plate 2 after p. 504, seems to waver. Other expert Hebrew bibliographers accepted the later date: B. Wachstein in *Katalog der Salo Cohn'schen Schenkungen* [*Minhat Shelomoh*], Vol. II (Vienna 1914), pp. 131-133 (with a full-page reproduction of Gershom Soncino's unique printer's mark from this edition); A. Yaari in *Digle ha-madpisim ha-'ivriyim* [*Hebrew Printers' Marks from the Beginning of Hebrew Printing to the End of the 19<sup>th</sup> Century*] (Jerusalem 1943), p. 4, plate 5, and pp. 123-124; A. M. Haberman in *Sha'are sefarim 'ivrim* [*Title Pages of Hebrew Books*] (Safed 1969), pp. x-xi, 9, and 30, plate 16; and again emphatically Haberman in his introduction and annotated bibliography of editions which accompany the facsimile reprint of the first edition of *Meshal ha-kadmoni* (Jerusalem 1977), p. [8].

The second edition was first considered a late 15<sup>th</sup>-century book by Moses Marx in 'Gershom Soncino: Contributions to the History of His Life and His Printing,' in *Sefer ha-yovel li-khvod profesor Aleksander Marks* [*Tribute to Professor Alexander Marx*], ed. David Frankel (New York, 1943), pp. iii-iv. Marx then on his own authority introduced the book in 'A Catalogue of the Hebrew Books Printed in the Fifteenth Century now in the Library of the Hebrew Union College,' *Studies in Bibliography and Booklore* I (Cincinnati 1953), p. 33, no. 24. In Marx's prolix *History and Annals of Hebrew Printing in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries* (microfilm of typescript, Cincinnati 1982; bound paper copy held at the British Library and in the Valmadonna Trust Library), the book is described in vol. I/B among the Hebrew Incunabula, though he does acknowledge in a German note that 'Das Buch ist nirgendswos als Inkunabel bezeichnet' [This book is nowhere described as an incunable].

In a different German typescript draft of Marx's *Annalen des hebraeischen Buchdruckes in Italien 1501-1600* (prepared before or after his 1943 article?), the book was unambiguously listed and described in the section on Fano ('s.l.e.a.', but early 16<sup>th</sup> century), and he also makes mention of it as 'Fano ca. 1505' in his entry for the third edition of the book printed by Meir Parenzo at Venice ca. 1547. It seems from his painstakingly detailed chronicle, *Gershom Soncino's Wanderyears in Italy 1498-1527: Exemplar Judaicae Vitae* (s.l. 1969), pp. 42 and 74-75, that Marx himself eventually came to accept the place and date of printing as Fano or Pesaro ca. 1504-1507. In fact, he inserted a revised entry giving [Fano? 1506?] just after the incunable entry in the English draft of the *History and Annals* cited above. Nevertheless, Marx's flirtation with the earlier dating affected later bibliographic literature.

In consequence of Marx's bold inclusion of the second edition in his catalogue of Hebrew Union College incunabula, the book was listed in Frederick R. Goff, *Incunabula in American Libraries* (New York, 1964), p. 319, no. H-46 ('[about 1497]'). A skeleton entry for it was also included at some point in the unedited *Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke* archived in Berlin. In spite of the consensus of the aforementioned expert printing historians, most notably Yaari and Haberman (even after Marx's reasoned argument), that the book was produced in the early 16<sup>th</sup> century, the pre-1500 date was accepted successively in a number of standard bibliographies. In short, Marx's supposed second incunable edition of *Meshal ha-kadmoni* took on a life of its own.

Pace Zedner, David Goldstein included the edition in his census, *Hebrew Incunables in the British Isles* (though he was unaware of the Rylands copy). The supposed Hebrew date רנ"ז [i.e. 1496-1497] is likewise given in Y. Vinograd, *Otsar ha-sefer ha-ivri* [*Thesaurus of the Hebrew Book*] (Jerusalem 1993-1995), Part II, p. 19, Italy no. 9. The apotheotic incunabulization climaxed in A. K. Offenberg's detailed and quasi-definitive printing-historical study of Hebrew incunabula based on one of the world's largest collections, *Catalogue of Books Printed in the XVth Century now in the British Library: BMC Part XIII: Hebraica* ('t Goy-Houten, Netherlands, 2004), pp. LIX, 76 (cf. also 70-72), 220 and 223, where it is presumed to be printed 'somewhere in Italy about 1497'.

Even before Marx's claim, the uncertainty regarding the date was reflected in the entry in B. Friedberg, *Bet 'eked sefarim* [*Bibliographical Lexicon of the whole Hebrew and Jewish-German Literature ... printed in the years 1474-1950, with Hebrew Letters*] (reprint Israel s.a.), vol. 2, p. 687, no. 3893, where the place of printing and date are given as [Fano פ"ר], i.e. approximately 1499-1500, a well-meaning but fuzzy estimate which only adds to the confusion: Gershom Soncino is not known to have set up a press in Fano before 1502, nor is he known to have printed any books between 1498 and 1502 (inclusive). Gershom's last named place of printing before relaunching his press at Fano in 1503 was in the tiny castle of Barco in 1496, after which he completed another book at an unidentified place (Barco or elsewhere) in 1497, and he then spent some time in Venice and on the road before settling in Fano (Marx, *Wanderyears*, p. 10, n. 12).

In the entry on Fano in Posner and Ta-Shema's *The Hebrew Book* (Jerusalem 1975), p. 129, the whole range of possibilities for this edition is covered in a reference to the 15 books printed by Soncino in this north Italian town, including 'possibly Ibn Sahula's *Meshal ha-Kadmoni* (second edition with illustrations) which Soncino may have begun before 1500 while still in Brescia.' However, this suggested scenario is a bit off, as Soncino worked in Barco after Brescia, and, as noted, was at some point in Venice or travelling before setting up shop in Fano in 1502. If, per Posner and Ta-Shema, the second edition was begun in Brescia, Soncino would have had to carry during his dislocations, perhaps for as long as a decade, whatever portion of the book was already done, before completing it in Fano in 1503 or later. Although there are instances of books begun in one town and completed in another, even on rare occasion after an interval of decades (with a few outstanding examples in either category from the Soncino presses), one must be circumspect in positing so unlikely a trajectory.

Given all the bibliographic literature, one might well wonder at the 'Constantinople 1506' in the Rylands catalogue. This misidentification of the place of printing is in fact based on a flawed entry in an outdated reference work. In the pioneering and long-standard (and still consulted) bibliography of all Hebrew literature, Isaac Benjacob's *Otsar ha-sefarim* [*Thesaurus Librorum Hebraicorum/Bibliographie der gesammten hebraischen Literatur*] (Vilna 1880), p. 377, the first edition of *Meshal ha-kadmoni* is erroneously recorded as 'Soncino [sic] 1480 [sic]', and there is no mention at all of a second 'Soncino' or Italian edition around the turn of the century. Yet this supposititious 1480 edition, which would have been years before any member of the Soncino family launched a press, has its own history which led to its citation by Benjacob.

As is clear from the discussion of dubious editions ascribed to Gershom in Paolo Ceruti's *Biografia Soncinate* (1884), pp. 397-398, bibliographers up to De Rossi conflated the first two editions of *Meshal ha-kadmoni*, no one having seen both, though Ceruti does cotton on to the possibility of there being two separate editions. The late 18<sup>th</sup>-century De-Rossi, who assembled one of the greatest collections of early Hebraica at Parma, seems not to have had the first edition and one would conclude from his remarks that

details of the two editions have merged for him into one, which he assigned to the early 16<sup>th</sup> century. On the other hand, the early 20<sup>th</sup>-century printing historian David Amram, in *The Makers of Hebrew Books in Italy* (1909), pp. 140-141, lists the first edition among Soncino's books but not the second of which he was seemingly unaware.

When Benjacob recorded the second edition as 'Constantinople [sic!] 1506', he was following a blunder in *Bibliotheca Hebraea* (vol. 3, 1727) by the learned early 18<sup>th</sup>-century Christian Hebraist bibliographer Wolf who references a printed book found among the Huntington manuscripts in the Bodleian library at Oxford. Ironically, Oxford figures doubly in the bibliographic befuddlement surrounding this book. It was an old handwritten catalogue of the Oppenheimer collection (eventually acquired in 1829 by the Bodleian) which introduced the other impossible 'Soncino 1480' edition. In his chapter on non-existent and supposititious editions in *Annales Hebraeo-Typographici* (1790), p. 46, no. 23, De-Rossi called out both of these bloopers, yet it seems he himself didn't know there actually existed a ca. 1491 edition printed by Soncino, most likely at Brescia!

If Benjacob had access to Wolf's *Bibliotheca Hebraea* (1715-1733) and information from one of the old Oppenheimer catalogues,<sup>126</sup> he presumably did not have De-Rossi's books at his disposition when he penned the way-off-kilter listings for the first two editions of *Meshal ha-kadmoni*. Even Homer nods! (Even more surprising, despite his collaboration in Benjacob's project, Steinschneider must not have read the proofs.) And so it came to pass that the Rylands cataloguer, having consulted nought but Benjacob, was led down the garden path to Constantinople. He obviously assumed that if the book in hand was not the incunabular first edition printed in Soncino in 1480 (sic), and it was patently not the third edition printed by Parenzo in Venice ca. 1547, then it must be the Constantinople edition of 1506 (sic!) ...

As we know now, Gershom Soncino did near the end of his life settle in Constantinople where he continued to print from 1530, this long after his wanderings in northern Italy. Today the phantom Ottoman edition of 1506, cited by no lesser authorities than Wolf and Benjacob, is given no credence by bibliographers. In *Otsar ha-sefer ha-ivri* [*Thesaurus of the Hebrew Book*] (Jerusalem 1993-1995), Part II, p. 602, s.v. Kosta, no. 11, Vinograd calls Benjacob's supposed Constantinople edition 'doubtful' (a euphemism for 'no such edition exists'), and no such book is recorded or even mentioned in the definitive bibliography by A. Yaari, *Ha-Defus ha-ivri be-Kosta* [*Hebrew Printing in Constantinople*] (Jerusalem 1967). The imaginary edition lives on (for the moment) only in the Rylands catalogue.

The first editions of Ibn Sahula's *Meshal ha-kadmoni* are of particular printing- and art-historical significance. Although signs of the Zodiac accompany the text of Immanuel's *Mahberot*, the first and second editions of *Meshal ha-kadmoni* were the first two fully illustrated Hebrew printed books, and the images in these editions are the first woodcut illustrations in Hebrew printing. In fact, as is apparent from manuscripts, the book follows a pictorial tradition which goes back to the 13<sup>th</sup>-century Spanish author himself. What is more, aside from the iconography, the book contains the first scientific illustrations or astronomical diagrams in a Hebrew printed book (on the 5 leaves preceding the last 3 leaves), and the second edition contains one further astronomical line drawing which is missing in the first edition (Bienenfeld, p. 37).

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<sup>126</sup> On the various early hand-written and printed catalogues of Oppenheimer's library, see Alexander Marx, 'The History of David Oppenheimer's Library', in his *Studies in Jewish History and Booklore* (New York 1944; reprinted Westmead 1969), pp. 244-247.

That the printing of Hebrew scientific illustration began before 1500 with *Meshal ha-kadmoni* is an overlooked detail of scientific bibliography and Hebrew booklore, but the graphic art on the very first leaf is not. The elaborate device of Gershom Soncino found here and in no other book is one of the first Hebrew or Jewish printer's marks from the incunable or early post-incunable period, anticipating his much better known 'tower of Soncino' used first in Rimini in 1522 and later in Salonika and Constantinople. Moreover, the device in the second edition of *Meshal ha-kadmoni* is the first appearance of a printer's mark on the frontispiece of a Hebrew book (Yaari, p. 4).

The first edition of *Meshal ha-kadmoni* is very rare, with only 8 copies recorded in public institutions, at least 3 of them defective; the copy in the British Museum (now British Library) was described by Zedner, p. 380, as 'the only complete copy known'. The second edition is equally rare, with seven copies and a fragment of an eighth in public institutions in Europe and America: at the British Library in London, the Bodleian at Oxford, Parma, Turin, Leiden, Hebrew Union College in Cincinnati and the Jewish Theological Seminary in New York, aside from the Rylands' copy heretofore unnoticed by incunabulists. The copy in Vienna, highlighted by Wachstein, was lost along with most of the Israelitische Kultusgemeinde Bibliothek during the war.

Due to the rarity of the first two editions, the third issued by Meir Parenzo in Venice ca. 1547 is better known. (There are copies in the British Library, the Bodleian, and the Rylands.) The only independent Jewish printer in Venice in the 16<sup>th</sup> century, trained by Adelkind at Bomberg's press, Parenzo presented text and illustration handsomely, though for some reason his edition also bears no date. It is noteworthy that the first of the three editions was issued without the printer's name; the first two editions were printed without indication of place; and all three without dates. That it was a decidedly secular and perhaps transgressively illustrated book surely played a role in the printers' coyness as well as in the book's popularity and ultimate rarity.

Gershom (Hieronymus) Soncino's Italian period, prior to his flight from Italy and the reestablishment of his press in Ottoman Greece and Turkey, is fascinating in terms of its multi-cultural interactions. The totality of his output (over 200 volumes), his publication of secular as well as traditional religious Jewish texts, his introduction of illustration, woodcut pictures, printer's marks, frontispieces and title-page portals, his employ of the non-Jewish typecutter Francisco Griffo da Bologna, his typographic activity in Hebrew, Aramaic, Judeo-Italian, Latin, Italian and Greek (not to mention his pioneering use of Ethiopic type), and all in spite of his unhappy competition with Aldus and Bomberg, confirm his reputation as the premier Jewish printer of the Renaissance.

Soncino's use of printer's devices and illustration did not foreshadow a significant shift in the graphic presentation of Hebrew books. Nevertheless, his work has pride of place in the history of graphic art in Hebrew printing. His daring experimentation with text and image was all of a piece with his ambitious polyglot undertakings which were unparalleled by any Jewish printer or typographer for centuries. (A tantalizing detail is his supposed connection, directly or indirectly via Griffo, with the first printing in Arabic type at Pesaro in 1514; cf. Marx, *Wanderyears*, pp. 39-40, and Glaister, *Encyclopedia of the Book*, pp. 15-17). Soncino was certainly the most prolific and urbane of the series of Jewish printers who in diverse circumstances left Christian Europe and established Hebrew presses in the Ottoman East.

Our discussion of Soncino's *Meshal ha-kadmoni* is only preliminary and does not exhaust the entire incunabulistic and related bibliographic literature. For a bilingual edition of Sahula's text, see *Meshal Haqadmoni: Fables from the Distant Past: a Parallel Hebrew-English Text* [*Sefer Meshal Ha-Kadmoni*],

intro. and trans. Raphael Loewe (Oxford 2004). On the book and its illustrations (but without discussion of the second edition), see Esther Bienenfeld, *Meshal ha-Kadmoni by Isaac b. Solomon ibn Sahula [Brescia: Gershom Soncino, ca. 1491]: The Book and its Illustrations*, M.L.S. thesis, Graduate School of Library and Archive Studies, Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 1991. On *Meshal ha-kadmoni* in the context of fable books of East and West, see E. G. L. Schrijver's forthcoming catalogue of the Lindseth collection of this literary genre.

A facsimile of the first edition of *Meshal ha-kadmoni* (the title means 'the Fable of the Ancient One') was published in Jerusalem 40 years ago. Given its particular significance from so many perspectives, not least its unprecedented artistry, the second edition of this important incunable or post-incunable - of which the Rylands copy is flawless - should likewise be reproduced in physical as well as digital facsimile.

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second edition printed by Gershom Soncino  
(Northern Italy, ca. 1497-1507?)

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