THE HEBREW BIBLE IN EUROPE
IN THE MIDDLE AGES:
A PRELIMINARY TYPOLOGY*

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What did the Hebrew Bible—the book that Jews held in their hands and actually used—look like in the Middle Ages? The answer to this apparently straight-forward question is not, in fact, either simple or easy to give. For one thing, there currently exists no census of surviving Jewish Bibles from the period before print nor, given the geographical dispersion and number of existing volumes, is such a census likely to be produced in the near future. Further, the surviving codices are obviously only a fraction of the Bibles that once existed; but even taking that fact into account, the picture that emerges from the existing volumes is, as Michelle Dukan has noted, inevitably skewed, since the codices that have survived are, by and large, the more luxurious and valuable books.[1] The more modest, ordinary codices were used and re-used until the letters virtually fell off their pages, and then they were buried, placed in *genizot* (dedicated storage spaces for books removed from circulation), or lost in some other way. As a result, the current corpus of medieval Hebrew Bibles is virtually guaranteed to be unrepresentative, inevitably tilted towards the Bibles that were probably *less* ordinary than those Bibles that were *more* regularly and intensively used. Finally, we face the problem that confronts virtually all attempts to create typologies of manuscripts that are not purely codicological, which is that nearly every codex is in

[1] Michele Dukan, *La Bible hébraïque: Les codices copies en Orient et dans le zone sepharade avant 1280* (Bibliologia 22) (Turnhour, Brepols, 2006), p. 10.

some sense *sui generis*. Most scribes were not slavish copyists; they regularly exploited the opportunities available to them to express their creativity and originality within generic conventions. As a result, there will always be exceptions to all rules. In the case of Hebrew Bibles, one of the more conventional Hebrew books, there may even be more exceptions than usual.

Even so, it is possible to construct a broad preliminary typology of the different types of Bibles that were in circulation among European Jews in the Middle Ages, and to trace the development of each type in the major centers of Sepharad (Spain and Portugal primarily), Ashkenaz (Germany and Northern France), and Italy; in another context, I hope to deal with Bibles from Yemen and the Near East.[2] The survey I will present in this article is based primarily on the manuscripts described in the published catalogues of the De Rossi Collection in the Parma Palatina Library, the British Library, the Bodleian Library at Oxford University, the Vatican collections in Rome, the Bibliothèque nationale in Paris, the Staatsbibliothek in Berlin, the Library of the Jewish Theological Seminary of America in New York, Hebrew manuscripts in Madrid libraries, and the former Sassoon Collection as described in *Ohel Dawid*.[3] Wherever possible, I

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[2]   The geographical regions cited are based upon Malachi Beit-Arié's well-known typology of Hebrew codicological traits; see *Hebrew Manuscripts of East and West: Towards a Comparative Codicology* (London: The British Library, 1992), pp. 25-78.

[3]   For Parma Palatina: *Hebrew Manuscripts in the Biblioteca Palatina in Parma; Catalogue*, ed. B. Richler, with Codicological Description by Malachi Beit-Arié, (Jerusalem: JNUL, 20001)). For the British Library, G. Margoliouth, *Catalogue of the Hebrew and Samaritan Manuscripts in the British Museum*, 4 vols. (1905; reprinted London: British Museum, 1965); Ilana Tahan, *Hebrew Manuscripts: The Power of Script and Image* (London: The British Library, 2007); and *Sacred: Books of the Three Faiths: Judaism, Christianity, Islam*, ed. John Reeve (London: The British Library, 2007). For the Bodleian, Adolph Neubauer, *Catalogue of the Hebrew Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1886), Vol. 1:3-24, pp. 808-813; and *Catalogue of the Hebrew Manusripts in the Bodleian Library: Supplement of Addenda and Corrigenda to Vol 1 (A. Neubauer's Catalogue)*, compiled under the direction of Malachi Beit-Arié and ed. R.A. May (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994), pp. 3-18, 452-56. For Spanish and Portuguese Biblical manuscripts in Britain generally: Bezalel Narkiss, *Hebrew Illuminated Manuscripts in the British Isles: A Catalogue Raisonné*, Vol. I: *The Spanish and Portuguese Manuscripts*, two parts (Jerusalem and London: The Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities and the British Academy, 1982). For the Vatican: *Hebrew Manuscripts in the Vatican Library: Catalogue*, ed. B. Richler, with

have tried to consult the on-line catalogue of the Institute for Microfilmed Hebrew Manuscripts at the Jewish National and University Library in Jerusalem, as well as every possible reproduction that I have been able to find. A full exploration of the topic remains, however, a major desideratum for which the present attempt should be considered a preliminary sketch.[4] Because this

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Palaeographical and Codicological Description by Malachi Beit-Arié in collaboration with Nurit Pasternak (Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 2008); *A Visual Testimony: Judaica from the Vatican Library* (Miami and New York: Center for the Fine Arts and the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, 1987; and *Rome to Jerusalem: Four Jewish Masterpieces from the Vatican Library* (Jerusalem: The Israel Museum, 2005). For the Jewish Theological Seminary of America: *Lutzki Catalogue*, Library of the Jewish Theological Seminary of America. For the Madrid and other Spanish books, see *Catálogo de Manuscritos Hebreos de la Comunidad de Madrid*, ed. Francisco Javier del Barco del Barco (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, Instituto de Filologia) Vol. 1 (2003), II (2004), III (2006). For the former Sassoon Collection: *Ohel Dawid: Descriptive Catalogue of the Hebrew and Samaritan Manuscripts in the Sassoon Library, London*, comp. David Solomon Sassoon (London: Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press, 1932), Vol. 1:1-37, 604-616, 1091-1112. For the Ambrosiana: Carlo Bernheimer, *Codices Hebraici Bibliothecae Ambrosianae* (Florence: S. Olschki, 1933); and *Hebraica Ambrosiana: I: Catalogue of Undescribed Hebrew Manuscripts in the Ambrosiana Library* by Aldo Luzzatto; *II: Description of Decorated and Illuminated Hebrew Manuscripts in the Ambrosiana Library* by Luisa Mortara Ottolenghi (Milan: Edizioni il Polifilio, 1972). For illustrated Biblical manuscripts in France: H. Zotenberg, *Catalogues des Manuscrits Hébreux et Samaritains de la Bibliothèque Impériale* (Paris: Imprimerie Impériale, 1866); Michel Garel, *D'une Main Forte: Manuscrits Hébreux des Collections Françaises* (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, 1991); and Gabrielle Sed-Rajna, *Les Manuscrits Hébreux Enluminés des Bibliothèques de France* (Leuven-Paris: Peeters, 1994).

[4] To some extent, my typology was anticipated by that undertaken by Moshe Goshen-Gottstein, "The Rise of the Tiberian Bible Text," in *Biblical and Other Studies*, ed. A. Altmann (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1963), pp. 35-44, who proposed three categories for Genizah fragments he studied in American collections— (1) Massora (*sic*) Codices, by which he meant deluxe copies on parchment for "professional" usage, either copying or checking other Bible manuscripts; (2) Study Codices, by which he referred to Bible manuscripts *without* Massora that were "used for learning and study-purposes in general," and not prepared by professional scribes; (3) Listener's Codices, by which he meant even less carefully produced manuscripts written "wholesale" by scribes for persons who wished to follow the Torah reading in the synagogue in their own copies. As this brief description suggests, Goshen-

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preliminary typology is not based on a comprehensive survey of all medieval Hebrew Bibles, I will refrain from offering precise percentages or definitive formulations; as annoying as that may be, my generalizations will by necessity be restricted to impressionistic, vague terms like "many", "some", "few", and so on.

I will begin by offering a brief description of my typology's three main types of Hebrew Bibles such as they existed in the Middle Ages—the masoretic Bible, the liturgical Pentateuch, and the study-Bible. I will then treat each type in greater detail by charting its development in the main geographical-cultural centers of Sepharad and Ashkenaz. Following the survey of the two centers, I will offer a separate, briefer survey of Italian Bibles.

Before beginning, however, a brief explanation about the principles underlying the typology is in order. The typology is primarily based on the contents of these biblical books and on the way in which those contents are organized on the page. It is not based on the function or purpose that these Bibles served although, in the cases of the liturgical Pentateuch and the study-Bible, as their names suggest, the functional element clearly played a role in determining their contents and organization. In point of fact, we know very little for certain about the precise functions that any of these books served for their owners, and we know the least of all about the functions of the masoretic Bible. It is only logical to assume that some Bibles of all three types served as books for study for their owners, and there are clear indications (e.g., *haftarah* markings) that some masoretic Bibles were used in synagogues in much the same way as liturgical Pentateuchs were used. And as one might expect, there exist hybrid books that combine features from the different types. In the course of my survey, I will try to present whatever evidence exists for function, and note variations in form and content. As I present them, the categories are probably best treated as heuristic, descriptive devices. Their main utility is in allowing us to categorize the different types of Bibles that Jews actually used in the Middle Ages.

I. Masoretic Bibles
This type tends to comprise either a complete TaNaKh or part of a complete Bible with the Masorah. Because some colophons explicitly state that the scribe wrote only this single volume—for example, a Prophets or a Hagiographa—we know that parts of the complete

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Gottstein's typology was based largely on the quality of the manuscript and less on its contents or structure.

TaNaKh were sometimes copied alone as masoretic Bibles; but where there is no colophon with an explicit statement to this effect, it is impossible to determine whether or not an existing volume now containing only the Prophets or the Hagiographa is the survivor of a once-complete set of codices.[5] Similarly, there exist stand-alone masoretic Pentateuchs.

The genre is defined by its contents—the vocalized and accentuated biblical text with cantillation marks, typically presented in either two or three columns, and the masoretic annotations, usually both the Masorah parva and magna written in micrography, the former in the spaces between the text-columns, the latter on the top and bottom page margins. Depending on where they were produced, masoretic codices frequently contain either or both *parashah* and *seder* signs accompanying the text, as well as masoretic treatises and lists that either precede or follow the biblical text. Rarely, however, do the Bible-pages contain texts other than the Bible and the Masorah. As we will see, the marginal Masorah itself was recorded in different ways depending on the geo-cultural center in which it was produced. The typical title for these volumes as they are called in their colophons is either *esrim ve-arba'* (if they contain the entire TaNaKh) or *Torah* (Pentateuch), *Nevi'im* (Prophets—both *Nevi'im Rishonim*, Former Prophets, and *Nevi'im Aḥaronim*, Latter Prophets), or *Ketuvim* (Hagiographa, the Writings).

It is worth noting, too, that the order of the prophetic books in *Nevi'im* as well as that of the various books in *Ketuvim*, and particularly the order of the Five Scrolls, varies considerably in medieval codices.[6]

A sub-type of the masoretic Bible is the *Sefer Mugah* or *Tikkun Sofrim*, the model book. Unlike the modern *Tikkun*, with its double-columns of the same text (one presented as it appears in a Torah scroll, the other printed with the vocalization and cantillation marks), and which is primarily intended to help its users memorize the proper way to chant aloud from a Torah scroll in the synagogue service, the medieval *Tikkun* was a Biblical codex written with special care so as to serve as an exemplar for scribes writing Torah scrolls or other

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[5]   For a large variety of such codices, Margoliouth (above, n. 3), I: 82-118; Adolph Neubauer, "The Early Settlement of the Jews in Southern Italy," in *Jewish Quarterly Review* O.S. 4 (1892), pp. 11-16.

[6]   For a helpful survey of the variations and for recent scholarship on the topic, see *Encyclopaedia Judaica,* ed. Michael Berenbaum and Fred Skolnik, 2nd edition (Detroit: McMillan Reference, 2007), 3: 580-583.

Biblical codices.[7] In some cases, like that of the Aleppo Codex, we know that the Codex was definitely used as a model book; in other cases, the books are identified as such in their colophons, and sometimes include scribal laws and rules for scribes in their margins.[8] While it was certainly the case that during the Second Temple period, Torah scrolls were copied from other scrolls—there are talmudic legends describing special scrolls kept in the Temple itself as exemplars (*sifrei mofet*)—in the Middle Ages it appears that Torah scrolls were generally copied from model codices.[9]

[7]   See, however, the 1489 Ashkenazic "Tikkun Kor'im" Manuscript sold at the Sotheby's auction of Property from the Delmonico Collection of Important Judaica in New York City on Dec. 17, 2008, lot 202; the lot is described in full in the auction catalogue. I wish to thank Dr. Emile Schrijver for calling my attention to this unusual codex which directly anticipates the modern *tikkun*.

[8]   For examples of model books, see Oxford Bodl. Opp. 186 (Neubauer, *Bodleian,* #37), a Pentateuch with Esther Scroll, Ashkenaz, c. 1400; Parma 2025 (Richler, *Parma* #38) Pentateuch with Masorah Toledo, 1256; Parma 2003-2004, 2046 (Richler, *Parma*, #74, #77), a liturgical Pentateuch with Onkelos, Scroll, *haftarot*, Job, and Rashi, France?, 1311, and whose colophon states that the Targum was copied from a copy brought from Babylonia with supralinear vocalization (see my discussion under Ashkenazic liturgical Pentateuchs); and Bermuda Floersheim Trust Bible (formerly *Ohel Dawid* #82), Soria (Spain), 1312, written by Shem Tov Ibn Gaon, and one of the few Bibles with numbered verses.

[9]   Most sources suggest that codices were used but, in cases of doubt about particular readings or orthography, scrolls were consulted (and decisions were made by following the majority of scrolls). See the story recounted by Menahem Meiri below (annotated in n. 25), who describes a scroll written by the Spaniard Meir Abulafia that was then used as a model for a specially commissioned *Tikkun* from which to copy Torah scrolls in Germany. For other sources on using codices as model books for scrolls: Isaac Alfasi (1013-1103) (cited by Menaḥem Recanati [Italy, late thirteenth–early fourteenth century] in *Piskei Halakhot* [Bologna, 1538], no. 43; Asher ben Yehiel (b. Germany 1250-59; d. Spain 1328) in *Resp. Rosh* (Constantinople, 1517), 3:6; and Moshe ben David Chalawah (Spain, 1290-1370) in *Resp. Maharam Chalawah*, ed. B. Herschler (Jerusalem, 1987), no. 144, all of whom allude in passing to copying scrolls from codices. Recanati's citation of Alfasi suggests that the practice of not using scrolls as models for copying arose out of the fear that the Torah would be left open disrespectfully if it were regularly used in this way. I wish to thank Rabbi Menaḥem Slae for assisting me in finding the latter sources.

II. Liturgical Pentateuchs

These codices are Pentateuchs accompanied by the *haftarot* (sing. *haftarah*; readings from the Prophets that are chanted in the synagogue following the weekly Torah reading); the Five Scrolls (Ecclesiastes, Esther, Song of Songs, Lamentations, and Ruth); and usually the Aramaic Targum, typically Onkelos, though in a few cases other Aramaic Targums, and in Arabic-speaking locales (such as Yemen), Saadiah's Tafsir. As we will see, Rashi's commentary is sometimes included in these volumes, at times as a substitute for the Targum, at other times in addition to it. I have called this type "liturgical" because the contents correspond to the sections of the Bible that were read in the synagogue on the Sabbath and holidays; their precise use remains to be discussed. The Aramaic Targum or other translations are sometimes recorded in separate columns; at other times, they are presented in the body of the Torah text itself, alternating verse and translation or commentary. On occasion, these books also include the Sifrei EMeT (Job, Proverbs, and Psalms)—on which see below—as well as Megilat Antiochus, a medieval account of the Maccabean Revolt that was read in the synagogue on the festival of Hanukkah, and chapters from the prophet Jeremiah that were read on the fast day of Tisha B'Av. Typically, these books are called in their colophons *ḥumashim*.[10]

III. Study-Bibles

These codices either include at least two separate commentaries on the same page, often with the Targum or Tafsir, or the commentary occupies so prominent a position that the codex appears to have been deliberately produced for studying the commentary. In the Middle Ages, commentaries were generally not copied on the same page as the Biblical text, but were recorded and studied from separate books called *kuntrasim* (as in the case of the Talmud). As we will see, the intricate page format of these codices derives from the Glossa Ordinaria's page format (as does that of the Talmud).

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[10] According to the data in Sfardata, graciously provided to me by Malachi Beit-Arié, the terms *ḥumash* or *ḥumshei torah* appear in some 140 colophons, 115 of them dated. In Ashkenaz the terms appear in two of the earliest manuscripts of the 12th century including Valmadonna Ms. 1 (1189, England; see my discussion below); in Italy, since 1260; and in Sepharad, since 1225 (Tiemçan). In the Near East and in Byzantium, the terms appear only in the 15th century.

In addition to these three main types, there are several sub-types of Bibles or portions of the Bible that were also produced as separate books:

1) <u>Psalters</u>: As its name indicates, the Psalter contains the Psalms alone, sometimes with commentary, often that of Abraham Ibn Ezra. The practice of reading Psalms liturgically, as a practice of private devotion, is very ancient and goes back at least to Palestine in Late Antiquity where texts refer to rabbis reading *sefer tilim* (*tehillim)* (from, one assumes, a scroll).[11] In the Middle Ages, these Psalters are sometimes decorated and even illustrated. Those Psalters with commentaries must also have been used for study in addition to recitation.

2) Sifrei EMeT containing, as noted above, the three poetic (or wisdom) books—its name an acronym for *Iyov* (Job), *Mishlei* (Proverbs) and *Tehillim* (Psalms).

3) Separate codices containing the haftarot alone, or the Scrolls, or both.[12]

4) Booklets containing the Torah portion for a single week along with its *haftarah*.[13]

These three main types of Bibles that I have just described are, in fact, represented in nearly all the major Jewish geo-cultural centers of the Middle Ages, but each genre has to some extent a different material character and significance in each of the centers and their respective book cultures. An idea of these differences will become clear once we consider examples of each genre from Sepharad and Ashkenaz.

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[11] See, for one example, Vayikra Rabbah 16:3; *Sefer Haḥilukim Shevein Anshei Mizraḥ Uvnei Eretz Yisrael*, ed. M. Margoliyot, (Jerusalem, 1938), p. 350.

[12] Fragments of *haftarah* lectionaries are found already in the Cairo Geniza: see *Hebrew Bible Manuscripts in the Cambridge Genizah Collections,* Vol. 2, ed. M.C. Davis (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), NS 32.4 (p. 62); NS 32.9 (pp. 62-63); Vol. 3. ed. M.C. Davis and Ben Outhwaite (2003), T-S AS2.236 [491] (p. 31); T-S AS28.167 (?) [6591] (p. 404); Vol. 4, ed. M.C. Davis and Ben Outhwaite (2003), T-S AS 60.96 [5821] (p. 383); AS60.160 [5885] (p. 388). For an example of a medieval Scrolls codex, see Oxford Bod. 129 (Neubauer, Laud 154), and for numerous examples of *haftarah* codices according to the Ashkenazic, Sephardic, and Italian rites, as well as codices with the *haftarot* and the Scrolls, see the numerous manuscripts cited in Richler, *Parma*, pp. 55-60.

[13] The best-known of these books is the Parashat Shelaḥ Lekha (Numbers 13-15), Persia?, 1306 (Jerusalem, NLI 5702).

I. Masoretic Bibles
In Sepharad:

The medieval masoretic Bible in general is the direct heir of the earliest Jewish codices produced in the Near East and North Africa, the surviving copies of which come from the beginning of the 10th century.[14] Virtually all these codices are Bibles with the vocalized and accentuated Hebrew text written in three columns on each folio page, and with the Masorah, a vast system of notes annotating and enumerating every point of significance in the Biblical text.

Fig. 1 (Aleppo Codex, f.10/5b *ad* Deut. 32:50-33:29)

Fig. 1 (Aleppo Codex, f.10/5b *ad* Deut. 32:50-33:29), a page from *Keter Aram Tzova*, the famous Aleppo Codex (c. 930), is a typical example of the page layout of the early masoretic codex. The Masorah is written in the margins of the page in two forms: The *mesorah ketanah* (*masora parva*) appears largely in the form of abbreviations

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[14] For discussion and bibliography, see David Stern, "The First Jewish Books and the Early History of Jewish Reading," *Jewish Quarterly Review* 2 (2008), pp. 163-202.

on the outer side and inter-column margins; and the *mesorah gedolah* (*masora magna*), an expanded version of the notes in the *mesorah ketanah*, in two or three lines across the width of the page on the upper and lower margins. The precise history and nature of these codices has been the subject of considerable discussion over the last century, and it is likely that many of these codices (along with much of the masoretic project itself) were produced by Karaites.[15] Different masoretic schools existed, each one with its own scribal traditions, and, it seems, its own way of transcribing those traditions. The page format of the surviving early masoretic codices seems to have been specific to the Tiberian school; fragments of Bibles with the Babylonian Masorah that were preserved in the Cairo Genizah show that the Babylonian annotations were not written in the margins of the codex but in separate books.[16] When the Tiberian Masorah emerged clearly as the canonical tradition, its page format was also adopted everywhere as the normative page layout for a Bible.

Sephardic masoretic Bibles continue the tradition of those early masoretic Bibles from the Middle East, although it is not clear whether they were direct offshoots or whether the biblical format reached the Iberian peninsula through North Africa (the Maghreb) sometime between the ninth and eleventh centuries.[17] In any case, the connections between these various centers were facilitated by their common location in the greater Islamic empire that covered the entirety of the Near East and North Africa through the Iberian peninsula in southern Europe. The early masoretic Bible already displays the strong impact of the Islamic book, particularly the Qur'an, especially in the ornamental designs on both its text and carpet pages which replicate well-known Islamic designs; an example of the latter type of page can be seen in **Fig. 2 (Leningrad Codex, Cairo, 1008, St. Petersburg, EBP IB 19A, fol. 474r)**, one of several carpet pages in the famous Leningrad Bible codex (this one with the

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[15] Stern, "First Jewish Books," pp. 170-176, 194-199.

[16] Yosef Ofer, *The Babylonian Masora of the Pentateuch, Its Principles and Methods* (Jerusalem: The Academy of the Hebrew Language and Magnes, 2001), pp. 26-27.

[17] For a good sketch of the historical background, see Katrin Kogman-Appel, *Jewish Book Art Between Islam and Christianity: The Decoration of Hebrew Bibles in Medieval Spain* (Leiden: Brill, 2004), pp. 10-56.

colophon of its scribe) in which, typically, the design is composed of micrography.[18]

Fig. 2 (Leningrad Codex, Cairo, 1008, St. Petersburg, EBP IB 19A, fol. 474r)

Unhappily, not a single Hebrew Bible survives from the period of Islamic rule in Spain in the eleventh and twelfth centuries—the so-called Andalusian Golden Age—and as a result, we are only able to conjecture about the shape of the Spanish Hebrew Bible in what must have been its most formative period. Even so, the retention of features

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[18] See Stern, "First Jewish Books," pp. 188-96, and bibliography cited there; in particular, Rachel Milstein, "Hebrew Book Illustration in the Fatimid Period," in *L'Egypte fatimide: Son Art and son histoire*, ed. M. Barrucand (Paris, 1999), pp. 429-40.

characteristic of the early Near Eastern Bible—including the aniconism inherited from Islam and the use of carpet pages—remained the single most dominant feature of the Hebrew Bible in Spain, even under Christian rule, until the expulsion of the Jews at the end of the fifteenth century. This feature is evident in the earliest surviving dated Hebrew Bible from Spain (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France (BnF) cod. Héb. 105), written in Toledo in 1197.[19] By then, Toledo—one of the great centers of Al-Andalusi Hebrew culture—had been Christian for more than a century (since 1085 C.E.). Nevertheless, the *mise en page* of the 1197 Toledo Bible faithfully replicates that of the early Near Eastern codices with the single exception that the Biblical text is written in two rather than three columns.[20] The same is true of the earliest dated *decorated* masoretic Bible from Sepharad (BnF cod. Héb. 25), a relatively small book (185 x 220 cm) written in Toledo in 1232, again in double columns. As one can see from **Fig. 3 (BnF héb. 25, fol. 44v)**, the *masora magna* appears on double lines at the top and bottom of the folio, while the *masora parva* is in the right and middle margins; on some pages the *masora magna* is written in zig-zag patterns, a design also found in the early codices, while on the right hand page the *seder* (weekly synagogue reading as practiced in the triennial cycle; pl. *sedarim*) is marked by a floral-like decorative medallion above the letter *samekh* (for *seder*); this device resembles the *ansa* used in Qur'ans to mark *suras*. This custom of marking both the triennial *sedarim* as well as the weekly *parshiyyot* (sing. *parashah*; the weekly Torah reading as practised in the annual cycle) itself derives from the early masoretic codices, but its persistence in Christian Spain is even more remarkable in that by this time, probably no one in the world still used the triennial cycle. The preservation of the *seder*-divisions must have been largely a matter of scribal tradition.[21]

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[19] For a reproduction of a page from this codex, see Malachi Beit-Arié and Edna Engel, *Specimens of Mediaeval Hebrew Script* (Jerusalem: The Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities, 2002), 2 Vols., Plate #14.

[20] Most Spanish Masoretic Bibles continue to use three columns, though there are a sizeable number of copies with two. For the influence of the Islamic book on these Bibles, see Kogman-Appel, *Jewish Book Art*, pp. 38-50.

[21] In an as-yet unpublished article, Paul Saenger has made the attractive suggestion that the *seder* signs were preserved as a reference-system; and Dukan, *La Bible*, p. 107, similarly suggests that they may have been preserved to serve as Jewish equivalents to Christian chapters. Unfortunately, virtually no hard evidence for the use of *seder* signs in this way exists.

Fig. 3 (BnF héb. 25, fol. 44v)

One other decoration in this manuscript is important to note. The magnificent page opening displayed in **Fig. 4 (BnF héb. 25, fol. 40v-41r)** contains the Song at the Sea (Exod. 15), which is laid out in the special stichography (dictated by *halakhah*, Rabbinic law) called *'ariyaḥ 'al gabei levanah* (a half brick over a full brick), but the most noteworthy feature of the page is certainly the intricate interlaced border created out of micrography that frames the text on the two pages. While the precise origins of this decorative design is unknown,

http://www.biu.ac.il/JS/JSIJ/11-2012/Stern.pdf

an elaborate micrographic frame for Exod. 15 became a staple feature
of many subsequent Sephardic masoretic Bibles.[22]

Fig. 4 (BnF héb. 25, fol. 40v-41r)

From the evidence of my impressionistic survey, the masoretic
Bible appears to have been the most commonly-composed type of
Bible produced in Spain. Spanish Hebrew Bibles were famous in the
Middle Ages for their accuracy, both because their scribes were
especially known for their skill as copyists, and on account of the
Spanish proclivity for biblical Hebrew as evidenced in the linguistic
and philological studies going back to such figures as Judah Hayyuj
and Jonah Ibn Janach in the late tenth and early eleventh centuries.[23]

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[22] On this manuscript, see Sed-Rajna, *Les Manuscrits Hébreux*, pp. 5-7. This
manuscript appears to be the first Sephardic Bible to have this particular
decoration for Exod. 15, which does not appear in early Near Eastern Masoretic
Bibles. It does appear, however, in an undated and unlocalized manuscript,
London, British Library, MS Or. 2363. Margoulieth, *Catalogue*, 1:39 describes
this Bible as either Persian or Babylonian, and dates it to sometime between the
11th and 12th century, but Kogman-Appel, *Jewish Book Art*, pp. 46-47, appears
less certain. See also Jacob Leveen, *The Hebrew Bible in Art* (London: The
British Academy and Oxford University Press, 1944), pp. 70-71.

[23] On their accuracy, H.J. Zimmels, *Ashkenazim and Sephardim* (London:
Oxford University Press, 1958), p. 138; Nahum Sarna, "Hebrew and Bible
Studies in Medieval Spain," in *The Sefardi Heritage*, ed. R.D. Barnett (New
York: Ktav, 1971), pp. 329-31, 345-46; idem, "Introductory Remarks," *The*

Tenth century sources already refer to the "accurate and ancient Spanish and Tiberian Bibles," and their excellence was recognized even in Ashkenaz by such figures as Meir of Rottenberg (end of 13th century), who mentions "the superior and exact books of Spain."[24] Another 13th century Talmudist, Menahem Meiri (Perpignan, 1249-1316), describes a German rabbi who journeyed to Toledo to acquire a copy of the Pentateuch made from the scroll of Meir Halevi Abulafia in Toledo *so as to use the Sephardic codex to write Torah scrolls in Ashkenaz*![25]

Fig. 5 (Hilleli Codex, JTSA L44a, fol. 100v)

Perhaps the most famous of the Sephardic codices was a model codex known as the Sefer Hilleli, reputed to have been written around

Pentateuch: Early Spanish Manuscript (Codex Hillely) from the Collection of the Jewish Theological Seminary (Jerusalem: Makor, 1977), np.

[24] The statement about the superior Spanish and Tiberian books is found in *Teshuvot Talmidei Menahem Le-Dunash*, ed. S.G. Stern (1879), pp. 67-68 cited in Nahum Sarna, "Introductory Remarks", ibid.; for Meir of Rothenberg, see his Glosses to Maimonides' *Mishneh Torah, Hilkhot Sefer Torah*, VIII:2-4.

[25] Menachem Meiri, *Kiryat Sefer*, ed. M. Hirschler (Jerusalem, 1996), p. 48.

the year 600 C.E. but, more probably, around the year 1000 in the city of Leon.[26] The original was still in existence in 1197 C.E. when the Almohades attacked the Jewish communities of Castile and Aragon and carried away at least part of the complete codex. This codex was both consulted and copied; one such partial copy, a Pentateuch, was completed in Toledo in 1241 and survives to this day. As suggested by the large, clear script on the page seen in **Fig. 5 (Hilleli Codex, JTSA L44a, fol. 100v),** the codex was meant as a model text for scribes, and recorded the extraordinary *tagim* (crownlets or ornamental strokes atop letters) as well as certain peculiarly shaped letters.[27] It also contained the text of Aaron b. Asher's *Dikdukei Te'amim*.

Not surprisingly, the overall development of the masoretic Bible in Sepharad can most visibly be traced through its decorated examples. In her recent monograph on decorated (and illustrated) Hebrew Bibles in Spain, Katrin Kogman-Appel has identified three clear periods in the historical development of these codices, each period corresponding more or less to one of the centuries between the mid-thirteenth and the late fifteenth.[28] As already noted above, the Bibles of the first period, spanning the second half of the 13th century and centered in Castile, Toledo in particular, faithfully continued the presumed tradition of earlier Sephardic Bibles produced during the Islamic period which, in turn, are believed to have reflected the conventions of the still earlier Near Eastern masoretic Bible. The Castilian Bibles continue to maintain the original masoretic tradition with its aniconism: the micrographic designs are nearly all geometric or floral, as is the rest of the decoration throughout the carpet pages. Some of the designs also mirror more recent Islamic and Spanish artistic fashions, particularly the new Mudejar designs developed by Moslem artists and artisans living in Christian Spain, that drew on the Islamic tradition of the past but enriched it with Andalusian and North African elements.[29]

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[26] Sarna, "Introductory Remarks." Sarna also discusses the various theories surrounding the origins of its name.

[27] Sarna, "Introductory Remarks," [vii].

[28] The following sections basically summarize Kogman-Appel, *Jewish Book Art*, which also contains extensive bibliography on additional scholarship. See as well Narkiss, *Hebrew Illuminated Manuscripts in the British Isles* (note 3 above), pp. 20-41, 101-20, 153-76.

[29] For an overview of these tendencies, Kogman-Appel, *Jewish Book Art*, pp. 54-56, 57-97; and for analysis, Eva Fromovic, "Jewish Mudejarismo and the Invention of Tradition," in *Late Medieval Jewish Identities: Iberia and Beyond*,

A premier example of a 13th century Castilian Bible is the Damascus Keter, written and painted in Toledo in 1260.[30] The opening on display in **Fig. 6 (Jerusalem, National Library of Israel, MS Heb. 4⁰ 790, f.348v)** shows the end of the book of Ruth (on the right hand page). On the former page, the Masorah parva is written in its typical style on the right margin and the Masorah magna on the top of the page, but the scribe has filled the space that otherwise would have been occupied by the left text column with an elaborate floral design; next to it, on the right, is an arch-like decoration containing the number of verses in the book, again showing Mudejar influence.[31]

Fig. 6 (Jerusalem, National Library of Israel, MS Heb. 4⁰ 790, f.348v)

So, too, the exquisitely designed carpet page from the same volume in **Fig. 7 (Jerusalem, National Library of Israel, MS Heb. 4⁰ 790, f.**

ed. Carmen Caballero-Navas and Esperanza Alfonso (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), pp. 233-58.

[30] On this Bible, see Kogman-Appel, *Jewish Book Art*, pp. 65-68.

[31] For a reproduction of a carpet page from the same Bible that virtually repeats the same floral design, see *Treasures Revealed*, ed. Rafael Weiser and Rivka Plesser (Jerusalem: The Hebrew University and the Jewish National and University Library, 2000), p. 26, and Narkiss, *Hebrew Illuminated Manuscripts*, plate 5.

311r) with its intricate interlace pattern composed of masoretic micrography. This interlace pattern, the inscription of masoretic examples in continuous large square script that serves as the inner frame to the "carpet" inside, and the brocade-like outer frame are all typical examples of Mudejar design.[32] Such framing inscriptions anticipate the monumental inscriptions found in fourteenth century Castilian synagogues, a point to which we shall return.[33]

Fig. 7 (Jerusalem, National Library of Israel, MS Heb. 4⁰ 790, f. 311r)

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[32] On these carpet pages, see Kogman-Appel, *Jewish Book Art*, pp. 65-68.

[33] Cp. Jerrilyn D. Dodds, "Mudejar Tradition and the Synagogues of Medieval Spain: Cultural Identity and Cultural Hegemony," in Vivian Mann, Thomas F. Glick, and Jerrilyn D. Dodds, *Convivencia: Jews, Muslims, and Christians in Medieval Spain* (New York: George Braziller with the Jewish Museum, 1991), p. 115, where she mentions the views of some scholars who seem to believe they were already found in thirteenth century synagogues.

The Bibles produced in the second period, nearly all in the fourteenth century, are a far more diverse group, and they are difficult to categorize individually, even though it was during this century that the vast number of surviving Sephardic Hebrew Bibles were produced, among them some of the most lavish and ambitious volumes. While the textual/scribal side of these codices—the transcription of the Biblical text and the Masorah—remains by and large faithful to the heritage of the Islamic past, the art is far more eclectic, showing little continuity with the Castilian Bibles of the preceding century, and drawing upon both Romanesque and Gothic European influences. For example, while masoretic lists at the beginning and end of thirteenth century codices had often been framed in columns topped by horse-shoe shaped arches, which are a typical Islamic/mudejar shape, the columns and arches in these fourteenth century codices are just as often Romanesque and Gothic in form.[34] At the very beginning of the century, in the region around Tudela in the province of Navarre, the scribe Joshua ibn Gaon and the illustrator Joseph Ha-Tzarfati collaborated on a number of exceedingly lavish Bibles that include figurative illustrations (like a picture of Jonah being cast into the sea) as well as Masorah in the form of micrographic animals and beasts. All these designs reflect Gothic influence. At the conclusion of this section, I will return to the most lavish of these productions, the Cervera Bible.

The most distinctive feature of the Bibles from this period is found in a group of approximately twenty-five Bibles that were written and produced in the Kingdom of Aragon, particularly in the environs of Barcelona in Catalonia, and in Roussillon, today in southern France, then part of the kingdom of Mallorca which was, in turn, part of the federation of the Crown of Aragon. All these Bibles share the common feature of having an opening containing (almost always) on two facing pages illustrations of the Temple implements—the menorah (the golden candelabrum with seven branches), the Tablets of the Law surmounted by winged cherubim, the showbread table, the jar of manna and Aaron's rod; the golden incense and sacrificial altars, the laver, trumpets, and shofar, and a row of shovels, hooks, and pots used as part of the sacrificial cult. **Fig. 8 (BnF héb. 7, fol. 7v/8r)** depicts one of the Temple implement pages from one of the earliest of

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[34] See for example Kogman-Appel, *Jewish Book Art*, Pl. II (BnF cod. Héb. 21, Tudela, 1301-2), Pl. VIII (BL MS Add.15250, Catalonia, second half of the 14th century); or no. 67 Oxford Bodleian MS Opp. 75, Soria or Tudela, late 13th century.

these Bibles, composed in Perpignan in 1299.[35] At a somewhat later point, after 1325, an additional element was often added to the ensemble of Temple implements—a stylized icon of the Mount of Olives hollowed out with burial caves and topped by a stylized tree.
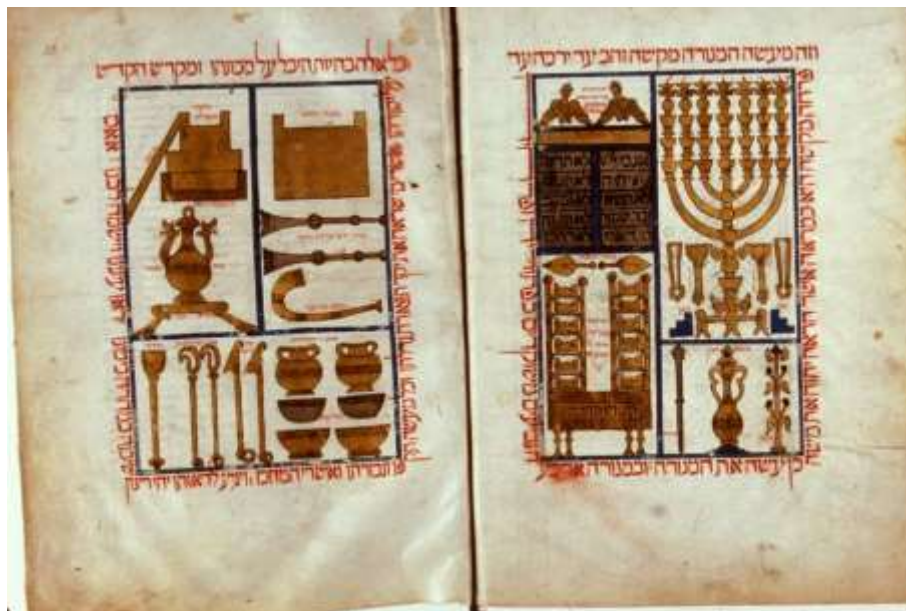

Fig. 8 (BnF héb. 7, fol. 7v/8r)

These Sephardic codices were not, in fact, the first or only works in Jewish history to contain such illustrations. Ancient synagogue mosaic floors from Byzantine Palestine contain representations of the Ark and symbolic icons like the menorah, and one 10th century fragment, apparently from a masoretic Bible written in 929 C.E. (now in the National Library of Russia, Firkovich Collection, MS II B17), contains depictions of the Temple implements. The earliest Bible produced in Europe containing an illustration of the implements is the Parma Bible (Parma, Bibliotheca Palatina Ms. Pal. 2668), written in Toledo in 1276/77, though there is some doubt as to whether the illustrations were originally part of the codex.[36] Around 1300, a

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[35] On this Bible and others composed in the same period (and probably in geographical proximity), see Kogman-Appel, *Jewish Book Art*, pp. 131-40.

[36] On this question, see Kogman-Appel, *Jewish Book Art*, pp. 68-74, in which she supports Joseph Guttman's thesis that the pictures (if not the folios themselves) were added to the codex later: see Guttman, "The Messianic Temple in Spanish Medieval Hebrew Manuscripts," in *The Temple of Solomon*, ed. J. Gutmann (Missoula: Scholars Press, 1976); repr. in J. Gutmann, *Sacred*

number of Bibles that contained pictures of the menorah were also produced in France, Germany, and Italy.[37] Most of the Bibles with the Temple illustrations were, however, produced in Sepharad and in Roussillon in the fourteenth century (following the Perpignan Bible of 1299 pictured above).

For nearly half a century, scholars have debated the relations between the ancient synagogue mosaics and the illustrations in the medieval codices. Some have used them as evidence for the existence of a continuous line of Jewish art going back to antiquity through the early Near Eastern tradition and continuing into the Middle Ages. Others have pointed out the dissimilarities amongst the various representations.[38]

For our present concerns, the question of art-historical continuity is less important than the sudden appearance of a large number of codices with Temple-implement illustrations arranged in so similar a fashion in roughly the same area of Spain at the same time. In her detailed analysis of the iconography and artistic presentation of the illustrations in the different Bibles from the two groups, Kogman-Appel has shown the difficulties involved in tracing the exact lineage and lines of interdependence between the representations, particularly those in the codices from Catalan (those from Roussillon seem to be more of a group), and has specifically remarked upon their diversity, but she has also pointed to the fact that— (1) nearly all are found at the beginning of the codices rather than in locations closer to the biblical sections in Exod. 25 dealing with the implements; (2) nearly all are based on Maimonides' (and to a far lesser extent, Rashi's) descriptions of the implements rather than those in the Bible itself, either in Exod. or in II Kings; and (3) most share a common mode of representation, a flattened, highly stylized and generalized, almost abstracted composition. Whether or not the medieval representations were based upon no-longer-existing models that the artists actually

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Images: Studies in Jewish Art from Antiquity to the Middle Ages (Northhampton: Variorum, 1989), pp. 125-45.

[37] On these Bibles and their menorah illustrations, see n. 109 below.

[38] The history of this scholarship and its bibliography are comprehensively summarized in Kogman-Appel, *Jewish Book Art*, pp. 43-45, 68-88, 131-70, and especially 156-70. See as well the excellent analysis in Eva Frojmovic, "Messianic Politics in Re-Christianized Spain: Images of the Sanctuary in Hebrew Bible Manuscripts," in *Imagining the Self, Imagining the Other: Visual Representation and Jewish-Christian Dynamics in the Middle Ages and Early Modern Period*, ed. Eva Frojmovic (Leiden: Brill, 2002), pp. 91-128.

looked at, or whether the illustrations were derived from each other, or whether illustrators drew the pictures from memory, the fact remains that here we have an identifiable group of illustrations whose meaning—and presence *in* these Bibles— demands some kind of explanation. I shall return to this question immediately after completing my survey of Spanish Hebrew Bibles.

The third period of Spanish book production, according to Kogman-Appel, also took place in Castile, but now in the midst of the turbulence of the fifteenth century. This turbulence followed upon the terrible persecutions of the Jews after the Black Plague in 1348-49, and then the anti-Jewish riots in 1391 and the forced conversions that followed the riots. In this troubled period, Jewish book production declined, as did Jewish culture in the Iberian peninsula in general.

Around the middle of the fifteenth century, however, from the year 1460 on, in Southern Castile—Toledo, Seville, and Cordoba—there was a sudden, unanticipated efflorescence of Bible production that essentially re-invigorated, if not re-invented, the thirteenth century Castilian tradition. As with their predecessors two centuries earlier, the decoration in these Bibles is largely limited to micrographic Masorah and carpet pages, as well as the use of both *parashah* and *seder* markings (even more anachronistically now than before). In general, the design of the Bibles is almost entirely imbued with the features of Islamic and Mudejar culture and the tradition represented by the masoretic Bibles produced in thirteenth century Castile. Indeed, if anything, the fifteenth century Bibles, which usually have smaller formats, are even more exquisitely produced than the earlier Castilian models. **Fig. 9 (Philadelphia, Free Library, Lewis O 140, f.44v-45r)**, a page from one such Bible completed in Lisbon in 1496, with an elaborate, stunning border surrounding the text of the Song at the Sea (Exod. 15), is a perfect example of the ornate nature of these books.[39]

[39] Despite its colophon, the Bible bears no similarity to Bibles produced in the so-called Lisbon workshop, and is fully in the tradition of the late 15th century Castilian Bibles. The Bible may have been begun in Spain and completed in Lisbon, or it may have been commissioned by a Spanish Jew living in Lisbon who wished to own a "Castilian" Bible. For further discussion, see David Stern, *Chosen: Philadelphia's Great Hebraica* (Philadelphia: Rosenbach Museum & Library, 2007), pp. 22-23. My student Tali Arbit is in the process of completing a study of this remarkable Bible.

Fig. 9 (Philadelphia, Free Library, Lewis O 140, f.44v-45r)

One should also note here a group of extraordinarily lavish Bibles produced in Lisbon, Portugal, in the late fifteenth century, in an atelier apparently specializing in the production of such Bibles (as Gabriella Sed-Rajna has argued). [40] Between 1469 and 1496, when the Jews were expelled from Portugal, nearly thirty manuscripts were produced there, all sharing a distinctive style and unusually sophisticated execution. Among the manuscripts are some twelve Biblical works, including several liturgical Pentateuchs—a genre that seems to have been especially popular among Portuguese Jews. The most famous and sumptuous of these Bibles is the Lisbon Bible (British Library Or. 2626), produced in 1482-3.[41] Like the other Bibles, the Lisbon Bible has elaborate floral devices for *parashah* signs and, more strikingly, uses elaborate double-framed pages decorated with floral and bird and animal motifs (particularly on the first pages of biblical books), as well as exquisite filigree-work panels and brilliant characters with much gold-leaf. The decoration reflects Mudejar, Italian, Flemish, and Portuguese motifs. The biblical texts inscribed on these pages

[40] Gabriella Sed-Rajna, *Manuscrits hébreux de Lisbonne; un atelier de copistes et d'enlumineurs au XVe siècle* (Paris: CNRS, 1970); and her introduction to *The Lisbon Bible 1482* (Tel Aviv: Yedi'ot Aḥaronot, 1988).
[41] *The Lisbon Bible 1482* (Tel Aviv: Nahar/Yediʿot Aḥaronot, 1988), with an introduction by Gabriella Sed-Rana.

sometimes look as if they are lying in a paradisial garden-bed; on other pages, Scripture appears literally to be framed like a work of art. **Fig. 10 (London, British Library Ms. Add. 27167, f. 419v)** is a page from the Almanzi Pentateuch, which contains the opening of the Book of Lamentations, and shows how even such a somber text could be rendered into an image of exquisite delicacy and elegance even if drawn solely in ink. Like their Castilian counterparts, these Bibles testify to a burst of creativity at the very brink of one of the most catastrophic moments in medieval Jewish history.

Fig. 10 (London, British Library Ms. Add. 27167, f. 419v)

As this brief sketch indicates, the history of the Sephardic Masoretic Bible is characterized by two remarkable features: first, its retention of features characteristic of the early Near Eastern Bible, in particular the aniconism derived from Islam, often at the expense of features perceived to be Christian; and second, the Temple implement illustrations that appear in so many fourteenth century Bibles as virtual frontispieces to the text. Both features call for commentary. At the outset it should be said that there is no reason to expect a single explanation, either for both features or for each one separately. Their

meaning is most likely to have been over-determined, that is, replete with different types of significance for different users and audiences. As Eva Frojmovic has lucidly written, it is very possible that "these images were produced with several possible meanings in mind, and received with a wide range of readerly attitudes—from scholarly attention, meditation, and devotion to proud conspicuous consumption and the pleasure of gazing at dazzlingly abundant gold leaf."[42]

Thus, it is clear that the Temple implement illustrations almost certainly expressed for many some kind of messianic hope and longing for the restoration of the Temple.[43] For others, those features derived from Islam may have evoked cultural memories of the Golden Age under Muslim rule, and thus reflected the traditionalist inclinations of at least some classes of Sephardic Jewry, especially the Sephardic elite who, even in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, still sought to represent the values of Judaeo-Arabic culture.[44] What, however, do these features tell us about the nature of the Jewish Bible as a material artifact in Spain? And what can these two features tell us about the *meaning* that the Bible held for Spanish Jews and that led them to produce books with these particular features? The answers to these specific questions are, I would like to suggest, related.

We may begin with the tendency in these Bibles to retain the features of the early Near Eastern Bible—particularly the aniconism inherited from Islam and the use of carpet pages—*despite* the fact that these books were produced in Christian Iberia. In fact, the Islamicizing tendency is generally characteristic of contemporary Mudejar culture in the Hispanic kingdoms, particularly in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, which was inherently eclectic and hybrid, the culture of *convivencia*, a symbiosis born of the interchange between its Islamic, Christian, and Jewish populations.[45] Nonetheless, it is noteworthy how consistently the Sephardic Bibles rejected contemporary Christian book culture and—with a few notable exceptions—elements perceived as "Gothic". This tendency in the Jewish sphere to cling to the traditional Islamically-derived models and to the influences of contemporary Mudejar style is not unique to

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[42] Frojmovic, "Messianic Politics," p. 96.

[43] The major proponent of this view has been Guttman, "The Messianic Temple"; and now, for a far more sophisticated formulation of the same idea, Frojmovic, "Messianic Politics."

[44] Kogman-Appel, *Jewish Book Art*, pp. 176, 185-88.

[45] The literature on *convivencia* is immense, but for what is still a very good introduction see Mann et al., *Convivencia.*

the book culture of Sepharad. It also informs the architecture of the synagogues Jews built in the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth-centuries—buildings like Toledo's Santa María la Blanca, constructed in the thirteenth century; the Cordoba synagogue, erected in the first quarter of the fourteenth century; the synagogue in Segovia (currently Iglesia del Corpus Christi), built in 1419; and the most famous of them all, El Tránsito, erected in Toledo in 1360. The monumental inscriptions in the last synagogue are reminiscent of the inscriptions that frame the carpet pages and Temple implement pages in Sephardic masoretic Bibles. All these buildings, constructed in the Mudejar style, depart from the central defining features of contemporary Christian religious architecture. As Jerrilyn Dodds has shown, none of these buildings look at all like contemporary churches built by Christians during the period; they all reflect Islamic or contemporary Mudejar models.[46] Some of the inscriptions are even written in Arabic and include texts from the Qur'an.[47]

The same "Islamicizing" tendency informs the Sephardic Bibles. None adopt the main stylistic elements found in Christian Bibles produced in Iberia during this period. With very few exceptions—the illustrations in Joshua Ibn Gaon's and Joseph Hazarfati's Bibles from the very beginning of the fourteenth century, and such late works as the First Kennicott Bible from the late fifteenth century, and scattered micrographic masoretic grotesques (about which I will speak more shortly), Spanish Bibles resist the kind of representational, narrative illustrations that dominate Christian book art, particularly in the Castilian tradition that John Williams traced nearly a half-century ago.[48] The one exception to this rule is the Temple implement illustrations, but these are not narrative drawings so much as decorative pages resembling the carpet pages in earlier Castilian or Near Eastern Bibles. Furthermore, this tendency to avoid contemporary Christian elements would seem to violate one of the cardinal rules of Jewish book-culture, namely, the tendency for Jewish books to reflect those of the host culture.

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[46] Dodds, "Mudejar Tradition".

[47] Dodds, "Mudejar Tradition," pp. 125-26. Dodds explains the use of the Quranic inscriptions as proof of the comfort the Jews of Toledo felt within the surrounding Islamic culture.

[48] John Williams, "A Castilian Tradition of Bible Illustration," in *The Journal of the Warburg and the Courtauld Institutes* 28 (1965), pp. 66-85; repr. in Joseph Guttman, *No Graven Images* (New York: Ktav, 1971), pp. 385-417.

Why did the Jews of Iberia so regularly avoid the features of Christian books in their Bibles and cling to the Islamically-derived features of Mudejar style? In part, it may have been a reflex of traditionality on their part, but it was surely more than that. The tendency may have served a more contemporary, "politicized" purpose. As a path of resistance to the dominant Christian culture, it may have functioned as a way for Jews to identify not only their books but *themselves*, a minority culture, albeit an active one, with the other contemporary minority culture in the Hispanic kingdoms, that of the Mudejars who, in a similar vein, rejected models which they perceived as Christian. Such a path of resistance would have held special urgency in the thirteenth century, which witnessed the violent dislocations of the Christian conquest of the south and, perhaps even more so, at the end of the fourteenth century, with the 1391 persecutions, the forced conversions that followed them, the failure of the apocalyptic expectations predicted for the beginning of the fifteenth century, and the disappointment that must have followed upon the failure of those expectations. Their Mudejar neighbors posed no threat to the Sephardic Jews, and the Jews, by materially identifying their books and synagogue buildings with Mudejar tradition, were able to resist Christian hegemony and to define themselves as a minority culture.[49] We know from other cases that the material shape of a canonical text can serve to shape religious identity.[50] Here the material shape of the Hebrew Bible served as a medium of cultural self-definition.[51]

An analogous explanation may lie behind the efflorescence of Temple implement illustrations in the Roussillon and Catalan Bibles

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[49] My argument here is very close to the one made by Eva Frojmovic in her two articles, "Messianic Politics in Re-Christianized Spain"; and "Jewish Mudejarismo."

[50] I.M. Resnick, "The Codex in Early Jewish and Christian Communities," *Journal of Religious History* 17 (1992), pp. 1-17

[51] The Bible was not the only book in Spain to serve the Jews as a mode of responding to contemporary Christian culture. For an argument about the use of the Haggadah along the same lines (albeit in a very different way), see Marc. A. Epstein, *The Medieval Haggadah: Art, Narrative, and Religious Imagination* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010); and Michael A. Batterman, "Bread of Affliction, Emblem of Power: The Passover Matzah in Haggadah Manuscripts from Christian Spain," in *Imagining the Self, Imagining the Other,* pp. 53-90; but for some criticism of the approach, see Katrin Kogman-Appel, *Illuminated Haggadot from Medieval Spain* (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2006), esp. pp. 212-23.

of the fourteenth century. As both Kogman-Appel and Frojmovic
stress, the illustrations should be read not in visual isolation or as mere
images, but together with the texts inscribed in monumental frames
around them (at least in those cases where such frames exist; not all
the Temple implement illustrations have them). Essentially, there are
three separate types of inscriptions: (1) those that quote verses such as
Exod. 25:34 and Num. 8:4 that relate directly to the Temple
implements, the menorah in particular;[52] (2) those that pray for the
rebuilding of the Temple;[53] and (3) others that praise Torah and
wisdom, usually through a mélange of verses from Proverbs (e.g., 2:3-
11; 3:1-3; 6:23) and Job (18:16), often using metaphors and similes
that liken the commandments to a lamp (*ner*) and Torah to light (*or*)
(Prov. 6:23 in particular) or that compare the value of wisdom, Torah,
and the commandments to silver, gold, onyx, sapphires, and so on.[54] It
is not clear why certain verses are chosen for specific pages. In several
cases, the different pages that illustrate the implements in the same
codex may be framed with combinations of all three types. Still, the
overall effect of the inscribed verses is clear: they Judaize the
implements illustrated in the picture by explicitly framing them with
the words of the Hebrew Bible.

   This is not insignificant because the Temple implements—the
treasured spoils of the destroyed Jerusalem Temple—were fiercely
contested objects in the religious imaginations of Jews and Christians
(and to a lesser extent Moslems). In the Late Antique and early
medieval periods, Jewish and Christian traditions explicitly foresaw
the restoration of the Temple implements as part of their respective
apocalyptic scenarios.[55] In Christian Bibles, we find illustrations of

[52] Thus, for example, Paris BnF hébr. 7, Perpignan,1299.

[53] Such a prayer is also found in the Paris Bible cited in the previous note, as
well as in another closely related Bible codex, Copenhagen, Kongelige
Bibliothek, cod. Hebr. 2, written in 1301, possibly in Perpignan; see Kogman-
Appel, *Jewish Book Art*, pp. 133-38.

[54] See, for example, Parma Palatina Ms. Parm. 2668, Toledo, 1277; London,
BL Kings 1, Solsona 1385; Rome, Communita israelitica no. 19, Barcelona
1325.

[55] For the Jewish and Islamic sources in English translation as well as superb
annotation and bibliographical information, see John C. Reeves, *Trajectories in
Near Eastern Apocalyptic: A Postrabbinic Jewish Apocalypse Reader* (Atlanta:
Society of Biblical Literature, 2005), pp. 106-32; Islamic sources do not
mention the Temple implements specifically but do speak of the staff of Moses
and the Ark of the Covenant. The key Jewish text is the *Otot Ha-Mashiaḥ*
(Portents of the Messiah); see in particular the sixth sign, p. 124, where the

the Temple implements going back to the seventh-century Codex Amiatinus (which itself derived from the sixth-century Codex Grandior of Cassiodorus), as well as in Spanish Bibles from the tenth through the thirteenth century (though these illustrations actually picture the consecration of the desert Tabernacle, inside of which can be seen the cult objects). Illustrations bearing an even stronger resemblance to the Jewish ones can be found in a fourteenth century Spanish manuscript of the *Historia Scholastica* of Peter Comestor (d. 1178-80).[56]

The contested nature of these cult objects; their association with the apocalyptic scenarios of the rival religious traditions; and the messianic expectations that were current among Catalan and other Spanish Jews following the Barcelona Disputation of 1263 (which itself largely revolved around the messianic doctrines of Christianity and Judaism and their respective veracity) and the longings for "end-dates" signaling the arrival of the Messiah around 1358 and 1403—all these separate elements conjoined to give the Temple implements an especially powerful symbolic force at this particular historical moment.[57]

So, too, in Jewish Biblical exegesis of the period, the implements gained a new and special attention. While the illustrations themselves

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Temple vessels are said to have been deposited in the palace of Julianos Caesar. For Byzantine Christian traditions, see Ra'anan Boustan, "The Spoils of the Jerusalem Temple at Rome and Constantinople: Jewish Counter-Geography in a Christianizing Empire," in *Antiquity in Antiquity: Jewish and Christian Pasts in the Greco-Roman World*, ed. G. Gardner and K. Osterloh (Tubingen: Mohr Siebeck, forthcoming) and particularly his comments on their relation to the Jewish sources at the end of his article.

[56] Williams, "A Castilian Tradition"; Bianca Kuehnel, "Jewish and Christian Art in the Middle Ages: The Dynamics of a Relationship," in *Juden und Christen zur Zeit der Kreuzzüge*, ed. Alfred Haverkamp (Sigmaringen: Jan Thorbecke Verlag, 1999), pp. 1-15, esp. 13-14; and especially Carl-Otto Nordstrom, "The Temple Miniatures in the Peter Comestor Manuscript at Madrid," in *Horae Soederblomianae* 6 (1964), pp. 54-81; repr. in Guttman, *No Graven Images*, pp. 39-74, who argues that the Madrid ms. illustrations were directly based on Jewish models.

[57] For background on the 1263 disputation, Robert Chazan, *Barcelona and Beyond: The Disputation of 1263 and its Aftermath* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992), esp. pp. 172-95; and Frojmovic, "Messianic Politics," to whose overall argument my own is strongly indebted. As Frojmovic notes, the key verse in interpretations predicting the messianic dates of 1358 and 1403 was Dan. 12:12, which is quoted in both the Paris 6 and Copenhagen Bible inscriptions.

(as Kogman-Appel and Frojmovic have shown) are closely modeled upon Maimonides' detailed descriptions of their physical appearance, their spiritual significance in thirteenth- and fourteenth-century Jewish exegesis went far beyond Maimonidean rationalism. The key exposition of the implements is found in the popular, quasi-kabbalistic commentary of Bahya ben Asher (Saragossa, d. 1340), a student of Nahmanides. In his commentary on the phrase in Exod. 25:9, "the pattern of the Tabernacle and the pattern of its implements (*keilav*)," Bahya begins his exposition with the statement, "It is known that the Tabernacle and its implements were all material images (*tziyurrim gufaniyyim*) [that were intended] to make comprehensible the divine (*'elyonim*) images for which they were a model."[58] He then proceeds to explicate at length the spiritual meanings of each of the implements and their respective spiritual powers, and on Exod. 26:15, he concludes:

> And it is important to say that even though the Tabernacle and the Temple were fated to be destroyed, and the holy material Temple implements were fated to be destroyed in the Diaspora (*golah*), you should not imagine that, Heaven forbid!, because they ceased to exist in this world (*lematah*), their forms and models also ceased to exist in the higher world (*lema'alah*). They continue to exist and will exist forever, and if they came to an end below, they are destined to be restored as they originally were…. And lest you say that just as they were destroyed below (in this world), their power (*sevaran*) above was lost; that is to say, the power to which they point (*mekavim*), or lest [you say that] the power that we contemplate in them ceased to be, therefore the verse teaches: they exist, forever and for all eternity.[59]

What Bahya seems to be pointing to is specifically the *image* of these implements, something perhaps not all that different from the image that the menorah ultimately takes in the form of the *Shiviti* (which was typically composed out of the micrographic rendering of Psalm 67)—namely, an iconic image of devotion.[60] Precisely because the images

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[58] Chavel, C., ed. *Peirush R. Bahya 'al Hatorah* (Jerusalem: Mosad Harav Kook, 1966-68), II: 268
[59] Ibid., pp. 288-89.
[60] I take the word "icon" here from Frojmovic, "Messianic Politics," p. 125, who prefers to see the implements as "non-figurative icons of messianic belief."

of these implements—placed at the very beginning of the codex like carpet-pages— were believed to possess such powers, they were also able to serve as markers of the Jewishness of these Bibles.

A very similar symbolic meaning for these Bibles is also reflected in the term *mikdashyah*, literally "the sanctuary of the Lord," which beginning in the fourteenth century, becomes in Sepharad an honorific title for deluxe masoretic Bible codices.[61] Some of the codices, though by no means all, contain Temple implements illustrations, making them virtually self-reflexive books with their sanctuary-likeness pictured inside them.[62] The use of the term *mikdashyah* was not, however, a fourteenth century invention and did not derive from the presence within their pages of the Temple implement illustrations. Naphtali Wieder has demonstrated that the use of *mikdashyah* as a term equating the Torah with the Tabernacle goes back to early sectarian circles, as documented in the literature from Qumran, and is later explicated by the Masorete Aaron ben Asher in his *Sefer Dikdukei Ha-te'amim*, where he analogizes the three courtyards of the Temple with the three divisions of the Bible (with the Pentateuch equaling the Holy of Holies; the Prophets the Inner Courtyard; and the Hagiographa the Outer Courtyard).[63] The term was later employed by

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[61] Joseph Gutmann, "Masorah Figurata in the Mikdashyah," in *VIII International Congress of the International Organization for Masoretic Studies* (Chicago, 1988). The earliest extant Biblical colophon to describe itself as a *mikdashyah* is Jerusalem JNUL 4^0 780, but this Bible does *not* include Temple implement illustrations. The earliest *mikdashyah* Bible with Temple implements is the Farhi Bible, Hispano Provencal, 1366-82 (formerly Sassoon Ms. 368).

[62] Very few of these Bibles, however, illustrate the Temple itself. Two exceptional codices that do contain diagram-like illustrations of the Temple are a Bible written by Joseph ben Judah Ibn Merwas (London BLMS Or. 2201) in Toledo in 1300; and a map written by Joshua Ibn Gaon in Soria in 1306, now bound into the Second Kennicott Bible (Oxford, Bod. MS Kennicott 2m fol. 2r). The two maps are very similar and may have derived from a common source; see Kogman-Appel, *Jewish Book Art*, p. 107. Compare, however, the rarity of depictions of the Temple in Jewish Bibles to the many found in Christian Bibles going back to the Codex Amiatinus (8th century); see the discussion in Mary Carruthers, *The Craft of Thought: Meditation, Rhetoric, and the Making of Images 400-1200* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1998), pp. 221-276. Gutmann, "Masorah Figurata," p. 73, also calls attention to eighth century Qur'ans found in Yemen whose frontispieces had images of an ideal mosque.

[63] Naphtali Wieder, "'Sanctuary' as a Metaphor for Scripture," *Journal of Jewish Studies* 8 (1957), pp. 166-68 especially. Wieder notes that the analogy is

both Karaites and Rabbinites such as Abraham Ibn Ezra. Two masoretic Bibles written in the late fourteenth century—one formerly in the Sassoon Collection, written in the years between 1366 and 1383; the other, the King's Bible (London, British Library MS Kings 1), written in Solsona, Catalonia, in 1384—both describe themselves in their respective colophons as a *mikdashyah*; as Wieder notes, the former manuscript explicitly described the cognomen as one used *befi he-hamon*, "by the masses".[64] It was, in other words, a popular designation for a deluxe Bible like other terms such as *taj* and *keter* which were also applied both to early Near Eastern masoretic codices (such as the Aleppo Codex, *Keter Aram Tsova*) and later to Spanish Hebrew Bibles (such as the Damascus Keter [NLI (formerly JNUL) MS. Heb. 4⁰790] written in Burgos in 1260).[65]

The most extensive explication of the term *mikdashyah* as an epithet for the Bible in a fifteenth century Sephardic Jewish text is found in the introduction to the grammatical treatise *Ma'aseh 'Efod*, composed in 1403 by the Catalonian polemicist and grammarian Isaac ben Moses Halevi, better known as Profiat Duran (1360-1412).[66] Duran draws on the analogy between the tripartite division of the

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a metaphor for equivalent *sancta*, but, given the exceptional literacy of the Qumran sectarians and their devotion to the Bible, as evidenced by the huge number of Biblical fragments found among the Dead Sea Scrolls, it is tempting to think that the Bible and attention to biblical study may actually have served them as a surrogate Sanctuary and mode of worship.

[64] Ibid., p. 171. For the King's Bible, see Kogman-Appel, *Jewish Book Art*, pp. 154-55 and Margoulieth, *Hebrew and Samaritan Manuscripts*, #56, pp. 26-28**.**

[65] See my forthcoming article, "On the Term Taj/Keter as a Title for Bibles: A Speculation about its Origins," in the Festschrift for Menahem Schmelzer, to appear in *Revue des Études Juives*, in which I also discuss another term, *mishkan*: see the colophon to a North Italian Bible written in 1499 (Parma Ms. Heb. 2516, *Catalogue* #24) by the Spanish exile and scribe Moses ben Hayyim Akrish who thus describes the book.

[66] Profiat Duran, *Ma'aseh Efod: Einleitung in das Studium und Grammatik der Hebräischen Sprache von Profiat Duran*, ed. J. Friedländer and Jakob Kohn (Vienna: J. Holzwarth, 1865). On Duran, see Eliezer Gutwirth, "Religion and Social Criticism in Late Medieval Rousillon: An Aspect of Profayt Duran's Activities," *Michael: On the History of the Jews in the Diaspora*: 12 (1991): pp. 135-56; Kalman Bland, *The Artless Jew: Medieval and Modern Affirmations and Denials of the Visual* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000), pp. 82-91; and Irene E. Zwiep "Jewish Scholarship and Christian Tradition in Late-Medieval Catalonia: Profiat Duran on the Art of Memory," in *Hebrew Scholarship and the Medieval World*, ed. Nicholas de Lange (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), pp. 224-39.

Bible and the spatial structure of the Temple that we have seen was already formulated by the early Masorete Aaron ben Asher. But the real significance of Duran's discussion where we are concerned lies in the special importance he attributes to the Bible as acquired through its *study* and the references to the *actual* Bibles used for study that he uses to support his claim.

Duran's exposition of the importance of Bible study is found in the context of a typology he presents of the three different types of intellectual elites among Jewish scholars of his day, each of which is devoted to a specific type of knowledge (*ḥokhmah*) that, each claims, will lead to "the ultimate perfection" (*ha-hatzlaḥa ha-aḥaronah*), namely, the full measure of Jewish existence. These three elites are the Talmudists, the philosophers, and the kabbalists. While Duran never explicitly rejects any of these types or their respective subjects of knowledge, he proposes a fourth path, Bible study, as the true "worship" (*'avodah*) of God.[67] The term *'avodah* is laden with meaning: originally an epithet for the Temple cult, it was later appropriated by the Rabbis as a cognomen for *their* institution of worship, communal prayer, which they called *'avodah ba-lev*, "the worship of the heart." By using this charged designation for Bible study, Duran is attributing to the activity the same religious efficacy possessed by Temple sacrifice *and* the Rabbinic institution of communal prayer.

Much of Duran's discussion revolves around his view of Torah as a *segulah*, another charged term that means both a "treasured heirloom" and a virtually amuletic source of special power.[68] Thus, he writes, "even engagement (*'eisek*), recitation (*hagiyyah*), and reading (*keriah*) alone [that is, without comprehension] are part of *'avodah* and of that which will help to draw down the divine influence and providence through the *segulah* that adheres in them, because this too is God's will."[69] Indeed, he continues, God specifically prepared the Torah for Israel in its time of exile, so that it could serve as a *mikdash me'at*, a "small sanctuary," within whose pages God's presence might be found, just as it formerly was within the four walls of the Temple; analogously, study of Torah atones for sins just as sacrifices once did.[70] Indeed, the study of Torah is so implicated in the fate of Israel that its neglect by the Jews of Ashkenaz (because of their lamentable

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[67] Profiat Duran, *Ma'aseh Efod* no. 14.
[68] Ibid., p. 10.
[69] Ibid., p. 13. Cf. the similar statement on p. 11.
[70] Ibid., p. 11.

concentration upon Talmud study) led to their persecutions and travails in the fourteenth century; so too, Duran writes, the only reason Jews of Aragon were saved from destruction was because of their recitation of Psalms, *shimush tehillim*, a kind of devotional reading with its own theurgic powers.[71] In Duran's view, this theurgic power or *segulah* attaches to any activity related to Scripture, including the compilation of Masorah, the study of Biblical grammar, and even the composition of his own grammar in the *Ma'aseh Ephod*, which Duran believed would play an active role in the apocalyptic scenario and hasten the messianic age.[72] Needless to add, the *segulah* of Torah-study is efficacious only when the Torah is studied in Hebrew, not in other languages.[73]

For Duran, then, the Bible is more than just a text; it possesses what Kalman Bland has called "artifactual power."[74] This conception of the Bible codex's power gains further depth if it is seen against the background of Duran's time, the years between 1391 and 1415 when the Church in Sepharad embarked upon an especially virulent campaign against its Jews. By emphasizing the Bible's artifactual power, Duran was offering his contemporaries an avenue of salvation that was immediately available to them, a sacred shelter inside of which they could occupy themselves in Torah study and thereby defend themselves against the hostile world outside. This was the real force of the Temple analogy as Duran used it. Strangely, Duran never mentions the Temple implement illustrations—a curious omission if he was indeed familiar with them—but it is not difficult to imagine how a fourteenth-century Spanish Jew, looking at those pages, would have felt the palpable connection between the divine presence dwelling in the Temple and the material Bible containing those images.

Duran's Biblicism should be seen as the culmination of the grammatical tradition going back to the Masoretes and continuing with the work of earlier Andalusi grammarians Jonah Ibn Janach and exegetes trained in al-Andalus such as Abraham Ibn Ezra, who

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[71] Ibid., p. 14. On *shimush tehillim*, see Gutwirth, "Religion and Social Criticism," pp. 151-2.

[72] Ibid., p. 178. On this, Frank Talmage, "Keep Your Sons from Scripture: The Bible in Medieval Jewish Scholarship and Spirituality," in *Understanding Scripture*, ed. C. Thoma and M. Wyschograd (New York: Paulist Press, 1987), p. 91 (but note that the page reference is incorrect).

[73] Duran, *Ma'aseh Efod* no. 10.

[74] Bland, *The Artless Jew*, pp. 83-84.

stressed the importance of knowledge of Hebrew as a key to interpreting Scripture. But there is something new about Duran's approach. As Irene Zwiep has argued, Bible study for Duran is essentially an individualistic activity of studying the written text in order to memorize it.[75] In contrast to the student of Talmud, who is advised to attend a yeshivah where he will learn to deduce generalized principles from particulars through direct intellectual exchange with his rabbinic teachers, the reader addressed by Duran internalizes his knowledge of Scripture through memorization, an act which is essentially solitary (even though Duran also stresses the importance of studying Bible in study-houses with other students).[76]

To this end, Duran provided in the introduction to the *Ma'aseh Ephod* an entire system of memorization techniques, nearly all of them drawn from classical and medieval memorial traditions (as Zwiep shows) but adapted to Jewish tradition.[77] A significant number of these techniques relate to the material artifact of the codex. The student should place mnemonic notes (*simanim*), presumably in the margins of the text, so as to facilitate recall from memory (Rule 4).[78] He should always read from the same book, not switch between copies (Rule 5).[79] The text should be written in square, Assyrian letters (*ketav ashuri*) "for because of its beauty the impression of this script remains in the common sense and in the imagination," and these letters should be inscribed in bold and heavy strokes (Rules 9 and 10).[80] And most

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[75] On this entire topic, see Zwiep, "Jewish Scholarship," the first important article to approach this dimension of Duran's work, which is a watershed moment in the history of Jewish reading practice. Zwiep seems to me, however, to overemphasize the degree to which Duran sees the act of reading as a solitary one. In point of fact, the very first of his rules of memorization emphasizes study with an important scholar and intellectual exchange with colleagues (no. 18). Still, Zwiep is profoundly correct in seeing the final act of reading as a private one from written texts.

[76] Duran, *Ma'aseh Efod* no.18.

[77] It should be noted that the type of memorized knowledge Duran describes is very different from the type of memorized knowledge that it is likely students in the classical rabbinic period possessed from aural acquisition of the Biblical text; in contrast, Duran's solitary reader memorizes Scripture from a written and read text.

[78] Duran, *Ma'aseh Efod* no. 19. Duran refers to the mnemonymic signs of the Masoretes, but see Zwiep's comments on p. 233 connecting Duran to Hugh of St. Victor's advice in the *Didascolion*.

[79] Ibid.

[80] Ibid., p. 21.

significant of all, "one should always study from beautifully made books that have elegant script and pages and ornate adornments and bindings, and the places of study—I mean, the study-houses (*batei hamidrash*)—should be beautifully constructed and handsome, for this enhances the love of study and the desire for it. It also improves [the power of] memory, for reading while looking at pleasant forms and beautiful images and drawings quickens and stimulates the soul, and strengthens its faculties" (Rule 6).[81] Once again Duran draws upon the Temple analogy, saying that it is only fitting to decorate and beautify "this sanctified book which is a *mikdashyah*" because it was God's will that the sanctuary itself be decorated and ornamented with silver and gold and fine gems. For this reason, he adds, it has always been helpful for learned scholars to be wealthy so as to be able to own their own books and not have to borrow them. To this he added, however, the following sharp and derisive comment: the wealthy patrons of his day, he wrote, even believe that merely "possessing these books is sufficient as self-glorification, and they think that storing them in their treasure-chests is the same as preserving them in their minds."[82] Duran himself did not believe this, but because he was unable to deny the social power of these wealthy aristocrats, he nonetheless concedes that "there is merit for their actions, since in some way they cause the Torah to be magnified and exalted; and even if they are not worthy of it, they bequeath a blessing to their children and those who come after them."[83] Therein lies the Bible's artifactual power. It can even help those who do not deserve it!

Duran was not the only figure to level criticism at the wealthy aristocratic classes of the Jewish communities in Aragon and Catalonia in the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries for their religious laxity, materialism, and social corruption.[84] As Duran understood, however, these classes constituted the community's leadership, for better or for worse. Duran's discomfort with the values of that aristocratic class, along with the very qualified praise he adds

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[81] Ibid., p. 19; translation adapted from Zwiep, "Jewish Scholarship", p. 236.
[82] Ibid., p. 21.
[83] Ibid., p. 21.
[84] For the still classic account of this period and its social conflicts, Yitzḥak Baer, *A History of the Jews in Christian Spain*, transl. L. Schoffman, 2 vols. (Philadelphia, Jewish Publication Society, 1966), II: pp. 35-158; and Eliezer Gutwirth, "Conversions to Christianity Amongst Fifteenth-Century Spanish Jews: An Alternative Explanation," *Jubilee Volume for Shlomo Simonsohn* (Tel Aviv: Tel Aviv University Press, 1993), pp. 97-121.

in his closing remarks, epitomizes his ambivalence. He knew that these wealthy patrons were the only ones with the financial means to commission such Temple-like Bibles, and one can see in his remarks something of a defense and even a legitimization of their crucial role, despite their failure to exercise the proper spiritual and political leadership. While these opulent Bibles should have been used for study, as Duran recommended, he knew that they were also "trophy-books," commissioned specifically for conspicuous display of their owner's wealth. Frojmovich has called attention to the borrowings of ornamental designs for carpet pages in these Bibles from precious Andalusi textiles, wall-hangings, and dress; these precious items were signs of nobility and aristocracy (for both Christians and Moslems), and by using them in Bibles, their Jewish owners also signaled their social status. And yet, as Frojmovich also shows, "the Hebrew Bible pages create images of religious contemplation, analogous to the complicated patterns of Islamic textiles that were to be savored slowly in a contemplative fashion."[85] Still, the spiritual profits from showing off should not be lightly dismissed. As I have noted, the production of such books for the wealthy paradoxically spiked in the late fifteenth century, despite the political and religious turbulence of the period. It is almost as though the sheer investment of wealth in such valuable objects of sanctity provided their owners with a kind of spiritual security blanket.

The story of one display-Bible of this kind vividly illustrates the circumstances that could lead to the commission of such a book. In 1476, in the town of La Corũna (Corunna) in the far northwestern corner of Spain, the scribe Moses ibn Zabarah and the illuminator/artist Joseph Ibn Hayyim, working together, completed an opulently illustrated Hebrew Bible.[86] The Bible was written at the commission of a certain Isaac ben Solomon di Braga, an "admirable youth," as he is described in the book's colophon. We have little knowledge of the history of the di Braga family, but they were probably merchants involved in La Corũna's famous clothing

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[85] Frojmovich, "Mudejarismo", pp. 241-46, 244 in particular for the quote.

[86] The information here is all based on Bezalel Narkiss and Aliza Cohen-Mushlin, "Introduction," *The Kennicott Bible, with an Introduction by Bezalel Narkiss and Aliza Cohen-Mushlin* (London: Facsimile Editions, 1985); Cecil Roth, "A Masterpiece of Medieval Spanish-Jewish Art—The Kenicott Bible," 12 (1952), pp. 351-68; reprinted in C. Roth, *Gleanings: Essays in Jewish History, Letters and Art* (New York: Hermon Press, 1967), pp. 298-315, and Kogman-Appel, *Jewish Book Art*, pp. 212-215.

industry. Isaac's father was deceased, so the young man must have
been sufficiently wealthy on his own to commission the Bible and
cover the considerable expenses of production. It is also possible that
the scribe knew Isaac's father and felt a paternal obligation towards
the youth. The codex's colophon contains a blessing—that "this book
of the law shall not depart out of your mouth but you shall meditate
upon it day and night so that you observe and perform all that is
written in it"—that may not have been a cliché but a sincere
admonition proffered by an elder to a young aristocrat urging him to
maintain the traditions of his father's faith.

This Bible, known today as the First Kennicott Bible (Oxford,
Bodleian Library, Kennicott 1), is one of the most extravagantly
decorated and illustrated Hebrew manuscripts ever produced. Nearly
one quarter of the approximately 900 pages in the codex bear some
decoration. These include the arcaded pages at the volume's beginning
and end which contain David Kimḥi's grammatical treatise, *Sefer
Mikhlol*; decorative carpet pages at the main divisions of the Bible
(between the Pentateuch and the Prophets, where four pages are
devoted to the Temple implements; and between the Prophets and the
Hagiographa, and before Psalms); decorated panels and frames for the
beginnings of books, among them Jonah and the Psalms, which
themselves contain text illustrations; decorative and narrative motifs
for the *parashah* signs throughout; the artist's colophon which
contains zoo- and anthropomorphic letters and the *masora magna*
written out in micrographic designs.

Ibn Hayyim's art drew from eclectic sources—Mudejar motifs,
14th century Catalonian Bibles, Gothic and French figurative
illustrations, even contemporary playing cards whose figures served as
models for the depiction of characters like King David, as well as for
the animals and beasts that populate the marginal *parashah*
decorations.[87] The book's main source, however, was an earlier Bible
known today as the Cervera Bible ((Biblioteca Nacional, Lisbon, Ms.
Hebr. 72), which was completed in 1300, nearly a century and a half

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[87] Sheila Edmunds, "The Kennicott Bible and the Use of Prints in Hebrew
Manuscripts," *Atti del XXIV Congresso Internazionale di Storia dell'Arte* 8
(1983): pp. 23-29; idem, "A Note on the Art of Joseph Ibn Ḥayyim," *Studies in
Bibliography & Booklore* XI/1-2 (1975-76), pp. 25-40; and for a summary of
her work, Narkiss and Cohn-Mushlin, "Introduction" pp. 55-56 and 70-71.

earlier.[88] Its Biblical text was written by the scribe Samuel bar Abraham ibn Nathan who wrote it, so he tells us in his colophon, while recuperating from a fracture in his leg. Its Masorah, executed in many skillful micrographic designs, was done by the famous scribe and illustrator Joshua Ibn Gaon who, while largely adhering to earlier Castilian Islamicizing tradition, introduced Gothic motifs and themes such as playful dragons into the book. Its extensive decorations and lavish illustrations were drawn and painted by Joseph Hatsarfati ("the Frenchman"). Joseph, too, drew on a large repertoire of models for his paintings and drawings—architectural designs, floral patterns, and depictions of animals, many of them Gothic in origin. Most dramatically, he broke with the tradition of Castilian aniconic decoration and drew pictures with human figures that are completely unlike anything in earlier Sephardic Hebrew Bibles.[89]

Both the Cervera Bible and the Kennicott Bible were unique productions. We know virtually nothing about the precise circumstances that led to the commissioning of the Cervera Bible, but there are hints to the history behind the Kennicott's creation. Marginal notations in the Cervera Bible made by its owner about births in his family in the first half of the fifteenth century indicate that the book was in La Corũna during that period, and it is likely that the book was still there in 1476, when Isaac di Braga, the youthful patron of the Kennicott Bible, may have personally seen it. Based on this possibility, the historian Cecil Roth speculated that Isaac not only saw the book but coveted it and wanted to buy it; when he was unable to do so, he decided to hire a master scribe and a talented illuminator to produce another Bible based upon the Cervera but with even more elaborate and beautiful illustrations.[90] Although there is no hard evidence to support Roth's speculation, it has been recognized by Jewish art historians as sufficiently compelling to enter the scholarship. True or not, it offers a captivating story for depicting a wealthy Jew's motive in the commissioning of a trophy Bible. One can easily imagine how the combination of acquisitive lust *and*

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[88] The entire Bible can now be viewed online at http://purl.pt/23405/3/. For an extensive discussion of the book as well as for bibliography on earlier scholarship, see Kogman-Appel, *Jewish Book Art*, pp. 98-110.

[89] Kogman-Appel, *Jewish Book Art*, pp. 98, 123-24.

[90] Cecil Roth, "An Additional Note on the Kennicott Bible," *The Bodleian Library Record* 6 (1961), pp. 659-62; repr. in C. Roth, *Gleanings*, p. 318; Narkiss and Cohn-Mushlin, "Introduction," p. 18.

spiritual desire would lead a young and wealthy patron to commission such a visually spectacular Bible.

This scenario helps to explain why the one book so explicitly quotes the other. There can be no question that Ibn Hayyim, the Kennicott's artist, clearly knew the Cervera Bible, as can be seen by juxtaposing his and Joseph Hatsarfati's colophons, pictured here in **Fig. 11** (the Cervera Bible) **(Lisbon, Biblioteca Nacional, ms. 72, f. 449r)** and **Fig. 12** (the Kennicott Bible) **(Oxford, Bod. Kennicott 1, f. 447r)**. In its structure and contents, too, the Kennicott was deliberately modeled upon the Cervera Bible. Both contain grammatical works by David Kimḥi at their beginning and end (though they are different works in the two Bibles) as well as similar illustrations, such as that of Jonah being thrown off the ship and swallowed by the whale, with the Kennicott clearly taking the idea for its picture from the Cervera.[91]

Fig. 11 (the Cervera Bible) (Lisbon, Biblioteca Nacional, ms. 72, f. 449r)

Fig. 12 (the Kennicott Bible) (Oxford, Bod. Kennicott 1, f. 447r)

[91] For reproductions of the two colophons, see Narkiss and Cohn-Mushlin, "Introduction," pp. 13-14, and for the relationship between the two Bibles, see pp. 16-18 and passim, esp. 25-27 and the table on p. 26 comparing the contents and sequence of sections in the two texts.

More than imitating the Cervera Bible, however, the Kennicott seems intentionally to try to surpass it—not only in its sheer calligraphic and decorative beauty and in the opulence and number of its illustrations, but in its playfulness as well. For all its sublime craftsmanship and its use of Gothic motifs such as animals and decorative dragons, the Cervera Bible is, in the end, a fittingly somber and devout Bible. Not so the Kennicott. While Joseph Ben Hayyim's colophon imitates Joseph HaTsarfati's zoo- and anthropo-morphic letters, the former's hollow shapes are peopled with intentionally humorous faces of glaring people and lovable monstrosities, even shockingly naked men and women. The *parashah* signs—many of them, as noted, based on playing card figures—are similarly inhabited by hybrids and humanoids who point to an imaginative realm literally beyond the edges of the sacred text. Atop the arcades framing *Sefer HaMikhlol*, an army of cats with swords besieges a castle of mice; elsewhere, hares attack wolves.[92] In the Ashkenazic Bible we will encounter other examples of humorous (and bizarre) marginal art, but the images in the Kennicott have an irrepressible playfulness and energy that infuses the entire book. Composed only a year or two after the first books printed in Sepharad, and a mere sixteen years before the expulsion of the Jews from the Christian kingdoms, the opulent codex bears witness to a rocket-like burst of creativity at a moment of Jewish history in Sepharad that is usually viewed as the nadir of the rich cultural history that preceded it. It is not to be disregarded that this unexpected creative burst took the shape of a Bible.

In Ashkenaz:
The territory called "Ashkenaz" actually consists of two distinct areas—Northern France and England comprise one part; Germany, the other. It is, however, often difficult to distinguish between them. In both areas, the masoretic Bible occupied a far less prominent position than it did in Sepharad. According to my preliminary survey, nearly two thirds of the surviving medieval Bibles in the Iberian peninsula are masoretic; in Ashkenaz, in contrast, they represent no more than one third and, as we shall see, they are outnumbered by liturgical Bibles.

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[92] For these images, see Oxford, Bodleian Ms. Kenn. 1 no. 2322, f. 442v-443r; and for brief comments, see Narkiss, "Introduction" (to the Kennicott Bible), p. 41. On the animal battles, see Ursula Schubert, "Zwei Tierszenen am Ende der Ersten Kennicott-Bibel, La Corũna 1476, in Oxford," *Jewish Art* 12-13 (1986-87): pp. 83-88.

In terms of their contents and overall page layout, the Ashkenazic masoretic Bible also replicates the early Near Eastern masoretic codices of the tenth and eleventh centuries, with the Biblical text generally laid out in three columns (in contrast to Sepharad where two columns increasingly became the norm), and with the *masora magna* and *parva* written in micrography, the former in two lines in the top margin and three in the bottom, and the latter in the space to the right of each column. Unlike their Sephardic counterparts, the Ashkenazic codices rarely if ever contain masoretic treatises at their beginning and end like Aaron ben Asher's *Sefer Dikdukei Te'amim*. In some codices, however, the Biblical text is accompanied by the Aramaic Targum Onkelos, which is written "inter-verse", that is, the verse in Aramaic literally following the Hebrew original, verse by verse, in each double-column. As we shall see, the practice of writing the Targum "inter-verse" is paralleled in Ashkenazic, particularly German, liturgical Pentateuchs, and may even have originated in that area.

The inter-verse Targum is attested in Ashkenazic manuscripts as early as the multi-volume Ambrosian Bible (Milan, Ambrosian Library, ms. B30-32), a three-volume illustrated Bible composed probably in the region around Würzberg, in 1236-38, and in the Wroclaw Bible (Universitätsbibliothek Breslau Ms. M 1106), composed in 1238; these are two of the earliest surviving Ashkenazic Masoretic Bibles. [93] In addition to its presence in other Bible codices, the inter-verse Targum is also found in the two "giant" Bibles from Erfurt, to which I shall return shortly.[94]

Jordan Penkower has distinguished different geo-cultural textual and scribal traditions among both Torah scrolls and Bible codices in the Middle Ages, with clear differences between Ashkenaz and

[93] On the Ambrosian Bible, see Bezalel Narkiss, *Hebrew Illustrated Manuscripts* (Jerusalem: Keter, 1969), pl. 25; and Ottolenghi, *Hebraica Ambrosiana, II,* pp. 119-25. On the Wroclaw Bible, Therese Metzger, *Di Bibel von Meschullam und Joseph Qalonymos* (Wuerzberg, Schoeningh, 1994); and on their common scribe, Joseph Qalonymus, see Joseph Gutmann, "Joseph Ben Kalonymus—the Enigma of a Thirteenth-Century Hebrew Scribe," in *A Crown For a King: Studies in Jewish Art, History, and Archaeology in Memory of Stephen A. Kayser*, ed. Shalom Sabar et al (Jerusalem: Gefen, 2000), pp. 147-51.

[94] See for example BnF Héb. 5-6 (S. Germany or S. Switzerland, 1294-95) and 8-10, (S. Germany, 1304), both of which are multi-volume masoretic Bibles like the Ambrosian and contain the inter-verse Targum in the Pentateuch volume. Both are also large, if not giant, codices (53.4x37.5 cm and 44.5x32.5 cm respectively).

Sepharad.[95] Aside from these geo-cultural textual differences, the main features differentiating the Ashkenazic Masoretic Bible from its Sephardic counterpart are material, namely, the book's format, size, and mode of decoration. These differences can be so pronounced that they give the Sephardic and Ashkenazic masoretic Bibles entirely distinct characters. Take, for example, the matter of size. In contrast to the Sephardic Bible—the size of which usually varies between that of a quarto and a medium-sized folio[96]—the dimensions of the Ashkenazic Bible vary far more widely, from "giant" Bibles to small, portable codices. This large range in size and format mirrors in certain respects the history of the Latin Bible in Western Europe.[97] As scholars have shown, the twelfth century, first in Italy and later through the rest of Europe, witnessed the production of a great number of multi-volume Bibles, many of them with enormous, virtually gigantic dimensions.[98] Beginning in the thirteenth century, however,

[95] Jordan S. Penkower, "A Sheet of Parchment from a 10th or 11th Century Torah Scroll: Determining its Type among Four Traditions (Oriental, Sefardi, Ashkenazi, Yemenite)," *Textus* XXI (2002), pp. 235-64. As the title of Penkower's article indicates, there are also Oriental (examples drawn mainly from 10-11th century texts) and Yemenite (15th–16th century) traditions aside from Ashkenazic and Sephardic (13th–14th century).

[96] For Spanish Bibles before 1280, see Dukan, *La Bible*, pp. 187-222, and particularly the helpful table on p. 222; most of the codices are either in what she calls "grand format" (between 369x295mm and 299x277mm) or "format intermédiare" (283x275mm – 197x178mm). My preliminary survey suggests that most 14th century Spanish Bibles continue to adhere to these rough proportions.

[97] The best single overview of the history of the Latin Bible in Europe as a material artifact is Christopher de Hamel, *The Book: The History of the Bible* (London: Phaedon, 2001), pp. 64-139; and for individual periods in separate essays, *The Practice of the Bible in the Middle Ages: Production, Reception and Performance in Western Christianity*, ed. Susan Boynton and Diane J. Reilly (New York:Columbia University Press, 2011), esp. Richard Gyeg, "Early Medieval Bibles, Biblical Books, and the Monastic Liturgy in the Benevantan Region," pp. 34-60; Diane J. Reilly, "Lectern Bibles and Liturgical Reform in the Central Middle Ages," pp. 105-25; Lila Yawn, "The Italian Giant Bibles," pp. 126-56; and Laura Light, "The Bible and the Individual: The Paris Bible," pp. 228-46.

[98] Walter Cahn, *Romanesque Bible Illumination* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press,1982), pp. 64-91; Diane J. Reilly, "Lectern Bibles" and Lila Yawn, " The Italian Giant Bibles," in Boynton and Reilly, *The Practice of the Bible;* and Sarit Shalev-Eyni, *Jews among Christians: A Hebrew School of Illumination of the Lake Constance Region* (London: Harvey Miller, and Turnhout: Brepols, in

first around Paris and later, throughout Europe, the dimensions of the Latin Bible began to diminish, and the large multi-volume sets were replaced by single volumes containing the entirety of Scripture, written on thin parchment (itself the product of new technologies), and in tiny but clear handwriting. These literally portable Bibles—frequently referred to as Paris Bibles—were a product of the commercial book trade in and around Paris and served a large audience—students and masters, members of the court and church hierarchy, lay collectors, and mendicant monks and friars who had to carry them around to use in preaching and teaching Scripture. As these Bibles spread, they became available to the entire literate public and were also acquired by individuals for private study.[99]

The changes evident in the Latin Bible are reflected in the history of the Jewish Bible in Ashkenaz, even though the latter did not follow the same neat chronological development, and they lag behind their Christian counterparts by about a century in each stage.[100] Between the mid-thirteenth and mid-fourteenth centuries, one finds both "giant" Hebrew Bibles and smaller portable ones. The Ambrosian Bible of 1236-38 and the Wroclaw Bible of 1238 are both decidedly large multi-volume codices (453 x 344 mm= 18 x 13.5 inches, and 488 x 360 mm= 19.2 x 14 inches), but neither of them comes close to Erfurt 1 (Berlin; Staatsbibliothek, Ms. Or fol. 1210-1211), completed in 1343, the single largest Jewish Bible in existence with dimensions of 629 x 470mm (=24.7 x 18.5 inches). There survive approximately fourteen other Biblical codices whose height exceeds 500 mm (= 19.7 inches).[101]

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press), pp. 1-10, who was the first to connect the Hebrew Bibles to their Latin counterparts in Germany.

[99] Chistopher De Hamel, *The Book*, pp. 135-39; and now esp. Laura Light, "The Bible and the Individual," passim.

[100] Colette Sirat, "Le livre hébreu: Rencontre de la tradition juive et de l'esthétique française," in *Rashi et la culture juive en France du Nord au moyen âge*, ed. G. Nahon and C. Touati (Paris-Louvain, Peeters, 1997), pp. 242-59, where she shows how these changes affected Jewish books generally as well as Bibles; and Shalev-Eyni, *Jews Among Christians*, on the Bible in particular.

[101] O. Hahn, with T. Wolff, H.O. Feistel, I. Rabin, and M. Beit-Arié, "The Erfurt Hebrew Giant Bible and the Experimental XRF Analysis of Ink and Plummet Composition," *Gazette du livre medieval*, n. 51 (2007), pp. 16-28; for illustrations and a short description, see *Kitwe-Jad: Jüdische Handschriften: Restaurien, Bewahren, Präsentieren* (Berlin: Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin-

The exact purpose of these large-dimensioned Jewish Bibles is unclear. Scholars of the Latin Bible generally agree that the rise of the large-sized volumes in the late eleventh and twelfth centuries was tied to monastic reform and the renewed insistence upon communal reading in monasteries.[102] This is corroborated by their monumental size, which would have facilitated public reading, while their frequent magnificence suggests that they were also intended for public viewing. We know too that lavishly decorated Bibles served as gifts from powerful and wealthy individuals to rulers and religious institutions (like monasteries), donated in order to strengthen strategic political relationships.[103] These rationales are less relevant to Jewish Bibles. There were no Jewish monasteries, and at least by the thirteenth century, no one in Ashkenaz was using a codex for the weekly public reading of the Torah in the synagogue (as I will discuss below). Furthermore, as Malachi Beit-Arié has shown, virtually all Hebrew manuscripts in the Middle Ages were initially commissioned or produced for individual owners and users even if in some cases those individuals later dedicated the codices to synagogues or other institutions to serve as communal "property".[104] Such a plan may have been behind the commissioning of some of these Bibles. On the other hand, as Beit-Arié has suggested, it may be that the enormous dimensions of these codices simply embodied "the wish of the patron

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Preussischer Kulturbesitz, 2002), pp. 18-25. The other giant Bibles include Erfurt 2 (SBB Ms. Or. Fol. 1212).

[102] Dianne J. Reilly, *The Art of Reform in Eleventh-Century Flanders: Gerard of Cambrai, Richard of Saint-Vanne and the Saint-Vaast Bible* (Leiden: Brill, 2006); and Reilly, "Lectern Bibles," and Lily Yawn, "The Italian Giant Bibles," in *The Practice of the Bible*.

[103] De Hamel, *The Book*, pp. 37-38; and Reilly, "Lectern Bibles," pp. 108-9.

[104] Malachi Beit-Arié, "The Individualistic Nature of the Hebrew Medieval Book: Production and Consumption," (Hebrew), *Zion* 65 (2000), pp. 441-51. The best-known cases of individuals dedicating their books to synagogues nearly all relate to Karaites and the Karaite community. An exceptional case in Ashkenaz may be that of Mahzor Worms: Malachi Beit-Arié, "The Worms Mahzor-MS Jerusalem, Jewish National and University Library Heb 4° 781/1: Würzburg? (Germany), 1272," in *Worms Mahzor: MS Jewish National and University Library Heb. 4ᴼ 781/1*. Introductory Volume, ed. by Malachi Beit-Arié (London: Cyelar Publishing Comp., and Jerusalem: Jewish National and University Library, 1985), pp. 13-35. Repr., with Corrigenda, in Beit-Arié, *Medieval Hebrew Book*, pp. 16-17. As Beit-Arié suggests, the commissioner may already have intended, at the time he commissioned the book, to donate it to the community after his death.

to produce and own an unprecedented book."[105] It may also have been the case that Jews saw Latin giant Bibles owned by Christians and then thought that they too should have such books, if only as a reflex of cultural competition. In fact, we know nothing specific about the history or intended use of the Erfurt Bible (or of others like it) before the expulsion of the Jews from Thuringia in 1349.

Beginning around 1300, however, the dimensions of the Hebrew Bible began to shrink, albeit gradually. A particularly striking example of such a portable Hebrew Bible with much smaller dimensions is the Schocken Bible, produced around the year 1300 in the Lake Constance region in southern Germany.[106] Smaller dimensions also characterize several liturgical Pentateuchs produced in Germany from that period on.[107] An even more remarkable text is a complete Hebrew Bible, undated but apparently composed around the same time as the Schocken Bible, with 408 folios of such thin fine parchment that all the folios together are only a little more than three-quarters of an inch thick, while the folios themselves measure a mere 100 x 75 mm (3.9 x 2.95 inches).[108] In the later fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, particularly in Italy, which absorbed many Jewish scribes expelled from Ashkenaz, complete Bibles in single volumes regularly possess small, portable dimensions of this order. We shall return to these Italian Bibles at the conclusion of this survey.

In addition to reflecting the physical dimensions of the Latin Bible in the West, the Ashkenazic Bible is also imbued with its decorative and illustrative features. For obvious reasons, the Islamic-derived features of the Sephardic masoretic Bible—aniconism, carpet pages, colonnaded masoretic pages with lists at the beginning and end of the book—are absent from the Ashkenazic codices. (There are some Ashkenazic liturgical Pentateuchs with pictures of the menorah but, unlike their Sephardic counterparts, these typically contain narrative illustrations of Biblical scenes surrounding the menorah, and only rarely include the other Temple implements.)[109] While decoration in

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[105] Hahn, "The Erfurt Hebrew Giant Bible," p. 18.

[106] For the Schocken Bible and a reproduction of its famous opening initial word page for Bereishit, see Narkiss, *Hebrew Illustrated Manuscripts*, pl. 31.

[107] These include the Duke of Sussex German Pentateuch (BL Add MS 15282), also from Lake Constance, c. 1300.

[108] Paris, BnF MS Héb, 33, described in Sirat, "Le livre hébreu," pp. 246-47 and illustration 9.

[109] These include (1) BnF Héb. 36, liturgical Pentateuch written in Poligny in 1300 (reproduced and described in Garel, *D'une Main Forte*, p. 105), in which

Ashkenazic Bibles often has a functional purpose as it does in Sephardic ones, the devices are very different. In Sephardic Bibles, for example, *ansa*-like signs drawn in the margins mark the beginnings of *parashiyyot*. In contrast, Ashkenazic bibles use enlarged initial words and, in more deluxe codices, initials enclosed in decorated panels to highlight for the reader the beginnings of Biblical books and sometimes *parashiyyot*.[110] This too parallels developments in

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(fol. 283v) the menorah, located at the end of Deuteronomy before the Scrolls section of the codex, is surrounded by scenes of Aaron, the Binding of Isaac, and the Judgment of Solomon; the page is reproduced in Narkiss, *Hebrew Illustrated Manuscripts*, pl. 24; (2) the Regensburg Pentateuch (Bavaria [Regensburg], c. 1300 (Jerusalem, Israel Museum, Ms. 180/52, fol. 155v-156r), which contains the array of Temple implements plus the figure of Aaron kindling the menorah (fol. 155v-156r), about which see Kogman-Appel, *Jewish Book Art*, pp. 156-60, and now Kogman-Appel, "Sephardic Ideas in Ashkenaz—Visualizing the Temple in Medieval Regensburg," in *Simon Dubnow Institute* Yearbook 8 (2009), pp. 245-77, who has correctly characterized the very different shape of the utensil in the Ashkenazic ms from its Sephardic counterparts; where the latter follow Maimonides' description, the Ashkenazic mss seem to follow Rashi's; (3) BL Ms. Add. 11639, fol. 114r, the so-called French Miscellany, N. France, c. 1288-98, about which see my discussion below under the liturgical Pentateuch in Ashkenaz; (4) BnF Héb. 5-6 (S. Germany/S. Switzerland, 1294-95, fol. 118v), reproduced in Garel, *D'une Maine Forte*, with its very interesting full-page micrographic drawing of an olive tree from which (presumably) Aaron is picking olives and others are pressing them to make olive oil for the menorah; the olive tree itself is depicted as resembling a seven-branched menorah. There are also several Italian Bibles with a picture of the menorah: (1) BL Ms. Harley 5710, Vol. I, fol. 136r, Rome, Italy, around 1300, reproduced in Tahan, *Hebrew Manuscripts*, p. 30; and found also at the end of Deuteronomy. (Note that in Margoliouth's British Library catalogue, this manuscript is incorrectly dated to 1240 on the basis of an owner's inscription; Bezalel Narkiss, in the unpublished Catalogue of the Hebrew Illuminated Manuscripts in the British Isles, Vol. 2: Italian Manuscripts, corrected the date to 1340. I wish to thank Ms. Anna Nizza for supplying me with this information.) (2) Parma 1849, #64 in Richler's Parma Palatina catalogue**,** written in 1304, contains pictures of the Temple implements within an opening of two folio pages (fol. 91a), placed between Exodus and Leviticus; reproduced in Ottolenghi, "Un gruppo," p. 157, this illustration is more like a map of the Temple structure, and bears little similarity to the design of the Spanish carpet-page-like illustrations of the Temple implements. To the best of my knowledge, neither of these Italian Bibles has figured in past scholarship about the history of the Temple implement imagery.

[110] On the emergence of initial word panels in Biblical manuscripts, as part of the development of modes of structural design and transparency to aid readers,

thirteenth-century Paris Bibles where initials (usually letters, not words) also begin to serve as the primary spaces for illustration.[111]

Fig. 13 (BnF, Héb. 4, f. 249v)

An especially lavish illustration of such an initial-word panel in a Hebrew Bible is found in a French Bible (BnF Héb. 4, fol. 249v),

see Malachi Beit-Arié, *Unveiled Faces of Medieval Hebrew Books: The Evolution of Manuscript Production—Progression or Regression?* (Jerusalem: Magnes, 2003), pp. 51-59, and on Biblical mss in particular, pp. 55-57.

[111] On the first illustrated initial word panels in Jewish books, in Munich Cod. Heb.5 (the Rashi *kuntras*, on which see my discussion on study-Bibles), see Eva Fromovic, "Jewish Scribes and Christian Illuminators: Interstitial Encounters and Cultural Negotiation," in *Between Judaism and Christianity: Art Historical Essays in Honor of Elisheva (Elizabeth) Revel-Neher*, ed. Katrin Kogman-Appel and Mati Meyer (Leiden: Brill: 2009), pp. 281-305.

composed in Lorraine, Franche Comte, in 1286, here pictured in **Fig. 13 (BnF, Héb. 4, f. 249v)**. This page, the beginning of I Kings, has its initial word, *Ve-ha-melekh* ("And King [David was now old]"), empanelled against a blue and red checkered background and enclosed in a colonnade complete with watchtowers and a howling gargoyle on its right side, while the colonnade's two columns rest on figures of jousting knights labeled in the text as, respectively, "This is David," and "This is Adoniyahu." The latter is a reference to the coup attempted by Adoniyahu, David's son, against his father as narrated in the chapter. (The spears held by the knights themselves meet in two shields in the space between the columns from which rises the tail of a dragon, whose head reaches the very top beneath the initial word panel.) Not surprisingly, the iconography of the jousting knights has many parallels in contemporary Latin mss.[112]

Still more common in Ashkenazic Bibles than such painted historiated illustrations are initial word panels and other decorations written in pen in micrography containing the Masorah. **Fig. 14 (Berlin, SBB Ms or. Fol. 1210 [Erfurt 1], fol. 1b)**, from the famous giant Bible known as Erfurt 1, is an especially ornate example of such a page. Here the initial word of the book of Genesis, *Bereishit*, written in large Gothic-like Ashkenazic square letters, is enclosed within an arch whose tympanum is filled with various grotesques—dragons, griffins, camel-like hybrids; and other mythical beasts found in the roundels at the bottom of the page. Like the painted figures discussed in the last paragraph, these grotesques mirror very similar marginal figures in contemporary Gothic codices, particularly in missals and liturgical works. [113] It is not clear whether the grotesques are meant to

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[112] Garel, *D'une Main Forte*, #70, pp. 102-3. For similar images in contemporary Christian books, see Lilian M.C. Randall, *Images in the Margins of Gothic Manuscripts* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1966), LXV, no. 315 (Verdun, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS 107, fol. 19v, early 14th century France) and no. 316 (London BL Royal MS 10 E.IV, ff. 65v. early 14th century England). For another example of a similar illustration in an early 14th century book, see the Luttrell Psalter (London BL Add. MS 42130), p. 10.

[113] For an excellent illustration of the parallels between Christian and Jewish book-art grotesques, see John Reeve, ed., *Sacred: Books of the Three Faiths: Judaism, Christianity, Islam* (London: The British Library, 2007), pp. 150-51, which counterposes a folio from the Duke of Sussex's German Pentateuch (a liturgical Pentateuch), Germany c. 1300 (BL Add. MS 15282, f. 45v) with marginal grotesques, and an opening from the English Luttrell Psalter, 14th century. (BL Add. MS 42130, ff. 179v-180r); the Pentateuch's monsters are, of course, micrographic pen-drawings while the Luttrell Psalters are painted.

be mainly decorative or whether they are intended to signal to the reader a kind of *tohu vavohu* lying beyond the edges of the orderly universe whose creation begins to be narrated on that page.

Fig. 14 (Berlin, SBB Ms or. Fol. 1210 [Erfurt 1], fol. 1b)

To be sure, not all micrographic illustrations in Ashkenazic Bibles are of such monstrous creatures. A Pentateuch written in Germany, possibly in the Rhineland, in 1286, contains a micrographic depiction of the red heifer that directly illustrates the text on the page, Num. 19, as seen in **Fig. 15a (BnF Héb. 1, fol. 104v) and Fig. 15b (detail of previous slide)**; the heifer seems to be pulling a cart on two wheels although, if one looks closely, there is actually no line or yoke connecting the heifer and the cart, possibly an illustration of the Scriptural requirement that the red heifer be one "on which *no* yoke has been laid" (my italics) (Lev. 19:2).[114]

[114] For other text-illustrations in micrography in Ashkenazic Bibles, see Berlin, SBB Ms. Or quarto 9 (Rouen, 1233), fol. 19a, with a picture of Jacob's ladder to illustrate Gen. 28:10-22, reproduced in *Kitwe-Jad*, pp. 28-29; and BnF MS
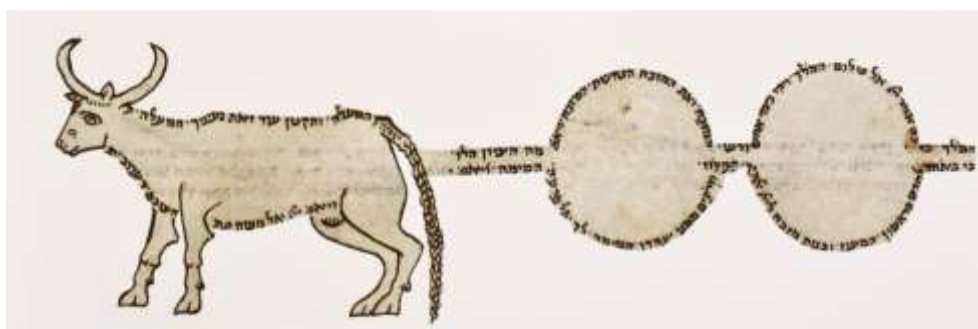
Fig. 15a (BnF Héb. 1, fol. 104v)

Fig. 15b (detail of previous slide)

Héb. 85 (Lorraine, Franche Comte, c. 1280-1300), fol. 112v, reproduced in Garel, *D'une Main Forte*, p. 104, which has a micrographic description of knights jousting, the two figures marked as "David" and "Naval" to illustrate their "contest" over Abigail in I Sam. 25. The figures are very similar to the jousting knights in BnF Héb. 4 discussed above; and it is no surprise that both manuscripts are from the same area in France in the late 13th century.

http://www.biu.ac.il/JS/JSIJ/11-2012/Stern.pdf

Still, a vast number of micrographic figures are grotesques. The hybrids are invariably eye-catching, occasionally charming, and especially to a modern eye, bizarre. **Fig. 16 (Berlin, SBB, Ms. Or. fol. 1212 [Erfurt 2], fol. 146b)**, a detail from another fourteenth-century giant Bible, Erfurt 2, shows two rather harried-looking hybrids, one of them disarmingly swallowing or spewing forth a one-eyed snake-like creature, possibly a tongue with an arrow-head at its tip. The page whose margin they decorate records Lev. 35, a chapter dealing with the laws of the sabbatical and Jubilee years. There is no clear connection between the image and the text on the page that I can
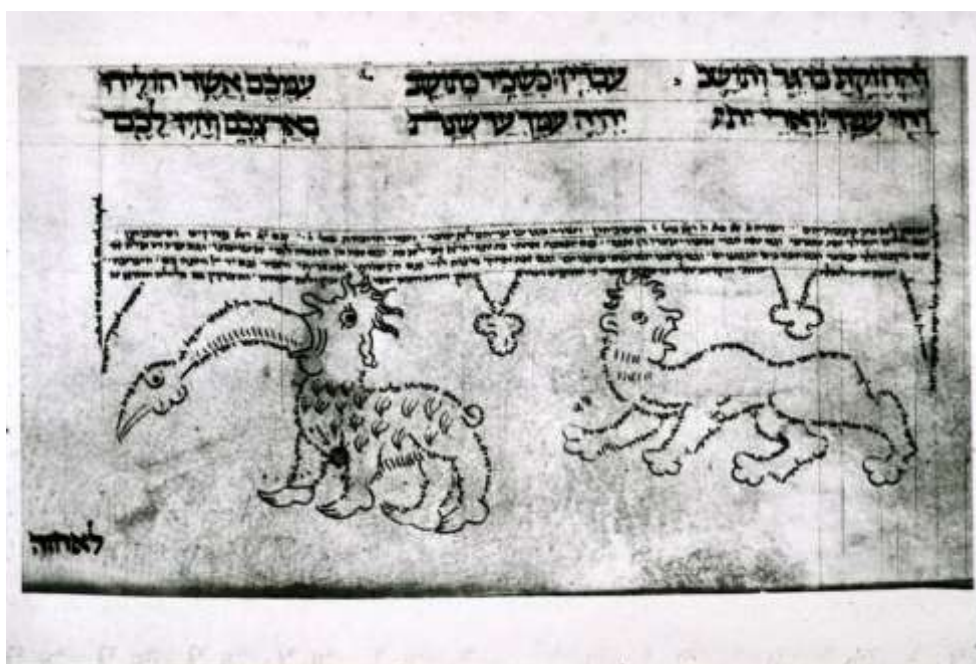
discover. Indeed, within this literary context, the two hybrids look like aliens who have just landed from outer space.

These micrographic illustrations did not pass unnoticed by rabbinic authorities, or without criticism. In the influential pietistic manual *Sefer Hasidim* (Book of the Righteous), ascribed to Rabbi Judah He-Hasid (d. 1217), the author instructs his reader that "one who hires a scribe to write the Masorah for the Twenty-Four Books (ie. the Bible) should make a condition with the scribe that he should not make the Masorah into drawings of birds or beasts or a tree,[115] or into any other illustration… for how will he be able to see [and read the

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[115] For micrographic trees, see BnF Héb. 5-6 described above in n. 94.

http://www.biu.ac.il/JS/JSIJ/11-2012/Stern.pdf

Fig. 16 (Berlin, SBB, Ms. Or. fol. 1212 [Erfurt 2], fol. 146b)

Masorah]?"[116] This injunction pre-dates any surviving Ashkenazic Bible, so it is clear that the practice of writing the Masorah in designs had a lengthy history in Ashkenazic codices. Whether or not Judah was the first to oppose the practice, it is clear that his and any other objections were manifestly ignored by Ashkenazic scribes and Masoretes. Indeed, there is hardly anything more common in Ashkenazic Bibles (and other Ashkenazic books) than micrographic illustration.

Still, the question posed in Sefer Hasidim—How will the reader be able to read the Masorah if it is recorded in the shape of these designs?—is telling. In fact, it would seem that the Masorah was recorded in these Bibles *not* to be read or studied; rather, the Masorah seems to have been more like a necessary, conventional presence, a signature of traditionality. As we have seen, this is also true of the Masorah as recorded in medieval Sephardic Bibles, where its presentation in the form of micrographic geometric, floral and abstract designs rendered it equally difficult to read. This very fact has led one scholar to suggest that the very purpose of the illustrations was to force the reader to concentrate upon reading the Masorah in these decorative designs. The concentration required to decipher the text may even have been intended to facilitate its memorization.[117] As Mary Carruthers has shown, the association of ideas and texts with specific images was commonly used by medieval scribes as a memory-device.[118] Another scholar has suggested, less convincingly, that the Sephardic designs may have had kabbalistic significance.[119]

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[116] *Sefer Hasidim*, ed. Wistinetzki, 1891 (Frankfurt: Wahrmann,1924), par. 709 (=Ms. Parma, p. 137); Bologna ed. #282. On the prohibition and its background, see Malachi Beit-Arié, "Individualist Nature," p. 565; and Shalev-Eyni, *Jews Among Christians*, pp. 4-5. Note, however, that Judah—whether or not he was aware of it—does not complain that these images derive from Christian books.

[117] Fromovic, "Jewish Mudejarismo," pp. 244-45.

[118] Mary Carruthers, *The Book of Memory: A Study of Memory in Medieval Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), pp. 122-55 and especially 245-8. The problem with this explanation is that most of the designs, particularly in Sephardic manuscripts but also in Ashkenazic ones, are so conventional and recurring that it is hard to image how they would have helped readers remember particulars items.

[119] Suzy Sitbon, "L'espace, les forms dessinées par la lettre, le texte dans les bibles hébraïques espagnoles du XIIIᵉ siècle, *Jewish Studies at the Turn of the Twentieth Century,*" ed. Judit Targarona Borrás and Angel Sáenz-Badillos (Leiden: Brill, 1999) 2, pp. 163-68; idem, "Intersections between Artistic

Given their aniconism, the micrographic designs may also have been ornamental in the sense that Oleg Grabar has used this term in writing about similar designs in Qur'ans: namely, as affective in purpose, intended to create in the reader certain feelings of awe and respect for the text, and for the scribe's virtuousity.[120] And, of course, some scribes probably did use especially intricate or grotesque designs to flaunt their virtuousity.

Still, the very grotesqueness of the marginal hybrids and monsters in the Ashkenazic Bibles invokes the question as to whether they are expressing more than scribal virtuosity. Some creatures doubtless carried symbolic meanings independent of the text on the page. Dragons, for example, possessed multivalent meanings in medieval culture (Jewish and gentile) as forces of darkness and evil, or as symbols of fate.[121] But what does one make of the baboons and the snake-eating hybrid in the Erfurt Bible in **Fig. 16**?

To be sure, as marginal images (and even in the initial panels, the grotesques frequently inhabit the panel's own margins), these figures are almost by definition figures of ambiguity, inhabitants of a liminal space who "elude or slip through the network of classifications that normally locate states and positions in cultural space," in the words of the anthropologist Arnold Van Gennep.[122] Here, again, comparison with contemporary Latin manuscripts of the period may be helpful. Recent art historical scholarship has focused extensively on marginal art, particularly as found in Books of Hours, and on the ways in which these marginal images in Christian books challenge and undermine the structured order embodied in the hegemonic, hierarchical texts on the page. Now, in comparison with the Christian books, whose marginal images are sometimes truly outrageous and obscene, those in Jewish books are models of restraint and modesty, nothing like the

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Visual Creation and Cosmogony in Some Spanish Bibles," in *Iggud: Selected Essays in Jewish Studies* 3, pp. 99*-113*.

[120] Oleg Grabar, *The Mediation of Ornament* (Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1992), pp. 155-93, in particular 190.

[121] On dragons in particular, Mark M. Epstein, *Dreams of Subversion in Medieval Jewish Art and Literature* (University Park, PA, The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1997), pp. 70-95; for observations on the problematic presence of such images, see his comments on pp. 82ff; and now, Ilia Rodov, "Dragons: A Symbol of Evil in European Synagogue Decoration?" *Ars Judaica* 1 (2005), pp. 63-84, which despite its title deals extensively with dragons in manuscript art as well.

[122] Cited in Michael Camille, *Image on the Edge: The Margins of Medieval Art* (Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University Press, 1992), p. 9.

"lascivious apes, autophagic dragons, pot-bellied heads, harp-playing asses, arse-kissing priests, and somersaulting jongleurs," as Michael Camille has vividly summed them up. [123] Nonetheless, in their own way the Jewish images similarly confront, if not challenge, the textual structure they surround. After all, there is no Jewish text whose structure is more controlled, regulated, and hierarchical, than the Bible. Of all types of Jewish scribal activity, copying a Bible, either in a scroll or a codex, is the one which most requires the scribe to be a pure *copyist*, leaving almost no room for innovation or personal creativity, precisely because the whole point of copying a Torah is to reproduce the original as exactly as possible. One of the purposes of the masoretic notes was, as we have seen, to guarantee that textual accuracy and its faithfulness to scribal tradition, to ensure the *exact* reproduction of the original. By turning those annotations into fanciful, hybrid, Masorah-eating (or spewing) creatures, might the scribe himself have been using them—very "playfully"—as small rebellious figures to challenge his own prescribed existence as a "mere" scribe?

In whatever way we interpret the "meaning" of these images, there is no question that they mirror Christian book art of the period. Rather than viewing them as mere "borrowings", however, it might be more correct to characterize them, along with the other material features of the Ashkenazic Bible, as deliberate appropriations of gentile culture on the part of Jewish scribes, that is to say, active efforts to Judaize the imagery of their surrounding gentile culture. While the iconography of the marginal illustrations may have derived from gentile sources, the scribes or masoretes who designed these illustrations imbued them with an indelible Jewishness by literally making the iconography out of masorah, the very stuff of Jewish Biblical traditionality. These decorations are a perfect example of what Ivan Marcus has called "inward acculturation," whereby Jews adapted Christian themes and practices and reworked and fused them with native Jewish traditions, and then, having absorbed them in this re-constituted fashion, "understood them to be part and parcel of their Judaism."[124]

In the past, medieval Ashkenazic culture has frequently been portrayed as living in relative isolation from, if not in active hostility with, its Christian surroundings. Recent scholarship has radically

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[123] Ibid.

[124] Ivan Marcus, *Rituals of Childhood: Jewish Acculturation in Medieval Europe* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1996), pp. 11-12.

revised that picture by showing that encounters between the two communities, fraught as they often were by theological conflict and physical violence, were still intensely productive, with demonstrable borrowings and appropriations in both directions.[125] The appropriative stance toward Christian culture embodied in these Ashkenazic Bibles stands in sharp contrast to the very different strategy that scribes in Sepharad took by Islamicizing their Bibles as a way of resisting the dominant Christian culture.[126] They are two very different responses. It is significant, however, that both responses came in the material form of recording the masorah. What began as a textual apparatus had now become, in the hands of scribes, a creative tool for negotiating difference and exchange between the Jews of a particular community and the gentile host culture.

II. Liturgical Pentateuchs
In Ashkenaz:

The dominant position that the Masoretic Bible held in Sephardic book-culture was occupied in Ashkenaz by the second type of Bible in our typology, the liturgical Pentateuch or *ḥumash*. According to my preliminary survey, roughly two-thirds of the surviving Hebrew Bibles written in Germany, Northern France, and England in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries fall under this rubric.

The most prominent feature of the liturgical Pentateuch is its overall organization. Rather than presenting the Biblical text in its canonical order, the liturgical Pentateuch organizes its contents to follow the synagogal practice of reading the Torah in weekly divisions according to an annual cycle; the Pentateuchal readings are accompanied by *haftarot* or prophetic readings. The volumes typically (though not always) include the Five Scrolls, which are read on various holidays and fast days in the Jewish calendar, and sometimes the chapters of "doom" from the prophet Jeremiah and the Book of Job, both of which were recited on the fast day of the Ninth of Av.

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[125] In addition to Ivan Marcus'es book cited in the previous note, see Elisheva Baumgarten, *Mothers and Children: Jewish Family Life in Medieval Europe* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 204); and the various chapters in David Biale, ed. *Cultures of the Jews* (New York: Schocken, 2002).
[126] In the case of Sepharad, I am speaking about the overall strategy of resistance to the hegemonic Christian culture of the Iberian kingdoms. The micrographic masoretic decorations which borrow elements of Mudejar design and reflect Islamic aniconism are, in fact, another instance of "inward acculturation."

This way of organizing and presenting Scripture has no precedent in the early Near Eastern tradition represented by the masoretic codices. As noted earlier, some Spanish masoretic Bibles continued to mark in their margins the *sedarim*, the weekly readings as read in the early Palestinian triennial cycle, but the division in all liturgical Pentateuchs follows the Babylonian practice of an annual cycle.

The earliest dated example of an Ashkenazic liturgical Pentateuch is the Valmadonna Pentateuch, written in England in 1189 (also making it the earliest datable and localizable Hebrew manuscript to be written in England).[127] This Pentateuch displays as well one of the more striking features of the Ashkenazic liturgical Pentateuch: the "inter-verse" presentation of the Targum, with each Biblical verse followed immediately by its Aramaic translation in the same square letters and size in (usually two) columns on each folio; in their presentations, Bible and Targum are visually indistinguishable. A typical page is reproduced in **Fig. 17 (London, Valmadonna Trust, Ms. 1, p. 143)**. As noted earlier, the inter-verse Targum for the Pentateuch is also found in some Ashkenazic Masoretic Bibles. One of the earliest such manuscripts is a fragmentary Pentateuch (Ms. Vatican ebr. 448) containing both the Masorah (Masora magna and parva) and the Targum. In that manuscript, the Biblical text and the Targum are both vocalized with Tiberian vowel signs, but in the Targum verses the signs are written supra-linear—above rather than below the consonants—which is a typical feature of early Babylonian texts; this manuscript probably dates from the late 11th century.[128] The path that led this type of Bible from Babylonia to Ashkenaz is not known. The Parma Palatina library (Parma Catalogue #74, Parm. 2004, formerly de Rossi 12) contains another Pentateuch with Targum whose colophon states that it was copied from an earlier Pentateuch

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[127] On this manuscript, Malachi Beit-Arié, *The Only Dated Medieval Hebrew Manuscript Written in England (1189 CE) and the Problem of Pre-Expulsion Anglo-Hebrew Manuscripts* (London: Valmadonna Trust Library, 1985), pp.1-35 and plates 1-10. Reprinted in Beit-Arié, *The Makings of the Medieval Hebrew Book* as "The Valmadonna Pentateuch," pp. 129-51, and now Judith Olszowy-Schlanger, *Les manuscrits hébreux dans L'Angleterre médiévale: Étude historique et paléographique* (Paris-Louvain: Peeters, 2003), pp. 238-42.
[128] Macho A. Diez, "Introductory Remarks," (Hebrew), *The Pentateuch with Masorah Parva and the Masorah Magna and with Targum Onkelos, Ms. Vat. Heb. 448* (Jerusalem: Makor, 1977), unpaginated. As Diez remarks, the Onkelos text is a non-representative version that is nonetheless represented in some Yemenite traditions and was reprinted in the Sabbioneta edition of 1557. So the version clearly remained in circulation.

brought from Babylonia that contained supralinear vowel points—
apparently very much like Vatican 448—and that it was "corrected" to
conform to the normative Tiberian sublinear vocalization by a R.
Nathan bar Makhir bar Menahem from Ancona, the son of R. Samuel
bar Makhir from the province of Oria.[129] This R. Nathan bar Makhir
may have been the ancestor of the great sage Gershom ben Judah (c.
960-1028) known as Rabbeinu Gershom Meor Ha-golah, "Our teacher
Gershom, the Light of the Exile," who was possibly born in Ancona
but later settled in Mainz where he made that community the earliest
center of Ashkenazic Jewry. Gershom, it is worth adding, was also a
scholar of Masorah, and wrote his own masoretic notes.[130] Gershom's
journey from Italy to Germany was typical of early Ashkenaz, and the
Bible may have passed through communities like Bari and Otranto on
its way to Germany.

Fig. 17 (London, Valmadonna Trust, Ms. 1, p. 143)

[129] Neubauer, "Early Settlement," pp. 615-16; see as well Richler, *Parma
Catalogue*, pp. 18-19.
[130] Jordan Penkower, "The Text of the Pentateuch in Manuscripts Written by
Early Ashkenazic Sages in the Tenth Through Twelfth Centuries," (Hebrew), in
Shnaton: An Annual for Biblical and Ancient Near Eastern Studies 17, ed. S.
Japhet (Jerusalem: Magnes, 2007), pp. 279-308.

In general, the features of the liturgical Pentateuch are more variable than those of the masoretic Bible. For example, not all liturgical Pentateuchs have the inter-verse Targum. Some French liturgical Pentateuchs either omit the Targum altogether or, somewhat more tellingly, substitute Rashi for the Targum. In those cases, Rashi is sometimes written in a second column next to the Scriptural text.[131] The De Castro Pentateuch (formerly Sassoon 506, now Jerusalem, Israel Museum 180/94), completed in 1344, has both Targum and Rashi, each verse followed by Targum which is, in turn, followed by Rashi; the Scriptural text is in a darker square Ashkenazic hand, the Targum and Rashi in a slightly less dark and smaller semi-cursive script. **Fig. 18 (Israel Museum 180/94, f. 1v)** is the very opening of Genesis. Above the initial word *Bereishit* (in super-large letters), Adam and Eve appear to be portrayed twice: once (inside the roundels) before their expulsion from the Garden of Eden, the other time, after the expulsion.[132] Similarly, some liturgical Pentateuchs record the Masorah (sometimes in micrographic decorations or figures) while others do not.[133]

[131] For French Pentateuchs that leave out the Targum altogether, see BnF Héb. 53 (Sed-Rajna, *Manuscrits Hébreux Enluminés* #60); Héb. 19 (Sed-Rajna, #64); Héb. 4 (Sed-Rajna, 69); it may be significant that all three manuscripts also have Masorah. For French Pentateuchs that substitute Rashi for Targum, see BnF Héb. 1349 (Sed-Rajna #59) and London, BL Ms. Or. 2696. For Rashi's place as a commentator, see the section below on study-Bibles. The first source to mention the substitution of Rashi for the Targum was the French Tosafist Moses of Coucy (first half of the thirteenth century) in Sefer Mitzvot Gadol, end of Positive Commandment #19, who already mentions that his teachers had advised reading Rashi over the Targum as being more profitable. See also Abraham Gross, "Rashi and the Tradition of Study of Written Torah in Sepharad," in *Rashi Studies*, ed. Z.A. Steinfeld (Ramat Gan: Bar Ilan University Press, 1993), p. 37.

[132] For a description of the page, see Ohel Dawid (n. 3 above), pp. 19-21. Note that in the picture inside the roundel, Eve has no breasts, while in the larger portrait next to the roundel, she does. This iconography is found in a number of Byzantine Octateuchs, on which see Mati Meyer, "Eve's Nudity: A Sign of Shame or Precursor of Christological Economy," in Kogman-Appel and Meyer, *Between Judaism and Christianity* (note 111 above), pp. 243-58. Whether or not this iconography is to be found in any Western manuscripts remains to be determined.

[133] I have not been able to find any rhyme or reason as to when the Masorah is copied, and when not; there is no obvious geographical or chronological rationale to explain its presence or absence. Our earliest example of the genre, the Valmadonna Pentateuch, has the full Masorah parva and magna.

Fig. 18 (Israel Museum 180/94, f. 1v)

The origins of the liturgical Pentateuch are not known. As noted above, the genre may go back to Babylonia, where the practice of reading the Torah in its entirety annually became normative, but the genre is paralleled in different types of Bible books that were developed in the Latin West for Biblical readings during the Mass.[134] One system was to list *capitula*, or chapter cues, which identified the

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[134] The remainder of this paragraph draws heavily on Richard Gyug,"Early Medieval Bibles, Biblical Books, and Liturgy," in Boynton and Reilly, *The Practice of the Bible*, esp. pp. 35-38. I also wish to thank Mr. Andrew Irving for discussing the Latin Bibles with me.

order and location of readings from the Pauline epistles and the Gospels so that readers could find them in complete copies of those books. Similar notations and lists are found in masoretic Bibles. Another genre was devised by scribes who began to collect the readings in separate books, where they were arranged in liturgical order—epistolaries for readings from the Pauline and Catholic Epistles and Acts, evangelistaries for readings from the Gospels, and larger Mass lectionaries that contained both the epistle and gospel readings. All these types—lists of capitula, epistolaries, evangelistaries—appear to have been in use simultaneously going back to the eighth century, although they reached the height of their use during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. The resemblance between liturgical Pentateuchs and epistolaries, evangelistaries, and Mass lectionaries is obvious. There is, however, no evidence for any influence. Christian *and* Jewish scribes could easily have come up with the similar types of Bibles which would be convenient to use in their respective liturgies.

There is another difference between the Jewish and Christian Bibles. For the Christian books, there is hard evidence confirming their use in the Mass, the Divine Office, and other liturgical services.[135] For the Jewish Bibles, in contrast, we have little explicit information upon which to rely. Their overall organization obviously suggests a connection with the synagogue and the weekly Torah reading in the synagogue. But precisely how were these Bibles used in the synagogue? Were they ever read from in place of a Torah scroll? There is evidence indicating that some Rabbinic authorities, beginning with the Geonim of Babylonia and continuing with their successors in the Iberian peninsula, Provence, and even northern France, permitted communities that did not own a Torah scroll to read the weekly lection from a codex in the synagogue.[136] In contrast, the Rabbinic authorities

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[135] See Gyug, "Early Medieval Bibles," p. 37 and notes ad locum.

[136] See Maimonides, *Teshuvot Ha-Rambam*, ed. J. Blau (Jerusalem: Mekitsei Nirdamim, 1957-61), no. 294. On the history of the problem as summarized below, see Israel Ta-Shma, *Early Franco-German Ritual and Custom* (Hebrew) (Jerusalem, Magnes, 1994), pp. 171-81. Note that in his responsum, Maimonides refers to "our *ḥumashim"*, with certain reference to codices; this would appear to be one of our earliest sources for the use of the term in connection with liturgical Pentateuchs. As the source for his ruling, cites the statement in B. Gittin 60a, "We do not read from *ḥumashim* out of respect for the congregation," but the word he reads as *ḥumashim* is probably a mistake for *ḥomashim*, which is not the plural form of the term for a liturgical Pentateuch

in Palestine, Germany, and Italy absolutely forbade the practice; by the end of the twelfth century, sages in northern France, and, by the end of the thirteenth century, in Sepharad, joined in the prohibition. Since the liturgical Pentateuch first became a wide-spread book in Ashkenaz only in the thirteenth century, it is virtually certain, then, that the surviving codices were never used as a surrogate for Torah scrolls. Another possibility is that Bibles with Targum and (even more obviously) those with Rashi's commentary in them, served as study texts for the weekly *parashah*.[137] It is also possible that the profusion of these books in Ashkenaz in the thirteenth and especially fourteenth century points less to study *per se* than to a new way of "reading" the Bible in the synagogue. I am referring to a developing and attested practice among Jews—certainly among sages but also among individuals wealthy enough to own their own liturgical Pentateuch— not simply to listen silently to the public chanting of the Torah but to follow along with the public reader and read the text for themselves, twice in Scripture and once in the Targum (or through Rashi's commentary), in fulfillment of the Talmudic injunction attributed to the fourth-century Amora R. Huna bar Judah (who himself repeated it in the name of his predecessor R. Ammi): "Every person is obligated to complete the weekly lectionary readings (*parshiyyotav*) with the congregation [by reciting] Hebrew Scripture (*mikra*) twice and the Targum once" (B. Berakhot 8a-b). Indeed, Isaac bar Moses of Vienna (1189-1250), the author of the influential *Sefer Or Zaru'a*, describes personally seeing his teachers, R. Judah He-Ḥasid and R. Abraham ben R. Moshe, reading the weekly *parashah* in precisely this way— twice in Hebrew, once in Targum—while listening to the Torah-reader publicly read in the synagogue.[138]

(i.e. a *ḥumash*) but scrolls containing single books of the Bible; see Rashi ad locum.

[137] An unusual example of such a study-Bible is the Albenc Pentateuch (France, 1340) (Oxford Bod. Ms. Oppenheim 14; Neubauer no. 20; Glatzer and Beit-Arié, no. 20), with narrative micrographic illustrations in *carmina figurata* style and numerous ink-drawings for the Biblical text *and* for Rashi's commentary in the same volume. Bezalel Narkiss, "The Seal of Solomon the Scribe: The Illustrations of the Albenc Pentateuch of 1340, in Kogman-Appel and Meyer, *Between Judaism and Christianity*, pp. 319-51, suggests that the text illustrations "were probably added to induce young members of the family… to study the text of the Pentateuch and the commentary in order to understand their meaning" (325).

[138] Isaac bar Moshe, *Sefer Or Zaru'a*, Part One, "The Laws of Kri'at Shema'," par. 11 (Jerusalem: Yefe Nof/ Y. Pozen, 2005), p. 22; cf. Shalev-Eyni, *Jews*

Such private reading in a communal context would have satisfied a religious need felt by these individuals that was not being fulfilled by passively listening to the Torah chanted aloud by another person. Bible-reading of this sort by individuals is also reflected in a more general trend that had independently spread throughout the academic and book culture of Western Europe during the thirteenth century. For example, we know that in 1259, students at the University of Paris were formally required to bring their own copies to the public lectures in which the texts were explained and taught. Around the same time Humbert of Romans (c. 1194–1277) is quoted as saying that collective prayer was only "enriched by individuals gazing on the text of a written prayer as it was collectively pronounced."[139] The profusion of liturgical Pentateuchs in Ashkenaz is best explained as part of this larger change in reading practice wherein individual members of the audience became active participants in communal events of reading.

Here, again, one exceptional manuscript may prove the rule. The so-called North French Hebrew Miscellany, composed around the year 1280, is an exquisitely decorated book. **Fig. 19 (London, BL Add. Ms. 11639, f. 51v)** is a typical page containing playfully decorated panels (one for the end of Exodus on the lower right-hand column, with the number of verses in the book and a mnemonic for the number; the other for the initial word of the book of Leviticus on the upper left-hand column). Despite its name, however, the volume is actually a liturgical Pentateuch accompanied by a host of other texts (hence its description as a "miscellany"), including a complete prayer book for the entire year with a large number of additional legal, calendrical, homiletical and literary texts appended to it, all written in the margins of the liturgical Pentateuch or in separate sections. A genuinely small book—with dimensions of 5x6.5 inches (127x165 mm)—this book is not so much an individual's personal library (like the famous late 15th century [c. 1479], Italian Rothschild Miscellany)

Among Christians, pp. 9-10. The same practice was already predicated as normative law in the *Maḥzor Vitry* of Simha ben Samuel (d. 1105), par. 117, which was especially influential in Northern France; for the text, see *Machsor Vitry*, ed. S. Hurwitz (Nürnberg, 1923), I: 88.

[139] Both the last quote and the previous evidence are taken directly from Paul Saenger, "Reading in the Later Middle Ages," in *A History of Reading in the West*, ed. Guglielmo Cavallo and Roger Chartier, (original French ed. 1995; English ed. trans by L.G. Cochrane; Amhert and Boston: University of Massachusetts Press, 1999): 120-48), p. 133, but see Saenger's penetrating discussion of the changes in reading practice throughout his essay.

as it is a book testifying to its owner's desire to have the entire synagogue service literally at his fingertips, ready for personal use. Such a codex was probably commissioned as a "trophy" book, but one that clearly held a religious meaning for its author. I have observed elsewhere that most figurative and representational art in Jewish books is found in liturgical contexts, either in the form of synagogue decoration (as in mosaic floors) or in prayer-book art.[140] As a truly liturgical Pentateuch, the art in this Bible perfectly fits the rule in my observation.

Fig. 19 BL Add. Ms. 11639, f. 51v

[140] David Stern, "'Jewish' Art and the Making of the Medieval Jewish Prayerbook," *Ars Judaica: A Journal of Jewish Art* 6 (2010), pp. 23-44.

http://www.biu.ac.il/JS/JSIJ/11-2012/Stern.pdf

In Sepharad*:*

The earliest dated surviving Sephardic liturgical Pentateuch was composed in 1318 (Oxford, Bodleian Ms. Kennicott 4, Cat. 2326), but most examples of the genre in Spain come from the late fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, especially the latter. While their basic contents and organization are identical to their Ashkenazic counterpart—the weekly *parshiyyot* of the Torah, the *haftarot*, and the scrolls—many of the Sephardic examples also contain the Masorah, reflecting no doubt the prominent position that the Masorah held in all Bibles in Spain. In the more elaborate codices, like the late fourteenth century London Catalan Pentateuch, pictured in **Fig. 20 (London, British Library MS Harley 5773, f. 56r)**, the Masorah is written in the same micrographic geometrical designs that one finds in Spanish masoretic Bibles. On this page containing Exod. 15, the Masorah is written in a typical double wall around the text with wave-like semi-circles between the two walls.

Fig. 20 (London, British Library MS Harley 5773, f. 56r)

http://www.biu.ac.il/JS/JSIJ/11-2012/Stern.pdf

A number of liturgical Pentateuchs were also created in the Lisbon workshop in the eighties and nineties of the fifteenth century including one truly remarkable codex, the Duke of Sussex's Portuguese Pentateuch. **Fig. 21 (London, British Library MS. Add. 15283, f. 88r)** is a page from this volume. As one can see on the page, with the exception of the heading *vayikra* (the first word of Leviticus, which this page begins), the Biblical text is written in an elegant semi-cursive North African hand rather than in the square script in which the Bible is otherwise nearly always written in Sepharad.[141] The use of the North African semi-cursive hand appears to be a concession to its actual use by a Jewish patron who was obviously more comfortable with that script.

Fig. 21 (London, British Library MS. Add. 15283, f. 88r)

[141] For another example of a liturgical Pentateuch from the Lisbon workshop, see the Almanzi Pentateuch, Lisbon, 1480-90, BL Add. 27167, with pages reproduced in Tahan, *Hebrew Manuscripts*, pp. 64-65.

In comparison to Ashkenazic Pentateuchs, Spanish *ḥumashim* less contain the Aramaic Targum, a fact that may be partly explained by a preference in Spanish communities for studying the Bible with the Judeo-Arabic translation or *tafsir* of Saadiah Gaon.[142] This practice is famously attested in the ethical will that the important translator Judah Ibn Tibbon (1120-c. 1190) wrote to his son Samuel (who grew up to become an even greater translator than his father) and in which he exhorted him, "Read every week the Pentateuchal section in Arabic. This will improve thine Arabic vocabulary, and will be of use in translating, if thou shouldst feel inclined to translate."[143] A century later, Spanish sages began to encourage their communities to recite Rashi in place of the Targum.[144] Among the first to introduce this substitution was the Tosafist Asher ben Yeḥiel (c. 1250-1327) who moved from Germany to Spain in 1303. Asher was followed by his son, Jacob, the author of the important early legal code, the *Arba' Turim*, who explicitly ruled that reading Rashi was equivalent to reading the Targum because it, too, "explained" the meaning of the Torah.[145] Rashi's pre-eminence may have owed less to his more contextual (*peshat*) interpretations than to the fact that he presented Rabbinic tradition in an accessible, carefully abridged, reader-friendly style.[146]

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[142] Gross, "Rashi and the Tradition of Study," p. 37 and n. 44.

[143] Israel Abrahams, ed., *Hebrew Ethical Wills* (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 1926), pp. 65-66.

[144] Gross, "Rashi," and Jordan Penkower, "The Process of Canonization of Rashi's Commentary to the Torah," in *Study and Knowledge in Jewish Thought*, ed. Howard Kreisel (Beer-Sheva: Ben Gurion University of the Negev Press, 2006), Vol. 2, pp. 123-46, and the citations in the following notes. I should add, however, that the evidence of the codices themselves does not entirely reflect the textual sources. Most Spanish liturgical Pentateuchs do not have either Targum or Rashi, though for an exception, see New York, JTSA Lutzki 191, a fragment of a large quarto-sized liturgical Pentateuch written in 14th century Spain in which each verse is followed by the Targum, then Saadiah, then Rashi; the biblical verse is written in large square Sephardic script, the Targum and Saadiah in a significantly smaller semi-cursive, and then Rashi in an even smaller semi-cursive.

[145] For the Rabbeinu Asher citation, see his novellae (*ḥidushim*) for B.Berakhot 1:8, and the work Orḥot Ḥayyim attributed to him and cited in Penkower, "Process of Canonization," p. 143 n. 86. For Jacob Ba'al Ha-Turim, see Tur Oraḥ Ḥayyim #285.

[146] Gross, "Rashi," pp. 37-40; and Penkower, "Process of Canonization," esp. pp. 138-46.

III. Study-Bibles

The possible use of the Masoretic Bible and the liturgical Pentateuch as study texts has been mentioned several times in the course of our survey. In this section, I want to describe those Bibles that seem to have been intentionally designed for study—that is, either codices with more than one commentary on the page or those in which the commentary occupies so prominent a position that it is fair to assume that the Bible was produced specifically for studying that commentary with it. As previously noted, the genre of the study-Bible overlaps with the other genres. One of the earliest examples of a study-Bible, the manuscript known as Leipzig 1, composed in France probably in the early 13th century, which contains what many scholars believe to be the earliest evidence for the original text of Rashi's commentary, is a liturgical Pentateuch with the *haftarot* and Scrolls. **Fig. 22 (Leipzig, Universitätsbibliothek Ms. B.H. 1, f.204v)** is a typical page. In its various columns and windows, the Bible also includes the masoretic notes of earlier Ashkenazic sages as well as many comments upon and additions to Rashi's commentary.[147] The presence of all these texts in the codex clearly testify to the scribe's or patron's original intention that the manuscript be used for study, not simply for synagogue use, and the many annotations in the book attest to its very active reading.

The history of the study-Bible is closely intertwined with the history of medieval Jewish biblical exegesis. As I have argued elsewhere, the initial adaption by Jews of the codex, along with the creation of the masoretic Bible in the ninth and tenth centuries, had a revolutionary impact on Jewish reading practice and how the Bible subsequently came to be studied.[148] The various material shapes that the Hebrew Bible later took in the Middle Ages were partly the result of these new reading practices and the different types of exegesis that developed in the course of the centuries. It is beyond the range of this

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[147] This manuscript and its importance particularly for Rashi studies has been hotly debated over the past twenty years. See, in particular Abraham Grossman, *Ḥakhmei Tsarfat Harishonim* (The Early Sages of France) (Jerusalem: Magnes, 1996), pp. 184-93, which summarizes his earlier debate with Elazar Touitou in Touitou, "Does Ms. Leipzig 1 Reflect the Original Version of Rashi's Commentary on the Torah?" (Hebrew), *Tarbiz* 61 (1992), pp. 115-85. Cf. Jordan Penkower, "Rashi's Corrections to His Commentary on the Pentateuch," *Jewish Studies Internet Journal* 6 (2007), pp. 141-86 (http://www.biu.ac.il/js/JSIJ/6-2007/Penkower.pdf) and Penkower's other articles on the masoretic notes in the codex listed in his bibliography there.

[148] See the extensive discussion in Stern, "The First Jewish Books."

survey to describe these new exegetical approaches in any detail, but a few words about them are necessary in order to appreciate the development of the study-Bible as a genre.

Fig. 22 (Leipzig, Universitätsbibliothek Ms. B.H. 1, f.204v)

We can begin with the difference in attitudes towards Bible study that obtained in Sepharad, on the one hand, and Ashkenaz, on the other. These differences may sometimes have been exaggerated in past scholarship, but they were nevertheless significant.[149] Spanish-Jewish Biblical exegesis, the direct heir of the nascent grammatical tradition pioneered by the Masoretes, was further enriched by the exposure of Jews living within the Islamic orbit to the developing sciences of philology and philosophy, both of which came to inform their reading of the Bible. The impact of both sciences can be seen already in the works of the Babylonian Gaon, Saadiah, and those of his successor Samuel ben Ḥofni, and even more so, in later Andalusi

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[149] The following discussion draws on Mordechai Breuer, "Keep Your Children From *Higgayon,*" (Hebrew), in *Mikhtam Le-David: Sefer Zikhron Harav David Ochs*, ed. Y. Gilat and E. Stern (Ramat Gan: Bar Ilan University Press, 1978), pp. 242-64; Talmage, "Keep Your Sons from Scripture"; Kanarfogel, "On the Role of Bible Study"; and Gross, "Rashi." For the best overall survey of the variety of types of medieval Jewish Biblical exegesis, see the numerous chapters in Magne Saebo, *Hebrew Bible/Old Testament: The History of Its Interpretation* (Goettingen: Vandenhoek & Ruprecht, 2000), Vol. 1, Part 2.

grammarians such as Jonah Ibn Janach, and Andalusi-trained exegetes such as Abraham Ibn Ezra. The attention to Bible study as a primary discipline continued into the period of the Christian kingdoms in Iberia and in related areas such as Provence, with such commentators as Naḥmanides (1194-1270) and David Kimḥi (c.1160-ca.1235). Despite the complaints of figures like Profiat Duran about disdain for Bible study, it is possible to speak of a continuous history of Biblical commentary in Sepharad until the Expulsion. The Pentateuch remained the main focus of education; the Prophets and the Writings were considered subjects for more advanced study.[150] **Fig. 23 (Oxford, Bod. Kennicott 5, f. 46v)** is from a volume of First Prophets copied in Segovia in 1487 and contains on its pages the Targum and the commentaries of Rashi, David Kimḥi, and Levi b. Gershon. Proverbs, Job, and Ecclesiastes in particular were studied intensively as ethical tracts, as evidenced by the number of manuscripts of these books with commentaries on their pages.[151]

Fig. 23 (Oxford, Bod. Kennicott 5, f. 46v)

[150] The Prophets and Hagiographa were often considered the proper subject of "advanced" biblical study, particularly in the Mediterranean area, and were therefore studied alone; see Frank Talmage, "Keep Your Sons from Scripture: The Bible in Medieval Jewish Scholarship and Spirituality," in *Understanding Scripture*, ed. C. Thoma and M. Wyschograd (New York: Paulist Press, 1987), p. 85.
[151] See, for example, the manuscripts in the Bodleian Library listed in Neubauer, *Catalogue…Bodleian Library*, cols. 19-20, ## 119-128,

In Ashkenaz, in contrast to Sepharad, the attitude towards study of the Bible was more complicated. In Northern France, through the eleventh and the twelfth centuries, there was a distinguished line of Biblical exegetes beginning with the eleventh century sage Jacob b. Yakar, " a teacher of gemarah and Scripture" who was also the teacher of Rashi, and then continuing with Rashi himself and his disciples and successors, Joseph Kara, Joseph Bekhor Shor, Samuel ben Meir, and Eliezer of Beaugency, among others. These exegetes drew on the late midrashic tradition, even though they famously eschewed midrash for what they called *peshat*; this term is difficult to translate, and clearly meant different things to different exegetes, but it is probably best understood as the (more or less) literary-contextual sense of Scripture. Following the period of the Crusades, however, the independent study of Scripture waned and was overshadowed by the study of Talmud, even though the talmudic corpus, as Talmudists argued in their own defense, included within itself an enormous amount of Biblical exegesis.[152] Even so, Bible study remained a staple of elementary education in Ashkenaz, and German pietists (*Ḥasidei Ashkenaz*) continued to stress the importance of Bible-study as part of their critique of the dialectical study of the Talmud championed by the Tosafists.[153]

The difference between Biblical commentaries produced in Spain and in Ashkenaz is reflected in their literary form. Beginning with Saadiah's Commentary on the Bible, Sephardic commentaries were self-consciously written *ḥibburim*, literary compositions, and regularly included programmatic introductions and sometimes virtually essayistic explorations of problems raised by a verse. In contrast, Ashkenazic commentaries tended to be purely lemmatic, that is, written as brief comments on specific words or phrases. We do not know how the Ashkenazic commentaries were originally written— whether they were composed as commentaries, or whether (as some scholars have suggested) they originated as notes written in the margins of Bibles or as responses to earlier commentators such as Rashi which were later collected by disciples and copied by scribes into separate books of their own to create continuous commentaries.[154]

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[152] Ephraim Kanarfogel, *Jewish Education and Society in the High Middle Ages* (Detroit, Wayne State U Press, 1992), pp. 79-85; idem, "On the Role of Bible Study"; and Grossman, *Ḥakhmei Tsarfat*, pp. 457-506.

[153] Kanarfogel, *Jewish Education*, pp. 15-32.

[154] Elazar Touitou, "Concerning the Presumed Original Version of Rashi's Commentary on the Pentateuch," (Hebrew) *Tarbiz* 56 (1987), pp. 79-97.

The case of Rashi himself is especially complicated, because it is clear
that Rashi's commentary was edited, added to, and glossed by his
students as well as by later scribes—indeed, so much so that it may be
impossible today to determine exactly what Rashi's commentary
originally looked like.[155] On the other hand, all these later
interventions in Rashi's text also testify to the intensity with which his
commentary was studied.

Fig. 24 (Oxford Bod. MS. Opp. Add. Fol. 69, fol. 40v)

Most Biblical commentaries in the Middle Ages circulated in
separate books called *kuntrasim* (sing. *kuntres*, from the Latin
quinterion, a quire of five sheets). **Fig. 24 (Oxford Bod. MS. Opp.
Add. Fol. 69, fol. 40v)** is a remarkable example of a Rashi *kuntras*
written in France in the early 13th century. The page contains Rashi's

[155] On this, see the works by Grossman, Touitou, and Penkower in notes 131,
144 and 147 above.

commentary on Exod. 25, the biblical passage describing the Temple implements, and incorporates within its page design an illustration of the menorah. If one compares this illustration with the depiction of the menorah in the Sephardic Temple implement carpet page from the Perpignan Bible (**Fig. 8),** one can easily see the difference between Rashi's conception of the menorah's shape and that of Maimonides, which served as the basis for the Spanish image. The fact that the illustration in the Rashi *kuntras* is so clearly integrated into the page's format suggests that it was part of the original commentary and conceptually part of Rashi's interpretation.[156] Like this text, most *kuntrasim* were typically written in a semi-cursive, so-called Rabbinic script, with their comments often separated by a lemma, that is, a word or short phrase from the Bible that keyed the reader to the comment's scriptural occasion.

Fig. 25 (Munich, BSB Heb. Cod. 5, 1, fol. 29v)

On occasion, however, a *kuntras* could also be a truly deluxe codex. Indeed, our earliest illustrations in any medieval Hebrew book are found in a folio-sized *kuntras* containing the commentaries of Rashi and other French exegetes from his school that was written in the vicinity of the German town of Wuerzberg in 1232/33. The illustrations which serve as initial panels for the different Biblical

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[156] Leslie Smith, "Jews and Christians Imagining the Temple," in *Crossing Borders: Hebrew Manuscripts as a Meeting-place of Cultures*, ed. Piet van Boxel and Sabine Arndt (Oxford, Bodleian Library, 2009), p. 104.

books were drawn by a Christian artist who received instructions from the Jewish scribe as to what to draw; we know the artist was a Christian because a recent study of the manuscript has revealed that the directions written in the margins were in Latin.[157] **Fig. 25 (Munich, BSB Heb. Cod. 5, 1, fol. 29v)** is the beginning of the section *Vayishlaḥ* (beginning with Genesis 32:4); the historiated initial depicts Jacob prostrating himself before his brother Esau.

Here, again, we do not know exactly how these *kuntrasim* were used. While it is possible that they were studied alongside Biblical codices, some readers may have used them alone, the Bible presumably being known by heart, with the lemmata serving merely as verse-reminders. The dangers of studying this way were apparently sufficiently well-known that the twelfth century exegete from Narbonne, Joseph ibn Kimḥi, the father of David (RaDaK), had to warn his reader always to have a Torah in front of him, "and then everything will be in the right place."[158]

At some point, however, scribes began to copy Bibles with the commentaries on the same page. Leipzig Ms. B.H.1 (**Fig. 22)**, mentioned earlier, is one such text. Unfortunately, the manuscript has no colophon, and scholars have debated its dating, some arguing that it was produced in the first half of the thirteenth century (that is, within a little more than a century of Rashi's death), others pushing its date into the fourteenth century. As one can see from the illustration, the scribe appropriated a page format—best known today from the format of the Talmudic page—which derived from the glossed page format developed by Christian scribes in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries for the Christian Bible with the collected patristic commentaries known as the Glossa Ordinaria.[159] This page format

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[157] Munich, BSB, Cod. Hebr. 5. For a description of the manuscript and its background, see Malachi Beit-Arié, *Hebrew Manuscripts of East and West* (note 2 above), p. 21 and p. 111 n. 53, where he cites R. Suckale's study of the Latin instructions; and for analysis of the significance of the very complex and multiple dimensions of the Jewish-Christian collaboration in the manuscript, see Fromovic, "Jewish Scribes and Christian Illuminators."

[158] Cited from Paris BnF Ms. Héb. 184 in Uriel Simon, "Interpreting the Interpreter: Supercommentaries on Ibn Ezra's Commentaries," in *Abraham Ibn Ezra*, ed. I. Twersky and J. Harris (Cambridge, MA: Center for Jewish Studies, Harvard, 1993), p. 92; see also the quote from Judah ibn Mosconi cited on the same page of Simon's article.

[159] For the history of this page format in Jewish books, see Colette Sirat, *Hebrew Manuscripts of the Middle Ages,* trans. Nicholas de Lange (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), pp. 128-31; and more extensively, my

first appeared in France, around the university community of Paris. If Leipzig 1 indeed originated in France in the early thirteenth century, as some believe, it would be about a hundred years earlier than the earliest tractate of the Talmud with the same format.[160] By the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, the page layout had spread to Jewish communities in Germany, Spain, and Italy, and was used for almost any text which had commentaries.[161] **Fig. 26 (The Bodleian Libraries, University of Oxford, MS. Digby Or. 34, fol. 17v)** is a page from such a codex, written in 1327, probably in Italy. The codex contains the Five Scrolls with the Targum and the commentaries of Rashi and Abraham Ibn Ezra; the page in the illustration has the text of the Song of Songs 4:4-8. The Biblical text and the Targum are written respectively in larger and smaller Ashkenazic scripts while the

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forthcoming book, *The Jewish Library*. For the history of the Glossa Ordinaria, see Christopher de Hamel, *Glossed Books of the Bible and the Origins of the Paris Booktrade* (Woodbridge: D.S. Brewer, 1984).

[160] The earliest talmudic tractate with the glossed format is Arras, Bibliothèque municipal, ms. 969 (889): see Colette Sirat, "Les manuscrits du Talmud en France du Nord au XIIIe siècle," in *Le Brûlement du Talmud à Paris 1242-1244* (Paris: Editions du Cerf, 1999), pp. 121-39. The view that Leipzig 1 originated in France in the 13th century would appear to be that of Abraham Grossman, *Ḥakhmei Tsarfat*, pp. 187-88. For the dissenting view, see Elazar Touitou, "Ms. Leipzig."

[161] See, for example, Oxford, Bodleian Ms. Digby Or. 34, Italy, 1327 (Song of Songs with Targum, Rashi, and Ibn Ezra); Vienna, Oesterreichische Nationalbibliothek Cod. Hebr. 9, Ashkenaz 14th century; Oxford, Bodleian Ms. Kennicott 5, Segovia, Spain 1487 (Former Prophets with Targum, Rashi, Kimḥi, and Gersonides). Plates of these mss can be seen in M. Beit-Arié, *Hebrew Manuscripts* (fig. 37, 38, and 39). For another remarkable example from Spain, see the so-called "Rabbinic Bible" (San Lorenzo de El Escorial, Real Biblioteca, MS G-I-5), described and reproduced in *Biblias de Sefarad/ Bibles of Sepharad,* ed. Esperanza Alfonso, Javier del Barco, et alia (Madrid: Biblioteca Nacional de España), pp. 288-91. One should also note the case of glossed Psalters. While most medieval Psalters were liturgical books and do not have commentaries, there are a sufficient number that do, the most famous being the Parma Psalter (MS Parma. 1870 [De Rossi 510]), a lavishly illustrated late thirteenth century (c.1280) codex from Northern Italy, with the commentary of Abraham Ibn Ezra written in the three outer margins around the text. Interestingly, this particular page format parallels the Byzantine form used for some Christian Psalters rather than the glossed form (with columns) used more widely; see Gibson, "Psalter," pp. 91-96 and plates 5.7-8.

commentaries are in an Italian semi-cursive hand, making the textual hierarchy of the page transparent to the reader.[162]

The glossed format with the Biblical text and commentaries on the same page was obviously a more convenient text for a student. But more than being convenient, it was transformative. It changed the very nature of Bible-study. First, by placing the Bible with its commentary on the same page, it made studying Bible with a commentary normative. Second, with the commentary on the page, the student was less likely to read the Biblical text sequentially; rather, he (or she) now read it verse by verse with the commentary intervening wherever it existed. The Biblical text was thus atomized into small lexical and semantic units that combined verse and exegesis. In this way, as Colette Sirat has noted, the glossed page forced the text and commentary constantly to confront each other, and out of that confrontation, the very habit of always reading the Bible with commentary also became regularized.[163] Furthermore, multiple commentaries on the same page encouraged comparative study of Biblical commentaries. This process led as well to the composition of super-commentaries—commentaries upon commentaries. The profusion of these super-commentaries eventually led scribes to appropriate the form of the glossed *Biblical* page so as to make a glossed *commentary* page, with a "core" commentary like Ibn Ezra in the center of the page (that is, where the Biblical text would normally have been) and surrounded in the margins by a super-commentary on Ibn Ezra's commentary.[164] Such super-commentaries regularly compare one commentator to another.

As with the Talmud, this glossed format was not easy for scribes to produce by hand, and the number of manuscripts with the format are small compared to the other types. And as with the Talmud, it was

[162] On this manuscript, see the Bodleian catalogues of Neubauer and Beit-Arié, no. 129 (pp. 20 and 16 respectively). On transparent layout, see Beit-Arié, *Unveiled Faces I,* pp. 49-59.

[163] Sirat, "Le livre hébreu", p. 247.

[164] Simon, "Supercommentaries," esp. pp. 93-94. For examples of pages with a super-commentary using the *Glossa Ordinaria* format, see Sirat, *Hebrew Manuscripts*, pp. 128-31, in particular fig. 58 (Paris, Séminaire Israélite de France. MS 1); and esp. fig. 59 (Nîmes, Bibliothèque municipale, MS hébr. 22).

only with printing that this format became widespread and, over time, virtually canonical.[165]

Fig. 26 (The Bodleian Libraries, University of Oxford, MS. Digby Or. 34, fol. 17v)

The Bible in Italy

Italy was the site of the earliest dated Jewish manuscript produced in Europe and, since its beginnings, its book culture has exhibited distinctive and independent characteristics.[166] Southern Italy in the

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[165] The glossed format appears already in the 1472 Bologne Pentateuch, but the page reaches its fuller form first in the Second Rabbinic Bible (Venice, 1523-24).

[166] The earliest European ms is Ms. Vatican ebr. 31, probably written in Apulia (very likely in Otranto) in 1072/3. In contrast, the earliest dated Ashkenazic ms. is a Babylonian Talmud, Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale Ms. II 7, written in 1177.

http://www.biu.ac.il/JS/JSIJ/11-2012/Stern.pdf

Byzantine period was one of the original founts of early Ashkenaz, and in its earliest phases, Italian Hebrew book-culture exhibited strong connections with early French and German Jewish book culture.[167] From the middle of the fourteenth century, Italy became a haven for refugees, first for Jews expelled from Ashkenaz, and then, after 1391, for some émigrés from Sepharad.[168] Both groups of immigrants included scribes who continued to write in their native scripts and according to their native scribal practices, as well as in the distinctive script and formats of Italian Jewish book culture. Nearly one third of all surviving dated Hebrew manuscripts were written in Italy between 1350 and 1550.

All three types of Bibles I have surveyed thus far—the Masoretic Bible, the liturgical Pentateuch, and the study-Bible—are represented among Italian Bibles, but each of these genres assumes a number of distinctive features in Italy.

1) Perhaps the most striking characteristic of Italian Bibles in general is their relative disregard for the Masorah. This tendency can be observed even in some codices containing the entire Bible, but it is especially evident in liturgical Pentateuchs.[169]

2) A large number of liturgical Pentateuchs lack as well the Targum and Rashi. There is also, it seems, a more frequent tendency to have *either* the Scrolls or the *haftarot* rather than both, as is the case with comparable liturgical Pentateuchs in Ashkenaz or Sepharad. Both this feature and the preceding one—the infrequent presence of the Masorah as a defining feature of these Bibles—seem to indicate a less

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[167] Malachi Beit-Arié, "The Making of the Book: A Codicological Study," in *The Barcelona Haggadah (MS British Library Additional 14761)*, ed. by Jeremy Schonfeld, 2 vols. (London, Facsimile Editions, 1992), pp. 31-32.

[168] On the Sephardic communities in Spain, primarily in Southern Italy and the Kingdom of Naples in particular (until 1541), see Robert Bonfil, *Rabbis and Jewish Communities in Renaissance Italy* (London: Littman Library, 1993), pp. 145-50, 155.

[169] For an example of a complete Bible without the masorah (even though it is written in two columns like a Masoretic bible, see Vatican Ross. 554, copied in Rome in 1286. For a description, see *Hebrew Manuscripts in the Vatican Library*, pp. 592-93, and Pl. 13; according to the entry, there are brief masoretic notes on a very few pages in the entire codex. For additional illustrations, see *Rome to Jerusalem: Four Jewish Masterpieces from the Vatican Library* (Jerusalem: Israel Museum, 2005). As for the liturgical Pentateuch, none of the twenty-two examples in the Parma collection (just to cite one large corpus of the genre) have the Masorah.

rigorous attitude towards the distinctiveness of the Biblical book genres in Italy than in either Ashkenaz or Sepharad.

3) From the year 1375 on, there are a significant number of codices in which the Biblical text is written in a single page-wide column (and, again, without the Masorah or other texts like Targum or commentaries on the page).[170] The page-wide, single-column format is not unique to Italy—there are specimens of this format in Ashkenaz and Sepharad, as well as in early Oriental (Near Eastern) codices and in Yemenite Bibles until the 15th century—but in proportion to all the biblical manuscripts produced in each geo-cultural area, the number of those written in Italy (including those in Ashkenazic and Sephardic script that were most likely written by émigré scribes) are most prominent.

A number of these "plain" Bibles are also beautifully illustrated. One of the more striking examples is the Duke of Sussex's Italian Pentateuch, written in the 14th or 15th century. **Fig. 27 (British Library Ms. Add. 15423, f. 117r)**, containing the beginning of the Book of Deuteronomy, displays characteristically Italian floral decorations and initial *letter* panels, the latter a relatively rarity in Hebrew manuscripts which tend to have initial *word* panels. Initial letter panels, in contrast, are very typical of Christian Latin manuscripts from the Carolingian period on, and in manuscripts of the late Middle Ages those initials are the most frequent sites for illustrations.

It is very likely that the Italian "plain" Bibles reflect the larger humanist interests prevalent in Italy at the time. This culture was shared by contemporary Jews. As scholars have noted, humanist Italian Bibles of the fifteenth and early sixteenth century also begin to be written with the Biblical text alone on the page, without commentaries or other accompanying "mediators."[171] These volumes represent a kind of return ad fontes in respect to reading. The humanist reader, Christian or Jew, is seen as returning to the original core text to enjoy its wisdom without mediation. The same approach may lie behind the Hebrew "plain" Bibles. The significance of these

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[170] The quantitative information in this passage was supplied to me by Professor Malachi Beit-Arié, based on the data in Sefardata, and I graciously acknowledge his assistance.

[171] On the development of the humanist text, see the excellent article by Martin Davies, "Humanism in Script and Print," in *The Cambridge Companion to Renaissance Humanism*, ed. Jill Kraye (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), pp. 47-62, esp. 49-51.

Italian "plain" Bibles, then, may represent something very different than do other such Hebrew Bibles, such as those from Yemen and the Near East.

Fig. 27 (British Library Ms. Add. 15423, f. 117r)

4) The page from the Duke of Sussex's Italian Pentateuch also illustrates another distinctive trait of Italian Bibles, namely, their use of the semi-cursive rather than the square letters which, in Ashkenaz and Sepharad, are almost invariably used for the Biblical text, be it in a scroll or in a codex.[172] The difference between the two scripts is especially evident on this page because the initial letter *aleph* is written in the square script.

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[172] On the different modes of script and the increasing preference for the semi-cursive mode, Beit-Arié, *Unveiled Faces*, pp. 75-81.

These "plain Bibles" were not the first to use the semi-cursive.[173] In the second half of the fifteenth century, however, the practice became more common in liturgical Pentateuchs copied in glossed formats in Northern Italy. **Fig. 28 (London, British Library Ms. Harley 7621, f. 254v)** shows a page from one such book. Indeed, as this page indicates, the Biblical text in the center surrounded by the delicate floral decoration is almost a replica in miniature of the plain-Bible page with no other texts. In the case of this Pentateuch, however, the scribe has surrounded the Biblical text in the page's center with the Targum on the inner margin outside the floral border, and with Rashi in the even smaller semi-cursive in the outer margins. (In a typical glossed page, the secondary texts, the commentaries, are part of the writing-grid and not marginal; in contrast, this page begins to blur the line separating writing-grid from margin.) As noted earlier, a Bible with the Targum *and* Rashi is a rarity in Italy.

Fig. 28 (London, British Library Ms. Harley 7621, f. 254v)

[173] See, for example, BnF héb. 27, a Bible copied in 1294/95 in a semi-cursive script in two columns, again with headlines in a large square script.

http://www.biu.ac.il/JS/JSIJ/11-2012/Stern.pdf

The growing preference for the semi-cursive mode of script can also be seen in Ashkenazic and Sephardic manuscripts in the late medieval period, but only in Italy is the semi-cursive used so widely for Biblical manuscripts. Given the traditional mandate and virtually universal practice to write the Biblical text exclusively in square letters, the shift to a semi-cursive mode is both dramatic and perplexing. There do not appear to have been economic reasons for the switch to the semi-cursive, nor does it appear to have been motivated by factors like legibility. Rather, as Malachi Beit-Arié has suggested, the most likely motive was aesthetic, with the semi-cursive mode being "regarded by medieval scribes and owners of books as more beautiful and elegant than the various square modes…".[174] This preference in Italy for beauty over halakhic traditionality represents a remarkable sea-change in Jewish cultural sensibility.

5) Along with the use of the semi-cursive script, the other truly distinctive feature of these Italian Bibles is their small size. Many are of quarto and octavo-like dimensions, but some are virtually miniatures, as small as 8.5x5.8 cm (3.4x2.3").[175]

Both the use of the semi-cursive script and the small, very portable sizes of these Bibles, as well as the growing preponderance of "plain" Bibles, albeit sometimes lavishly illustrated ones, seems to point to the increasing popularity of the Bible as a book sought out by individual, not necessarily scholarly, owners, whether for use in the synagogue or for private reading and study. The Bible is not the only book to gain such popularity among Jews in Renaissance Italy; prayer books also become far more common. The increased proliferation of these books reflects, as Robert Calkins has written in regard to Christian books of the period, "profound changes in the role of books in society and in the nature of religious worship." As Calkins elaborates, these changes included the growth of literacy generally (which in turn increased demand for such books not only among the intellectual elite, but also among the growing mercantile class), and "the pervasive need for more immediate, personal, and meaningful religious experience through private devotions…." The latter need led, in turn, to increased individual ownership and use of these books.[176]

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[174] Ibid., p. 80
[175] Thus Parma 1679 (De Rossi 509, Cat. 24), which has been attributed to Isaac b. Ovadiah b. David of Forli. On Isaac, see the end of this article and the publications of Nurit Pasternak cited in note 181.
[176] Ibid.

The impact of both changes can also be seen in the increased popularity in Italy of two "para-Biblical" books, the Psalter and what are called *Sifrei EMeT*, codices consisting of the three poetic texts, Job, Proverbs, and Psalms.[177] While both types of books have antecedents in earlier Sephardic and especially in Ashkenazic book-traditions, where the books are generally of large format, the Italian codices are distinguished (again) by their numerousness, by their use of semi-cursive script, and their small format.[178] Psalters and *Sifrei EMet* both combine the liturgical and the biblical. The Psalter was used as a book of private prayer *and* as an object of study; numerous commentaries were written on it, some polemical, others more philosophical, and they were sometimes recorded with the biblical text in a glossed format. The *Sifrei EMeT*, in turn, became in Renaissance Italy objects of rich intellectual discussion and exchange between Jewish and Christian humanist scholars.[179] The book of Job in particular was interpreted by both circles of *eruditi* as a source of the *prisca theologica*, the original, pristine truth from which later theological traditions and philosophical systems were believed to have devolved. Job, Solomon, even David, could all be seen as types of the *priscus philosophus*, the "ancient wise man who, after attaining universal knowledge, transcended human reason in order to reach the

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[177] The three books are all annotated with a special system of *teʿamim* or accents that distinguishes them from the rest of the Bible. Although it is not known what was its original purpose, this distinction helped foster the idea that these books were "poetic"—indeed, in medieval and Renaissance treatments, these books were commonly believed to epitomize the essence of Biblical poetry. Their status as "poetry" also probably lay behind the special ways in which they are spaced (with a division in the middle of each verse) in medieval manuscripts. On the history of these books as poetry laid out on the page, James Kugel, *The Idea of Biblical Poetry: Parallelism and Its History* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1981), pp. 114-15 and 125-26 especially, and for their later treatment, see the references in the index, s.v. *Sifrei EMeT*.

[178] In terms of numbers, to give one example, the Parma collection alone contains nine Psalters written in Italy from 1391 through the end of the fifteenth century, and twelve *Sifrei EMeT*.

[179] Exactly how or why this view of the books developed is not clear, but perhaps it had something to do with their common title as *Sifrei EMeT* (originally an anagram of Iyov [Job], Mishlei [Proverbs], and Tehillim [Psalms]) being understood as "Books of Truth," that is, philosophical truth.

ultimate happiness of the religious philosopher who finds in God all responses to his intellectual curiosity."[180]

The same culture of Renaissance humanism that fostered the cultivation of a *prisca theologica* inevitably fostered and encouraged other forms of intellectual exchange between Jews and Christians. Foremost among these was the emergence of Christian Hebraism with its new interests in classical Jewish texts. The intellectual exchanges between Jewish and Christian humanists also anticipated the social and economic interactions that would later take place between Jews and Christians in the great printing houses of Venice in the sixteenth century, which were owned by Christians who employed Jews as editors and printers. These Christian Hebrew publishing houses dominated the field of Jewish book culture for more than a century, and produced the definitive editions of most of the Jewish classics including the Rabbinic Bible. As noted frequently, a significant number of Jews involved in these presses either were already, or later ended up as, converts to Christianity, another, somewhat darker dimension of Jewish-Christian exchange.

The work of one scribe in particular—a convert, as we shall see—epitomizes the complexity of such collaborations, not to mention the many unanswered questions that these odd conjunctions raise. Isaac ben Ovadiah of Forli, working mainly in Florence in the mid-fifteenth century, produced at least twenty-five extant manuscripts between 1427 and 1467, a remarkable number of productions even in comparison to Christian humanist scribes of the period. The quantity of his production was less remarkable, however, than its quality. As Nurit Pasternak has noted, Isaac was "a paragon of the Florentine '*bel-libro*' among Jewish scribes of his day."[181] His work was

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[180] Fabrizio Lelli, "Christian and Jewish Iconographies of Job in Fifteenth Century Italy," in *Jewish Biblical Interpretation and Cultural Exchange: Comparative Exegesis in Context*, ed. Natalie B. Dohrmann and David Stern (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008), p. 216.

[181] Nurit Pasternak, "A Meeting Point of Hebrew and Latin Manuscript Production: A Fifteenth Century Florentine Hebrew Scribe, Isaac ben Ovadiah of Forli," in *Scrittura e Civilta* 25 (2001), p. 185 and passim; see as well her Hebrew article, "Isaac ben Ovadiah ben David of Forli: An Extraordinary Jewish Scribe Who Converted to Christianity?" *Tarbiz* 68 (1999), pp. 195-212; and her Ph.D. dissertation, "Together and Apart: Hebrew Manuscripts as Testimonies to the Encounters of Jews and Christians in Fifteenth-Century Florence, The Makings, the Clients, Censorship," (Hebrew University, 2009). All of my remarks are largely drawn from Pasternak's seminal work on Isaac ben Ovadiah.

characterized both by the high quality of its material and its level of execution, which drew upon both the traditions of Hebrew book manufacture and the new technology of the day. Isaac appears to have worked closely with local book-traders, and his manuscripts were decorated and illuminated in Christian ateliers by some of the best local artists, including Fra Angelico. A number of his manuscripts were commissioned by Christians, including one manuscript, a *Sefer EMeT* (MS Jerusalem, Israel Museum 180/55), that bears the device of Lorenzo il Magnifico di Medici.

Fig. 29 (Firenze, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Conv. Soppr. 268, f. 1r)

http://www.biu.ac.il/JS/JSIJ/11-2012/Stern.pdf

Isaac himself eventually converted to Christianity. On the final folio of a Bible manuscript (MS Firenze, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Plut. 1, 31), he proclaimed his faith in Christ by writing: "For the honour and glory of Joshua Nazarenus our Lord King of the Jews."[182] We do not know what motivated Isaac to convert, whether it was the climate of syncretism encouraged by the culture of *prisca theologica*, or the outcome of a sincere religious experience of his own, or reasons of convenience to advance his career. Whatever led him to Christianity, his conversion led to the production of some of the most unusual Biblical manuscripts in all medieval Hebrew book culture.[183] **Fig. 29 (Firenze, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Conv. Soppr. 268, f. 1r)** is the opening of Genesis. Its two columns, written in an Italian semi-cursive hand, replicate what we have seen is a typical Italian Hebrew Biblical format. The colorful floral design framing the page is also reminiscent of other Italian Biblical manuscripts, even if its scrolling vines are especially elaborate. What transports the page to another realm, however, is the large initial letter *bet* (of *bereishit*) that occupies nearly half the folio and that frames a scene of the crucifixion with the two apostles kneeling at Christ's feet, and with Mary Magdalene and Mary the mother of James behind them. At the bottom of the page, a roundel pictures Jesus as he is baptized. Incongruous as this page appears, its almost indefinable hybridity vividly epitomizes the main question that will dominate the subsequent history of the Hebrew Bible: Is it Jewish, or not?[184]

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[182] Pasternak, "A Meeting Point," p. 199.

[183] As Pasternak notes, sixteen of Isaac's extant works are biblical in genre. These include five full Bibles, several liturgical Pentateuchs, Psalters, and several *Sifrei EMeT*.

[184] For the beginning of an answer to this question, see the sequel to this article, David Stern, "The Rabbinic Bible in its Sixteenth Century Context," in *The Hebrew Book in Early Modern Italy*, ed. Adam Shear and Joseph Hacker (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press), pp. 78-108.

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