

Books within Books

New Discoveries in Old Book Bindings

Edited by

Andreas Lehnardt
Judith Olszowy-Schlanger



BRILL

LEIDEN • BOSTON
2014

© 2014 Koninklijke Brill NV ISBN 978-90-04-25849-5

CONTENTS

List of Illustrations	xi
Contributors	xv
Editors' Foreword	xix

Introduction: "Books within Books"—The State of Research and New Perspectives	1
<i>Andreas Lehnardt and Judith Olszowy-Schlanger</i>	

PART I

HISTORY OF RESEARCH

Carta Pecudina Literis Hebraicis Scripta: The Awareness of the Binding Hebrew Fragments in History. An Overview and a Plaidoyer	11
<i>Saverio Campanini</i>	

PART II

STUDIES IN HEBREW FRAGMENTS

The First Autograph of the Tosafists from the European Genizah	31
<i>Simcha Emanuel</i>	
The Reconstruction of a <i>Sefer Haftarot</i> from the Rhine Valley: Towards a Typology of Ashkenazi Pentateuch Manuscripts	43
<i>Judith Kogel</i>	
A Newly Discovered Fragment from <i>Midrash Tanhuma</i> in the Collection of Western European Manuscripts in the Russian State Library (Moscow)	69
<i>Alina Lisitsina</i>	

Josephus Torn to Pieces—Fragments of <i>Sefer Yosippon</i> in Genizat Germania	83
<i>Saskia Dönitz</i>	
Binding Accounts: A Leger of a Jewish Pawn Broker from 14th Century Southern France (MS Krakow, BJ Przyb/163/92) ...	97
<i>Judith Olszowy-Schlanger</i>	
Hebrew Fragments as a Window on Economic Activity: Holdings in the Historical Archives of Girona (Arxiu Històric de Girona)	149
<i>Esperança Valls i Pujol</i>	

PART III

REGIONAL PROJECTS

A Regional Perspective on Hebrew Fragments: The Case of Moravia	185
<i>Tamás Visi and Magdaléna Jánošíková</i>	
Bindings and Covers: Fragments of Books and Notebooks from the Angelica Library (Biblioteca Angelica, Rome)	237
<i>Emma Abate</i>	
Medieval Hebrew Manuscript Fragments in Switzerland: Some Highlights of the Discoveries	255
<i>Justine Isserles</i>	
Newly Discovered Hebrew Fragments in the State Archive of Amberg (Bavaria)—Some Suggestions on Their Historical Background	271
<i>Andreas Lehnardt</i>	
European Fragments in the Spines of the Book Collection of a Yemenite Community	287
<i>Michael Krupp</i>	

Genizat Yerushalayim: The National Library of Israel in Jerusalem	299
<i>Abraham David</i>	
Fragments as Objects: Medieval Austrian Fragments in the Jewish Museum of Vienna	311
<i>Martha Keil</i>	
Index of Persons	329
Index of Subjects	336

PART TWO

STUDIES IN HEBREW FRAGMENTS

THE FIRST AUTOGRAPH OF THE TOSAFISTS FROM THE EUROPEAN GENIZAH*

Simcha Emanuel

Introduction

The excitement engendered by the discovery of the Cairo Genizah has not waned to the present. Many diverse texts from all the fields of Jewish studies came to light in the Cairo Genizah, each presenting us with an additional small remnant from a world almost completely lost. One of the most moving experiences for a researcher of the Cairo Genizah is the discovery of an autograph of a renowned sage. Several such autographs have been found to the present in the Cairo Genizah, and they can be divided into two groups. One group, the larger one, consists of private or official letters written by various individuals. Some of these people are well-known from other sources and it is exciting to come across a piece of paper actually written by their hand.¹ Another group of autographs discovered in the Cairo Genizah includes actual textual compositions. Neither a single letter, nor things that someone wrote for himself, but the first drafts of compositions, in the authors' own handwriting. These autographs of the second group enable us to follow the manner in which the authors worked: what they wrote first, what they erased, what they added at a later time, and so on.

The most important autographs discovered in the Cairo Genizah are without a doubt those of Maimonides. Sections from a long and important series of compositions that Maimonides wrote are preserved in the Cairo Genizah.² As is commonly known, Maimonides lived in Fostat, where the

* This article was supported by the Israel Science Foundation.

¹ Such, for instance, is the letter written by R. Judah Halevi to the merchant Halfon ben Netanel. In the words of Moshe Gil and Ezra Fleischer, who discussed this letter, whoever sees these pages that were written by Judah Halevi himself feels as if he stands face to face with the poet. See Moshe Gil and Ezra Fleischer, *Yehuda ha-Levi and His Circle: 55 Geniza Documents* (Jerusalem: World Union of Jewish Studies—The Rabbi David Moshe and Amalia Rosen Foundation, 2001), 21 (in Hebrew).

² See, e.g.: Ben Outhwaite and Friedrich Niessen, "A Newly Discovered Autograph Fragment of Maimonides' 'Guide for the Perplexed' from the Cairo Genizah." *Journal of Jewish Studies* 57 (2006): 287–297; with a list of earlier publications, 287–288.

Cairo Genizah was found, and the discovery of several of his autographs in that Genizah is therefore not surprising. The Cairo Genizah, however, also contained autographs of sages who resided far from Cairo. For example: a responsum in the handwriting of R. Hai Gaon, who lived in Baghdad; letters in the handwriting of R. Samuel ben Ali, also of Baghdad; and even an autograph by a Provence sage—the commentary to the *Mishneh Torah* compiled by R. Manoah.³ Obviously, many more examples could be added to this partial list.

Not a single autograph of a known author has been preserved in the European ‘Genizah’, at least not in that found so far in Central Europe. This ‘Genizah’ contains a few historical documents (contracts and bills) written in the author’s own hand; but to the best of my knowledge, not a single section of a textual *composition* has surfaced in the European ‘Genizah’ so far. In this article I will present the first discovery of a textual autograph: a section from a commentary to the Talmud, in the handwriting of its author, a member of one of the leading families in Germany in the early thirteenth century. The discovery and identification of this section is a fascinating detective story in its own right, one that illustrates the difficulties facing us in our exploration of the European ‘Genizah’.

The Leaves in Melk and Graz

A single leaf which contains a commentary of the Tractate Berakhot of the Babylonian Talmud is preserved in the library of the monastery in Melk, Austria (Melk, Benediktinerstift, Fragm. XI). The leaf had once been used in the binding of a book, as is attested by the fold through the length of the leaf. At some time, however, the leaf was detached from the binding, and consequently both its sides are legible. Unfortunately, there is no information in the monastery library concerning the origin of the leaf and the book it had been detached from.

The leaf contains a few erasures, but they do not prove in themselves that this is an autograph; they could be easily explained as erasures made

³ Mordechai A. Friedman, “Responso of Hai Gaon—New Fragments from the Geniza.” *Te’uda* 3 (1983): 71–75 (in Hebrew); Moshe Gil, *In the Kingdom of Ishmael* (Tel Aviv: Tel Aviv University, 1997), vol. 2: *Texts from the Cairo Geniza*, 204–212, nos. 75–82 (in Hebrew); Elazar Hurvitz, “Commentary on *Hilchoth Tefillin* of Maimonides by Rabbenu Manoach of Narbonne.” *Hadorom* 40 (1974): 57–122 (in Hebrew); Pinchas Roth, *Later Provençal Sages—Rabbinic Creativity in the South of France in the 13th Century*, PhD. Dissertation, The Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 2012, 110–111 (in Hebrew).

by a scribe, who erred in his labors and immediately corrected his mistakes. However, the leaf also contains lengthy additions in the margins—two on one side, and two on the other (see fig. 3.1). The margins do not contain text that the scribe mistakenly omitted during his copying, but rather constitute independent additions (see below). Consequently, this indicates an autograph of the author.

Additional leaves from the same copy of the commentary to Tractate Berakhot are among the holdings of the library of the university in Graz. I visited this library on July 2010, and found a Latin manuscript with an inner binding made of leaves from a Hebrew manuscript (Graz, Universitätsbibliothek, Cod. 1206). On one side of the book, the bookbinder used one double sheet, that is, two leaves, from the Hebrew manuscript. The inner part of the sheet is hidden by the binding and cannot be read, while the left side of the sheet is cut off in its entire length, leaving only one or two words in each line.

On the other side of the book, the binder used additional two leaves from the same Hebrew manuscript. The binding was made mostly of a single leaf from the Hebrew manuscript, to which the second leaf was stitched upside down. Most of the first leaf is legible, but its right and left margins are concealed. Only two or three words can be read in each line, and that only after turning the book upside down (see fig. 3.2).

During my visit to the Graz library and afterwards, the library staff member in charge of the conservation of manuscripts preservation, Mr. Manfred Mayer, was extremely helpful, and readily met all my requests. My first request was to detach the Hebrew leaves used to bind the Latin manuscript, so that both their sides could be read. After only three weeks I received from Mr. Mayer photocopies of the separated sections. After the sections had been removed from the binding, we realized that we actually had three leaves. The binder had taken three leaves of the Hebrew manuscript, and had turned them into one large sheet with which to bind the Latin manuscript. These three leaves constitute a single sheet and an additional leaf. The binder cut one leaf lengthwise, leaving only a word or two, and at times, three words, in each line. He left the second leaf, the middle leaf of the sheet as it is, without damaging it. Then he sewed the third leaf to the second, so that he would have a very long sheet. The binder patently did not pay attention to the fact that he had sewn the third leaf upside down: now the sheet must be inverted if we want to read the text (see fig. 3.3).

The two sewn leaves overlap a little, so that the two leaves cannot be read in their entirety. My second request of Mr. Mayer was therefore to

unstitch the two leaves, so that they do not cover each other. Mr. Mayer undid the stitches and sent me new images of the fragments. We now possess an almost whole single leaf, and an additional double sheet, one of whose leaves is whole, and the other cut. On the double sheet we can see once again the additions that the author wrote in the side margins, one to the right and the other to the left of the text (see fig. 3.4).

My third and last request of Mr. Mayer was to prepare an ultraviolet photograph of this page. Indeed, while one side of the single leaf, the one that had been visible all the time, can be read clearly, the other side, the one that was attached to the book's binding, is blurred, and a part of it is difficult to read. The ultraviolet image enabled me to read this page in its entirety.

This page contains the commentary to the two last leaves of the Tractate Berakhot (fol. 62a–64a). At the end of the page, in the commentary for the last discursive unit of the tractate, I could now read the words: “I saw in the composition of my brother R. Judah: and may the Lord bless the house of Obed-edom [...]”.⁴ These cited lines are a verbatim quotation of *Yihusei Tannaim ve-Amoraim* composed by R. Judah ben Kalonymus ben Meir of Speyer.⁵ Now we can understand that the author of the commentary to Tractate Berakhot that is preserved in the bookbindings in Melk and in Graz was the brother of R. Judah ben Kalonymus.

The Nature of the Commentary

Thus, we possess a total of three whole leaves of the commentary—one leaf in the library of the monastery in Melk, and two leaves in the library of the university in Graz—and another narrow strip, also in Graz. These leaves are not consecutive. One leaf (from Melk) contains the commentary to a part of the fourth chapter of Tractate Berakhot, fol. 27b–28b; the narrow strip contains a commentary to a part of the fourth chapter, fol. 29b–30a (on one side) and to a part of the sixth chapter, fol. 35a (on the

⁴ ראיתי ביסודו של אחי רב יהודה ויברך י"י בית עובד אדון] וכת' פע] לותי השמיני וכת' ולעובד אדום ששים ושנים. בירושלמי דהחול[ן ליבמ]תו בהילכ' ארבעה מאחים נשואין לארבע נשים כת' וישב ארון י"י [עם בית] עובד אדום הגתי שלשה חדשים ויברך וגו'. במה בירכו בבנים ה[דא הוא דכתי'] כל אלה מבני עובד אדום המה [ובניהם ואחיהם איש ח]ל בכח לעבד ש[שים].

⁵ *Erkhei Tannaim ve-Amoraim*, ed. Moshe Yudah Blau, (New York: Moshe Yehuda Blau, 1994), 84–85 (in Hebrew).

This is not a conventional commentary. A considerable part of it is dedicated to finding parallels from throughout the Rabbinic literature to the discursive units discussed in Tractate Berakhot. The collection of texts available to the commentator when he sought these parallels was large and impressive. He cites the Mishnah, the Tosefta, the Babylonian and Palestinian Talmud, *Midrashei Halakhah*—*Sifra* and *Sifre*;⁷ and also *Midrashei Aggadah*—*Genesis Rabbah*, *Avot de-Rabbi Nathan*, and *Pirkei de-Rabbi Eliezer*.

⁶ It appears that the commentator skipped the fifth chapter and didn't interpret it.

על היין שהקרים ועל פת שעייפשה שעבירה צורתו אומ' שהכל נהיה. תניא בתוספת' דמסכ' ⁹ תרומות פרק דג (תוספתא תרומות ט, י' עמ' 158) תרומה ניתנה לאכילה ולשתייה ולסיכה, לאכול דבר שר[ך] לאכילה ולשתות דבר שדרכו לשתייה כול'. כיצד אין מחייבין אותו לאכל קניבול ולא ירק ולא פת שעייפשה ולא תבשיל שעבירה צורתו. תניא בתוספ' דמסכ' שביעית (תוספתא שביעית א-ב, עמ' 190) שביעית נתנה לאכילה ולשתיה ולסיכה לאכול דבר שדרכו

The commentator devoted another detailed discussion to a discursive unit (BT Berakhot 28a), which cites in the name of the Amora R. Joseph the Aramaic translation of a verse from the book of Zephaniah. The commentator took pain to list nine additional discursive units in the Talmud in which R. Joseph translated a verse into Aramaic, although this collection adds nothing to our understanding of the specific unit in Berakhot. Some of these units were added here in the margin of the text, but in the same handwriting. One discursive unit in Tractate Pesahim was listed here in the left margin, with additional two marginal notes added on the right side, in which the commentator lists three more discursive units:

ואילו המקראות שתירגם רב יוסף, חדא [[במסכת פסח' פרק אילו דברים (פסחים סח ע"א) חרב[ות מ]חים, ואידך]] הא נוגי {מ}מועד (ברכות כח ע"א) [...] ואידך במסכ' קידושין פרק בתרא (קידושין עב ע"ב) וישב ממזר באשדוד [[ואידך עיר ההרס במסכ' מנחות פרק בתרא (מנחות קי ע"א)]] ואידך פרק חלק (סנהדרין צד ע"ב) יען מאס העם את מי השילוח [...] [[במסכ' שבת פרק במה אשה (שבת סד ע"א) אמ' רב יוסף אי הכי היינו דמתרגמ' מחוך. בבמה מדליקין (שבת כח ע"א) אמ' רב יוסף היינו דמתרגמינ' ססגונא]].

These marginal notes clearly demonstrate that this is the autograph of the author, who later recalls these additional discursive units, and writes them in the margin.

The Commentator

Who, then, was this commentator who, as we saw, mentioned the teaching of "his brother" which can be traced back to R. Judah ben Kalonymus ben Meir?

First, we should mention what we know about R. Judah,¹⁰ the brother of the commentator. R. Judah ben Kalonymus lived in Speyer, Germany, and died in the last years of the twelfth century. He came from the Kalonymus family, one of the most illustrious families in Germany in these days. His father was the leader in his community and was one of those responsible to the king for the collection of the community's taxes. His

כול' עד כיצד אין מחייבין אותו לאכול קניבתו של ירק לא פת שעפשה ולא תבשיל שעיברה צורתו. ובבבא בתרא פרק המוכר (דף צה ע"ב) גרס' אמ' רב {יהודה} אמ' שמואל יין הנמכר בחנות מברכין עליו בורא פרי הגפן לימ' רב חסדא בהדי חמרא דאקרים למה לי.

¹⁰ See Ephraim Elimelech Urbach, *The Tosaphists: Their History, Writings, and Methods* (Jerusalem: Bialik Institute, 1980), 361–378 (in Hebrew).

mother was the niece of Samuel b. Kalonymus he-Hasid, and R. Judah he-Hasid was her cousin.

R. Judah is known mainly for his *Yihusei Tannaim ve-Amoraim* (or *Seder Tannaim ve-Amoraim*, apparently the original name of the book), the beginning of which is missing in the extant manuscripts.¹¹ The work is an extensive and valuable Talmudic list of the names of the Tannaim and Amoraim and their teachings. Statements of those scholars found in the works available to R. Judah are listed, sometimes in the context of their discussions, and are provided with a comprehensive and extensive exposition, so that the text reads like a commentary on the Talmud in itself. R. Judah also wrote other works that are no longer extant, including *Sefer ha-Agron*¹² and *tosafot* on a number of tractates.

But who was his brother, the author of the commentary on Tractate Berakhot whose fragments are present in Graz and in Melk? We know of two brothers of R. Judah ben Kalonymus. One is R. Meir ben Kalonymus,¹³ who was older than R. Judah, and who is cited a number of times in his younger brother's book. In contrast, we did not find anywhere R. Meir's references to his younger brother R. Judah. It seems unlikely therefore that R. Meir, the older brother, was the author of this commentary to Tractate Berakhot.

Another brother of R. Judah was R. David ben Kalonymus of Müntzenberg. Ephraim Elimelech Urbach questions whether R. David was R. Judah's brother at all, giving two reasons for his doubt. First, R. Judah mentions his brother R. Meir several times, but never refers to R. David. Second, R. David is depicted in the sources as a sage considerably younger than R. Judah: he was notably in contact with sages of the generation following that of R. Judah.¹⁴ However, Urbach's second doubt resolves actually his first. R. David was indeed considerably younger than R. Judah, and lived many years after him, which is precisely why R. Judah never mentioned him in his book. R. Judah died toward the end of the twelfth century, while R. David was still alive in 1220, when he was a signatory of

¹¹ The first part of the book was published by Judah Leib Maimon (*Sefer Yihusei Tannaim ve-Amoraim*, Jerusalem: Mosad Harav Kook, 1963) and the second part was published by Blau (see above, n. 5). Raphael Nathan Neta Rabinovicz, who was the first to publish part of the book, called it *Sefer Yihusei Tannaim ve-Amoraim* (Lyck: Mekize Nirdamim, 1874), in order to distinguish it from the earlier work known as *Seder Tannaim ve-Amoraim*.

¹² See Simcha Emanuel, *Fragments of the Tablets: Lost Books of the Tosaphists* (Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 2006), 307–308 (in Hebrew).

¹³ See Urbach, *The Tosaphists*, 363–365.

¹⁴ See Urbach, *The Tosaphists*, 365–366.

the *takkanot* (regulations) of the Rhine communities.¹⁵ We possess several *piyyutim* (liturgical hymns) written by R. David, one of which contains the explicit acrostic: דוד בן רבי קלונימוס ברבי מאיר חזק ואמץ אמן סלה (“David ben Rabbi Kalonymus ben Rabbi Meir. Be strong and resolute, Amen Selah”).¹⁶ Thus, it seems that we cannot refute the family relationship between R. Judah ben Kalonymus and R. David ben Kalonymus.

We may therefore reasonably argue that R. David ben Kalonymus of Münzenberg was the author of the commentary to Tractate Berakhot, remnants of which are extant in the monastery library in Melk and in the university library of Graz. This commentator cites what “my brother R. Judah” wrote, and this text is found in the book *Yihusei Tannaim ve-Amora'im*. Accordingly, the European ‘Genizah’ has preserved the commentary of a renowned European sage who was active in the first quarter of the thirteenth century. These fragments in the European ‘Genizah’ are most probably written in R. David’s own hand, and they constitute the first autograph known to us from the entire corpus of the works by the Tosafists.

¹⁵ See Louis Finkelstein, *Jewish Self-Government in the Middle Ages* (New York: Jewish Theological Seminary of America, 1924), 218–251.

¹⁶ *Leket Piyyutei Selihot (Preces Poenitentiales quae Selichoth vocantur a poetis Germanicis et Francogallicis conscriptae)*, ed. Daniel Goldschmidt and Avraham Fraenkel, (Jerusalem: Mekize Nirdamim, 1993), 169–176 (in Hebrew). The editors observe that the *piyyut* has come to us in two different redactions; it should be stressed that in both redactions the poet mentions his grandfather Meir (see p. 172).

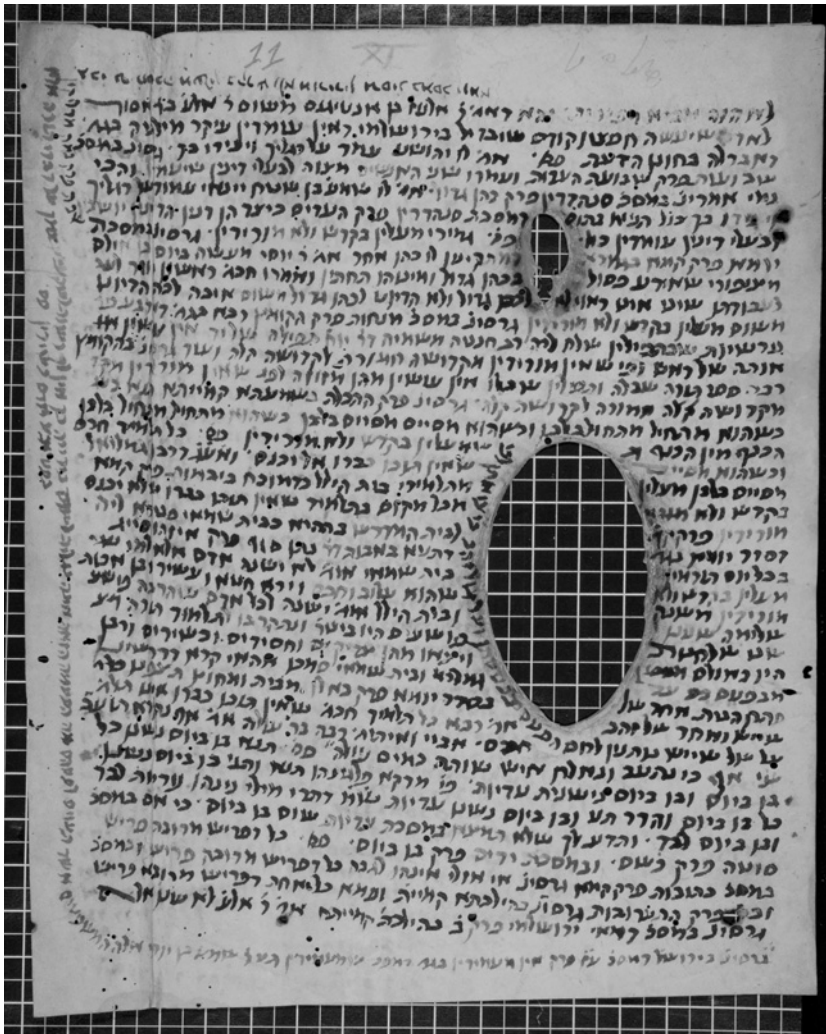


Fig. 3.1 Melk, Benediktinerstift Fragm. XI (recto).



Fig. 3.2 Graz, Universitätsbibliothek, Cod. 1206 (before detaching).

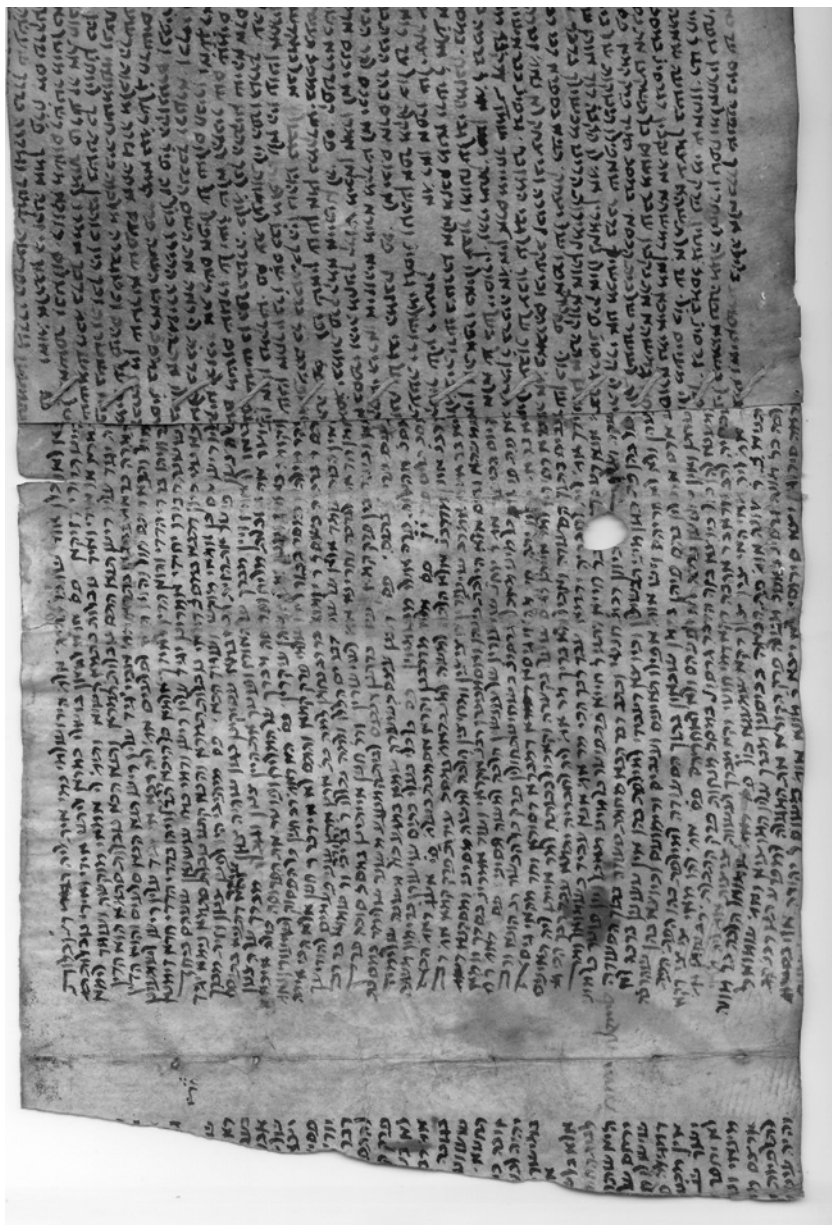


Fig. 3.3 Graz, Universitätsbibliothek 1206 (after partial detaching).



Fig. 3.4 Graz, Universitätsbibliothek 1206 (after full detaching).