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#### Front cover:

"The Holy Family with Attendants", *Muraqqa* (E14) in the collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, Lucknow school, mid-18th century, fragment of folio 91 a,  $10.0 \times 13.3$  cm. Watercolour, gouache.

## Back cover:

"The Madonna Praying before the Crusifix" (top left), "The Madonna of St.Luke" (top right) and "Ibrāhīm ibn Adham and Angels" (bottom), *Muraqqa* (E14) in the collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, attributed to Manohar Dās, Mughāl school, *ca*. 1590—1595, folio 53 a. Sizes: 6.0×7.2 cm, 2.8×5.8 cm, 14.8×19.5 cm. Watercolour, ink and gold on paper.

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## Sh. M. Iakerson

## HEBREW INCUNABULA COLLECTION IN THE LIBRARY OF THE JEWISH THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY OF AMERICA IN NEW YORK

Hebrew incunabula [2] form a comparatively small group of books, approximately 125-130 editions [3], which were printed in four countries — Italy, Spain, Portugal, and Turkey (Constantinople, one edition) - over the last 30 years of the fifteenth century. The history of European Jewry in the second half of the fifteenth century has been relatively well documented, the Hebrew manuscript book in the regions under discussion already had a firm tradition of colophons (with bibliographic information) by that time, and Hebrew incunabula themselves have received study for more than two hundred years [4]. Nevertheless, to this day a large number of questions remain about the emergence and genesis of Hebrew book-printing. At present, we still do not know where and when it arose, and in which of the countries enumerated above, not to mention who was the first Hebrew book-printer and which book was the Hebrew editio princeps [5]. Also, we do not possess a single serious monograph on Hebrew incunabula [6], a composite catalogue of Hebrew incunabula that meets contemporary scholarly standards, or even print catalogues of the largest collections [7]. Besides, the study of Hebrew incunabula has its myths and legendary figures. For example, we have documentary evidence of book-printers and publishers that has not been confirmed by information from books themselves, and books of anonymous production the origins of which cannot be clarified [8]. Many methodological problems still remain unsolved: how is one to distinguish incunabula from early paleotypes, how to identify individual bibliographic units in editions that have been preserved only in fragments, etc. Against this backdrop of a developing discipline, it seems especially timely to study and catalogue the largest collection of Hebrew incunabula, that of

כבדתיך בהרבות לך ספרים. ולא הצרכתיך לשאול ספר מאדם כאשר אתה רואה רוב התלמידים ישוטטו לבקש ספר ולא ימצאו. ואתה שבח לאלי משאיל ואינך שואל. וברוב הספרים יש לך שניים ושלישים. ויותר עשיתי לך ספרים מכל התכמות

"I have honoured thee by providing an extensive library for thy use, and have thus relieved thee of the necessity to borrow books. Most students must bustle about to seek books, often without finding them. But thou, thanks be to God, lendest and borrowest not. Of many books, indeed, thou ownest two or three copies. I have besides made for thee books on all sciences..." [1]

the Jewish Theological Seminary of America in New York (henceforth, the JTS). The Hebrew incunabula of the JTS [9] are known primarily through the composite cata-I logue of F. R. Goff "Incunabula in American Libraries. A Third Census of Fifteenth-Century Books Recorded in North American Collections" (New York, 1964; henceforth, Goff), and the University Microfilms International guide to the collection - "A Reel Guide to Hebrew Incunabula from the Library of the Jewish Theological Seminary of America. Reels 1-20" (Michigan, 1978). The Goff catalogue is in alphabetical order, but the descriptions of Hebrew incunabula are placed in a separate section (Goff, Heb, pp. 316-22). A brief description of each edition is accompanied by an indication of which American libraries hold copies. This has served and continues to serve as the basis for referring to the presence or absence of various incunabula in the collection of the JTS, or to the completeness of defectiveness of an edition.

In 1993, I was invited to the JTS to prepare a scholarly description of the collection and to work through unidentified print fragments with the aim of identifying fragments of incunabula and integrating them into the collection. In 1999, the work was completed and the catalogue was ready for print. Now, basing myself on the results of this work [10], I can confidently state that the information found in Goff and in "A Reel Guide" on the JTS collection of Hebrew incunabula is no doubt needs serious revising: books were bought and sold; some editions and fragments categorized by Goff as incunabula were shown by analysis, in my view, to be palaeotypes. Besides, the integration into the collection of more than 200 folios significantly changed the number of fragments listed by Goff [11].

As I have noted above, the collection of the JTS is at present the largest collection of Hebrew incunabula in the world and contains 127 editions. This is especially remarkable if we take into account that the library, for objective historical reasons, is significantly younger than the famed Hebrew collections of Europe (such as, for example, the Bodleian Library in Oxford, the British Library in London, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, the Biblioteca Palatina in Parma, or the collection of the Russian Academy of Sciences in St. Petersburg [12]), and it does not receive any state support, being merely the library of an educational institution that prepares, for the most part, specialists in Judaic studies and religious figures within conservative Judaism. Surely, one must admit that all quantitative information about Hebrew incunabula is rather conditional for both objective and subjective reasons. Since certain editions have survived only as unicums (single copies, usually defective), fragments, or simply individual

folios, it is not always possible to draw a line between parts of an edition or editions printed at the same printing-house in close chronological proximity. This is especially relevant when we discuss works which were known and published as parts of large collections and as individual books [13]. Moreover, there are individual editions and fragments which some specialists hesitate to attribute to the incunabula period (i.e. before January 1, 1525) [14]. It is even more complicated to determine the actual number of copies and fragments in any collection, and naturally this is true of such a "young" and diverse collection as the JTS. It contains no small number of "composite" books (that is, defective editions augmented by former owners or even by the library itself, by folios from other copies, usually with different margins and physical condition) and individual folios from various copies of the same edition which were grouped together in order to keep track of materials more easily, etc. [15].

### The history of the collection

The foundation of the incunabula collection under discussion (and the entire collection of manuscripts and rare books) was laid by the judge Mayer Sulzberger (b. in Heidelheim 1843 — d. in Philadelphia 1923), a faithful friend and sponsor of the JTS library. In 1903, he donated his personal library to the JTS; it included 500 manuscripts, 2,400 rare print books, among them 45 incunabula (at that time, the fifth largest collection of Hebrew incunabula in the world [16]). At the same time, Sulzberger acquired for the JTS the library of Solomon Joachim Halberstam from Bielitz (1832-1900), who was described by Prof. Alexander Marx as "one of the most scholarly collectors of the 19th century" [17]. The Halberstam library contained 5,500 books, around 200 manuscripts, and at least one incunabulum, a full copy of a luxurious edition of the Mishnah (Naples, printed by Joshua Solomon ben Israel Nathan Soncino, 1492; Goff, Heb-82, Census 92). Judge Sulzberger was not only a highly educated bibliophile, but also an enthusiast who dreamed of developing Judaic studies in the New World, where the Jewish population at that time was on the rise. He saw the creation of a Jewish library no less significant than the largest collections of the Old World as a way of making his dream come true, and he turned all his energy and capital to this aim. In donating two collections (his and Halberstam's), he wrote to Cyrus Adler, president of the JTS: "I hereby give to the Seminary a collection of about seventy five hundred (7,500) Hebrew and Jewish printed books and about seven hundred and fifty (750) Hebrew manuscripts [18], all of which I have lately caused to be placed in your building. They fairly represent the various branches of Jewish learning... My hope is that the Seminary may become the center for original work in the science of Judaism, to which end the acquisition of a great library is indispensable" [19].

Mayer Sulzberger was especially interested in creating a collection of Hebrew incunabula. Questions of acquiring incunabula were discussed quite often in his correspondence with the library's director, Prof. Alexander Marx, and in library reports on Sulzberger's specific donations [20]. Among the early-print books which made their way into the library thanks to Sulzberger's donations, one should note three examples of early Roman print [21], a unique fragment from Reggio di Calabria [22], an Italian prayerbook, a Passover *Haggadah* by the printers Soncino [23], and others.

The next library to add a substantial number of incunabula to the collection of the JTS was that of Elkan Nathan Adler (1861-1946) of London. It was acquired by the JTS in 1923. Elkan Nathan Adler belonged to one of England's best-known Jewish families. A lawyer, traveller, scholar, and collector, Adler gathered his unique collection of Judaica not only at European auctions and through booksellers, but during his numerous travels too [24]. Adler's collection, which became a part of the JTS, is known mainly by virtue of the materials it contains from the Cairo genizah [25], but the very size of the collection, which contains approximately 4,200 manuscripts and 300,000 print books, commands respect. As for incunabula, according to Adler himself, among these were "sixty incunables and leaves or fragments of other twenty-five" [26]. It is important that Adler's collection brought with it several extremely rare books: the only fragments in the world of two Neapolitan editions of the books of the Bible [27], a Rome edition of Moreh nevukim ("Guide of the Perplexed") of RaMBaM (Goff, Heb-80, Census 86) with extremely interesting manuscript glosses in the margins, first editions of treatises of the Babylonian Talmud in the Italian editions of Joshua Solomon Soncino and Spanish editions of Solomon ben Moses Halevi Alkabiz [28], etc.

In addition to these two large collections, incunabula entered the library from other sources. I note here the most important of these:

1. The personal library of Moses Stenschneider (1816—1907), founder of Jewish bibliography. It was acquired for the JTS by Jacob H. Schiff (1847—1920), Life Director of the JTS. The Stenschneider collection contained 4,500 print books, 30 manuscripts, and several incunabula, in particular, a book of poems by Imanuel of Roma *Mahbarot* (Brescia, 30 Oct. 1491; Goff, Heb-43, Census 58).

2. Financial contributions from the son of Jacob H. Schiff, Mortimer L. Schiff (1877-1931), thanks to which

the library acquired two extremely important incunabula the only copy of the Sephardic prayer-book *Mahzor leyiom hakippurim* ("Prayers for the Day of Atonement"; Goff, Heb-72, Census 84) and a fragment (17 folios) of the codex *Tur yoreh de'ah* (Teacher of Knowledge) of Jacob ben Asher, published in Guadalajara in around 1480 (Goff, Heb-57; Census 71).

3. The collection of Hyman G. Enelow (1877—1934), rabbi of the New York synagogue Temple EmanuEl and one of the founders of reform Judaism in the US. This collection holds editions by the printers Soncino, in particular, the treatise *Hullin* (of profane things), published by Joshua Soncino in 1489 (Goff, Heb-109; Census 126), and others.

Many people and various factors played a notable role in shaping the JTS incunabula collection, but I have no doubts that the key figure who made possible the creation of such a collection was the library's long-time director, Prof. Alexander Marx (1878-1953). His figure deserves a few biography remarks. Marx was born in Eberfeld (Germany) and grew up in Königsberg, where he completed gymnasium and university, and later finished his religious education in Berlin at the famed Hildesheimer Rabbinical Seminary. Among his teachers there were members of the German "wing" of Jewish studies, Abraham Berliner (1833-1915), the rector of the Seminary and Marx' future father-in-law, David Hofman (1845-1912), and, of course, the above-noted Moses Steinschneider, under whose direction Marx worked for two years in the Staatsbibliothek of Berlin. In 1903, the 25-year-old scholar received an advantageous offer from the President of the JTS, Prof. Solomon Schehter (1847-1915), to occupy two vacant positions: professor of history and librarian. Marx accepted the offer and came to New York in late 1903 [29]. I must confess that while studying the collection and drawing up a scholarly description, when I encountered Marx' comments on incunabula and his notes in inventory books or read the reports of the library and his scholarly articles, I could not help thinking of him. I tried to imagine the inner world of the man whose selfless labour gathered all of these books together into a single collection. The young Marx, who began his long career at the JTS, strikes me as a scholar who inherited all of the best that had been accumulated at that time by the German school of Oriental studies: a broad grounding in history, philosophy, religious law (*halakhah*), a profound knowledge of the sources, both classical and modern languages, and a certain pedantry and scrupulousness in his work.

Marx was the director of the JTS library for 50 years and succeeded in realizing Sulzberger's dream of creating in the New World a library not inferior, but in some ways even superior, to the well-known European collections. As a student of Steinschneider and a Hebraist with broad interests, all written works were important to Marx - fragments from the genizah, documents, manuscripts and earlyprint books. But as director of the library, Marx had a firm policy on shaping a collection in which he indubitably granted incunabula an important place. Clearly, it is impossible to gather in one place all Hebrew manuscripts or print books, but one can try to create as full as possible a collection of Hebrew print books of the fifteenth century (the period when not only the manner of production, but the form of books, underwent gradual change). For this reason, Marx was especially interested in acquiring incunabula. One should note that Alexander Marx, like his brother Moses Marx (1885-1973) [30], had a scholarly interest in the study of incunabula. Alexander Marx was the author of a number of interesting articles [31] and the first bio-bibliography in this area -- "The Literature of Hebrew Incunabula" (in his Studies in Jewish History and Booklore, New York, 1944, pp. 277-95). As I have already written, before Marx, there were only two incunabula in the library; Marx succeeded in creating a collection that numbered more than 100 editions. But in addition to this, Marx personally donated to the library one of the rarest incunabulum-unicums, Maimonide's Hilhot shehitah ("Laws of Slaughtering"; Goff, Heb-75, Census 85). The significance of Marx' work for the JTS was accurately described by Herman Dicker: "Shechter's invitation to Alexander Marx to come to New York and become professor of history and librarian must have struck the young man as a great honour, but ultimately the honour redounded to the Seminary" [32].

#### Basic description of the collection

The significance of the JTS incunabula collection is naturally not limited to its size. The collection displays a number of qualities which have made it, in essence, the main scholarly basis for studying the emergence of Jewish book-printing. The collection contains in full (e.g. editions from Rome, Lisbon, and Leiria) or almost in full (e.g. editions from Brescia, Mantua, Soncino, Guadalajara) the production of all currently known Jewish printing-houses and nearly all individual editions [33] (anonymous editions which cannot be identified on the basis of indirect evidence as the production of any particular known printinghouse [34]). As a result, the JTS collection can be seen today as a unique thesaurus of Hebrew typefaces and decorative graphics used in the fifteenth century. The collection contains a number of books not found in other American libraries [35] (see Appendix, numbers marked with one asterisk) and nine unicums (see Appendix, numbers marked with two asterisks):

1. [Mishneh torah]. Hilkot shehitah ("Laws of Slaughtering"). [Lisbon: Eliezer Toledano], ca. 1492 (Goff, Heb-75, Census 85). Only one copy and one fragment of this small and extremely popular book have survived; both are in the collection of the JTS [36].

2. Mahzor leviom hakippurim ("Prayers for the Day of Atonement"). [Spain or Portugal?], *ca.* 1490 (Goff, Heb-72, Census 84) [37]. An elegant edition in elongated form. This copy belonged to a member of the illustrious Italian Jewish family Finzi from the city of Carpi in northern Italy [38].

3. Leaf from the book of Aharon haKohen from Lunel 'Orhot hayim (Paths of Life) [Spain or Portugal?], *ca.* 1490. (Goff, Heb-2, Census 2) [39].

4. RaShi's Commentary on the Pentateuch. [Zamora: Samuel Musa], (?) 1487 or 1492. This copy has an unusual history. It belonged to a famous Italian bibliographer and collector, Leon Vita Saraval (1771—1851) [40]. In 1853, the Saraval family's library was acquired by the Judisch-Theologisches Seminar of Breslau (today's Wrocław, Poland). The library was looted during the fascist occupation and the copy in question was considered lost for many years [41]. In 1950, it was acquired by L. Rabbinovich from Mr. A. Ochs [42] and donated to the JTS library.

5. Pentateuch with *haftarot*. [Napoli: Jehoshua Solomon ben Israel Nathan Soncino], *ca.* 1492 (Goff, Heb-17, 1, Census 20). In-folio. 13 individual folios (9 folios from the book of the Pentateuch and two from the *haftarot*). Folios from the Adler collection are bound together [43].

6. Pentateuch? [44] [Napoli: Jehoshua Solomon ben Israel Nathan Soncino], *ca.* 1492 (Goff, Heb-16, 1, Census 21). In-oktavo. Three folios (one from the book of Genesis and two from Exodus).

7. Book of Psalms [Napoli: Jehoshua Solomon ben Israel Nathan Soncino], *ca.* 1492 (Goff, Heb-31, 1, Census 40). In-12°. 13 folios, Adler collection [45].

8. Calendar for (5)257/(1497) [Barco (?): Gershom ben Moses Soncino], *ante* 1497 (Goff, Heb-3, Census 5). Sulzberger collection.

9. *Mahzor* (Festival Prayers) [Italy: Gershom ben Moses Soncino], *ante* 1500 (Goff, Heb-127) [46]. In-12°. 18 folios (14 from the treatise 'Abot and 4 from the liturgy of Judgment day. Adler collection.

In addition to indicating the uniqums listed above, some important things must be taken into account in the modern study of Hebrew incunabula. First, this is unique examples of the employment of certain materials for printing certain editions. We know that books were copied and printed in Europe during the period on two types of material: parchment and European paper. There are also cases when the print run of an edition was printed partly on parchment (a more solid, long-lasting, and naturally, expensive material) and partly on paper. Today we know of parchment copies of 35 editions [47], of which 10 are held in the JTS, and four of which are found only in our collection. These are: (i) the second volume (Yoreh de'ah) of the four-volume compendium 'Arba'ah turim of Jacob ben Asher [Solomon ben Moses Soncino, ca. 1490; Goff, Heb-48, Census 62]; (ii) the first three books of the medical Canon of Ibn Sina [Napoli: Azriel ben Joseph Ashkenazi Gunzenhauser, 1492; Goff, Heb-4, Census 6]; (iii) a fragment (2 folios only) from the Book of Psalms [Spain or Portugal: Shem Tov Ibn Halaz (?), ca. 1490; Goff, Heb-126, 3]; (iv) a fragment (2 folios only) from the Mishneh torah of Maimonides [Spain or Portugal: Moses Ben Shealti'el, ca. 1491-92; Goff, Heb-78, Census 89].

Among paper copies we note the only copies of the prayer-book *Tefillat yahid* and the Passover Haggadah published in Soncino, apparently by Joshua Solomon ben Israel Nathan Soncino in 1486 [48]. They have been preserved only in two defective copies, a parchment copy at the British Library and a paper one in the JTS.

Second, certain extant Hebrew incunabula are represented in the JTS collection in the most complete copies. The best example is an edition of the Commentary on the Pentateuch by Behai ben Asher [Spain or Portugal: Shem Tov Ibn Halaz, 1491; Goff, Heb-5, Census 7]. This rare example of Sephardic printing has been preserved only in three defective copies: a copy at the Jewish National and University Library in Jerusalem (around 100 fols.) [49]; a copy at Hebrew Union College in Cincinnati (124 fols.) [50]; and our copy, which is more than three times as complete and contains 411 folios. The size of our copy permitted me — correctly, I hope — to reconstruct it and rectify certain inaccuracies in the structure of the quires as given in the Hebrew Union College description [51].

Third, the collection contains various copies and fragments of the same edition. As I wrote above, the collection took shape on the basis of two large private collections that were pooled and a relatively large number of individual copies and fragments. This composition allows us to conduct an effective comparative analysis of typographic changes (mainly in the type-setting of the text) within a single edition. For example, an edition of the Pentateuch with Aramaic translation *Onkelos* and commentary by Rashi [Lisbon: Eliezer Toledano, 1491; Goff, Heb-20, Census 17] is found in the library in four copies: two paper and two parchment. A comparative study of these copies shows that there are significant differences between the parchment and paper copies in the form of additions, corrections, the use of various typefaces, running titles, etc.

Hence, it becomes clear why the JTS collection was and is such an important source for the multi-faceted study of incunabula, book-printing, and philology. I note here several studies: first and foremost, the work of A. Marx himself and his deputy Isaak Rivkind (1895-1968). Rivkind was a folklore specialist, Yiddish specialist, and ethnographer who published a series of articles under the general title Dikdukke sefarim ("Details about Books"). In these, he based himself on copies from the JTS collection and studied the typographic variant readings in incunabula and palaeotypes [52]. Copies from the JTS were used by Louis Finkelstein to prepare a critical edition of the commentary of David Kimhi on the Book of Isaiah [53], by Elazar Hurvitz to publish a critical text of Maimonide's Mishneh torah [54], and by Isaak Penkover to study the Masoretical tradition of the Biblical text [55] and others. Alexander Marx frequently stressed in his library reports that the collection's materials were actively employed by A. Freiman and Moses Marx in drawing up an encyclopaedia of typefaces and decorative elements in Hebrew incunabula, the Thesaurus typographiae hebraicae saeculi XV, and in preparing the description of Hebrew incunabula in the "Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke" [56]. I note also that our materials were one of the main sources for a composite of Sephardic print fragments of the Talmud drawn up by Haim Dimitrovsky [57]. A relatively large number of copies have been published in facsimile. For example, the Sephardic editions of various parts of the Mishneh torah [58], the richly illustrated Meshal hakadmoni (Proverb of the Ancients) of Isaak Ibn Sahula, A Book of Eldad ha-Dani [59], etc.

To conclude our discussion of the JTS collection, it is important to mention the accessibility of the collection to readers. The JTS library is open to the broadest circle of researchers, and virtually all of the incunabula have been microfilmed and, consequently, are available for viewing outside the library. The staff of the Special Collections reading room are extremely competent and, what is no less important, eager to help. One can only hope that the catalogue I have prepared will be published in the near future and that this publication not serve as an end in itself, but rather an impetus for renewed study.

No.	Goff/Guide	Update data	No.	Goff/Guide	Update data
1	сору	copy & leaf [61]	64	2 copies	idem
2** <sup>1</sup>	leaf	idem	65	сору	idem
3**	leaf	idem	66	2 copies	idem & leaf
4	2 copies.	3 copies & 2 fols.	67	2 copies	idem & 3 fols.
5	copy & 4 fols.	idem	68	сору	idem
6	сору	2 copies & 5 fols.	69	сору	idem & leaf
7	2 copies	idem	70	сору	idem & 2 fols.
8 [62]	14 fols.	copy & 18 fols.	71*	сору	idem
9	copy & 14 fols.	2 copies & 64 fols.	72**	сору	idem
10	copy & 23 fols.	copy & 30 fols.	73	3 copies, 1-comprising 'Pirke Abot' only	idem & 14 fols.
11	сору	copy & 9 fols.	74	copy. After 13 Oct. 1503 [63]	not included
12	24 fols.	idem	75**	сору	idem & 2 fols.
13	3 fols.	5 fols.	76	сору	2 copies
14 [64]	4 fols.	idem	77	сору	2 copies & 19 fols
15	18 fols.	17 fols.	78*	copy & 2 fols.	copy & 3 fols.
16,1	3 fols.	idem	79, 1*	10 fols.	21 fols.
16,2	fragm.	idem	79,2*	25 fols.	26 fols.
16,3	6 fols.	8 fols.	80	2 copies	сору
16,4	leaf	unconfirmed <sup>2</sup>	81	сору	copy & 2 fols.
16,5	2 fols.	unconfirmed	82	3 copies	idem & 13 fols.
16,6	2 half leaves	unconfirmed	83	сору	idem
17,1**	11 fols.	idem	84	сору	idem
17,2	33 fols.	33 fols. & half leaf	85	сору	idem
18	2 [65] copies	copy & 6 fols.	86	сору	idem
19	copy & 25 fols.	copy & 27 fols.	87	сору	idem & 9 fols.
20	3 copies	4 copies	88	сору	idem & 11
21	copy & 8 fols.	copy & 11 fols.	89	сору	idem
22	2 [66] copies	copy & leaf	90	сору	copy & 2 fols.
23	сору	copy & 4 fols.	91	сору	idem
24	3 copies	2 copies & 6 fols.	92*	сору	idem
25	сору	copy & leaf	93*	2 fols.	idem
26	copy & separates of Job and Chronicles	idem	94* [67]	3 fols.	idem
27*	26 fols.	33 fols.	94a [68]	сору	idem & 11
28	сору	idem	94b [69] **	сору	idem
29	2 copies	idem	95	copy idem	
30 [70]	19 fols.	missing	96*	сору	idem
31,1*	13 fols.	idem	98	2 copies & 23 fols.	2 copies & 28 fols.

Comparative	table of	the c	ollection	[60]

## Continuation of the comparative table

No.	Goff/Guide	Update data	No.	Goff/Guide	Update data
31,2*	l leaf	missing	99	copy & 2 fols., var	idem
31,3*	2 fols.	see No. 124	100*	3 fols.	copy & 3 fols.
32*	5 fols.	idem	101*	сору	idem & 4 fols.
33*	сору	idem	102*	сору	idem
34	сору	copy & 5 fols.	103,1*	leaf	idem
35	сору	copy & 13 fols.	103,2*	leaf	idem
36	сору	copy & 11 fols.	104*	45 fols.	43 fols.
37	сору	copy & 5 fols.	105	—	2 fols.
38*	2 fols.	copy [71] & 2 fols.	106*	сору	idem
39	сору	idem	107*	11 fols.	13 fols.
40	2 copies	2 copies & leaf	108*	7 fols.	6 fols.
41	сору	idem	109	сору	idem & 9 fols.
42*	сору	idem	110,1	2 fols.	_
43	2 copies	idem	110,2*	3 fols.	4 fols.
44*	7 fols.	15 fols.	111	сору	copy & 6 fols.
45*	сору	idem	112*	2 fols.	7 fols.
46	сору	idem	113*	10 fols.	14 & I [72]
47	1, 2 copies; II; IV; & 2 fols.	I, II, IV & 2 fols.	114	3 fols.	_
48	I—IV; also II	idem & 12 fols.	115	сору	idem
49	сору	copy & 14 fols.	117*	23 fols.	23 & 1 [73]
50	сору	idem	118	6 fols.	
51	сору	copy & 2 fols.	119*	17ff	12 fols.
52*	5 fols.	7 fols.	120*	сору	idem
53*	сору	copy & 4 fols.	121*	3 fols.	unconfirmed
54*	сору	2 copies & 2 fols.	122*	сору	<i>idem</i> & 1 fol.
55*	fols. 1-40	idem & leaf	123	2 copies	unconfirmed
56	сору	idem & leaf	124	сору	idem & 6 fols.
57*	17 fols.	idem	125	сору	unconfirmed
58	2 fols.	3 fols.	126,1	10 fols.	unconfirmed
59 [74]	21 fols.	idem	126,2	8 fols.	unconfirmed
60* [75]	23 fols.	missing	126,3*	2 fols.	idem
61	2 copies	сору	126,4	4 fols.	unconfirmed
62	сору	idem	126,5	leave	unconfirmed
63	сору	idem	127*	18 fols.	24 fols.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> In the Appendix, one asterisk is used to indicate the only copy in America, while two asterisks — a unique copy in the world. <sup>2</sup> The word 'unconfirmed' is used to indicate an edition which, in my opinion, is not an incunabulum.

## Supplement

The list of Hebrew incunabula in the library of the JTS, which are absent in Goff and Reel Guide:

1. Jedaiah ben Abraham Bedersi ha-Penini, *Behinat ha-'olam* ("Examination of the World"), [Mantua: Estelina, the wife of Abraham Conat, and Jacob Levi di Tarascona], *ca.* 1474—1478(?), (Census 75). This incunable is preserved at the Schoken Institute for Jewish Research of the JTS in Jerusalem, and, for this reason, it has not been included in Goff's catalogue despite the fact that the incunable is the property of the library of the JTS.

2. (Biblia Hebraica) *Torah* (Pentateuch), *hamesh megillot* ("Five Scrolls"), *haftarot* (Readings from the Prophets). [Brescia: Gershom Soncino], 1493 (Census 22). One copy of this edition is preserved in the Library of the JTS but is not its property.

3. Fragment, only part of one leaf of Moses ben Maimon (RaMBaM; 1138—1204), *Mishneh torah* ("Codification of Talmudic Law"), [*Yad Ha-Hazakah* ("Strong Hand")]. Introduction (without continuation?). [Spain or Portugal: press of 'Orhot Hayyim'], *ca.* 1480—1490. The exact number of leaves is unknown (at least 16 leaves). The edition was not included either in Census of Offenberg. For facsimile edition of surviving leaves, see in E. Hurvitz, *Mishneh Torah of Maimonides*. A facsimile of an unknown edition printed in Spain before the exile... (New York, 1985), pp. 1—32.

#### Notes

1. "The will of Iehuda Ibn Tibbon" (approx. 1120 — after 1190), Hebrew Ethical Wills. Selected and Edited with Introduction by Israel Abrahams (Philadelphia, 1954), p. 57.

2. I remind readers that incunabula are books printed with the so-called Gutenberg method (with the aid of moveable metal letters) in the period before January 1, 1501. Hebrew books in the context of bibliographical, codicological and palaeographical studies are books of any content and in any language copied or printed in the letters of the Hebrew alphabet.

3. The exact number of printed books is not known. One can only note that P. Tishby (Jewish National and University Library) remarks in the foreword to a description of Hebrew incunabula that he "already [has] (in the original or on microfilms from various libraries) more than 140 Hebrew incunabula which have been identified without any doubt".

(תשבי, פ. "דפוסי-ערש (אינקונבולים) עבריים. תיאור ביבליוגרפי מפורט של הספרים העבריים שנדפסו עד סוף שנת 1500 בצירוף

צילום סימני מים ופקסימילים של עמודים מיוחדים. [1]. איטליה-רומא', קרית ספר נח (1898]=1985]), עמ' 8.08). A. K. Offenberg (Bibliotheca Rosenthaliana) includes in his inventory of Hebrew incunabula 139 editions (1–114, 114 bis, 10–138). See Hebrew Incunabula in Public Collections. A First International Census. Completed by A. K. Offenberg. In collaboration with C. Moed-Van Wakraven (Nieuwkoop, 1990); henceforth – Census.

4. The study of Hebrew incunabula began with the work of the Italian Hebraist Giovanni Bernardo De Rossi (1742–1831 De hebraice typographica origine ac primitiis seu antiquis ac rarissimis hebraicorum librorum editionibus seculi XV disquisitio historicocritica... (Parmae, 1776); Annales hebraeo-typographici sec. XV. Descripsit fisoque commentario illustravit ... 1795, etc. For a detailed description of the development of Hebrew incunabula studies, see the overviews of A. Marx "The literature of Hebrew incunabula", in his Studies in Jewish History and Booklore (New York, 1944), pp. 277–95; A. K. Offenberg, "Literature on Hebrew incunabula since the Second World War", in his A Choice of Corals (Nieuwkoop, 1992), pp. 1–41. See also the bibliography of Hebrew incunabula: ...

'ביבליוגרפיה כוללת על אודות דפוסי-ערש (אינקונבולים) עבריים', קרית ספר סג/ב (תש"ני-תש"נ), עמ' 5.02-579. 5. We can today state with some confidence that Hebrew book-printing arose at the end of the 60s in Rome and that the first Hebrew printers were Obadiah, Menasseh and Benjamin of Rome (for more detail, see M. Marx "On the date of appearance of the first printed Hebrew books", *Alexandr Marx Jubilee Volume*. I: English section (New York, 1950), pp. 481–501). There is no consensus on the order in which books were printed in the first Roman printing-house: in my view, we do not have sufficient information to solve the problem. But one should note that the dictionary of rabbi David Kimhi *Shorashim* ("Roots"), see A. K. Offenberg, "The earliest Hebrew printed books", *Newsletter [of the] British Library, Oriental and India Office Collections*, XLVIII—XLIX (autumn 1993), pp. 10—1.

6. One should note that an attempt at a comprehensive description of Hebrew incunabula was undertaken by the above-mentioned Israeli scholar P. Tishby in a series of articles in the journal *Kiryat Sefer* (Nos. 58, 60–64) and in the journal *Ohev Sefer* (No. 1). Unfortunately, the work was not completed; only 40 descriptions were published. The most important reference work on Hebrew incunabula is Offenberg's Census. It contains, however, only brief bibliographic descriptions of editions.

7. There is, it is true, hope that this gap will be filled in the future: Prof. A. Offenberg has nearly completed a catalogue of the collection in the British library, and the author of the present article — a catalogue of the JTS collection.

8. I provide a few examples: we know of a 1446 agreement reached in Avignon between the Prague jeweller Procopius Waldfoghel and the Jewish fabric dyer Davin de Caderousse that the former would prepare the letters of the Hebrew alphabet from metal and teach the dyer the "art of artificial writing" (*ars artificialiter scribendi*). But, naturally, no traces of any book-printing activity were preserved in Avignon for the period (for more detail, see P. Pansier, *Histoire du livre et de l'imprimerie à Avignon. Du XIV au XVI siècle*, i (Nieuwkoop, 1966); in the Rome archive, documents from 1485 and 1497 have been preserved in which several names are mentioned that are entirely unknown in the history of Hebrew book-printing. Cf. R. Di Segni, "'Nuovi dati sugli incunaboli ebraici di Roma', un Pontificato ed una citta Sisto IV (1471—1484)", *Atti del convegno Roma*, III—VII (1984), pp. 291—304. In the history of the Spanish Inquisition, we know of a *marano*, Juan de Lucena, who was accused in absentia, on the basis of testimony from numerous witnesses, of printing Jewish books in Toledo and Montalban. But we have no serious cause to believe that his printing-house actually existed. About him see J. Bloch, "Early Hebrew printing in Spain and Portugal", *Bulletin of the New York Public Library*, 42 (1938), pp. 370—420. Reprinted in *Hebrew Printing and Bibliography* (New York, 1976), pp. 5—54.

9. The JTS library also has a fairly interesting collection of Latin incunabula, mainly on topics linked to Judaism. In particular, the collection contains a fragment (the Book of Esther, 8 folios) of the famed 42-line Gutenberg Bible (Goff, B-526). This collection, of course, lies beyond the bounds of this article.

10. That is, January 1, 2000.

11. See the Appendix (Comparative table of the collection) in the present issue.

12. One should note that the JTS library also has the largest collection of Hebrew manuscripts in the world. According to the latest count, it holds more than 10,620 manuscripts and 40,000 genizah fragments. I thank the library's curator of special collections, rabbi Schwarzbard, who conveyed this information to me. See B. Richler, *Guide to Hebrew Manuscript Collections* (Jerusalem, 1994), about 10,000 manuscripts and 24,000 leaves (p. 132).

13. For example, the Book of Psalms, Passover Haggadah or Mishnah treatise 'Avot ("Saying of the Fathers") was printed separately and in prayer-books.

14. For example, an edition of a 31-line Bible which is identified by some researchers (myself included) as an Italian incunabulum (Goff, Heb-11; GW (Add) 4199/10); others believe it to be an early palaeotype. Cf. L. Goldschmidt, *Hebrew Incunables. A Bibliographical Essay* (Oxford, 1948), p. 68.

15. A sample of this type of editions can serve the fourth volume — *Hoshen ha-mishpat* ("Breastplate of Judgement") — of Halakhic codex by Jacob ben Asher '*Arba*'ah turim ("Four Orders of the Code of Law") [Piove di Sacco: Meshullam Quzi and his sons, 3 July 1475; Goff, Heb-47, Census 61]. The copy of JTS consists of 161 leaves, lacking the blank fols. 41, 151, 163, 165, 166. Originally the copy consisted of fols. 1—149, 164. The additional leaves were added later in two grouping: (1) fols. 150—158; (2) fols. 159—162; the margins of these leaves are wider and were folded to fit the dimensions of the other leaves.

16. The British Museum — 75 editions; Oxford — 67; Frankfurt — 56; Parma — 61 (data according to J. Jacobs, "Incunabula", *The Jewish Encyclopaedia*, vi, p. 577).

17. A. Marx, "Some Jewish book collectors", in his Studies in Jewish History and Booklore, p. 230.

18. I note that at that time the entire collection of the library was approximately 5,250 books, of which two were incunabula (I was, unfortunately, unable to identify them) and three manuscripts.

19. Cited according to A. Marx, Bibliographical Studies and Notes on Rare Books and Manuscripts in the Library of the Jewish Theological Seminary of America, ed. with introduction by Menahem H. Schmelzer. Foreword by Gerson D. Cohen (New York, 1977), p. 90.

20. The Mayer Sulzberger Alexander Marx Correspondence 1904–1923, edited and annotated by Herman Dicker (New York, 1990). Cf., for example, Sulzberger's letters to Marx Nos. 2, 4, 9, 17, 26, 67, 76a, 80, 137, 145, 149, 186, 246 and Marx' letters to Sulzberger Nos. 3, 11, 21, 25, 27–30, 32, 33, 35, 39, 63, 73, 75, 87, 91, 97, 99, 124, 125.

21. Commentary on the Pentateuch of RaMBaM [Rome: Obadiah, Menasseh and Benjamin of Rome, *ca.* 1469—1472; Goff, Heb-86, Census 96]; Commentary on the Pentateuch of RaSHI [*idem*, Goff, Heb-92, Census 111]; Great Book of Precepts of Moses ben Jacob of Coucy [Rome: *ante* 1475; Goff, Heb-84, Census 94].

22. Commentary on the Pentateuch of RaSHI [Reggio di Calabria: Abraham ben Isaak Ben Garton, 17 February 1475; Goff, Heb-93, Census 112]. This unique edition has been preserved only in a single copy (held in the Biblioteca Palatina of Parma) and in the fragment in question.

23. Tefillat yahid ("Personal Prayers"), Roman rite, [Soncino: Joshua Solomon ben Israel Nathan Soncino, 7 April 1486; Goff, Heb-120, Census 138]; Passover Service. [Idem, Goff, Heb-42, Census 54]. Both of these editions have been preserved only in two copies. The second is in the British Library.

24. In the foreword to the catalogue of manuscripts from his collection. Adler described the geography of his travels as follows: "Egipt and Palestina were visited in 1888, 1895—6, 1898 and 1901... In 1892, 1894 and 1900 visits to Morocco... Visits to Algiers in 1905... to Persia in 1896, and Central Asia in the following year... Aleppo in 1898... to Constantinople and the Balkans an 1888 and 1913; to Spain and Portugal in 1892, 1894, 1900, and 1903; to South America in 1902—3, to North America five times during the present century, to Russia also six times, and to India and Aden in 1906". See [E. N. Adler, A. Marmorstein], *Catalogue of Hebrew Manuscripts in the Collection of Elkan Nathan Adler* (Cambridge, 1921), p. V.

25. Genizah (()) — a place of "burying" out of use Jewish books and ritual items. The most famous genizah was found in an ancient synagogue (known as the Shamyin, Elijah, Moses or Ezra Synagogue) in Fustat (Old Cairo, Egypt) in the late nineteenth century. The Cairo genizah numbered more than 200,000 leaves, fragments and manuscripts. The discovery of this genizah caused a real revolution in the field of Hebrew studies which can be compared only with the discovery of ancient manuscripts in the Qumran caves. E. N. Adler visited Fustat in 1896, a few months earlier than the discovery of the genizah was made by Solomon Schehter, who had then a chance to visit for a short time the genizah and to bring to England about 30,000 fragments.

26. E. N. Adler, "The Hebrew treasures of England", Jewish Historical Society of England. Transactions, VIII (1915-1917), p. 16.

27. Pentateuch with haftarot (selections from the Prophets) [Naples: Joshua Solomon ben Israel Nathan Soncino, ca. 1492; Goff, Heb-17, 1, Census 20]; Book of Psalms [idem; Goff, Heb-31, 1, Census 40].

28. For example, from the Soncino editions of Joshua Solomon Soncino: Ketubbot (on marriage Settlement; Goff, Heb-111, Census 129), Gittin (on divorces; Goff, Heb-106, Census 123), Niddah (on menstruation; Goff, Heb-115, Census 131); unique fragments from the Guadalajara editions: Berahot (on blessings; Goff, Heb-103, 2, Census 118), Yoma (on Day of Atonement; Goff, Heb-119, Census 137). I note in passim that Adler wrote scholarly works on the treatises of the Babylonian Talmud, see Adler, "The Hebrew treasures of England", pp. 1–18; *idem*, "Talmud incunables of Spain and Portugal", *Jewish Studies in Memory of George A. Kohut* (New York, 1935).

29. It is interesting that Marx' work on forming the JTS library in fact began even earlier, in Europe. Judge Sulzberger appealed to him with a request to visit Bielitz and convey his opinion of the above-mentioned library of Solomon Joachim Halberstam, which he intended to acquire for the JTS.

30. Moses Marx was a professor at Hebrew Union College in Cincinnati. He wrote the above-mentioned article on the emergence of Hebrew book-printing (see n. 4), an excellent "Catalogue of the Hebrew books printed in the fifteenth century now in the Library of the Hebrew Union College", *Studies in Bibliography and Booklore*, 1 (1953), pp. 21–47, and a number of other works on the history of Hebrew books.

31. See, for example, A. Marx, "Die Soncino-Haggada und das Sidorello 1486", Zeitschrift für Hebräiche Bibliographie, VIII (1904), p. 58; idem, "Notes on the use of Hebrew type in non-Hebrew books, 1475—1520", in his Studies in Jewish History and Booklore, pp. 296—345; idem, "The choice of books by the printers of Hebrew incunabula", To Doctor R.: Essays Here Collected and Published in Honor of the Seventieth Birthday of Dr. A. S. W. Rosenbach... (Philadelphia, 1946), pp. 154—73.

32. H. Dicker, *Of Learning and Libraries: The Seminary Library at One Hundred*. Foreword by Ismar Schorsch (New York, 1988), p. 18. On the history of the formation of the library in general and on Marx' role in the process, see: M. Schmelzer, "Building a Great Judaica Library — at what price?", *Tradition Renewed. A History of the Jewish Theological Seminary*. Vol. 1: The Making of an Institution of Jewish Higher Learning, ed. Jack Werteimer (New York, 1997), pp. 679–715.

33. For example, represented entirely is the production of printing-houses from Rome, Lisbon, Leiria, and almost in full editions from Bresia, Mantua, Soncino, Guadalajara.

34. For example, an edition of the Halakhic collection *Kol Bo* (Complete Ritual; Goff, Heb-67, Census 81); an edition of the Pentateuch by the printer Isaac ben Aaron d'Este (Goff, Heb-13, Census 25); an edition of *Mishneh torah* by the printer Solomon ben Judah and Obadiah ben Moses (Goff, Heb-76, Census 87), and others.

35. Data according to Goff.

36. On the acquisition of the copy in question, see A. Marx, "Eine unbekannte Inkunabel", Zeitschrift für Hebräiche Bibliographie, XII (1908), pp. 5—6.

37. For more detail on the copy in question, see Marx' article "Eine unbekannte spanische Inkunabel", Soncino-Blätter, III (1930), pp. 97-106.

38. In accordance with the signature on the inner side of the binding's outer cover: ברוך חיים פינצי מעיר קארפי (Baruch Hayim Finzi from the city of Carpi).

39. This Halakhic work was printed in an anonymous Sephardic printing-house. Only a few books printed in this script and on paper of this type have been preserved. The anonymous printer in question is known in incunabula studies as Drucker des Orhot hajjim thanks to the identification in *Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrücke*, Hrsg. von der Komission für den Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrücke. Bd. 1–8 (A-Flühe) (Leipzig, 1925–1978), p. 486.

40. A description of the copy in question was completed by Moses Steinschneider in *Catalogueus librorum hebraeorum in biblio*theca Bodleiana (Berlin, 1852–1860), No. 6924, 4. See also the catalogue of the collection drawn up by the collector's son V. Leon Saraval, *Catalogue de la Bibliothèque de littérature hebraïque et orientale et d'auteurs hébreux de feu...* (Trieste, 1853), No. XXVII.

41. On the vicissitudes of this book's fate, see also A. K. Offenberg, "The earliest printed editions of Rashi's commentary on the Pentateuch", in his *A Choice of Corals* (Nieuwkoop, 1992), pp. 139–41.

42. On the basis of an ex libris on the inner side of the binding's outer cover and a note in the inventory book.

43. On the basis of a note on the inner part of the binding's outer cover.

44. It is not out of the question that we have here an edition of the Pentateuch with *haftarot* (Selections from the Prophets) or even an edition of the entire Bible, but the extant fragment does not allow for an exact determination.

45. On the basis of a note in the inventory book.

46. The identification of this edition as an incunabulum, and not an early palaeotype, evokes doubts in a number of scholars (for example, it was not included in the Census). In the catalogue I prepared, the edition is included in the section "Doubtful identifications".

47. A. Freimann note only 29 incunabula on parchment ("Die hebräischen Pergamentdrucke", Zeitschrift für Hebräiche Bibliographie, XV (1911), pp. 46–57.) while Offenberg (Census, pp. 199–206) – 34. Offenberg does not take into an account a fragment from the Book of Psalms (No. 3 before us).

48. The edition of the prayer-book is dated 2 *iyar* 5246 from the Creation of the World (April 8, 1486). The edition of the *Haggadah* printed in the same set of typefaces does not have a colophon. An analysis of the paper in these two editions allowed me to conclude that they were published not only at the same printing-house, but in the same period.

49. . תשבי, פ. 'אינקונבולים עבריים בישראל', קרית ספר נט (1986=]1984 מסי 4. Tishby does not indicate the exact number of folios, only the sections: from *Bereshit* to *Mikkez* (i. e. Genesis 1—44, 17).

50. M. Marx, "Catalogue of the Hebrew books printed in the fifteenth century now in the Library of the Hebrew Union College", pp. 21-47, No. 3.

51. The structure of the quires was reconstructed on the basis of extant entire middle folios (the copy was sewn together and bound in our day without any correlation with the original structure of the quires; nonetheless, entire middle folios have survived: 27/28, 47/48, 77/78, 87/88) and in accordance with the location of watermarks on folios. The reconstruction showed that a standard quire contains five double folios (ten folios), and not four, as Marx indicates (1–15[8], 16[4]; *idem*, No. 3).

הורביץ, א. *משנה תורה לרבינו משה בן מימון. שרידים של דפים בלתי ידועים ממהדורות ספרד*. הראשונים. *מלפני הגירוש, שנמצאו בגניזת קאהיר ובכריכות הספרים, וכן טופס יחיד בעולם מהלכות של דפוסי שחיטה.*..עם מבוא ועם שינויי נוסחאות מהדפוסים. ניו יורק, תשמ"ה פנקובר, י. 'על גלגולי דברי ר' שמואל די אוזידה לשמות כ"ג, כה אל תוך ה"פירוש על [תרגום המיוחס ל]יונתן'', *אסופת קרית ספר* מוסף . 55

56. A. Marx, Bibliographical Studies and Notes on Rare Books and Manuscripts in the Library of The Jewish Theological Seminary of America, pp. 481-2.

דימיטרובסקי, ח"א שרידי בבלי. שרידי גמרות והלכות הרי"ף שנדפסו על ידי יהודי ספרד ופורטוגאל לפני הגירוש ובדור שלאחריו. נוי יורק, תשל"ט.

משנה תורה לרמב"ם מדפוס ר' משה בן שאלתיאל ספרד או פורטוגל קודם רנ"ב או רנ"ז. צילום העותק שבספרית בית המדרש לרבנים באמריקה. דברי מבוא מאת הרב ש.ז. הבלין. ירושלים, תשל"ה/1975.

A facsimile of part of the *Mishneh torah hilkot shehitah* has been published by E. Hurvitz (see above, n. 54). 59. (יחד עם: משל הקדמוני ר' יצחק בן שלמה אבן סהולה (צילום) איני אינים בי יצחק בן שלמה אבן אינים איני (צילום).

המהדורה הראשונה); שאלות ותשובות ר' שלמה בן אדרת (צילום המהדורה הראשונה).

לכרך סח (תשנ"ח). עמ' 127-149.

60. The condition of the copies is not specified.

61. This folio was bound into the end of the copy. The folio has certain typographical distinctions. Cf. Thesaurus A 60, 4.

62. Noted only in Goff.

64. Only in Goff.

65. There were two copies of this edition in the collection — one paper, one parchment. The paper copy was exchanged in 1998 for a manuscript and in the same year sold by the new owner at Christi's. See his description in A. K. Offenberg, "Bible (Humash or Torah) with Aramaic paraphrase (Targum Onkelos) and commentary by Rashi...", Valuable Illuminated Manuscripts, Printed Books and Autograph Letters. Cristie's, London, 22 (Monday 23 November 1998), pp. 47—52.

66. A single (defective) copy was sold by the library at the beginning of the 1990s.

67. Only in Goff.

68. Only in A Reel Guide.

69. Only in A Reel Guide.

70. Only in Goff.

71. A copy of this unique incunabulum (possibly the first Hebrew incunabulum, see n. 5 above) was acquired by the library in 1995. 72. Under No. 1 a collection of small fragments of various leaves, which are as a rule duplicates of the above-mentioned 14 leaves.

a shown. Unfortunately, the identification of these fragments cannot be made yet.

73. A fragment of the leaf: 12 lines (recto) and 15 lines (verso) corresponding to the text on fols. 86b (lines 31-42)-87a (lines 25-46) of a standard edition of the Babylon Talmud.

74. Only in Goff.

75. Only in Goff.