



Figure 4. Recto a, Ashkenazic Binding Fragment of an Unknown *Maqama*. Reproduced by courtesy of Diözesanbibliothek des Erzbistums München und Freising.

A Hebrew Book List by Leon Modena

Yaacob Dweck

“As a chief offender in the matter, I must confess my feeling that more has been written about Leon(e) Modena (that was the form which he himself preferred and can see no reason why we should not adopt it) than he deserved.”¹ Thus Cecil Roth opened his review of Ellis Rivkin’s *Leon da Modena and the Kol Sakhal*. And that was 1954. In the more than half a century since, there has been a steady flow of dissertations, monographs, editions, translations, articles, and even an edited volume about this rabbi who lived in the Jewish ghetto of Venice at the turn of the seventeenth century.² Roth’s judgment of Modena and modern scholarship seems to have been unduly harsh, as none other than Arnaldo Momigliano observed in a review of his *History of the Jews in Venice*: “The figure of Leone da Modena, to whom Roth has devoted many pages in chapter 6 of *Figures and Types*, drawing from his curious life in order to brighten up, as one used to say, the erudition of his book, deserves more serious consideration. Leone’s torment and unrest express a complex dissatisfaction with Judaism as well as with pagan culture, and this is among the most important pieces of evidence of the changes that were taking place in Judaism in the seventeenth century.”³ Modena’s many works provide ample evidence of this dissatisfaction with both Judaism and with pagan culture. Scholars have repeatedly turned to his polemical writings – on rabbinic Judaism, on Christianity, on the soul,

¹ C. Roth, review of *Leon da Modena and the Kol Sakhal*, by E. Rivkin, *Jewish Social Studies* 16 (1954): 93.

² A comprehensive listing would be tedious. For literature up until 1985, see H.E. Adelman, “Success and Failure in the Seventeenth Century Ghetto of Venice: The Life and Thought of Leon Modena, 1571–1648” (PhD diss., Brandeis University, 1985). For work since, see T. Fishman, *Shaking the Pillars of Exile: ‘Voice of a Fool,’ an Early Modern Jewish Critique of Rabbinic Culture* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1997); C. Facchini, “Una insinuante modernità: Note su Leone Modena e l’ebraismo nel seicento, *Rassegna bibliografica*,” *Annali di storia dell’esegesi* 19 (2002): 467–97; D. Malkiel, ed., *The Lion Shall Roar: Leon Modena and His World* (Jerusalem: Magnes, 2003).

³ A. Momigliano, “A Review of Cecil Roth’s *Gli Ebrei in Venezia*,” in *Essays on Ancient and Modern Judaism*, ed. S. Bertl (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994), 226–27. See also the description of Roth in I. Berlin, “Edmund Wilson at Oxford,” in *Personal Impressions*, ed. H. Hardy (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001), 179.

and on Kabbalah – in an attempt to trace the changes that were taking place in Judaism in the seventeenth century. The present study harbors no such ambitions. Rather, like Roth's numerous articles on Modena, one of which appeared in a memorial volume for another Anglo Jewish luminary, Israel Abrahams,⁴ it focuses on a relatively short text in attempt to make a contribution to scholarly understanding of this curious early modern figure.

Born in Venice in 1571, Modena spent much of his adult life in the city of his birth. There he served the multiple congregations that constituted the Jewish community in early modern Venice in a number of capacities, eeking out a meager living from his work as a teacher, preacher, cantor, and secretary. Over the course of his long life, he wrote in an astonishing number of genres: a volume of sermons, an autobiographical journal, a series of reference works designed to aid fellow preachers, and an Italian treatise on Jewish rituals, among many others. In his capacity as a proofreader and typesetter, Modena arranged for the printing of many of his own works such as his volume of sermons, *Midbar Yehudah* (Venice, 1602), and his treatise on memory, *Lev ha-Aryeh* (Venice, 1612). Other writings, notably his polemical treatises, circulated in manuscript among a small coterie of Jewish intellectuals in his lifetime and after his death in 1648. Many of these works appeared in print in the early nineteenth century at the initiative of Isaac Reggio, who was primarily responsible for Modena's discovery in the scholarly world, and Abraham Geiger, whose short biography largely invented Modena as a persona.⁵ This spate of editions, translations, and anthologies continued for the next century and a half. A number of Modena's works, however, have not appeared in print, let alone in scholarly editions, including the book list that is the subject of this study.

In the mid-1930s, while serving as the director of a rabbinical college in Rhodes, Isaiah Sonne prepared a survey of the Hebrew books and manuscripts in the libraries of a number of Jewish communities and institutions in Italy.⁶ Among the libraries he surveyed was that of the library of the Jewish community of Ancona, which holds a manuscript he identified as the notebook of Leon Modena. Sonne's description remains the most thorough

⁴ C. Roth, "Leone da Modena and the Christian Hebraists of His Age," in *Jewish Studies in Memory of Israel Abrahams* (New York: Jewish Institute of Religion, 1927), 384–401.

⁵ On Modena and modern scholarship see Adelman, "Success and Failure," 1–184. For the biography see A. Geiger, *Leon da Modena, Rabbim zu Venedig (1571–1648) und seine Stellung zur Kabbalah, zum Thalmud und zum Christenthume* (Breslau: J. U. Kern, 1856).

⁶ A typescript of Sonne's survey, *Relazioni sui Tesori Bibliografici della Comunità Israelitica d'Italia*, is extant in that National Library of Israel, both in the stacks and in the Scholem Library. See B. Richler, *Guide to Hebrew Manuscript Collections* (Jerusalem: Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities, 1994), 178.

study of its contents, although scholars have referred to it in passing or published pieces of it over the course of the past seven decades.⁷ As Sonne and later Shlomo Simonsohn noted, it contains notes on reading, summaries of books, and drafts of letters from the later decades of Modena's life, most probably the 1630s. It is divided into roughly even sections of Italian and Hebrew. It is neither a diary, as it eschews chronological order and does not contain serial entries, nor is it a commonplace book, as it is not organized by any established rubric of topics or subject headings. Rather, it appears to be something akin to a workbook, where Modena sketched out ideas for his future projects, including his polemic against Christianity, *Magen va-Herev*, compiled lists of books that interested him, including a compendium of authorities who opposed Kabbalah that would later resurface in his criticism of Kabbalah, *Ari Nohem*, and kept summaries of books he had read, such as Cornelius Agrippa's *De incertitudine et vanitate scientiarum declamatio invectiva* and Isaac Abravanel's *Mashmia Yeshua*.

Among the drafts for future projects is a relatively short list of books of some interest. Scholars of Jewish life in late medieval and early modern Italy have long been attracted to the study and publication of book lists. Sonne and Roth both published lists of books at various points in their careers, and there is some evidence that Sonne had hoped to return to the subject later on in life.⁸ In the middle of the twentieth century, Simha Assaf, Ephraim E. Urbach, and Nehemia Allony all published book lists of Italian Jews.⁹ More recently, Robert Bonfil published a list from Imola, Shrifra Baruchson drew on the book lists of the Jewish community in Mantua in her study of the libraries and reading practices of sixteenth-century Italian Jews, Menhaem

⁷ For Sonne's description see *Relazione sulla Comunità Israelitica di Ancona*, 1–5, within the larger typescript referred to above. For a published section of the manuscript see his "Leon Modena and the Da Costa Circle in Amsterdam," *HUCA* 21 (1948): 1–28. For an abbreviated description of its contents see S. Simonsohn, "Introduction" to Leon Modena, *She'elot u-Teshuvot Ziknei Yehudah* (Jerusalem: Mossad ha-Rav Kook, 1956), 16 n. 36. For a discussion of another section, see H. T. Adelman, "A Rabbi reads the Qur'an in the Venetian ghetto," *Jewish History* 26 (2012): 125–37.

⁸ C. Roth, "A Seventeenth Century Library and Trousseau," in *Studies in Jewish Bibliography and Related Subjects in Memory of Abraham Solomon Freidus (1867–1923)* (New York: Alexander Kohut Memorial Foundation, 1929), 160–69. I. Sonne, "Book Lists through Three Centuries," *Studies in Bibliography and Booklore* 1 (1953–1954): 55–76; 2 (1955): 3–19. According to Sonne's original plan, six such lists should have been published. See M. H. Schmelzer, "A Fifteenth Century Hebrew Book List," in his *Studies in Jewish Bibliography and Medieval Hebrew Poetry* (New York: Jewish Theological Seminary of America, 2006), 83 n. 1. Hereafter Schmelzer, *Studies*.

⁹ S. Assaf, "A Booklist from the Early Fifteenth Century" [Hebrew], *Kiryat Sefer* 24 (1947): 248–49; E. E. Urbach, "A Booklist from the Early Days of Printing" [Hebrew], *Kiryat Sefer* 15 (1938): 237–39; N. Allony, *Mehkere lashon ve-sifrut: bibliyografiyah vectorat ha-sefer* (Jerusalem: Academy of the Hebrew Language, 1979), 5:185–227, cited after Schmelzer, *Studies*, 83 n. 4.

Schmelzer discovered a list of the books in the possession of Abraham de Balmes, the elder, from Lecce in the middle of the fifteenth century, and Joseph Hacker reconstructed the family libraries of two Italian Jewish bankers at the turn of the seventeenth century in Piedmont.¹⁰ These book lists were compiled for various reasons: some for the purposes of inheritance and the sale of an estate, such as the list published by Roth, while others in order to comply with inquisitorial authorities who sought knowledge of forbidden books in the possession of Jews, such as those drawn upon by Baruchson and Hacker. Common to all of these, and to many of the other lists published over the last century, was a desire on the part of the compiler to list the books in the possession of a particular individual or an institution. Sonne speculated that a list he discovered from fifteenth-century Italy may have been the contents of a Jewish public library. Nearly all the lists pertain to actual books that were owned, most frequently by an individual, although, in some instances, there is a possibility that the books were owned by a public institution such as a synagogue or a library.¹¹

The list compiled by Modena represents something of an anomaly. Unlike the previously published lists that refer to actual books in the possession of individuals or institutions, Modena's book list attempts to reconstruct an imagined collection of books, that is, all the Hebrew books that had appeared in print. The list begins with a short description of its contents:

¹⁰ R. Bonfil, "A Hebrew Booklist from Imola at the End of the Fourteenth Century" [Hebrew], in *Scritti di Memoria di Umberto Nahon* (Jerusalem: Sally Mayer, 1978), 47–62. See also the appendix to his *Ha-rabanut be-Italyah be-tekufat ha-Renesans* (Jerusalem: Magnes, 1979), 295–98, for a listing of published and unpublished book lists from Italy up until the year 1540, cited after Schmelzer, *Studies*, 83 n. 5; S. Baruchson, *Sefarim ve-kerim: tarbut ha-keriah shel Yehude Italyah be-shilhe ha-Renesans* (Ramat Gan: Bar-Ilan University Press, 1993); J. R. Hacker, "Two Book Lists of Jewish Bankers and Money-lenders from Piedmont at the Turn of the Seventeenth Century" [Hebrew], in *Ta Shma: Mehkarim be-Madei ha-Yahadut le-Zikbro shel Yisrael M. Ta-Shma*, ed. A. Reiner et al. (Alon Shevut: Tevunot, 2011), 1:345–89. See also the list of Hebrew books in the library of Salomon Azubi, rabbi in Carpentras and correspondent of N.-C. Fabri de Peirese, in J.-P. Rothschild, "Deux bibliothèques juives comtadines vers 1630," *REJ* 145 (1986): 75–102. On Peirese and Azubi see P. N. Miller, "The Mechanics of Christian-Jewish Intellectual Collaboration in Seventeenth-Century Provence: N.-C. Fabri de Peirese and Salomon Azubi," in *Hebraica Veritas? Christian Hebraists and the Study of Judaism in Early Modern Europe*, ed. A. P. Coudert and J. S. Shoulson (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004), 71–101.

¹¹ On the possibility of a Jewish public library, see I. Sonne, "Book Lists through Three Centuries," *Studies in Bibliography and Booklore* 2 (1955): 7. On books in a synagogue, see Allony, *Mehkere lashon ve-sifrut*, 216. See also the skepticism expressed about book-lists as sources in the study of cultural history in J.-P. Rothschild, "Les listes de livres, reflet de la culture des Juifs en Italie du Nord au XVe et au XVIe siècle?" in *Manoscritti, frammenti e libri ebraici nell'Italia dei secoli XV–XVI*, ed. G. Tamani and A. Vivian (Rome: Carucci, 1991), 163–93.

A record¹² of Hebrew books extant in print up to this point by all of the sages. The names of the authors, the order, and the place of publication should be added to each one, as well as a division by subject matter.

Over the next five folios, Modena arranged nine columns of lists at two columns per folio, with the exception of the last which contains only one column. Modena divided the lists into six categories: (1) *poskim*, (2) *pasuk u-mefarshim*, (3) *midrashim u-derashot* or *midrashim ve-agadot*, (4) *shonim ve-dikduk*, (5) *filosofiyah ve-bakhamot*, and (6) *kabbalah*. With some liberty taken in translation, these categories form the rough equivalent of law, Bible and linguistics, Midrash and homiletics, miscellaneous and grammar, philosophy and the sciences, and Kabbalah. Modena actually provided two different headings for the third category, listed variously as Midrash and homiletics or Midrash and Aggadah, one of many indications of the unfinished character of the list. The categories appear to be original to Modena and possess their own relatively straightforward logic. Someone who identified as a preacher throughout his life would want to distinguish the Bible and its linguistics from Midrash and homiletics,¹³ and a bitter critic of Kabbalah might seek to separate that form of Jewish mysticism from the larger category of philosophy and the sciences.

The list contains neither the names of the authors nor the dates of publications, as Modena's heading indicates he had hoped to add. In fact it represents a work in progress, as there are cross-outs, additions, repetitions, and occasional errors. Its spatial organization gives the impression that Modena continued to add to it over the course of an extended period of time, a practice that would conform with his other writings, particularly toward the end of his life. Thus, the list of his own publications included in his autobiographical journal, *Hayyei Yehudah*, contains marginal annotations in his own hand from a later period that add the titles of books he had published in the interim.¹⁴ Similarly, in the book list in the Ancona manuscript, Modena added the titles of books in the relevant category in the margins or at the bottom of each of the columns.

The relationship between these later additions and the list itself offers a crucial clue as to the date of its primary composition. Nearly all of the titles

¹² The Hebrew term, *mazkeret sefarim*, also appears in Judah ibn Tibbon's discussion of his books. See I. Abrahams, *Hebrew Ethical Wills* (Philadelphia: JPS, 1948), 1:57.

¹³ On Modena's self-identification as a preacher, see the introduction to his collected responsa in *She'elot u-Teshuvot Ziknei Yehudah*, ed. S. Simonsohn (Jerusalem: Mossad ha-Rav Kook, 1956), 3.

¹⁴ See the photograph of Modena's manuscript copy of *Hayyei Yehudah* with the list of his publications accompanied by marginal annotations that appears in *The Autobiography of a Seventeenth-Century Venetian Rabbi: Leon Modena's Life of Judah*, trans. and ed. M. R. Cohen (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1988), 123. Hereafter, *Autobiography*.

on the list appeared in editions printed before 1612. The two exceptions, Yom Tob Lipman Heller's *Mishnayot* printed in Prague in 1615 and Samuel Jaffe's *Yefe Enayim* printed in Venice in 1631 both appear at the bottom of their respective columns and may well have been later additions that extended the original column rather than annotated the margins. By contrast many of the marginal annotations refer to books printed in editions that appeared only after 1612. One can hypothesize that the original list was produced in or around 1612. Two other pieces of evidence strengthen this hypothesis. The letter Modena wrote to David Farrar, published by Sonne when he discovered this manuscript, has been dated to around 1610, indicating that the manuscript contained texts from this period even as it remained in Modena's possession until the end of his life.¹⁵ In addition Modena composed a Hebrew treatise on the art of memory, *Lev ha-Aryeh*, that appeared in print in 1612. Given his interest in the composition of works designed to facilitate the retrieval, dissemination, and production of knowledge, his attempt to compile a comprehensive list of all Hebrew books extant in print at around the same time makes a great deal of sense.

With a few exceptions, largely due to a stain on the paper, the list is legible and can be deciphered with the aid of Moritz Steinschneider's catalogue of Hebrew books in the Bodleian library and Isaiah Vinograd's thesaurus of Hebrew books.¹⁶ It contains roughly 330 titles, depending on how one counts, as certain titles are listed more than once and other titles refer to works of multiple volumes. Thus the Babylonian Talmud, which was printed as a series of individual tractates in a number of editions before Modena composed this list appears as a single title, while Shem Tov ibn Shem Tov's *Sefer ha-Emunot*, printed only once before the composition of this list, appears twice. In contrast to other contemporary or near contemporary lists which sometimes included the place of publication, the price paid for the purchase of a given book, and the date of its acquisition, Modena's list contains little information beyond the titles of works. On occasion he indicated either the content of a particular book, such as the description of *Shoresh Yishai* by Solomon Alkabetz as a commentary on the book of Ruth, or the name of the author before or after the title. By and large, however, he did not fulfill his ambition of recording "the names of the authors, the order, and the place of publication." The list, then, represents a working draft of a project

¹⁵ For the dating of the letter to Farrar, see Sonne, "Leon Modena and the Da Costa Circle," 17. For the possibility that this manuscript was in Modena's possession at the time of his death, see *Autobiography*, 176, and historical note 1, p. 270.

¹⁶ M. Steinschneider, *Catalogus Librorum Hebraeorum in Bibliotheca Bodleiana* (1852–1860; repr. Hildesheim: Olms, 1964); hereafter, Steinschneider, *CB*. I. Vinograd, *Thesaurus of the Hebrew Book* [Hebrew], 2 vols. (Jerusalem: Institute for Computerized Bibliography, 1993–1995); hereafter, *Vinograd*.

that Modena hoped to complete but never did. This may go some distance towards explaining the repetitions, omissions, and occasional inaccuracies that crop up throughout.

Although Modena did not add the places of publication to each title, a number of points about his knowledge of Hebrew printing emerge when the titles are viewed in aggregate. The first has to do with geography. An overwhelming majority of the books he included in his list appeared at Hebrew presses in Venice in at least one edition; at the same time, he included books printed in Constantinople, Isny, Krakow, Lublin, Prague, and Salonica. Given the centrality of Venice in the history of Hebrew printing and Modena's residence in the city for much of his adult life, the prevalence of titles printed in Venetian editions on his book list comes as little surprise.¹⁷ Yet the diversity of the Jewish population in early modern Venice and the city's relative proximity to both the Ottoman Empire and the Polish-Lithuanian Kingdom offer some context for Modena's knowledge of Hebrew books printed at other locations. The near total absence, however, of books written by gentile students of Judaism, a diverse group of intellectuals that modern scholars have grouped under the rubric of Christian Hebraism, offers an interesting indication of the limits of Modena's category of the Hebrew book. Modena was well aware of the writings by Christian Hebraists as he corresponded with some, taught others, and read a vast number of their books. Indeed the very manuscript in which this list appeared included his reading notes on works by Christian Hebraists. Nevertheless, "the record of Hebrew books extant in print" that he compiled in his book list does not pertain to books such as Johannes Buxtorf's *Synagoga Judaica* (Basel, 1603) or Johannes Reuchlin's *De Arte Cabalistica libri tres* (Hagenau, 1517), that contain copious amount of Hebrew type but were written largely in other languages such as German or Latin. This absence does not pertain to the omission of a single title or even books by a single author, an absence that would be easy to assess in a list meant to be comprehensive that includes only 330 books; rather, it is the absence of an entire category of writing that Modena did not consider a Hebrew book and that many later Hebrew bibliographers would include in their compilations.

Christian Hebraism was hardly the only category of books that Modena was aware of but decided to exclude from his list. No book composed in Hebrew type but written in a Jewish vernacular language, whether it be Yiddish, Judeo-Italian, or Ladino, surfaced in this list. Like the phenomenon

¹⁷ On the importance of Venice in the history of Hebrew printing, see A. Shear and J. R. Hacker, "Introduction," in *The Hebrew Book in Early Modern Italy*, ed. J. R. Hacker and A. Shear (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2011), 8–9; E. Reiner, "'No Jew Should Learn Anything but the Talmud Alone': A Dispute over Books and Forbidden Books in 16th Century Ashkenaz" [Hebrew], in *Ta Shma*, 2:736.

of Christian Hebraism, Modena was well aware of the printing of books in Jewish languages other than Hebrew. He appears to have copied and may even have translated a Yiddish book of laws for women that was meant to appear at the Venetian press of Zuan di Gara in the late sixteenth century.¹⁸ Some of the authors included in the list of books such as Elijah Levita also composed works in Yiddish, yet Modena did not mention a single book written in a Jewish vernacular on the list.

In the short introductory paragraph to the list Modena offered little indication as to his method of compilation. Nevertheless, his other works and a number of known facts about his life can go some ways into accounting for its composition. Throughout his life, Modena was intermittently involved with the Hebrew print shops in Venice as an author, editor, typesetter, and proofreader.¹⁹ Many of Modena's own books printed in Venice also appeared on this list, some as later additions.²⁰ He also served as a member of the Venetian rabbinate that controlled the printing of Hebrew books with a mechanism that modern scholars have likened to a primitive form of copyright.²¹ Among his many literary pursuits, Modena composed occasional poems in Hebrew that first appeared in the prefatory matter to books printed at Venetian printing houses.²² In addition, he also owned a fair number of Hebrew books over the course of his life. At the time of his death, his estate contained over fifty Hebrew books, many (but not all) of which appeared on this book list.²³ The books in his estate upon his death, however, do not represent the totality of his personal library as his financial difficulties had forced him to sell a number of his books over the course of his life, and he had received a number of books on loan at various points

that were not in his possession at the time of his death.²⁴ His writings offer repeated evidence of frequent and intense contact with Jews from beyond Venice, such as Joseph Solomon Delmedigo and Naftali Ashkenazi, who brought books printed elsewhere with them on their visits.

The brevity of the list, however, hinders any attempt to offer a conclusive response to the basic historical question posed by its appearance in Modena's notebook: why did he compose it in the first place? Partial and incomplete as it may be, the list is far too extensive and methodically laid-out to represent the idle doodlings of a scholar. The categories are discrete and carefully organized as within each column the entries appear roughly in alphabetical order. The progression within the categories beginning with law, continuing with Bible and linguistics, and proceeding through homiletics and philosophy before concluding with Kabbalah appears to be hierarchical. Given the absence of a more extensive description on the list itself or elsewhere in Modena's writings, the contexts of Modena's own intellectual interests and European learning may offer some perspective on its nature. Throughout his life, Modena composed a number of reference works: two indices to the Talmudic passages in Jacob ibn Habib's *Ein Yisrael*, as the *Ein Yaakov* was known in early modern Italy, the first entitled *Bet Lehem Yehudah* (1625) and the second entitled *Bet Yehudah* (1635);²⁵ an Italian dictionary of biblical words, *Galut Yehudah* (1612), as well as a later supplement to the work that included an Italian listing of Talmudic terms in Hebrew and Aramaic, *Pi Aryeh* (1640). The listing of Hebrew books in print may have been designed as a reference guide to the world of Hebrew printing that had expanded dramatically over the prior century and a half.

In spite of its brevity, the list provides just enough data to imagine a type of book for which it could have served as a précis. Here the analogue is not to Modena's other reference works, rather to the worlds of European learning in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Drawing on a range of works by authors such as Conrad Gesner, Anton Francesco Doni, and François La Croix du Maine, Roger Chartier has reconstructed early modern European "libraries without walls," that is, lists or catalogues of books that do not refer to actual material spaces filled with books but to an inventory "of all the books ever written on a given subject or by all the authors of a given nation."²⁶ Modena did not use the word *bibliotheca* as Doni, or *bibliotheque* as La Croix du Main, instead he used the phrase *mazkeret sefarim*. There appear to be a number of early modern Hebrew

¹⁸ B. Richler, "Information about the History of Hebrew Printing Contained in Manuscripts" [Hebrew], in *Ishah hakhamat lev: Minhat Zikaron le-Dr. Sarah Fraenkel*, ed. B. Yaniv (Jerusalem: n.p., 2010), 57–58.

¹⁹ In addition to the information in his autobiography, see B. Ravid, "The Prohibition against Jewish Printing and Publishing in Venice and the Difficulties of Leone Modena," in *Studies in Medieval Jewish History and Literature*, ed. I. Twersky (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1979), 135–53.

²⁰ Many but not all. Given Modena's assiduous updating of his own bibliography in his autobiographical journal, his omission of works such as *Tzori la-Nefesh* (Venice, 1619) or *Bet Lehem Yehudah* (Venice, 1625) is striking. See *Autobiography*, 122–28.

²¹ M. Benayahu, *Haskamah u-reshut bi-defuse Venetsyah* (Jerusalem: Ben-Zvi Institute, 1971).

²² For a partial listing, see *Autobiography*, 125–26. See also S. Bernstein, ed., *The Divan of Leo de Modena* (Philadelphia: JPS, 1932).

²³ C. E. Ancona, "L'inventario dei beni appartenenti a Leon da Modena," *Bollettino dell'Istituto di Sotria della Società e dello Stato Veneziano* 4 (1962): 249–67. For example, the Hebrew books he owned relating to a celebrated dispute over a ritual bath, *Mikveh Yisrael* and *Mashbit Milhamot*, do not appear on the list although they do appear in the inventory.

²⁴ See *Autobiography*, 101.

²⁵ M. Lehman, *The En Yaaqov: Jacob ibn Habib's Search for Faith in the Talmudic Corpus* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 2012), 181–84.

²⁶ R. Chartier, *The Order of Books: Readers, authors, and libraries in Europe between the Fourteenth and Eighteenth Centuries* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1994), 70.

equivalents for the physical space of a library. Joseph Hacker has suggested that the term *midrash* referred to an actual public library among Sephardic Jews in late medieval Iberia and the early modern Ottoman Empire, and Avriel Bar-Levav has studied the proposal of David Darshan to erect a public space for reading in late sixteenth-century Krakow.²⁷ Modena's list appears to represent something slightly different: the blueprint for a book that would encompass a list of all known printed Hebrew books. Modena's exclusive emphasis on printed books, rather than some combination of books in print and in manuscript as in the libraries without walls composed by his near contemporaries or in David Darshan's proposal to erect a public space for reading, points up the limits of the analogy. As an author keenly aware of the importance of being printed and well attuned to the conventions governing the circulation of certain types of text in manuscript rather than in print, Modena could hardly have imagined a universal library of Hebrew books that contained works in print to the total exclusion of those in manuscript. Instead, the list appears to represent in highly compressed form Modena's attempt to organize Hebrew books that had appeared in a relatively new technology, print, along a series of fixed categories. The list remained in Modena's workbook until discovered by Sonne in the middle of the twentieth century; but the idea buried within it took a different form over thirty years after his death when Shabbetai Bass, a native of Kalisz, Poland, travelled from Prague to Amsterdam and published the first Hebrew bibliography compiled by a Jewish author, *Sifte'i Yeshe'nim*.²⁸ Bass was almost certainly unaware of Modena's prior attempt to compile a catalog of known Hebrew books in print, and his own work was on an entirely different and considerably larger scale.

²⁷ J. Hacker, "Public Libraries of Hispanic Jewry in the Late Medieval and Early Modern Periods" [Hebrew], in *Rishonim ve-Akronim: Mebkarim be-Toledot Yisrael Mugashim le-Avraham Grossman*, ed. J. Hacker, B. Z. Kedar, and Y. Kaplan (Jerusalem: Zalman Shazar Center, 2010), 263–92; A. Bar-Levav, "What Can Be Done with 400 Books? A Proposal for a Jewish Library, Krakow, 1571" [Hebrew], *Zemanim* 112 (2010): 42–48.

²⁸ Amsterdam, 1680. On Bass, see H. C. Zafren, "Dyhernfurth and Shabtai Bass: A typographic Profile," in *Studies in Jewish Bibliography, History, and Literature in Honor of I. Edward Kiev*, ed. C. Berlin (New York: Ktav, 1971), 543–80, as cited in M. H. Schmelzer, "Hebrew Printing and Publishing in Germany: On Jewish Book Culture and the Emergence of Modern Jewry," in *Studies in Jewish Bibliography*, 40. On Bass' design of his Hebrew bibliography as an instrument of religious efficacy and teaching heavily indebted to the ideas of the Prague kabbalist Isaiah Horowitz see Schmelzer, "Guides to the Perplexed in the Wilderness of Hebraica: From Historical Bibliographies to Contemporary Bibliographies and Catalogs of Hebraica," in *Studies in Jewish Bibliography*, 110.

	23 Column 1
מזכרת ספרים עבריים הנמצאים בדפוס עד היום מכל חכמים	1
ויש להוסיף עליהם שמות המחברים לכל א' וסדר החבור	2
ובאיזה מקום נדפסו ולחלקם כפי החכמות	3
פוסקים	4
אלפסי עם הר"ן ורש"י רפוס בומכירגיה	5
?	6
ארבעה טורים לרבינו יעקב זצ"ל עם בית יוסף לגאון קארו	7
משנה תורה להרמב"ם מהרבה דפוסים	8
אבודרהם על התפלה	9
אגודה	10
אגור	11
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Later Additions

- 1 תלמוד בבלי
- 2 תלמוד ירושלמי
- 3 תפלה למשה על תפלות
- 4 חומש עם ?
- 5 יריעות עזים
- 6 לחם משנה
- 7 משניות עם קצור

2 Column 2

- 1 ערוך לר' נתן
- 2 ש"ת ר"ש די מדינה
- 3 פסקי ריקאנאטי
- 4 פסקי הראש
- 5 ש"ת ר"י מינץ
- 6 ש"ת ר' ישראל אשכנזי
- 7 ש"ת הר"ן
- 8 ש"ת ר' דוד כהן
- 9 ש"ת הרשב"א
- 10 ש"ת ר"מ אלאשקר
- 11 ש"ת הרא"ש
- 12 ש"ת ר' יוסף קולון
- 13 ש"ת ר' יוסף ׳ לב
- 14 ש"ת הרמב"ן
- 15 ש"ת אליהו מזרחי
- 16 ש"ת מהרי"ל
- 17 ש"ת מהר"ם מרוטנבורג
- 18 ש"ת ר' לוי ׳ן חביב
- 19 ש"ת ר"ן גירונדי
- 20 ש"ת שאלתות ר' אחאי
- 21 שלחן ערוך ר"י קארו
- 22 שלחן ערוך הנ"ל עם הגהות איסרלין
- 23 שלחן ארבע הרמב"ן
- 24 תרומת הרשן פוסק הרשב"א
- 25 רוקח לר' אלעזר
- 26 ספר הכל בו
- 27 כתובה
- 28 לכל חפץ תקון שטרות
- 29 יפה נוף
- 30 מנהג אבות
- 31 מנין המצוות להרמב"ם
- 32 מסורת התלמוד

- 33 שערי דורא
- 34 תורת הבית
- 35 תורת העולה
- 36 תניא
- 37 ספר התרומה

Later Additions

- 1 דברי ריבות
- 2 ש"ת החכם ר' יעקב הלוי
- 3 שו"ת הרמ"ע מפאנו
- 4 ש"ת אלשיך
- 5 משפטי שמואל לאלקלעי
- 6 ש"ת מנהיר
- 7 ש"ת ר"י כהן
- 8 ש"ת גלאנטי
- 9 ש"ת הרב קארו
- 10 ששה הלבושים
- 11 ש"ת טראני
- 12 יסוד מודא לראב"ע
- 13 סדר היום
- 14 ס' החינוך

3 & Column 1

- 1 פסוק ומפרשים
- 2 מקרא גדולה עם פירושים
- 3 אברכנל על חמשה חומשי תורה
- 4 מרכבת המשנה להנ"ל
- 5 אברכנל על נביאים ראשונים
- 6 אוהב משפט ומשפט צדק פירוש איוב לרש"ב
- 7 אילת אהבים פירוש שיר השירים לר"ש אלקבץ
- 8 ביאורי רש"י לר"מ איסארלן
- 9 אלישע גאליקו פירוש קהלת
- 10 דבק טוב ביאור רש"י
- 11 חבצלת השרון פירוש דניאל לאלשיך
- 12 חזון למועד על דניאל
- 13 חינוך על תר"ג מצות
- 14 טורים על התורה פרפראות לר' יעקב
- 15 יד המלך פירוש אסתר
- 16 ידי משה על ה' מגילות ר"מ אלמוסנינו
- 17 יוסף לקח על אסתר לר' אליעזר אשכנזי
- 18 ר' יצחק אבואב על מדרש
- 19 ישע אלקים פירוש אסתר לר"א צהלון

- 20 כלי יקר פירוש נביאים ראשונים ר"ש לאנדרו
 21 יחייא פירוש כתובים
 22 לב אהרון פירוש נביאים ראשונים לר' אהרון ן' חיים
 23 רלב"ג על התורה
 24 מאיר תהילות פירוש תהילים לר' מאיר
 25 מאיר איוב פירוש איוב לר"מ עראמה
 26 מזמור לתורה פירוש אשרי תמימי דרך
 27 מכלול יופי על כל התורה ר"ש ן' מלך
 28 מנות הלוי פירוש אסתר לר"ש אלקבץ
 29 מנחה בלולה על חומשי תורה לר"מ פורט
 30 מעייני הישועה לאברבנאל פירוש דניאל
 31 מתורגמן פירוש מלות
 32 נורא תהלות על תהלים ן' שועב
 33 עולת התמיד אלכילדה
 34 פי' איוב לר' יצחק כהן
 35 פי' תהלים רד"ק
 36 פי' תהלים עתיה

Later Additions

- 1 חומש עם ג' תרגומים
 2 חומש עם חזקוני
 3 גוד אריה
 4 ביאורי מה"דר נתן
 5 משמיע ישועה להנ"ל
 6 גלות יהודה פ' מלות

3א Column 2

- 1 פ' משלי עמנואל
 2 פ' איוב לרלב"ג
 3 פר"ש הנ"ל ה' מגילות
 4 פ' ה' מגילות עראמה
 5 פ' ה' מגילות יכייא?
 6 פ' על התורה לר"ע ספורנו
 7 פ' ה' מגילות הנ"ל
 8 פ' אסתר לגאליקו
 9 פ' תהלים ר"ש עתייה
 10 פ' מלות רב לר' נפתלי
 11 פ' התורה להרמב"ן
 12 בחיי על התורה
 13 צדור המור פ' על התורה ר"א סבע
 14 שרש ישי פ' רות ר"ש אלקבץ
 15 תולדות יצחק ר"י קארו

- 16 תורת משה פ' התורה לאלשיך
 17 קול בוכים פ' איכה
 18 שושנת העמקי פ' שה"ש לאלשיך
 19 כלי חמרה פ' חמשה חומשי תורה
 20 מזרחי פ' רש"י
 21 מחיר יין פ' אסתר
 22 תמנז פ' שה"ש
 23 מראות הצבאות פ' נביאי לאלשיך
 24 לב אהרון פ' יהושע ושופטי לר' אהרון ן' חיים
 25 מקור חיים על ן' עזרא
 26 יפה עינים לר"ש יפה
 27 דברי שלמה
 28 עקידת יצחק לעראמה
 29 שערי דמעה לאלבלדה

Later Additions

- 1 פ' התורה לרלב"ג
 2 פ' כל התורה לאלשיך
 3 מוטוט על הנ"ל

Column 3ב

- 1 מדרשי ודרשות
 2 כד הקמח לר' בחיי
 3 כפתור ופרח
 4 כתר תורה לר' דוד ויטאל
 5 לב אבות ? פרקים
 6 לקח טוב ן' סרסא פ' ן' עזרא
 7 מאה שערים
 8 מבקש ה' דרשות לר"ש חייגיז
 9 מדבר יהודה שלי דרשות
 10 מדרש חמש מגילות
 11 מדרש שמואל על פרקי אבות ר"ש אוזידה
 12 מדרש תהלים
 13 רבות על חמשה תורה
 14 מכילתא תורת ? לר' ישמעאל
 15 מכתם לרוד על יג עיקרים לר' דוד ויטאל
 16 מנורת המאור לר' יצחק אבוהב
 17 ?
 18 ?
 19 ? ויניציה
 20 מעשי ה' ? על חומשי תורה
 21 מעשייות מדרשות אגרות ר"ש עטר ור"י דליאון

- 22 מקראי קדש דרשות לר' יוסף סאמיגי
 23 מראות אלקי' פי' על ב'ר
 24 מתנות כהונה פ' רבות
 25 נהר פישון דרשות
 26 אור השכל פ' רבות נ"ד
 27 אות טוביים דרשות
 28 אות אמת תקון המדרשים ופירושיהם
 29 אותיות ריב ??
 30 בית אלקי' לר"מ די טראני
 31 כרית אברהם דרשות
 32 ברכת אברהם
 33 גבורות ה' דרשות
 34 גל של אגוזים דרשות
 35 דברי שלום דרשות אדרכי

Later Additions

- 1 עין ישראל
 2 בית יהודה
 3 יפה תאר
 4 יפה מראה
 5 פני רבה מפתחות פסוקי'

Column 2 ב3

- 1 מדרשים ואגדות
 2 פרקי אבות
 3 פרקי ר"א
 4 פרקי אלמוסנינו
 5 קבלה להראב"ד
 6 קהלת יעקב ביאור תפילות
 7 ראש אמנה זבח פסח נחלת אבות
 8 דרשות ר' יואל ׳ן שועב: עולת שבת
 9 דרשות ר' שם טוב
 10 דרשות ר' שלמה אשכנזי
 11 דרשות רבינו נסים
 12 דרשות קצנאלינבגן
 13 זכרון תורת משה
 14 חסד אברהם דרשות
 15 חומש הפקודים
 16 טעמי המצוות
 17 ילקוט על המקרא
 18 יפה תאר לר' שמואל יפה על רבות ס"ת
 19 יפה מראה להנ"ל אגרות ירושלמי

- 20 תולדות יעקב רי אלבה
 21 תנחומא
 22 תנחומות אל דרשות
 23 תנא דבי אליהו
 24 פסיקתא
 25 כבוד אלקים
 26 לקוטי שכחה
 27 לקח טוב אברהם יגל
 28 מגלת ספר אגרות
 29 מגלת אנטיוכוס
 30 מגן דוד
 31 מחזור איטאליאני מרפוס
 32 מחזור אשכנזים עם
 33 מעין גנים אגרות לר"ש ארקולטי
 34 מעון השואלים תפלה כמליצה
 35 מעשיות התלמוד
 36 מרפא לנפש לר' עזריה
 37 משלי שועלים

Later Additions

- 1 מאמץ כח דרשות אלמוסנינו
 2 עשרה מאמרות להר"מ מע משאות קבלה
 3 חן טוב
 4 שפתי כהן
 5 כסף מזוקק
 6 מר דרור
 7 בית מועד
 8 הואיל משה
 9 ויקהל משה
 10 מדבר יהודה
 11 עוללות אפרים
 12 עיד גבורי'
 13 כלי יקר
 14 שפתי אמת
 15 נר מצוה ותורה אור
 16 יפה עינים דרשות מה"גל
 17 עליית קיר קטנה דרשות
 18 קוזין על התורה
 19 לחם שלמה פי' מאמרי' לרש"ל
 20 אורים ותומי' איזה פשטים

4א Column 1

- 1 שונים ורקדוק
- 2 משל הקדמוני
- 3 פתרון חלומות
- 4 צרי היגון
- 5 קרית ספר ר' משה דטראני
- 6 שער הגמול הדמבן: תורת האדם שולחן ארבע
- 7 שער ה'
- 8 אבן בחן לה"ר קלונימוס
- 9 אגרת הקדש
- 10 אגרות הדמב"ם
- 11 מאור עינים לר"ע מן האדומים
- 12 אלדר הדני: שלטי הגבורי' לרופא ממנטוה
- 13 בחינת עולם לר' ידעיה בדרשי
- 14 בן סירא
- 15 גורן נכון דפוס ויניציא"ה
- 16 חזות קשה לר" עראמא
- 17 ספר החסידים
- 18 טוביא מהטביאה
- 19 יוחסין
- 20 יוסף ג' גוריון
- 21 ? תשובת ?
- 22 יחוס הצדיקים הנקברים בא"י
- 23 ספר יראים על המצוות
- 24 שערי תשובה לרבינו יונה
- 25 ? לוי לר' טוביה
- 26 אגרת התחייה להרמב"ן
- 27 לוי חן רקדוק
- 28 לשון למודים לר' דוד יחייא
- 29 מהלך שבילי הרעת רקדוק ר' משה קמחי
- 30 ספר המוסר לר' אברהם לכץ
- 31 מכלול לרד"ק
- 32 מקנה אברהם רקדוק לר"א בלמש
- 33 עמנואל שירים
- 34 צמח דוד פומים
- 35 קונקורדאנציה ר' נתן

Later Additions

- 1 סור מרע מהצחוק שלי
- 2 צמח צדיק מהמדות שלי
- 3 סוד ישרים שלי
- 4 הגדת פסח עם ? מפיו

- 5 שלשלת הקבלה ליחייא
 - 6 ר"ה יוסף כהן דגיינוה
 - 7 ערוגת הבושם רקדוק
 - 8 חבורי ר' אליה מרקדק
 - 9 יוציוני
 - 10 תחכמוני לר' יהודה אלחריזי
- 4א Column 2
- 1 פילוסופיא וחכמות
 - 2 קערת כסף ר' יוסף אזובי
 - 3 אהל מועד
 - 4 טוב טעם דקדוק לר' אליה
 - 5 שרשים הרד"ק
 - 6 תיבת נח דין מאר"קו מאוינו
 - 7 תשבי אליהו מרקדק
 - 8 כוזרי עם פי' המוסק"טו
 - 9 מאמר השכל
 - 10 מאמר האחרות
 - 11 מוסרי הפילוסופי'
 - 12 מורה הנבוכי'
 - 13 מליצה
 - 14 מלחמות לרלב"ג
 - 15 מפעלות אלקי' לאברנבל
 - 16 נוה שלום דרשות לר"א שלום
 - 17 נופת צופי' מיסר ליאון ריטוריקה
 - 18 עטרת זקנים פ"י מראות ? אברנבל
 - 19 עבור שנים לר' יששכר
 - 20 עקרים לר' יוסף אלבו
 - 21 צדה לדרך ר' מנחם נ' זרח
 - 22 ראשית דעת לר' משה אלבילדה
 - 23 אור עמים לספורנו
 - 24 אבן סינה
 - 25 אוד ה' לר' יחייא
 - 26 ספר האמונות לר' שם טוב
 - 27 ספר האמונות רבינו סעדיה גאון
 - 28 דרך אמונה גדול לר' שם טוב
 - 29 תקוני יששכר
 - 30 תהלה ? ר' דוד
 - 31 תפוח לארי"סטו
 - 32 מלות ההגיון לר' יהודה נ' תבון
 - 33 מחיר יין
 - 34 זמירות ישראל מפיטי ושירים

- 35 שלשלת הקבלה לר' גדליה יחייא דברי הימים
 36 דברי הימים יוסף כהן מגיינוה
 37 יוסף נ' גודיון
 38 צמח דוד מר' דוד גאנז אשכנזי דברי הימים
 39 ס' הקבלה להרא"ב
 40 שבט יהודה

Later Additions

- 1 פיל' וחכמות
 2 תהלה לדוד לר' ליאון
 3 תפארת יש' לר' לב מפראג
 4 באר הגולה להנ"ל
 5 אלים ומעין גנים לר' יוסף מקנדיא
 6 חובות הלכות
 7 עץ שתול
 8 שבילי אמונה
 9 לב האריה מהזכרון מקומות שלי
 10 כנף רננים לר"י קארמי
 11 מסעות ר' בנימין

4B Column 1

- 1 קבלה
 1 ספר הזהר מיוחס לרשב"י
 3 ספר יצירה מיוחס לאברהם אבינו
 4 מערכת האלוקות
 5 פרס דמוני' לר"מ קורודואירו
 6 שעדי אודה
 7 שערי צדק
 8 אור נערב
 9 עבודת הקדש לר"מ נ' גבאי
 10 עסיס רמוני' קצור הפרס
 11 ארזי לבנון
 12 מרפא לנפש לצהלון
 13 ראשית חכמה
 14 קציר הנ"ל
 15 ס' האמונות
 16 י' מאמרות להרמ"ע
 17 ריקאנאטי על התורה
 18 דרך אמונה ביכאגו

Later Additions

פלא הרמון

Authors and place of publication:

2B Column 1

פוסקים

1. Isaac Alfasi אלפסי עם הר"ן ורש"י
 Venice, 1511 (Bomberg), nine other editions before 1612
2. Joseph Karo בית יוסף Jacob b. Asher with יוסף טורים
 Venice, 1550–1567 (4 volumes), ten other editions before 1612
3. Maimonides משנה תורה
 Venice, 1550 (Bragadin, Justinian), seven other editions before 1612
4. David b. Joseph Abudraham אבודרהם
 Venice, 1546 (Justinian), 1566 (Zorzi di Cavali), three other editions before 1612
5. Alexander Suslin ha-Cohen אגודה
 Krakow, 1574
6. Jacob b. Judah Landau אגור
 Venice, 1546 (Justinian), two other editions before 1612
7. Jeruham b. Meshulam אדם וחוה
 Venice, 1553 (Bragadin), 1557, one other edition before 1612
8. Jonah Ashkenazi רבינו יונה איסור והתר
 Ferrara, 1555 (Usque)
9. באר מים פירוש תפלות
 Possibly a reference to באר מים חיים Hayim Ovadiah
 Salonica, 1590
10. Asher b. Jehiel אשר על התלמוד
 Venice, 1522, 1543 (Bomberg), 1550 (Justinian)
11. Isaac b. Sheshet Responsa בר ששת
 Constantinople, 1547; Riva di Trento, 1559
12. Benjamin b. Mattiyahu בנימין זאב
 Venice, 1539 (Bomberg)
13. Isaac Adarbi דברי ריכות
 Venice, 1587 (Di Gara), one other edition before 1612
14. Jeshua b. Joseph ha-Levi הליכות עולם
 Venice, 1545 (Di Fari), five other editions before 1612
15. Nahmanides השגות הרמב"ן
 Constantinople, 1510
16. Solomon ibn Adret חרושי הרשב"א על גיטין
 Venice, 1523 (Bomberg)
17. Solomon ibn Adret חרושי הרשב"א על חולין
 Venice, 1523 (Bomberg)

18. Nahmanides חידושי בתרא להרמב"ן
Venice, 1523 (Bomberg)
19. Rabbenu Nissim חידושי הר"ן ודרשות
Venice, 1596 (Di Gara), one other edition before 1612
Riva di Trento, 1559
20. Moses Isserles תורת החטאת
Krakow, 1570, 1577, 1591, 1600
21. Solomon Luria חכמת שלמה
Glosses to *Sanhedrin*, Krakow, 1612
Glosses to *Hullin*, Lublin, 1636
22. Samson b. Isaac of Chinon כריתות
Constantinople, 1516; Cremona, 1558
23. Jacob Molin מהרי"ל
Sabbioneta, 1556; Cremona, 1558, 1566
24. Abraham b. Nathan ha-Yarhi מנהיג
Constantinople, 1519
25. הראש על י' מסכתות
26. Abraham b. David ערויות עם פירוש הראב"ד
Venice, 1530 (Bomberg)
27. מעשה הגט
28. Moses of Coucy ספר המצות
Venice, 1522, 1547 (Bomberg), two other editions before 1612
29. Joseph Samiga פורת יוסף
Venice, 1590 (Di Gara)
30. Maimonides תשובות הרמ"ם
Venice, 1544 (Di Fari), 1545 (Justinian), 1565, 1574,
one other edition before 1612
31. Yom Tob Lipman Heller משניות עם תוספות יום טוב
Prague, 1615

Later additions:

1. תלמוד בבלי
2. תלמוד ירושלמי
Venice, (1523), one other edition before 1612
3. Moses Almosnino תפלה למשה על תפלות
Salonica (1563); Krakow (1590)
4. חומש עם ?
5. Samson ben Samuel ידיעות עזים
Venice, 1597 (Di Gara)
6. Abraham de Botton לחם משנה
Venice, 1604–1606 (Zanetti)
7. משניות עם קצור

2B Column 2

1. Nathan b. Jehiel ערוך
Venice, 1531 (Bomberg), 1553 (Bragadin), four other editions before 1612
2. Samuel de Medina ש"ת ר"ש רי מדינה
Salonica, 1594–1595
3. Menahem Recanati פסקי ריקאנאטי
Bologna, 1538
4. Asher b. Jehiel פסקי הראש
Venice, no date
5. Judah Minz ש"ת ר"י מינץ
Venice, 1553 (Bragadin)
6. ש"ת ר' ישראל אשכנזי
Possibly a reference to the responsa of Bezalel Ashkenazi
Venice, 1595 (Zanetti)
7. Rabbenu Nissim Girondi ש"ת הר"ן
Rome, 1545; Constantinople, 1548; Cremona, 1557, 1586
8. ש"ת ר' דוד כהן
9. Solomon ibn Adret ש"ת הרשב"א
Venice, 1519 (Bomberg) (attributed to Nahmanides); Venice, 1545
(Justinian), five other editions before 1612
10. Moses Alashqar ש"ת ר"מ אלאשקר
Sabbioneta, 1554
11. Asher b. Jehiel ש"ת הדא"ש
Venice, 1552 (Bragadin), 1607 (Zanetti), two other editions before 1612
12. Joseph Colon ש"ת ר' יוסף קולון
Venice, 1519 (Bomberg), one other edition before 1612
13. Joseph ibn Leb ש"ת ר' יוסף ל' לב
Salonica, 1548 (vol. 1); Constantinople, 1561 (vol. 2), 1573 (vol. 3);
Venice, 1606, (vol. 4) (Zanetti)
14. ש"ת הרמב"ן; Attributed to Nahmanides, written by Solomon ibn Adret
Venice, 1519 (Bomberg)
15. Elijah Mizrahi ש"ת אליהו מזרחי
Adrianople, 1555; Constantinople, 1560
16. Jacob Molin ש"ת מהרי"ל
Venice, 1523, 1549 (Adelkind), two other editions before 1612
17. Meir b. Baruch of Rotenburg ש"ת מהר"ם מרוטנבורג
Cremona, 1557; Prague, 1608
18. Levi ibn Habib ש"ת ר' לוי חביב
Venice, 1565

19. Rabbenu Nissim Girondi ש"ת הר"ן
See above, entry 7
20. R. Ahai Gaon ש"ת שאלתות ר' אחאי
Venice, 1546 (Bomberg)
21. Joseph Karo שלחן ערוך
Multiple editions. First appeared in Venice, 1565
22. Moses Isserles שלחן ערוך הנ"ל עם הגהות איסרלין
Multiple editions. First appeared with Isserles' annotations in Krakow, 1578–1580
23. Attributed to Nahmanides; written by Bahya ben Asher שלחן ארבע הרמב"ן
Venice, 1546, six other editions before 1612
24. Israel b. Petahya Isserlein תרומת הדשן
Venice, 1519 (Bomberg), 1546 (Justinian)
25. Eleazar of Worms דוקא
Venice, 1549, one other edition before 1612
26. כל בו
Venice, 1547 (Justinian), 1567 (Zorzi di Cavali), 1572, three other editions before 1612
27. Simeon b. Zemah כתובה
Constantinople, 1515
28. Eliezer Mili לכל חפץ תקון שטרות
Venice, 1552 (Adelkind), one other edition before 1612
29. Judah Zarko יפה נוף
Venice, 1573 (Di Gara)
30. Jehiel b. Jekutiel מנהג אבות
Mantua, 1514
31. Maimonides מנין המצוות להרמב"ם
Venice, 1550 (Bragadin), one other edition before 1612
32. מסורת התלמוד
Salonica, 1523
33. Isaac b. Meir of Dueren שערי דודא
Venice, 1548, 1564, six other editions before 1612
34. Solomon ibn Adret תורת הבית
Venice, 1608 (Di Gara)
35. Moses Isserles תורת העולה
Prague, 1570
36. תניא
37. Baruch b. Isaac of Worms ספר התרומה
Venice, 1523 (Bomberg)

Later additions:

1. Isaac Adarbi רברי ריכות
Venice, 1587 (Di Gara), one other edition before 1612
 2. ש"ת החכם ר' יעקב הלוי
Venice, 1614, 1632
 3. Menahem Azariah da Fano שו"ת הרמ"ע מפאנו
Venice, 1600 (Zanetti)
 4. Moses Alshekh ש"ת אלשיך
Venice, 1605 (Di Gara)
 5. Samuel b. Moses Kalai משפטי שמואל
Venice, 1600 (Zanetti)
 6. Meir b. Gedalya of Lublin ש"ת מנהיר
Venice, 1618 (Bragadin)
 7. ש"ת ר"י כהן
Possibly a reference to Israel b. Joseph Cohen שאלת הגשמה
Prague, 1598
 8. Moses b. Mordecai Galante and Jedidiah b. Moses Galante ש"ת גלאנטי
Venice, 1608 (Di Gara)
 9. Joseph Karo ש"ת הרב קארו
Salonica, 1598
 10. Mordecai Jaffe ששה הלבושים
Venice, 1620
 11. Moses b. Joseph di Trani ש"ת טראני
Venice, 1629
 12. Abraham ibn Ezra יסוד מורא
Venice, 1566 (Zorzi di Cavali), one other edition before 1612
 13. Moses b. Judah Makhir סדר היום
Venice, 1599 (Zanetti), 1605 (Di Gara)
 14. Aaron ha-Levi of Barcelona ס' החינוך
Venice, 1523 (Bomberg), 1600 (Di Gara)
- 3A Column 1
פסוק ומפרשים
1. Rabbenu Nissim Girondi מקרא גדולה עם פירושים
Venice, 1517, 1525 (Bomberg)
 2. Isaac Abravanel חומשי תורה על חמשה חומשי תורה
Venice, 1579 (Di Gara), 1604
 3. Isaac Abravanel מרכבת המשנה
Sabbioneta, 1561
 4. Isaac Abravanel אברבנל על נביאים ראשונים
Pesaro, 1511

5. אוהב משפט ומשפט צדק Simeon b. Zemah Duran
Venice, 1589 (Di Gara)
6. אילת אהבים Solomon Alkabetz
Venice, 1552 (Adelkind)
7. ביאורי רש"י Israel b. Petahya
Venice, 1519 (Bomberg), 1545 (Justinian), 1567, two other editions
before 1612
8. פירוש קהלת Elisha Gallico
Venice, 1578 (Di Gara)
9. דבק טוב Simeon Oshenburg
Venice, 1588 (Di Gara), three other editions before 1612
10. חכצלת השרון Moses Alshekh
Venice, 1592 (Di Gara), one other edition before 1612
11. חזון למועד Samuel b. Judah Valerio
Venice, 1586 (Di Gara)
12. החינוך ס' Aaron ha-Levi of Barcelona
See entry 13 in the additions of the previous page
13. טודים על התורה Jacob b. Asher
Venice, 1544, two other editions before 1612
14. יד המלך Samuel b. Judah Valerio
Venice, 1586 (Di Gara)
15. ידי משה Moses Almosnino
Venice, 1597 (Zanetti)
16. יוסף לקח Eliezer Ashkenazi
Cremona, 1576
17. יצחק אבואב על מדרש
Venice, 1548 (or possibly a reference to *מנורת המאור*, Venice, 1544)
18. ישע אלקים Abraham b. Isaac Zahalon
Venice, 1595 (Di Gara)
19. כלי יקר Samuel Laniado
Venice, 1603 (Di Gara)
20. יחייא פירוש כתובים Joseph b. David ibn Yahya
Bologna, 1538
21. לב אהרון Aaron ibn Hayim
Venice, 1609 (Di Gara)
22. רלב"ג Gersonides
Venice, 1547 (Bomberg), two other editions before 1612
23. מאיר תהילות Meir b. Isaac Arama
Venice, 1586 (Di Gara), two other editions before 1612
24. מאיר איוב Meir b. Isaac Arama
Venice, 1567 (Zorzi di Cavali)

25. מזמור לתורה Samuel b. Isaac Aripol
Venice, 1576 (Di Gara), one other edition before 1612
26. מכלול יופי Samuel ibn Melekh
Constantinople, 1549
27. מנות הלוי Solomon Alkabetz
Venice, 1585 (Di Gara)
28. מנחה בלולה Abraham Menahem b. Jacob Meforat
Verona, 1594
29. מעייני הישועה Isaac Abravanel
Venice, 1555
30. מתורגמן Elijah Levita
Venice, 1560, two other editions before 1612
31. נורא תהילות Joel ibn Shuaib
Salonica, 1568
32. עולה התמיד Moses b. Jacob Albelda
Venice, 1526, 1601
33. פירוש איוב Isaac b. Solomon Cohen
See Steinschneider *CB* entry 5418, p. 1153
34. רד"ק על תהלים David Kimhi
Bologna, 1477
35. עתיה עם פ' תהלים Solomon b. Shem Tov Athias
Venice, 1549 (Justinian)

Later additions:

1. חומש עם ג' תרגומים
2. חומש עם חזקוני Hezekiah b. Manoah
Cremona, 1559
3. גור אריה Judah Loew b. Bezalel
Prague, 1578
4. באיורי מה"ר נתן
5. משמיע ישוע Isaac Abravanel
Salonica, 1526
6. גלות יהודה Judah Aryeh Modena
Venice, 1612, 1640

3A Column 2

פסוק ומפרשים

1. פ' משלי Immanuel of Rome
Naples, 1487
2. פ' איוב Gersonides
Venice, 1544, two other editions before 1612

3. פ' חמש מגילות Gersonides
Riva di Trento, 1560
4. פ' חמש מגילות Isaac Arama
Constantinople, 1518, 1568 (commentary only to book of *Esther*)
5. פ' חמש מגילות Joseph b. David ibn Yahya
Bologna, 1538
6. פ' על התורה Obadiah Sforno
Venice, 1567 (Zuan Grypho)
7. פ' חמש מגילות Obadiah Sforno
Venice, 1567 (Zuan Grypho)
8. פ' אסתר Elisha Gallico
Venice, 1583 (Di Gara)
9. פ' תהילים Solomon b. Shem Tov Athias
See entry above, 3A column 1, number 35
10. פ' מלות רב Possibly Naftali Herz b. Menahem of Lemberg
פ' למדרש רבות מהתורה or פ' למדרש החמש מגילות רבה
both Krakow, 1569
11. פ' התורה Nahmanides
Venice, 1545 (Justinian), six other editions before 1612
12. פ' בחיי על התורה Bahya b. Asher
Venice, 1544 (Di Fari), 1546 (Bomberg), 1566 (Zorzi di Cavali), nine
other editions before 1612
13. צרור המור Abraham Saba
Venice, 1523 (Bomberg), 1546 (Justinian), 1567 (Zorzi di Cavali),
one other edition before 1612
14. שרש ישי Solomon Alkabetz
Constantinople, 1561
15. תולדות יצחק Isaac b. Joseph Karo
Constantinople, 1518; Mantua, 1558
16. תורת משה Moses Alshekh
Venice, 1600 (Zanetti), 1601 (Di Gara)
17. קול בוכים Joel ibn Shuaib and Abraham b. Mordecai Galante
Venice, 1589
18. שושנת העמקי Moses Alshekh
Venice, 1591, 1606 (Both by Di Gara)
19. כלי חמדה Samuel b. Abraham Laniado
Venice, 1596 (Di Gara), one other edition before 1612
20. מורחי Elijah Mizrahi
Venice, 1527 (Bomberg), 1545 (Bomberg), 1574 (Bragadin), one
other edition before 1612
21. מחיר יין Moses Isserles
Cremona, 1559

22. פ' שיר השירים
23. מראות הצבאות Moses Alshekh. Modena does not specify which book
Venice, 1595 Commentary on the later prophets
Venice, 1620 Commentary on the earlier prophets.
24. לב אהרון Aaron ibn Hayim
See entry above, 3A column 1, entry 21
25. מקור חיים Samuel Zarza
Mantua, 1559
26. יפה עינים Samuel Jaffe
Venice, 1631 (Vendramin)
27. רברי שלמה Solomon b. Isaac ha-Levi
Venice, 1596 (Zanetti)
28. עקירת יצחק Isaac Arama
Venice, 1547 (Bomberg), 1565 (Bragadin), 1573 (Di Gara), 1595, one
other edition before 1612
29. שערי דמעה Moses b. Jacob Albelda
Venice, 1596 (Di Gara)

Later Additions:

1. פ' התורה Gersonides
See entry above, 3A column 1, entry 22
2. פ' כל התורה Moses Alshekh
See entry above, 3A column 2, entry 16
3. פ' על פ' החכם Samuel Motot
Venice, 1554 (Bragadin)

3B Column 1

מדרשים ודרשות

1. כד הקמה Bahya b. Asher
Venice, 1546 (Justinian), two other editions before 1612
2. כפתור ופרח Estori ha-Farhi
Venice, 1549
3. כתר תורה David b. Solomon Vital
Constantinople, 1536
4. לב אבות Solomon b. Isaac
Salonica, 1565, 1571
6. לקח טוב Joseph Sarsa
See Steinschneider, *CB*, entry 5995, p. 1525
7. מאה שערים Isaac b. Elijah Sheni
Salonica, 1543

8. מבקש ה' Samuel b. Jacob Hagiz
Venice, 1596 (Di Gara)
9. מדבר יהודה Judah Aryeh Modena
Venice, 1602 (Zanetti)
10. מדרש חמש מגילות
Pesaro, 1519; Constantinople, 1520
11. מדרש שמואל Samuel Uceda
Venice, 1579, 1585 (Di Gara), 1605 (Zanetti), one other edition
before 1612
12. מדרש תהילים
Venice, 1546 (Bomberg), three other editions before 1612
12. מדרש רבה
Venice, 1563
13. מכילתא
Venice, 1545 (Bomberg), one other edition before 1612
14. מכתם לדוד David b. Solomon Vital
Venice, 1546 (Justinian)
15. מנורת המאור Isaac Aboab
Venice, 1544, 1563, 1594, five other editions before 1612
- 16.
- 17.
- 18.
19. מעשי ה' Eliezer b. Elijah Ashkenazi
Venice, 1583 (Di Gara), one other edition before 1612
20. מעשיות מדרשות אגרות
Possibly a reference to, והמדרשות וההגדות
Venice, 1551
21. מקראי קדש Joseph Samiga
Venice, 1586 (Di Gara)
22. מראות אלוהים
Possibly a reference to מראות אלוהים Meir ibn Gabbai
Venice, 1567 (Zuan Grypho), one other edition before 1612
23. מתנות כהונה Isaachar b. Naftali Katz
Krakow, 1587; Salonica, 1594, 1595
24. נהר פישון Isaac Aboab
Constantinople, 1538
25. אור השכל Abraham b. Asher
Venice, 1567 (Zuan Grypho)
- 26.
27. אות אמת Meir b. Samuel Benveniste
Salonica, 1565
- 28.

29. בית אלוהים Moses b. Joseph di Trani
Venice, 1576 (Di Gara)
30. ברית אברהם Abraham b. Shabbetai Horowitz
Lublin, 1577
31. ברכת אברהם
Possibly a reference to Abraham Treves
Venice, 1552 (Bragadin)
32. גבורות השם Judah Loew b. Bezalel
Krakow, 1582
33. גל [של] אגוזים Menahem b. Moses Egozi
Constantinople, 1593
34. דברי שלום Isaac b. Samuel Adarbi
Venice, 1586 (Di Gara), 1597 (Zanetti)

Later Additions:

1. עין ישראל Jacob ibn Habib
Venice, 1566 (Zorzi di Cavali), four other editions before 1612
2. בית יהודה Judah Aryeh Modena
Venice, 1635 (Vendramin)
3. יפה תואר Samuel b. Isaac Jaffe
Venice, 1597 (Di Gara)
4. יפה מראה Samuel b. Isaac Jaffe
Venice, 1590 (Di Gara), one other edition before 1612
5. פני רבה Menasseh b. Israel
Amsterdam, 1628

3B Column 2

מדרשים ואגרות

1. פרקי אבות
Venice, 1573 (Di Gara), numerous other editions before 1612
2. פרקי ר' אליעזר
Venice, 1544, 1586, 1608, four other editions before 1612
3. פרקי משה Moses b. Barukh Almosnino
Salonica, 1563
4. ספר הקבלה Abraham ibn Daud
Mantua, 1513
5. קהלת יעקב ביאור תפילות Baruch b. Baruch ibn Jedaiah
Venice, 1598 (Zanetti) Commentary on Ecclesiastes
Safed, 1578 Moses b. Mordecai Galante
Or alternatively: קהלת יעקב Jacob Luzzatto
Salonica, 1584

6. a) ראש אמנה Isaac Abravanel
Venice, 1545 (Justinian), three other editions before 1612
- b) זבח פסח Isaac Abravanel
Venice, 1545 (Justinian), three other editions before 1612
- c) נחלת אבות Isaac Abravanel
Venice, 1545 (Justinian), 1567 (Zorzi di Cavali), one other edition before 1612
7. עולת שבת Joel ibn Shuaib
Venice, 1577 (Di Gara)
8. דרשות Shem Tov b. Joseph ibn Shem Tov
Venice, 1547 (Justinian)
9. דרשות Solomon Ashkenazi
?
10. דרשות Nissim b. Reuben Girondi
Venice, 1596 (Di Gara), one other edition before 1612
11. דרשות Samuel Judah b. Meir Katznellenbogen
Venice, 1595 (Di Gara)
12. זכרון תורת משה Moses b. Joseph Figo
Constantinople, 1552; Prague, 1623
13. חסד אברהם Abraham b. Shabbetai Horowitz
Lublin, 1577, 1622; Krakow, 1605
14. חומש הפקודים
?
15. טעמי המצוות Menahem Recanati
Constantinople, 1544; Basel, 1581
16. ילקוט המקרא Simeon of Frankfurt
Venice, 1566 (Bragadin), three other editions before 1612
17. יפה תואר Samuel b. Isaac Jaffe
Venice, 1597 (Di Gara)
18. יפה מראה Samuel b. Isaac Jaffe
Venice, 1590 (Di Gara), one other edition before 1612
19. תולדות יעקב Jacob di Alba
Venice, 1609 (Di Gara)
20. תנחומא
Venice, 1545 (Bomberg), five other editions before 1612
21. תנחומות אל Isaac b. Moses Arollia
Salonica, 1576
22. תנא רבי אליהו
Venice, 1550, 1598 (Zanetti)
23. פסיקתא
Possibly a reference to פסיקתא זוטרותא Tobias b. Eliezer
Venice, 1546(Bomberg), 1605

24. כבוד אלוהים
Either Abraham ha-Levi ibn Migash, Constantinople, 1585
Or Joseph b. Shemtov, Ferrara, 1556
25. לקוטי שכחה ופאה Abraham b. Judah Almalih
Ferrara, 1556
26. לקח טוב Abraham Yagel
Venice, 1542, 1580, 1587, 1595
27. מגלת ספר
Venice, 1545, 1552 (Adelkind), two other editions before 1612
28. מגלת אנטיוכוס
Guadalajara, 1482; Mantua, 1557
29. מגן דוד
Either David b. Judah, Krakow, 1644
Or David Gans, Prague, 1612
30. מחזור איטאליני
31. מחזור אשכנזים
32. מעין גנים Samuel Archivolti
Venice, 1553 (Bragadin)
33. מעון השועלים Moses b. Isaac Rieti
Venice, 1585 (Di Gara), 1602 (Zanetti), 1609 (Di Gara)
34. מעשיות התלמוד
Constantinople, 1519
35. מרפא לנפש
Either Raphael b. Gavriel Norzi Venice, 1579 (Di Gara), one other edition before 1612
Or Abraham b. Isaac Zahalon Venice, 1595 (Di Gara)
36. משלי שועלים Berachya b. Natronai ha-Nakdan
Mantua, 1557

Later additions:

1. מאמץ כח Moses Almosnino
Venice, 1588 (Di Gara)
2. עשרה מאמרות Menachem Azariah da Fano
Venice, 1597 (Di Gara)
3. חן טוב Tobias b. Abraham Halevi
Venice, 1605 (Di Gara)
4. שפתי כהן Moredecai ha-Kohen of Safed
Venice, 1605 (Zanetti)
5. כסף מזוקק Josiah b. Joseph Pinto
Venice, 1628 (Bragadin)

6. מר דרור [ראש] Mordecai b. Isaac ha-Kohen
Venice, 1615
 7. בית מועד Menahem b. Moses Raba
Venice, 1605 (Di Gara)
 8. משה הואיל Moses Alpalas
Venice, 1597 (Zanetti)
 9. משה ויקהל Moses Alpalas
Venice, 1597 (Zanetti)
 10. מדבר יהודה Judah Aryeh Modena
Venice, 1602 (Zanetti)
 11. עוללות אפרים Solomon Ephraim b. Aaron Luschintz
Lublin, 1590; Prague, 1619
 12. עיר גבורים Solomon Ephraim b. Aaron Luschintz
Basel, 1580
 13. כלי יקר Solomon Ephraim b. Aaron Luschintz
Lublin, 1602; Prague, 1608
 14. שפתי אמת Solomon Ephraim b. Aaron Luschintz
Prague, 1610
 15. נד מצוה Samuel b. Joseph Kohen
Venice, 1598
 16. יפה עינים Samuel Jaffe
Venice, 1631 (Vendramin)
 17. עליית קיר קטנה Levi Kuzin
Constantinople, 1643
 18. קוזין על התורה Levi Kuzin
Venice, 1625, 1636
 19. לחם שלמה Solomon b. Isaac ha-Levi
Venice, 1597 (Di Gara)
 20. אורים ותומים Meir b. Isaac Arama
Venice, 1603 (Zanetti)
- 4A Column 1
שונים ודקדוק
1. משל הקדמוני Isaac ibn Sahula
Venice, 1546, 1610 (Di Gara), 1644, three other editions before 1612
 2. פתרון חלומות
Either Solomon Almoli, Venice, 1623
Or Hai b. Sherira Gaon, Venice, 1566 (Di Gara), five other editions before 1612
 3. צרי היגון Shem Tov b. Joseph Falaqera
Cremona, 1557; Prague, 1612

4. ספר קרית Moses b. Joseph di Trani
Venice, 1551 (Bragadin)
5. a) שער הגמול Nahmanides
Naples, 1490; Constantinople, 1519; Ferrara 1556
b) תורת האדם Nahmanides
Venice, 1595 (Di Gara), one other edition before 1612
c) שולחן ארבע Attributed to Nahmanides, written by Bahya b. Asher
Venice, 1546 (Justinian), six other editions before 1612
6. שער ה' Solomon Almoli
Constantinople, 1533
7. אבן בחן Kalonymus b. Kalonymus
Venice, 1546 (Bomberg), two other editions before 1612
8. אגרת הקדש Attributed to Nahmanides
Rome, 1546; Basel, 1580; Constantinople, 1590; Krakow, 1594;
Salonica, 1595
9. אגרות הרמב"ם Maimonides
Venice, 1544 (Di Fari), 1545 (Justinian), 1565, 1576, one other edition before 1612
10. מאור עינים Azariah de Rossi
Mantua, 1573-1575
11. אלדר הדני
Venice, 1544, 1605, 4 other editions before 1612
12. שלטי הגבורים Abraham b. David Portaleone
Mantua, 1612
13. בחינת עולם Yedaiah Bedersi
Venice, 1546 (Bomberg), numerous other editions before 1612
14. בן סירא
Prague, 1610, 1630
15. גורן נכון Modena lists it as a Venice edition
Riva di Trento, 1562
16. חזות קשה Isaac b. Moses Arama
Sabbioneta, 1552
17. ספר החסידים Judah the Pietist
Bologna, 1538
18. טוביא
Possibly a reference to ספר טוביא, Venice, 1547, 1605, eight other editions before 1612
19. יוחסין Abraham Zacut
Constantinople, 1566; Krakow, 1580
20. יוסף גוריון
Basel, 1541

21. תשובת?.
22. יחוס הצדיקים הנקברים
Venice, 1590, 1599, 1626, 1640, three other editions before 1612
23. ספר יראים Eliezer b. Samuel of Metz
Venice, 1566 (Zorzi di Cavali)
24. שערי תשובה Jonah Girondi
Venice, 1544 (Di Fari)
25. טוביה
26. אגרת התחיה Attributed to Nahmanides
Possibly a reference to *Iggeret ha-Kodesh*
Rome, 1546; Basel, 1580; Constantinople, 1590; Krakow, 1594;
Salonica, 1595
27. לרית חן Emanuel b. Jekutiel Benveneto
Mantua, 1557
28. לשון למורים David ibn Yahya
Constantinople, 1506, 1520, 1542
29. מהלך שבילי הרעת Moses b. Joseph Kimhi
Venice, 1546 (Bomberg), 1552 (Adelkind), 1624, numerous other
editions before 1612
30. ספר המוסר Judah Kalatz. Modena lists his first name as Abraham
Constantinople, 1537; Mantua, 1560; Krakow, 1598
31. מכלול David Kimhi
Venice, 1544, 1545 (Bomberg), five other editions before 1612
32. מקנה אברהם Abraham de Balmes
Venice, 1523 (Bomberg)
33. שירים Immanuel of Rome
Brescia, 1491; Constantinople, 1535
34. צמח דוד David di Pomis
Venice, 1587 (Di Gara)
35. קונקורדאנציה Isaac b. Kalonymos Nathan
Venice, 1523

Later additions:

1. סור מרע Judah Aryeh Modena
Venice, 1595 (Di Gara), 1615
2. צמח צדיק Judah Aryeh Modena
Venice, 1600 (Zanetti)
3. סור ישרים
Venice, 1595 (Di Gara), 1595 (Zanetti)
4. הגדת פסח
5. שלשלת הקבלה Gedalya ibn Yahya
Venice, 1587 (Di Gara)

6. דברי הימים Joseph b. Joshua ha-Kohen
Sabbioneta, 1554
 7. ערוגת הבושם Samuel Archivolti
Venice, 1602 (Di Gara)
 8. חבורי ר' אליה מרקוק Elijah Levita
 - 9.
 10. תחכמוני Judah al-Harizi
Constantinople, 1540, 1578
- 4A Column 2
פילוסופיא וחכמות
1. קערת כסף Joseph Ezobi
Soncino 1488; Fano 1504; Krakow 1535; Mantua, 1558
 2. אהל מועד Solomon b. Abraham of Urbino
Venice, 1548 (Justinian)
 3. טוב טוב Elijah Levita
Venice, 1528 (Bomberg)
 4. שרשים David Kimhi
Venice, 1529, 1546, 1547, numerous other editions before 1612
 5. תיבת נח Marco Marini
Venice, 1593 (Di Gara)
 6. תשבי Elijah Levita
Isny, 1541; Basel, 1557, 1601
 7. כוזרי Judah Halevi with commentary by Judah Moscato
Venice, 1594 (Di Gara)
 8. מאמר השכל Eliezer b. Nathan
Cremona, 1557
 9. מאמר האחרות Joseph b. Hayim Jabez
Ferrara, 1554; Lublin, 1597
 10. מוסרי הפילוסופים Solomon ibn Gabirol
Riva di Trento, 1562
 11. מורה הנבוכים Maimonides
Venice, 1551 (Bragadin), four other editions before 1612
 12. מליצה [למשכיל] Vidal Benveniste
Constantinople, 1517; Rimini, 1525; Rome, 1548; Ferrara, 1553;
Salonica, 1595
 13. מלחמות [השם] Gersonides
Riva di Trento, 1560
 14. מפעלות אלהים Isaac Abravanel
Venice, 1592 (Di Gara)
 15. נוד שולם Abraham Shalom
Venice, 1575 (Di Gara), one other edition before 1612

16. נופת צופים Judah Messer Leon
Mantua, 1474
17. עטרת זקנים Isaac Abravanel
Sabbioneta, 1557
18. עכור שנים Issachar b. Mordecai Shushan
Venice, 1579 (Di Gara), one other edition before 1612
19. עקרים Joseph Albo
Venice, 1521 (Bomberg), 1544 (Di Fari), 1550, five other editions before 1612
20. צרה לדרך Menahem b. Aaron ibn Zerah
Ferrara, 1554; Sabbioneta, 1567
21. ראשית דעת Moses b. Jacob Albelda
Venice, 1583 (Di Gara)
22. אור עמים Obadiah Sforno
Bologna, 1537, 1548
23. אבן סינה Avicenna, Canon
Naples, 1492
24. אור ה' Hasdai Crescas. Modena identifies the author as Yahya
Ferrara, 1556
25. ספר האמונות Shem Tov ibn Shem Tov
Ferrara, 1556
26. ספר האמונות Saadya Gaon
Constantinople, 1562
27. דרך אמונה Abraham b. Shem Tov Bibago
Constantinople, 1522
28. תקוני יששכר
Venice, 1579 (Di Gara); see above, entry 18
29. תהלה לרוד David b. Judah Messer Leon
Constantinople, 1576
30. תפוח Attributed to Aristotle
Venice, 1519 (Bomberg), one other edition before 1612
31. מלות ההגיון Maimonides
Venice, 1550 (Justinian), two other editions before 1612
32. מחיר יין Moses Isserles
Cremona, 1559
33. זמירות ישראל Israel Najara
Venice, 1599 (Di Gara), two other editions before 1612
34. שלשלת הקבלה Gedalya ibn Yahya
Venice, 1587 (Di Gara)
35. דברי הימים Joseph b. Joshua ha-Kohen
Sabbioneta, 1554

36. יוסף נ' גוריון
Basel, 1541
37. צמח דוד David Gans
Prague, 1592
38. ספר הקבלה Abraham ibn Daud
Mantua, 1513
39. שבט יהודה Solomon ibn Verga
Adrianople, 1554; Sabbioneta, 1567; Salonica, 1570; Krakow, 1591; Prague, 1609; Amsterdam, 1638, 1640

Later Additions:

פילוסופיא וחכמות

1. תהלה לרוד David b. Judah Messer Leon
Constantinople, 1576
2. תפארת ישראל Judah Loew b. Bezalel of Prague
Venice, 1599 (Zanetti), one other edition before 1612
3. באר הגולה Judah Loew b. Bezalel of Prague
Prague, 1598
4. אלים Joseph Solomon Delmedigo
Amsterdam, 1629
5. חובות הלכות Bahya ibn Pakuda
Venice, 1548 (Bomberg), 1589, six other editions before 1612
6. עץ שתול Commentary on Joseph Albo *Ikarim*
Venice, 1618 (Bragadin)
7. שבילי אמונה Meir b. Isaac Aldabi
Riva di Trento, 1559; Amsterdam, 1627
8. לב האריה Judah Aryeh Modena
Venice, 1612
9. כנף דננים Joseph Karmi
Venice, 1627
10. מסעות ר' בנימין
Constantinople, 1533; Ferrara, 1556; Antwerp, 1575; Freiburg, 1583; Leiden, 1633; Helmstedt, 1636

4B Column 1

קבלה

1. ספר הזהר Attributed to Simeon b. Yohai
Mantua, 1558–1560; Cremona, 1559
2. ספר יצירה Attributed to Abraham the Patriarch
Mantua, 15623. מערכת האלוקות Perez b. Isaac Gerondi
Mantua, 1558; Ferrara, 1558

4. פרדס רמוני' Moses Cordovero
Venice, 1586
5. שערי אורה Joseph Gikatilla
Mantua, 1561; Riva di Trento, 1561; Krakow, 1600
6. שערי צדק Joseph Gikatilla
Cremona, 1561; Riva di Trento, 1561
7. אור נערב Moses Cordovero
Venice, 1587
8. עבודת הקדש Meir ibn Gabbai
Venice, 1567, one other edition before 1612
9. עסיס רמוני' Samuel Galico
Venice, 1601 (Zanetti)
10. ארזי לבנון
Venice, 1601 (Di Gara)
11. מרפא לנפש Abraham b. Isaac Zahalon
Venice, 1595 (Di Gara)
12. ראשית חכמה Elijah de Vidas
Venice, 1579, 1593 (Di Gara)
13. Abridgement of ראשית חכמה Elijah de Vidas
Venice, 1600 (Zanetti), 1605
14. ספר האמונות Shem Tov ibn Shem Tov
Ferrara, 1556
15. עשרה מאמרות Menahem Azariah da Fano
Venice, 1597 (Di Gara)
16. ריקאנאטי על התורה Menahem Recanati Commentary on the Bible
Venice, 1523 (Bomberg), 1545 (Justinian)
17. דרך אמונה Abraham b. Shem Tov Bibago
Constantinople, 1522

Later additions:

- פלה הרמון Menahem Azariah da Fano
Venice, 1600 (Zanetti)

Steinchen, Gras und Erdenstaub

Ursprung und Bedeutung jüdischer Friedhofsbräuche

Peter Kubn

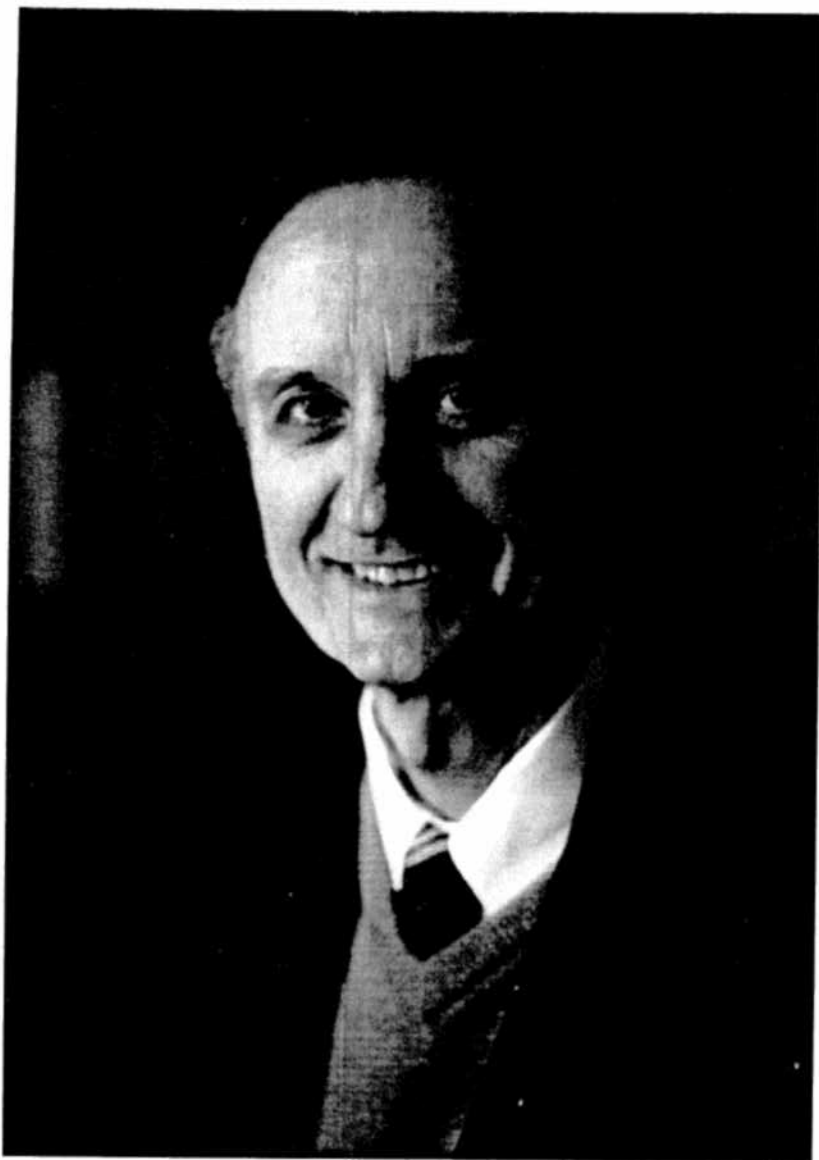
1. Bedeutung, Alter und Ursprung des Brauches, Steinchen auf Grabsteine zu legen

Der jüdische Friedhofsbrauch, nach dem Besuch eines Grabes ein Steinchen auf den Grabstein zu legen, wird gegenwärtig weltweit geübt. In Bezug auf ihn stellen sich seit langem und besonders heute, da das Interesse an jüdischen Friedhöfen gewachsen ist, drei Fragen: Welche Bedeutung hat dieser Brauch? Wann ist er entstanden? Und nicht zuletzt: Welchen Ursprung hat er?

Bereits am Anfang des 18. Jahrhunderts beschäftigten diese Fragen den Frankfurter Theologen Johann Jacob Schudt. Schon er erhielt auf sie keine befriedigende, endgültige Antwort. In seinem bekannten, das zeitgenössische Judentum aus lutherisch-polemischer Perspektive behandelnden Werk schrieb er: „Auf den aufgerichteten Grabsteinen zu Franckfurt liegen gemeinlich oben auf einem 2. 3. auch bis 10 oder 12 kleine Stein von der Gassen / dessen mir kein Jud / deren ich viel gefragt / eine tüchtige Antwort geben können oder wollen [...].“¹ Interessanterweise erfuhr er, „die Weiber thäten solches, entweder ihrer Freunde (=Verwandten) Grab daran zu erkennen oder sonst aus thörichtem Aberglauben.“ Als Schudt später noch einmal nachfragte, bekam er immerhin die folgende Auskunft: „Von deren kleine Steinlein [...] so die Weiber auf die grosse Grabsteine legen / gab ein Jud diese wahrscheinliche raison, / wann die Weiber ihr Anliegen ihren verstorbenen Freunden am Grab vorgetragen, / so legten sie diese Steinlein hin / als Zeugen / dass sie ihnen solches vorgetragen [...].“²

¹ J.J. Schudt, Jüdischer Merckwürdigkeiten [...] II. Teil, Frankfurt und Leipzig 1714, 363.

² J.J. Schudt, Jüdischer Merckwürdigkeiten [...] IV. Teil, II. Continuation, Frankfurt 1717, 430.



P. Schäfer

Envisioning Judaism

*Studies in Honor of Peter Schäfer
on the Occasion of his Seventieth Birthday*

Edited by

Raʿanan S. Boustan, Klaus Herrmann,
Reimund Leicht, Annette Yoshiko Reed,
and Giuseppe Veltri

with the collaboration of

Alex Ramos

Volume 2

Mohr Siebeck