

Ilana Tahan

# Matters of Provenance: Hebrew Manuscripts Owned by a Distinguished French Archbishop

**Abstract:** In 1946, the British Museum acquired six important Hebrew manuscripts that now form part of the British Library's collection. Five of the manuscripts were written in Italy in the 15<sup>th</sup> century and include Baḥya ibn Paquda's philosophical work *Ḥovot ha-Levavot* ('Duties of the Heart'), Yosef Gikatilla's Kabbalistic treatise *Sha'are Ora* ('The Gates of Light'), and *Shesh Kenafayim* ('Six Wings'), an astronomical treatise by 'Immanu'el ben Ya'aqov Bonfils of Tarascon. This paper explores the manuscripts' content, codicological features, and fascinating provenance, focusing particularly on their illustrious former Christian owners. It further discusses the historical background and momentous circumstances that led to the accession of these handwritten Hebrew works to the British Museum's library seventy-one years ago.

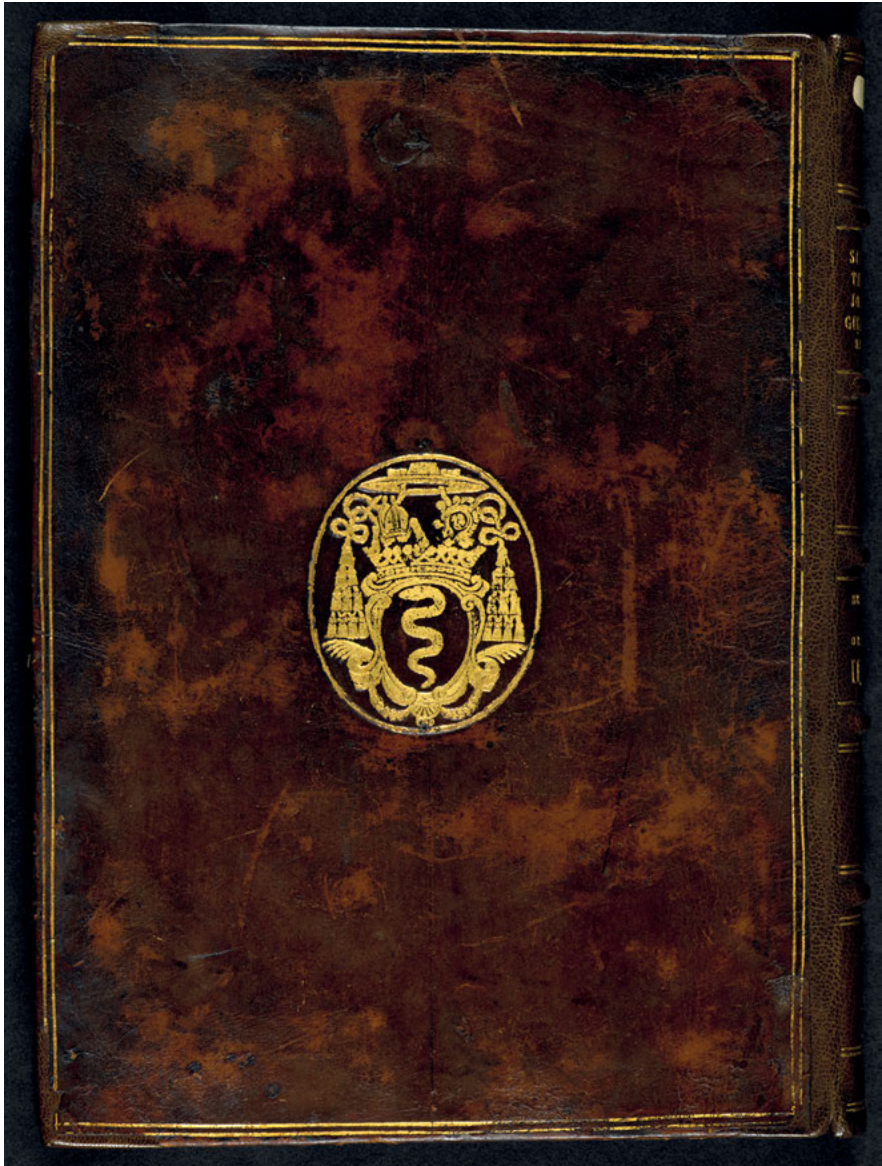
## 1 Introduction

Amongst the rich holdings of the British Library's Hebrew manuscript collection, are six manuscripts which form the subject of this contribution. There is something very special these hand-copied books have in common that is both fascinating and intriguing: they all exhibit the arms of a French archbishop. Just two of the manuscripts have preserved the original brown leather bindings stamped with the archbishop's heraldic insignia (Fig. 1). The rest were re-bound, and all that remains from their early leather covers are rectangular panels embossed with the clergyman's coat of arms, pasted on to their inner back boards.

In this paper I propose to briefly describe the manuscripts, reveal the identity of their French owner and examine the factors that may have led to their acquisition, explore additional marks of ownership found in the manuscripts, and, finally, show how and when they ended up in the British Library.<sup>1</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup> The manuscripts were initially part of the British Museum's collection, however, since 1972 when the British Library was formed by Act of Parliament, they have belonged to the British Library collection.



**Fig. 1:** Original binding featuring the cleric's coat of arms. Ms. Or. 11793 - *Sitre Tora*. By permission of the British Library.

## 2 The manuscripts

### 2.1 Or. 11791

Copied in a neat Italian semi-cursive hand the manuscript comprises two commentaries on *Sefer Yešira* ('Book of Formation'). One of the earliest products of Kabbala, *Sefer Yešira*, an anonymous Kabbalistic tract on the ten *sefirot* and the 22 letters of the alphabet and their permutations has been attributed to Abraham the Patriarch and even to Adam and Moses. The work is a mixture of philology, mathematics, mysticism and esotericism. Owing to its obscure and complicated style, *Sefer Yešira* generated numerous commentaries by notable scholars including Se'adya Ga'on. The commentaries included here are the works of Yosef ben Shalom Ashkenazi<sup>2</sup>, a well-known Kabbalist of the late 13<sup>th</sup> or early 14<sup>th</sup> century (active 1270–1325)<sup>3</sup>, and that of the famous mediaeval Kabbalist Yiṣḥaq ben Avraham Sagi Nahor, known as Isaac the Blind (1160–1235).<sup>4</sup> The colophon on fol. 42r states that the manuscript was copied by Moshe ben Yiṣḥaq, but no other details regarding the original commission are provided. In the manuscript the leather rectangle bearing the French archbishop's crest is affixed inside the back cover. Italy, 15<sup>th</sup> century; 50 vellum leaves; 3 paper flyleaves at the front; 3 paper flyleaves at the back; 5 quires of 10 leaves each; catchwords are placed at the end of quires. The ruling is not visible; size: 22.75 × 17 cm. Contains diagrams, volvelles (e.g. fols 7v, 21v; Figs 2 and 3) and some manicha. Half leather modern green binding embossed with the British Museum's crest on back cover. Number 3730 is written on fol. 1v.

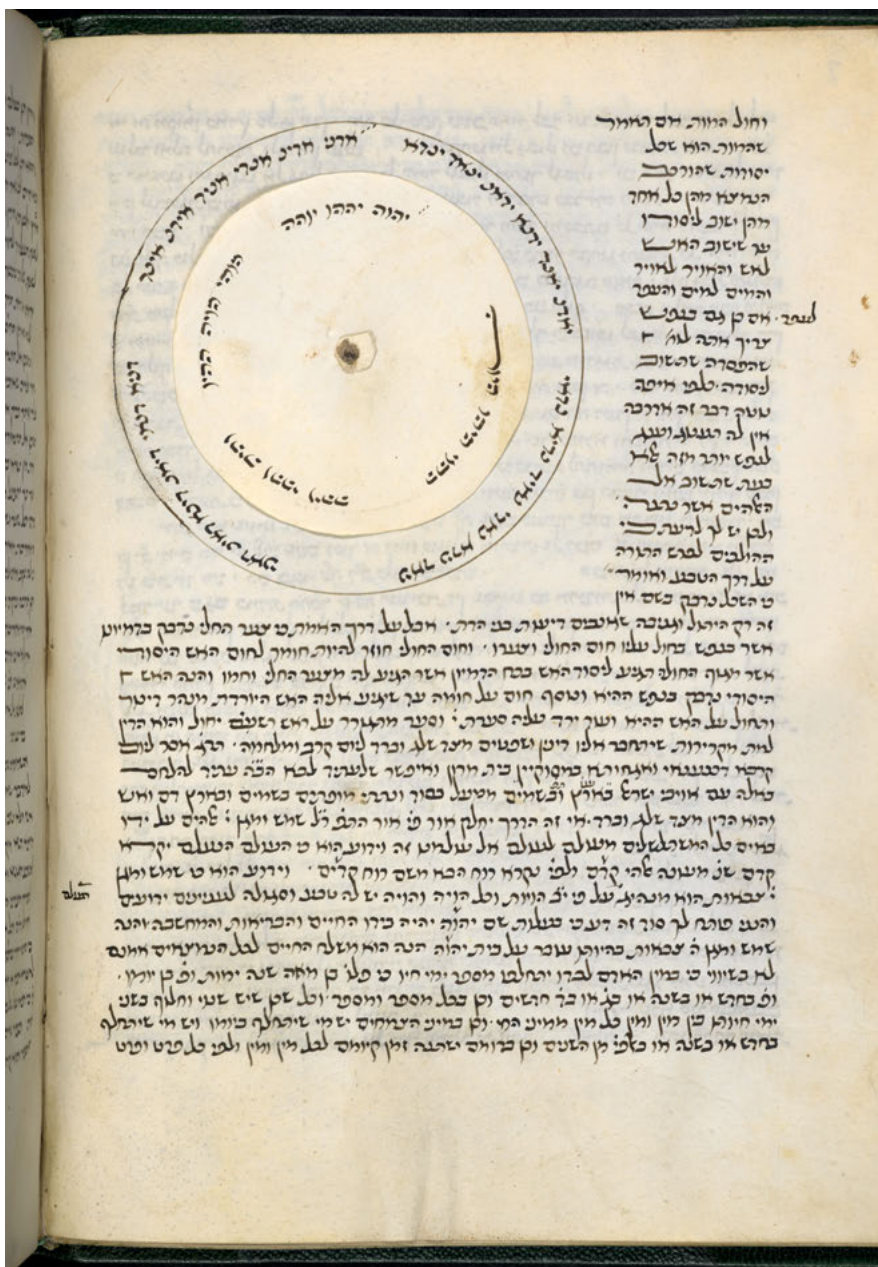
### 2.2 Or. 11792

*Sha'are Ora* ('Gates of Light') or *Sefer ha-Ora*, a Kabbalistic treatise on the Divine name and the ten *sefirot* ('ten divine emanations') by the renowned Spanish kabbalist Joseph ben Avraham Gikatilla (1248–1305). The codex was written in a small and very fine semi-cursive Italian hand (Fig. 4). It lacks a colophon therefore nothing is known about the original commission. The French archbishop's arms are stamped on the covers of the original binding. Italy, 15<sup>th</sup> century; 76 vellum

<sup>2</sup> Also known as Yosef ben Shalom ha-Arokh, an epithet denoting tall.

<sup>3</sup> In the manuscript Ashkenazi's commentary covers fols 1r–42r.

<sup>4</sup> Sagi Nahor's commentary occupies fols 43r–48r.



**Fig. 2:** A volvelle in *Sefer Yešira*. Volvelles are discs used for calculations/permutations and can be physically manipulated. They are often found in mediaeval astronomical, calendrical and cabbalist treatises. Ms. Or. 11791, fol. 7v, detail. By permission of the British Library.



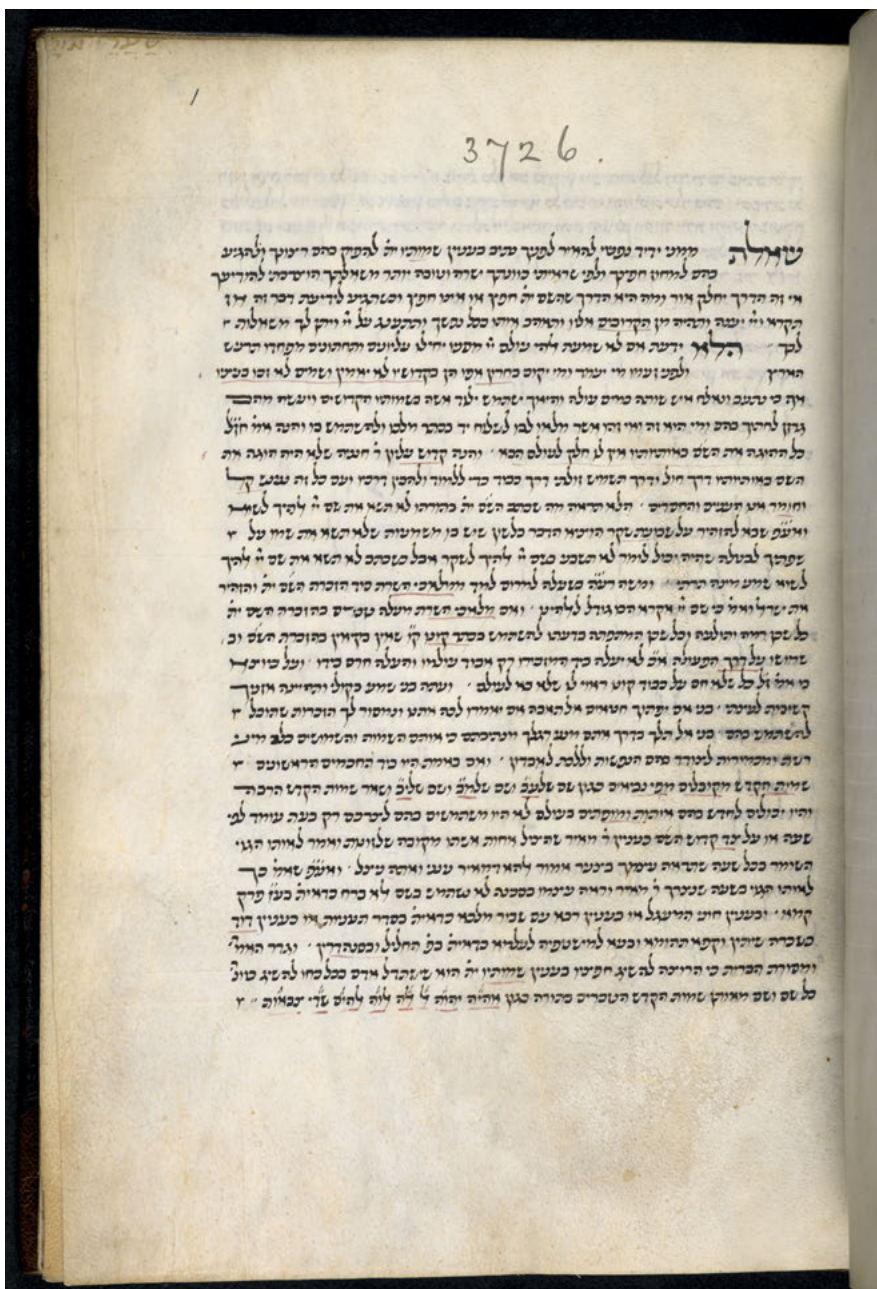


Fig. 3: Page with volvelle from *Sefer Yešira*. Ms. Or. 11791, fol. 8v. By permission of the British Library .

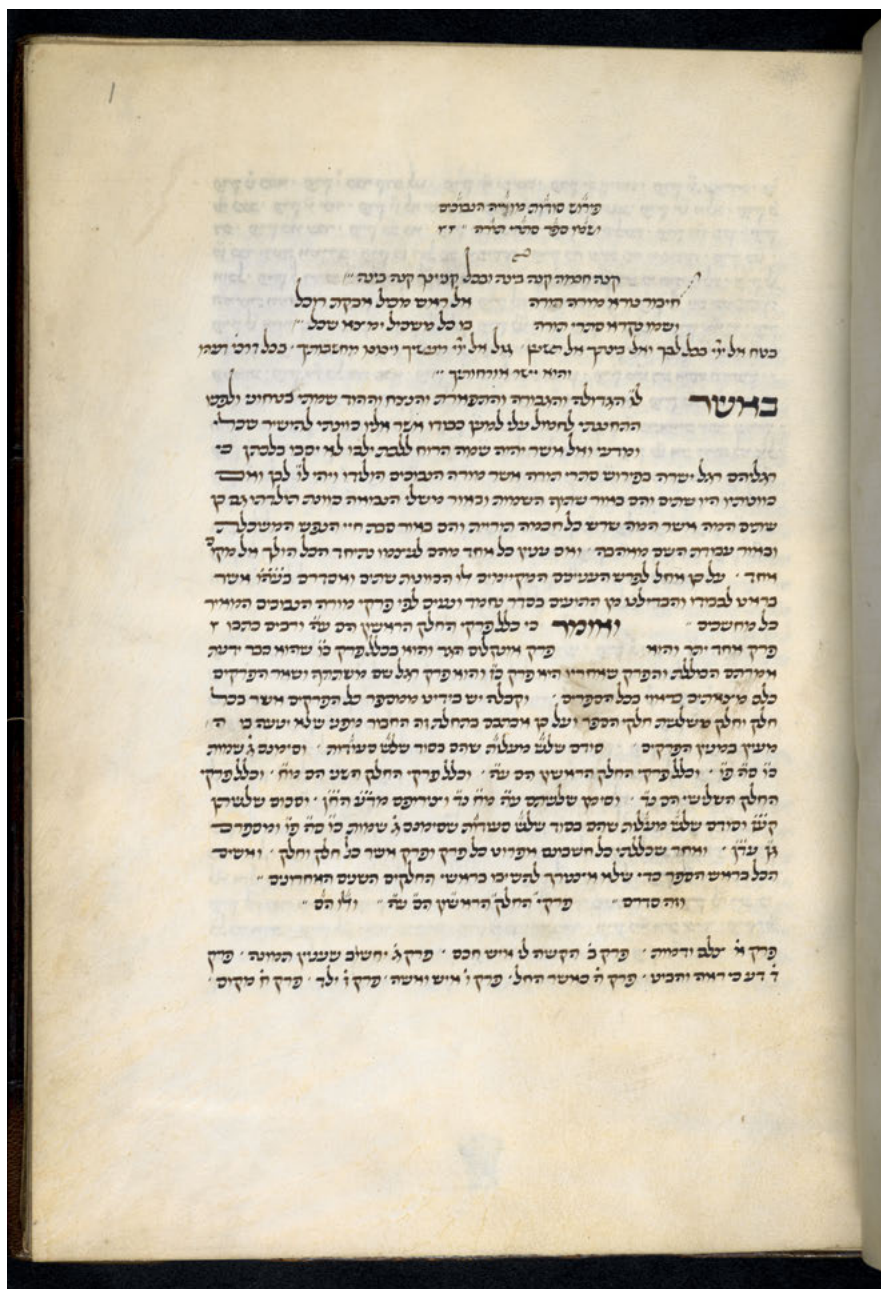
leaves; 1 blank vellum leaf and 3 paper flyleaves at the front; 3 blank vellum leaves and 3 flyleaves at the back; 8 quires of which the 1<sup>st</sup>, 2<sup>nd</sup>–7<sup>th</sup> and 8<sup>th</sup> have 9, 10 and 7 leaves respectively; catchwords placed at the end of quires. Ruling carried out with a sharp object; size: 22.5 × 16.5 cm. Number 3726 is written on fol. 1r.

### 2.3 Or. 11793

A manuscript consisting of two works: *Sitre Tora* ('Secrets of the Tora') a Kabbalistic commentary on Maimonides' *More Nevukhim* ('Guide for the Perplexed') by



**Fig. 4:** . Beginning of *Sha'are Ora*. Ms. Or. 11792, fol. 1r. By permission of the British Library.

Fig. 5: Beginning of *Sitre Tora*. Ms. Or. 11793, fol.1r. By permission of the British Library.



Avraham ben Shemu'el Abulafia (c. 1240–1290),<sup>5</sup> and *Sefer Yešira* (Fig. 5).<sup>6</sup> The manuscript which was penned in a semi-cursive Italian hand has no colophon. The handwriting in the first section (fols 1–45) is similar if not the same as that found in Or. 11792. The original leather binding with the archbishop's arms has been preserved. Italy, 15<sup>th</sup> century; 50 vellum leaves; 4 blank leaves between fols 45 and 46; 1 blank vellum leaf and 3 paper flyleaves at the front; 5 blank vellum leaves and 3 paper flyleaves at the back; boxed; quires of 10 leaves; size: 22.2 × 16.5 cm.

## 2.4 Or. 11794

*Ḥovot ha-Levavot* ('Duties of the Heart') by Baḥya ben Yosef ibn Paquda (active in the 11<sup>th</sup> century) in the Hebrew version of Yehuda ben Sha'ul ibn Tibbon. Composed in Arabic around 1040 under the title *Farā'id al-Qulūb*, this is ibn Paquda's most famous ethical and philosophical treatise. Copied without a colophon, the codex was penned in a semi-cursive Italian hand in two columns per page. Chapter headings and minor decorations were executed in red ink (Fig. 6). The last section of text was written within a decorated circle. On fol. 1r a Hebrew inscription reads *mezuqaq*, which means that the manuscript had been revised and corrected. This may also indicate that the manuscripts had been censored, although no censorial marks and signatures are visible. The leather panel with the clergymen's armorial bearings is pasted on the inner back cover. Italy, 15<sup>th</sup> century; 79 vellum leaves; 1 paper flyleaf at the front; 1 blank vellum leaf and 3 fly leaves at the back; quires of 8 leaves each; catchwords placed at the end of quires; size: 20.5 × 27 cm. Half leather modern black and navy binding embossed with the British Museum's crest on back cover; boxed.

## 2.5 Or. 11795

*Shesh Kenafayim* ('Six Wings') by the famous mathematician and astronomer Immanu'el ben Ya'aqov Bonfils of Tarascon, Provence (c. 1300–c. 1377). This is an astronomical treatise with tables calculating the conjunctions and apposi-

<sup>5</sup> In the manuscript this commentary covers fols 1r–45v; on fol. 46v there is a Latin inscription reading 'Liber [...] de Divinis Nominibus et alia quedem cabalistica e raziel'.

<sup>6</sup> This kabbalistic tract, fols 47r–50v, was copied by a second scribe in a larger semi-cursive Italian script than that employed by the first.



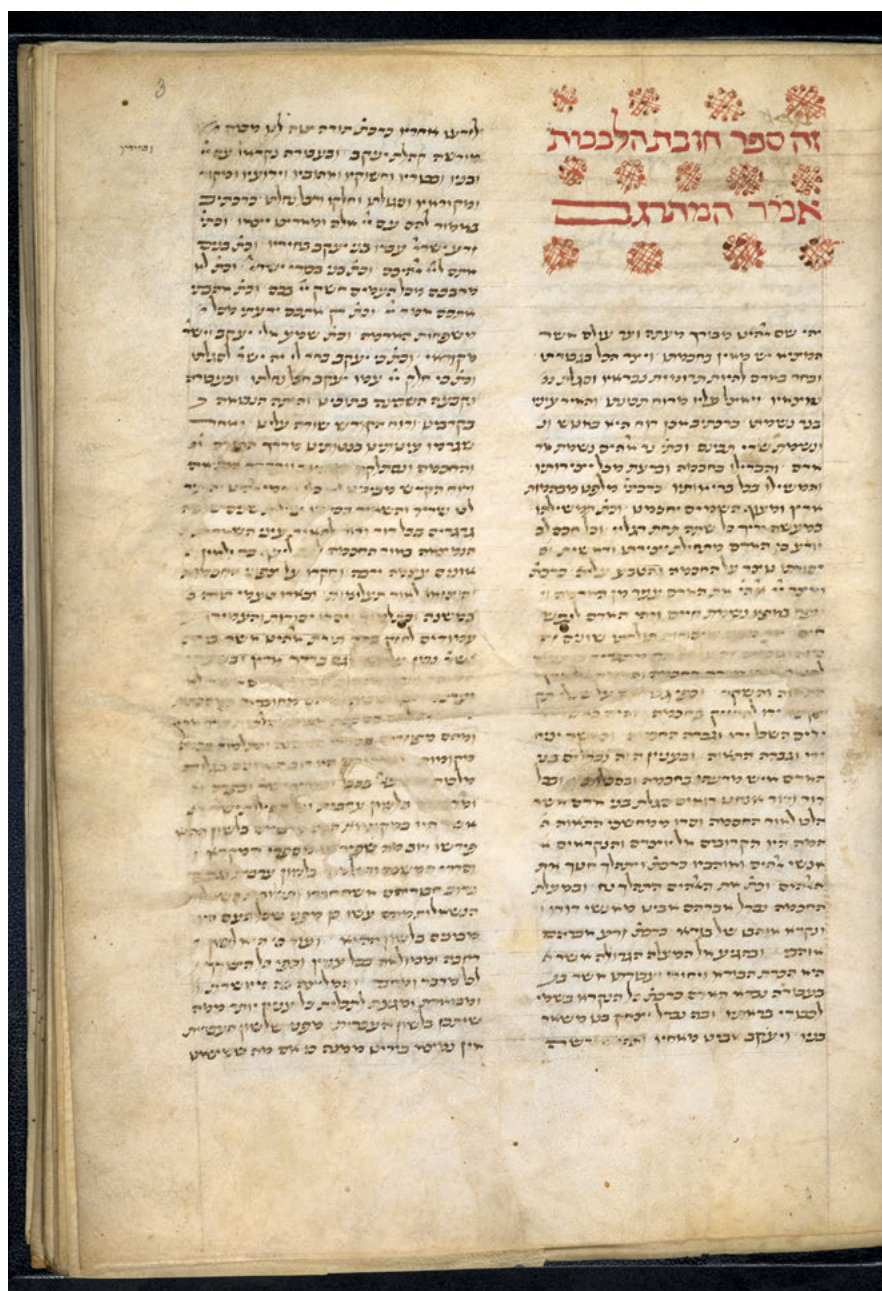


Fig. 6: Decorated heading at the beginning of *Hovot ha-Levavot*. Ms. Or. 11794, fol. 3r, detail. By permission of the British Library.

**הכנה השמיים**

שם  
הנז  
גרע



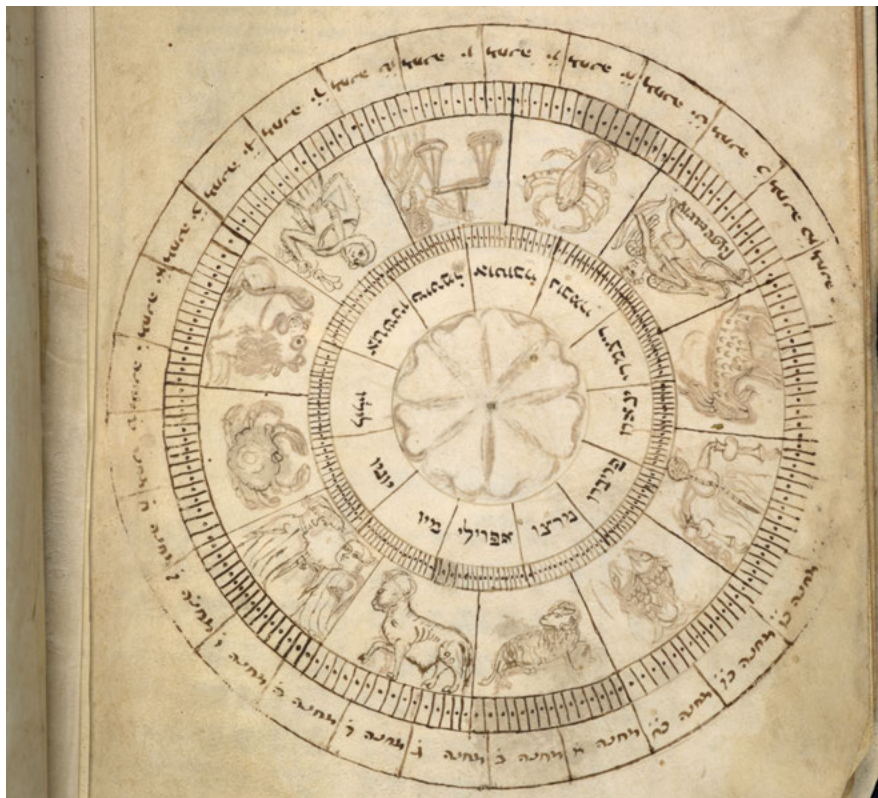
<b>הכנה השמיים</b>		<b>הכנה השמיים</b>	
א	ב	ג	ד
א	ב	ג	ד
ה	ו	ז	ח
ט	י	יא	יב
יג	יד	טו	טז
יז	יח	יט	כ
כא	כב	כג	כד
כה	כו	כז	כח
כט	ל		

**הכנה השמיים**

<b>הכנה השמיים</b>		<b>הכנה השמיים</b>	
א	ב	ג	ד
א	ב	ג	ד
ה	ו	ז	ח
ט	י	יא	יב
יג	יד	טו	טז
יז	יח	יט	כ
כא	כב	כג	כד
כה	כו	כז	כח
כט	ל		

**Fig. 7:** Table with calculations for Aries in *Shesh Kenafayim*. Ms. Or. 11795, fol. 19v. By permission of the British Library.

tions of the planets, lunar and solar eclipses, dates of the new moon, all of which had great applications for fixing of the calendar in Jewish life during the Renaissance (Fig. 7). Its title relates to the prophets' vision of the seraphim (Isaiah 6:2). Penned in a semi-cursive Italian hand and lacking a colophon, the manuscript contains numerous tables illustrated with the signs of the zodiac, some of which are in colour (e.g. the wheel of fortune with the zodiac signs and names of the months, fol. 27v; Fig. 8). The leather strip showing the archbishop's crest is affixed inside the back cover. On fol. 30r there are sale notes with the names of



**Fig. 8:** A zodiac wheel in *Shesh Kenafayim*. Ms. Or. 11795, fol. 27v, detail. By permission of the British Library.

former owners: Daniel ben Avraham ben Shabbetai of Castro sold the manuscript to Yosef ben Yiṣḥaq da Traetto (now called Minturno); Moshe ben Yosef bought the manuscript from Elḥanan ben Yosef ha-Rofe da Traetto in March 1603. Italy, 15<sup>th</sup> century; 30 vellum leaves on guards; 1 paper flyleaf at the front; 2 paper fly-leaves at the back; size: 20.5 × 17.5 cm. Scribbling and doodles on fols 29 and 30. Half leather modern maroon binding embossed with the British Museum's crest on back cover. Number 3729 is written on fol. 2r.

## 2.6 Or. 11796

Anonymous calendrical and astronomical tables with penwork borders delicately executed in red and violet inks and incorporating decorative motifs (e.g. a

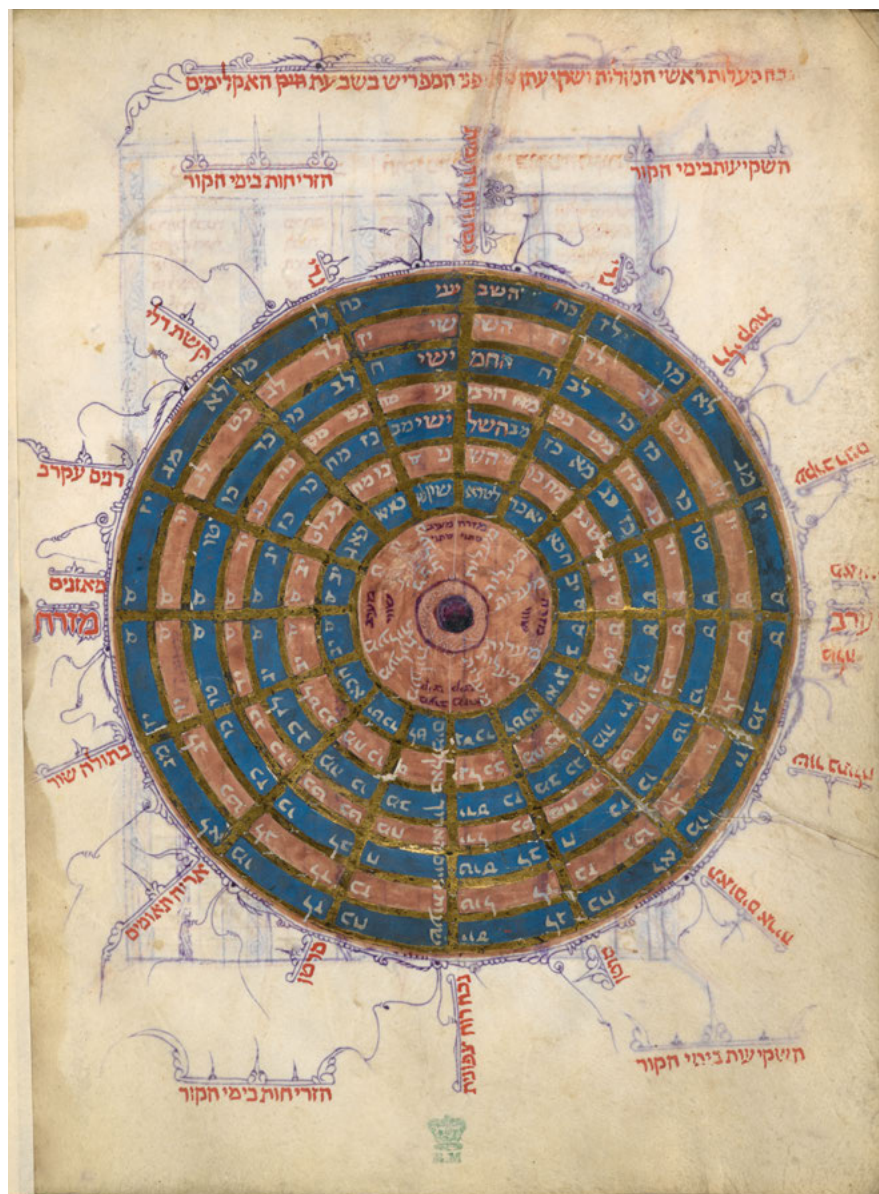


**Fig. 9:** Ornamented table with zodiac calculations. Ms. Or. 11796, fol. 21r. By permission of the British Library.

peacock's head, fol. 36r; dogs, fol. 41v; a beautifully illuminated wheel of fortune, fol. 57v; Figs 9 and 10). The codex which is imperfect at the end was written in square, semi-cursive and cursive Sephardic-Provençal scripts. The French cleric's crest is pasted on the inner back cover. Spain or Provence (?), 15<sup>th</sup> century; 93 vellum leaves on guards; 1 paper flyleaf at the front; 2 paper flyleaves at the back; 25.5 × 22 cm. A watermark of a coat of arms on the first flyleaf at the end, features a crowned shield with a 'B' in the middle and an illegible motto inscribed in a band beneath; similar to C. M. Briquet no. 8079 dated 1580, to Troyes.<sup>7</sup> Hair and flesh

<sup>7</sup> Stevenson 1968.





**Fig. 10:** Illuminated wheel of fortune. Ms. Or. 11796, fol. 57v. By permission of the British Library.

side are distinguishable. Pricking and ruling are visible. Half leather modern maroon binding embossed with the British Museum's crest on back cover; size: 25.5 × 22 cm. Number 3727 is inscribed on the first back flyleaf.

Let us sum up our findings so far: three codices deal with Kabbala, two with astronomy and calendrics, and one with ethics and philosophy. Their contents would have been of great interest to Christian Hebraists. Was the distinguished owner of these manuscripts a Christian Hebraist? What prompted him to acquire these manuscripts and how exactly did he obtain them? These are some of the questions we shall attempt to answer in the paragraphs that follow.

### 3 A distinguished owner

The arms stamped on the covers or affixed inside the back boards of the six codices described earlier, are those of Jacques Nicolas Colbert, Archbishop of Rouen (1655–1707).<sup>8</sup> The main components of his heraldic device are: *D'or, à la bisse d'azur, posée en pal et ondoyante* – a golden shield with a blue<sup>9</sup> undulating grass serpent (*coluber* in Latin) which is the coat of arms of the Colbert Family (Fig. 11). The shield is surmounted by a marquis' coronet and right at the top by a *gallero*, an ecclesiastical hat with a flat top which was originally a pilgrim's hat similar to a sombrero. On the upper left side of the shield is a mitre – a ceremonial headdress worn by Roman Catholic abbots and higher ranks, while on the opposite side is a crosier, a stylised staff, also known as a pastoral staff. The ten tassels flanking the shield on each side indicate the cleric's place in the ecclesiastical hierarchy.

Jacques Nicolas Colbert was the second son of Jean-Baptiste Colbert (1619–1683), the illustrious French statesman known as *le Grand Colbert*, who from 1665 to 1683, served as principal minister, *Contrôleur général des finances* (Minister of Finance) and *Surintendant général des Bâtiments du roi* to Louis XIV of France, the Sun King.

Educated for a career in the church, Jacques Nicolas Colbert served as abbot of Le Bec-Hellouin in Normandy (1664), as abbot's deputy or prior at La Charité sur Loire, abbot of Ambierle (1669), becoming Archbishop of Rouen on 29<sup>th</sup> January 1691. He served in that role until his death in 1707, at the age of 52. In 1678 he was

<sup>8</sup> As identified by Leveen 1951/1952, 95–96.

<sup>9</sup> Whereas the serpent is coloured blue on Jacques Nicolas Colbert's official crest, in the manuscripts discussed here his heraldic device including the serpent are stamped in gold.



**Fig. 11:** Remnant of the original binding with the cleric's coat of arms. Ms. Or. 11791, *Sefer Yešira*. By permission of the British Library.

admitted to the Académie Française where 'il protégeait les savants et les belles-lettres'<sup>10</sup> and was one of the first members of the Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres, a French learned society founded in 1663 by his father. According to Honoré Fisquet, Jacques Nicolas Colbert was an eminent and erudite cleric. 'Son zèle, sa charité et sa science le mirent au rang des plus illustres évêques du règne de Louis XIV.'<sup>11</sup> Nonetheless, he does not appear to have been either a Christian Hebraist or a Christian Kabbalist.<sup>12</sup>

As the son of one of the century's most powerful and influential statesman, he would have undoubtedly had access to the *Colbertine*, one of the most remarkable European libraries his father had assiduously and passionately created and developed. Moreover, in view of the fact that at some point, following his father's death, Jacques Nicolas Colbert became the rightful owner of this library, it is deemed essential to provide a summary account of how this outstanding collection came into existence, what it held and the role it played in France's history. Concurrently, it would be necessary to determine whether a possible connection did exist between the *Colbertine* and the codices examined here.

<sup>10</sup> Fisquet 1864–1874, 255.

<sup>11</sup> Fisquet 1864–1874, 255.

<sup>12</sup> His name does not feature in the detailed Christian Hebraists names' list in the *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, see Lowe 1971, nor is there any mention of such activity in Fisquet 1864–1874. Neither is his name among the Christian Hebraists listed in Burnett 2012, 279–297.

A great patron of the arts and literature, Jean Baptiste Colbert was in charge of the Royal Library from 1661 to 1683, and took an active interest in developing it.

If there was one cultural activity for which Colbert displayed real personal enthusiasm it was the collection of books and manuscripts, in which respect he exemplified the Baconian proposition that 'knowledge is power'. A strong streak of utilitarianism ran through his approach to knowledge, for without in any sense undervaluing it in its own right he was especially drawn to bodies of thought or information which could be applied to the service of the state. As a statesman as well as a bibliophile it made sense that he should have built an extensive library. His private activities as a collector of books carried over into the public domain, for in 1661 he found himself in charge of the royal library.<sup>13</sup>

An avid book collector, *le Grand Colbert* had also been, since 1658, intensively and zealously engaged in building up and enhancing his own library, which, from a very modest resource became 'une des plus belles collections privées d'Europe'.<sup>14</sup> In 1663 he employed as his librarian Pierre de Carcavy (c. 1600–1684) a well-known mathematician, who in 1667, through his patron's influence, became a custodian for the Royal Library. From 1667 until 1700<sup>15</sup>, the library was run and managed by Étienne Baluze (1638–1718), a noted ecclesiastical scholar, historian and bibliophile. Under Baluze, the *Colbertine* grew enormously.<sup>16</sup>

This was a fine and prestigious library that its owner savored in filling with rare imprints and valuable hand-copied books from every part of Europe and the Levant where France had appointed consular envoys. In the *Colbertine* there were also significant archival documents that had been collected and retrieved from repositories across France. This outstanding private collection functioned both as a scholarly resource and as a national archive, and served its remarkable keeper as one of the major sources of information for the administration of government and the expansion of the rights of the monarchy.

At the same time *le Grand Colbert* had full control over the Royal Library, which in his capacity as superintendent of the king's buildings<sup>17</sup>, he conveniently re-housed in a building close to his own home.

He regularly sent archivists to retrieve books and manuscripts from the king's library. In reality, he completely controlled the Royal Library [...]. The creation of this dual library was

---

<sup>13</sup> Sturdy 1995, 66.

<sup>14</sup> Balayé 1988, 72.

<sup>15</sup> I.e. seventeen years after Jean Baptiste Colbert's death.

<sup>16</sup> Saunders 1991, 283–300.

<sup>17</sup> Colbert was appointed in this role in 1664; on Colbert's controlling powers over the Royal Library and the state information system see also Valentine 2012, 84–87.



an act of great significance. Colbert physically brought the library under his control and connected it to his own.<sup>18</sup>

It is believed that Colbert had a keen interest in de-accessioning the 'duplicates' in the Royal Library, some of which had apparently ended up in his own collection. Jacob Soll claims that following Jean Baptiste Colbert's death, there were complaints over a large number of items that had seemingly disappeared from the King's Library. Accusations of theft against both Carcavy and Baluze, the scholars he had employed to manage the *Colbertine*, were circulated in an anonymous pamphlet.<sup>19</sup> The misappropriation of material from the King's Library features also in a book by Thierry Sarmant. Sarmant maintains that Francois Michel Le Tellier, Marquis de Louvois (1641–1691), who became the most influential minister after *le Grand Colbert's* death, summoned Jacques Nicolas Colbert, Archbishop of Rouen, to explain the meaning of the public accusations levelled against his father. One of these accusations referred explicitly to the removal of numerous books from the Royal collection and their transfer to the *Colbertine*:

L'on assure que le nommé Baluze, bibliothécaire de M. Colbert, a fait passer de la Bibliothèque du roy grand nombre de livres dans celle dudit sieur Colbert.<sup>20</sup>

The *Colbertine* became well known among Europe's learned people for its impressive rare editions and the huge number of books it held. 'When Colbert died in November 1683, his library contained 23,000 books and 5,212 manuscripts'<sup>21</sup>, but the exact number may have been higher.<sup>22</sup>

Interestingly, among the vast number of European and oriental handwritten volumes held in the *Colbertine*, there was also a fair number of Hebrew specimens. While amassing rare material to enhance his fine library, *le Grand Colbert*, spared neither efforts nor money to ensure that the Royal Library expanded its manuscript collection through the addition of a host of treasured items in exotic and oriental languages, including material printed and written in Hebrew.<sup>23</sup> Deter-

<sup>18</sup> Soll 2009, 94.

<sup>19</sup> Soll 2009, 213.

<sup>20</sup> Sarmant 2003, 59.

<sup>21</sup> Saunders 1991, 283–300. Similar figures appear in Waygand/Davis 1994, 515 and in Soll 2008, 3–28, particularly p.12. This article appears also on the Internet [http://www.academia.edu/2764767/The\\_Antiquary\\_and\\_the\\_Information\\_State\\_Colberts\\_Archives\\_Secret\\_Histories\\_and\\_the\\_Affair\\_of\\_the\\_Regale\\_1663-1682](http://www.academia.edu/2764767/The_Antiquary_and_the_Information_State_Colberts_Archives_Secret_Histories_and_the_Affair_of_the_Regale_1663-1682).

<sup>22</sup> For example, Joseph R. Hacker maintains that there were 41,844 printed books in the *Colbertine*, Hacker 1997, 341 (in Hebrew).

<sup>23</sup> According to Hacker in the 16th century there were just around 50 Hebrew manuscripts in

mined and eager to implement and expedite his acquisition policy, he appealed to the French diplomatic emissaries in the Levant, and dispatched special envoys to the area to search and procure ancient imprints and hand-copied books in Arabic, Greek, Hebrew, Persian, that would enrich the King's as well as his own collection.

Two of the most dynamic agents acting on his behalf were Father Joseph Besson (1610–1690), head of the Jesuit Mission in Syria, and Johann-Michael Wansleben (1635–1679) or Jean Michel Vansleb, as he was known in France. A German orientalist and distinguished polyglot born into a Lutheran family in Erfurt in 1635, Vansleb converted to the Catholic faith and entered the Dominican order.<sup>24</sup> In 1670 he was introduced to Jean-Baptiste Colbert, who the following year sent him on a mission to Egypt and Ethiopia. Besson and Vansleb operated in Aleppo and Constantinople where they managed to purchase manuscripts in diverse languages including Hebrew.<sup>25</sup> The exact number of Hebrew manuscripts added to the *Colbertine* in the decade preceding *le Grand Colbert's* death is unknown. What is known with some certitude, nonetheless, is that out of the 171 Hebrew manuscripts held in that library, 83 had been definitely acquired in the Levant.<sup>26</sup> And given that Vansleb was regarded as being 'l'un des plus grands fournisseurs en manuscrits orientaux de la Colbertine et de la bibliothèque du roi...'<sup>27</sup>, it is highly possible that he had supplied his employer with by far the largest quantity of Hebrew manuscripts.

Jean-Baptiste Colbert left his library to his eldest son Jean-Baptiste Antoine Colbert, Marquis de Seignelay (1651–1690), who was Minister of the French navy. Following the latter's untimely death, the *Colbertine* was sold for the benefit of his young children to his brother and Colbert's second son, Jacques Nicolas Colbert, Archbishop of Rouen. On the latter's passing in 1707, the library went to his nephew Charles Eléonor Colbert, Comte de Seignely (1689–1747). Since Jacques

---

the French Royal Library. A few more were added at the beginning of the 17<sup>th</sup> century. In 1668 Jean-Baptiste Colbert ordered the Bibliothèque Mazarine (i.e. the Library that once belonged to Cardinal Jules Mazarin (1602–1661) to transfer manuscripts, including 102 Hebrew manuscripts to the Royal Library (now the BnF) in exchange for duplicates. Another 127 Hebrew manuscripts came from the collection of Gilbert Gaulmin (1585–1665) a learned French lawyer and polyglot. Due to Colbert's endeavors, by 1680 the number of Hebrew handwritten books in the Royal Library reached 282. See Hacker 1997.

<sup>24</sup> Baleyé 1988, 98.

<sup>25</sup> Joseph R. Hacker claims that Vansleb spent three years in Constantinople, 1673–1676 working for Colbert, Hacker 1997, 337–338 (in Hebrew).

<sup>26</sup> Hacker 1997, 340 (in Hebrew).

<sup>27</sup> Pouillon 2012, 1008.

Nicolas Colbert owned the *Colbertine* for a good number of years<sup>28</sup>, one is hastily inclined to infer that the six manuscripts dealt with here may have been already in that library when he took charge of it. In reality this assumption falls through chiefly because none of the manuscripts bears traces of the distinct marks associated with *le Grand Colbert*, namely:

- a red morocco luxurious binding displaying a border with antique finish
- his coat of arms in the centre of the covers featuring a snake surrounded by the collars of the Orders of St Michael and of the Holy Ghost
- the monogram JBC on the spine
- the inscription *Bibliotheca Colbertina* within its pages

This strengthens the premise that the manuscripts were most probably added to the Archbishop of Rouen's personal collection, either before or after he became the proprietor of the *Colbertine*. Weirdly enough, a detail about books in his private library is linked to his death:

A sa mort la plupart des livres de sa bibliothèque entrèrent dans la prestigieuse bibliothèque paternelle dont il avait hérité.<sup>29</sup>

If that is correct, it implies that his own printed book collection was sold in 1728<sup>30</sup> and his manuscripts in 1732.<sup>31</sup> The latter is however impossible as it would suggest that the six manuscripts discussed here had never left France, which is of course nonsensical.

Seeing that, practically nothing is known of the size and scope of Jacques Nicolas Colbert's personal collection, or the range of Hebrew material held in it, leaves inevitably room for conjecture. Equally puzzling are the circumstances that prompted the acquisition of the six manuscripts. Even so, it is reasonable to assume that the key incentives were Jacques Nicolas Colbert's genuine interest in books and book collecting, coupled with the rise of oriental learning in 17<sup>th</sup> century France. The latter had been markedly bolstered by his father's manifold initiatives. Aside his ministerial responsibilities, *le Grand Colbert* was *the king's preferred agent in matters of cultural patronage*.<sup>32</sup> He introduced numerous

---

<sup>28</sup> From 1690 until 1707.

<sup>29</sup> Collet 1999, 156.

<sup>30</sup> According to the sale catalogue *Bibliotheca Colbertina, seu, Catalogus librorum bibliothecae* only the printed books held the *Colbertine* were sold in 1728.

<sup>31</sup> The manuscripts held in the *Colbertine* were sold to King Louis XV for 300,000 French livres.

<sup>32</sup> Dew 2009, 19.

reforms aimed at transforming the cultural life and learning environment in France.

Colbert's initiatives in the patronage of Oriental learning were largely responsible for the growth of Parisian collections of Oriental texts and laid the foundations for French Oriental scholarship in the eighteenth century.<sup>33</sup>

At the Collège Royal (later Collège de France) which had been founded by King Francois I in 1529 two chairs of Hebrew were created in 1531 and 1533. This institution remained the only secular establishment where Hebrew continued to be taught during the 17<sup>th</sup> century. Colbert's decision to set up additional chairs of oriental languages at the Collège Royal stemmed from the need for language specialists to work in the mercantile companies that had been established in the Levant and elsewhere.<sup>34</sup> Another compelling factor that spurred Jean Baptiste Colbert to foster oriental expertise was Biblical scholarship:

For most educated people in early modern Europe 'Oriental languages' meant Hebrew and any other languages that might supplement the study of the Scriptures: Arabic, Syriac, Coptic, Ethiopic. In seventeenth century Europe, biblical criticism was a highly controversial affair, since the authority of the Bible, was tied to issues of church discipline, and inextricably connected with politics.<sup>35</sup>

The love of books and the spread of Oriental studies may not have been the only reasons for getting hold of Hebrew manuscripts. Although concrete proof as to Jacques Nicolas Colbert's familiarity with Hebrew is wanting, the likelihood that he may have studied it as part of his religious training, and that he probably collected Hebrew books in order to expressly illustrate his erudition, cannot be ruled out entirely. After all, in the period between the Renaissance to the Enlightenment, highly educated individuals from upper class families, were often tutored privately in Latin, Greek and Hebrew.

Hebrew was not just a third language in addition to Latin and Greek; it was the language that anyone who pretended to learning at least pretended to know.<sup>36</sup>

---

<sup>33</sup> Dew 2009, 22.

<sup>34</sup> In 1664 Colbert established the French East India – *Compagnie française pour le commerce des Indes orientales*; in 1666 he founded a Levant Company to control French commerce in the Mediterranean realm and compete with England and other political rivals.

<sup>35</sup> Dew 2009, 31.

<sup>36</sup> Katchen 1988, 9.



How does one explain the lack of any biblical texts and the presence of three Kabbalistic works among the Hebrew manuscripts that once belonged to Jacques Nicolas Colbert? Christian scholars believed that the Kabbala or Jewish mystical tradition ‘contained the authentic revelation that demonstrated the truth of Christianity’.<sup>37</sup> Was this the reason behind the Archbishop of Rouen’s selection? In fact we have absolutely no idea as to what his selection criteria in relation to Hebrew material might have been, and what other Hebrew manuscripts and printed books he amassed during his lifetime.

## 4 Additional marks of ownership

Data regarding ownership or provenance can be gathered from the evidence found within a manuscript, such as for example a colophon, heraldic emblems, inscriptions recording births and deaths, sales records and bookplates. The six manuscripts dealt with here contain additional marks of ownership in the form of inscriptions that require closer examination (Fig. 12). This would aid putting together the history of their provenance prior to their entering the British Museum.

### Or. 11791

On 2<sup>nd</sup> flyleaf at end:

- a) *Ex Libris Biblioteca D.D. Caroli De Pradel epipi Montisp.*
- b) *D. Ev. Ap. 10, 1780. From T. P. by S.H. Jun:*

Pencilled on 1<sup>st</sup> flyleaf at end: *50 folios, J. Leveen, 31.vii.’46.*

### Or. 11792

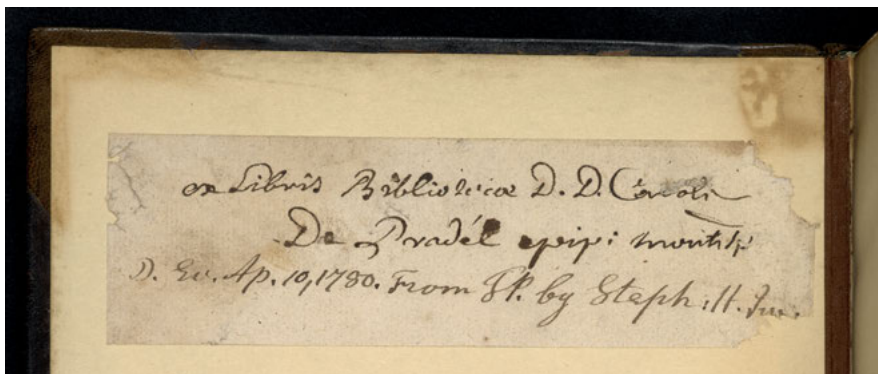
On a paper strip glued inside the back cover:

- a) *Ex Libris Biblioteca D.D. Caroli De Pradel epipi Montisp*
- b) *D.Ev. Ap.10, 1780. From T.P. by Steph: H. Jun:*

Pencilled on 1<sup>st</sup> blank vellum leaf at end: *76 folios, J. Leveen, 30.vii.’46.*

---

<sup>37</sup> Katchen 1988, 12.



**Fig. 12:** Owners inscriptions inside back cover of Ms. Or.11792 (*Sha'are Ora*). By permission of the British Library.

### Or. 11793

On a paper strip stuck to inner back cover:

- a) *ex Libris Bibliotheca D.D. Caroli De Pradel epipi Montisp*
- b) *D.Ev. Ap.10, 1780. From T.P. by S. H. Jun: +*

Pencilled on 1<sup>st</sup> blank vellum leaf at end: *50 folios, J. Leveen, 30.vii.'46.*

### Or. 11794

On 2<sup>nd</sup> flyleaf at end:

- a) *ex Libris Bibliotheca D.D. Caroli De Pradel epipi Montisp*
- b) *D.Ev. Ap.10, 1780. From T.P. by Steph: H. Jun:y*

At head of fol. 2r: *Dobitum Cordium liber legalis R. Chya Judicis. Emi Roma 24 Nov 1620 (?) Plantavitius Pausanus.*

Pencilled on blank vellum leaf at end: *79 folios, J. Leveen, 31. vii. '46.*

### Or. 11795

On a paper strip glued on the verso of the 1<sup>st</sup> flyleaf at end: *ex Libris Bibliotheca D.D. Caroli De Pradel epipi Monspe*

Pencilled on fol. 30r: *30 folios, J. Leveen, 31.vii. '46.*

Details from sale notes on fol. 30: Daniel ben Avraham ben Shabbetai of Castro sold the manuscript to Yosef ben Yiṣḥaq da Traetto (now called Minturno); Moshe ben Yosef bought the manuscript from Elḥanan ben Yosef ha-Rofe da Traetto in March 1603.

### Or. 11796

At foot of fol.2r:

a) *Kalendar in Hebr. Emi Roma 24 Nov. 1600 or 1620 (?) Plantavitius Pausa[nus]*

Pencilled on flyleaf at end: *93 folios, J. Leveen, 1. viii. '46.*

A cursory glance over the inscriptions recorded above reveals the following:

- Or. 11794 and Or. 11796 belonged to Jean Plantavit de la Pause, Bishop of Lodève
- Or. 11794 belonged also to Charles de Pradel, Bishop of Montpellier
- Charles de Pradel, owned five manuscripts, Or. 11791–Or. 11795
- Four of the manuscripts, Or. 11791–Or. 11794 bear an inscription in Latin and English dated 1780

## 5 Plantavit de la Pause and his library

The earliest known owner of ibn Paquda's *Ḥovot ha-Levavot* (Or. 11794) and of the anonymous astronomical and calendrical tables (Or. 11796) was the eminent Christian Hebraist Jean Plantavit de la Pause, Bishop of Lodève (1576–1651), who, as the Latin notes penned in the objects indicate, bought them in Rome on November 24<sup>th</sup> 1600 or 1620.<sup>38</sup>

His greatest literary achievement had been the *Bibliotheca Rabbinica*, a masterly Jewish bibliography that included 740 numbered entries and mentioned 803 Jewish books.<sup>39</sup> Born in 1576 into a Huguenot family, Plantavit converted to the

---

<sup>38</sup> Due to Plantavit's unclear handwriting the year he purchased both codices is uncertain. Leveen 1951/1952, 95–96, gives 1610 as the year of purchase.

<sup>39</sup> Burnett 2012, 158. Plantavit's *Bibliotheca Rabbinica* was included in his major three volume work *Florilegium Rabbinicum: complectens praecipuas veterum rabbinorum sententias, versione*

Catholic faith in 1604, becoming Bishop of Lodève in 1625. He studied in France<sup>40</sup> and Italy obtaining two doctorates in theology. He learned rudimentary Hebrew at college in Nîmes, but following his conversion he resolved to improve and extend his Hebrew education.

During his stays in Florence and Venice, as part of a two-year grand tour of Europe, Plantavit was tutored in Hebrew and rabbinics by Leone da Modena (1571–1648), the notable Italian poet, scholar and rabbi, who also urged him to start his own Judaic collection.<sup>41</sup> While residing in Rome, he was instructed in Hebrew and Aramaic by Domenico Gerosolimitano (1550–1620), a converted Rabbi<sup>42</sup> and well-known expurgator of Hebrew books in the service of the Catholic Church. On his return to France, Plantavit continued fervently to deepen his knowledge of Hebrew, firstly under the instruction of Philippe Aquin (1575–1650), a Jewish convert who worked as lecturer of Hebrew at the University of Paris, and later with the famous Talmudist and keen astronomer Salomon Azubi (Solomon ben Judah Ezobi), the rabbi of Carpentras (from 1620 to 1635). The latter was often consulted when Plantavit was compiling his Hebrew-Aramaic lexicon *Plauta Vitis*.<sup>43</sup>

Plantavit entertained a rich network of Jewish advisers, rabbis and scholars, both locally and overseas, among them Eli Mazal Tov of Modena, Avraham Yedidya Shalit of Ferrara, Mordekhai Ḥarizi of Cracow, rabbi at Prague synagogue, and Samuel Korphus of Salonica, rabbi of Klagenfurt, to name but a few.<sup>44</sup>

It is estimated that by 1645 the Jewish component in Plantavit's personal library consisted of some 189 books and 36 manuscripts.<sup>45</sup> Following his death in 1651, the library was sold to his successor François Bosquet (1605–1676) an erudite clergyman, who became Bishop of Montpellier in 1655.<sup>46</sup> On Bosquet's passing the library transferred to his nephew and successor as bishop, Charles de Pradel (1644–1696), and, subsequently to the next in line Bishop of Montpellier, the reputed bibliophile Charles-Joachim Colbert de Croissy (1667–1738), who was *le Grand Colbert's* nephew and Jacques Nicolas Colbert's first cousin.

---

*Latina et scholiis...*, Lodève, 1644.

<sup>40</sup> At the universities of Nîmes, Geneva and Montpellier, before his conversion; after his conversion at the Jesuit colleges of Rouen and La Flèche, and lastly in Rome.

<sup>41</sup> Burnett 2012, 155.

<sup>42</sup> Formerly, Rabbi Samuel Vivas of Jerusalem. See the article by Gottfried Reeg to this volume.

<sup>43</sup> On Plantavit de la Pause and Solomon Ezobi see also Dukas 1885, 114–115, and Gross 1897, 611.

<sup>44</sup> Delcor 1979, 397.

<sup>45</sup> Burnett 2012, 155.

<sup>46</sup> François Bosquet, a Christian Hebraist himself, had previously been Bishop of Lodève (1648–1655); see Burnett 2012, 70.

In his will de Croissy left the library established by Plantavit and vastly augmented by the personal collections of three successive bishops, to the General Hospital of Montpellier, which auctioned it in its entirety in 1740. This amalgamated, composite library that consisted of upward of 13,000 items, was seemingly purchased by a librarian from Toulouse, who in turn sold it in separate lots.<sup>47</sup> It appears that significant items, including manuscripts, were acquired by English patrons, and some were eventually donated to prestigious English institutions.<sup>48</sup>

Based on the aforementioned evidence and earlier observations, I would like to sum up my findings and propose a number of plausible explanations about the history of the manuscripts' ownership, starting from their completion in the 15<sup>th</sup> century until 1780:

- The manuscripts' ownership between the 15<sup>th</sup> and the 17<sup>th</sup> century, i.e. a period of about 200 years, remains shrouded in mystery.<sup>49</sup>
- It is likely that Jacques Nicolas Colbert acquired five of the manuscripts from Charles de Pradel's collection; he acquired the anonymous calendrical and astronomical tables (Or. 11796) that formerly belonged to Plantavit, from a different source.
- Jacques Nicolas Colbert bound the manuscripts in brown leather stamping his insignia on the covers and added them to his private collection.
- Charles-Joachim Colbert de Croissy, Bishop of Montpellier obtained the six manuscripts from Jacques Nicolas Colbert either on loan or as a gift.
- Four of the manuscripts were in England in April 1780 (Or. 11791–Or. 11794) and are likely to have reached England before then; in all probability Or. 11795 and Or. 11796 also reached England earlier than 1780.
- In the inscription *D.Ev. Ap.10, 1780. From T.P. by Steph: H. Jun:y* which appears in Or. 11791–Or.11794, the initials T. P could stand for a very well-known London bookseller's business of the period, run by Thomas Payne and his son, another Thomas. The business later became Payne and Foss.<sup>50</sup> The bookseller acquired the manuscripts before 1780 most likely in France, then sold them off in England.
- So far I have not been able to find out what the initials *Steph: H. Jun* stand for, but I suspect they could be the buyer's initials.

---

<sup>47</sup> James 1913, ix; the fate of Plantavit's library is also mentioned in Burnett2012, 156.

<sup>48</sup> James 1913, ix; the fate of Plantavit's library is also mentioned in Burnett 2012, 156.

<sup>49</sup> The earliest sale note in Or.11795 is dated 1603.

<sup>50</sup> I am grateful to Dr Christopher Wright, former Head of the Western Manuscripts Department at the British Library, for supplying this information.



- The numbers inscribed in manuscripts Or. 11971–Or. 11972, Or. 11975–Or. 11976, i.e. 3730, 3726, 3729 and 3727 are likely to represent numbered entries in some kind of inventory or bookseller's list.
- Between April 1780 and July 1946 there is a lull of nearly 180 years without any records about the manuscripts' owners.
- Each manuscript contains a record of its folio numbers that was signed and dated by Jacob Leveen; the dates when Leveen completed foliating the manuscripts were 30–31 July and 1 August 1946.

## 6 The British Museum acquisition

The last chapter in the history of Jacques Nicolas Colbert's six Hebrew manuscripts ends with their arrival at the British Museum. Jacob Leveen, who at the time<sup>51</sup> was keeper in the Department of Oriental Printed Books and Manuscripts at the British Museum, and whose name has been permanently inscribed in the objects themselves, announced their accession as follows:

Thanks to the good offices of the Inter-Allied Book Centre the Department of Oriental Printed Books and Manuscripts was enriched in 1946 and 1947 by a number of Hebrew manuscripts, written on vellum and belonging to the fifteenth century [...]<sup>52</sup>

What exactly was the Inter-Allied Book Centre and why did it decide to donate these unique and valuable hand-copied books to the British Museum?

On the 24<sup>th</sup> of September 1944, while the war was ravaging the whole of Europe, a praiseworthy organisation was formally opened at 3–5 Salisbury Square, in the city of London. This was the Inter-Allied Book Centre whose premises had formerly served as the headquarters of the Daily Chronicle newspaper.<sup>53</sup>

The centre was essentially a huge repository for the sorting, allocation and distribution of about a million books intended for the restoration of war-stricken libraries in the allied countries. The opening ceremony marked the culmination of an exceptional five years mission that had involved a large number of cultural and governmental bodies. This noble operation had been put into motion thanks to the dynamic efforts of two key players, namely the Library Association of Great Britain and the Conference of Allied Ministers of Education.

---

<sup>51</sup> J. Leveen retired in 1956.

<sup>52</sup> Leveen 1951/52, 95.

<sup>53</sup> White/Welsford 1946, 57–62.

The latter sprang from an urgent need to address educational matters of common interest to the Allied governments, especially ways to assist the educational rebuilding of enemy-occupied countries. To that end it appointed the Books and Periodicals Commission whose main role was the post-war provision of books and periodicals in Europe.

As far back as 1941, shortly after the rage of the Battle of Britain had subsided, the Library Association started to consider steps for post-war library rehabilitation. It urged all libraries in Great Britain to consider the difficulties faced by libraries that had been damaged by enemy action, by not disposing of duplicates which could replace the stock that had been destroyed. A large number of books were thus retrieved to be distributed subsequently among affected libraries. Added to these were a considerable number of books, among them rare and irreplaceable specimen, that had been originally intended for pulping (serious paper shortages had instigated this activity), but, which were later rescued thanks to the intervention of the Council of the Library Association.

In 1943 the year the Inter-Allied Book Centre committee was set up, British universities and various learned, professional and research societies were asked to contribute copies of their journals, transactions and proceedings. The response was exceedingly sympathetic and thousands of collected items would eventually be delivered to British and European libraries that had been devastated by the war. It is beyond the scope of this paper to enumerate all the British libraries that had benefited from the untiring efforts of the Inter-Allied Book Centre. However, it is important to point out, that when allocating books to seriously damaged libraries at home, priority was given to those that served a wide public. The British Museum whose heavy losses amounted to 150,000 books and 30,000 volumes of bound newspapers, was given preferential treatment being 'generously allowed first choice of the books set aside for ruined libraries'.<sup>54</sup> As the only library in the country 'aiming at comprehensive coverage in every field of knowledge', the British Museum seemed the right home 'for any rare, curious and unique objects it did not already hold'.<sup>55</sup>

The Inter-Allied Book Centre's gift of six unique 15<sup>th</sup> century Hebrew manuscripts that once belonged to Jacques Nicolas Colbert, the distinguished Archbishop of Rouen made its final journey to the British Museum sometime in 1945, and was accessioned in the library records in April 1946. As yet we have not been able to find out who was the generous individual or munificent learned society that decided to part with these treasures to help the war-stricken British libraries. Since 1972 the manuscripts have been part of the British Library's Hebrew collection.

---

<sup>54</sup> Library Association of the United Kingdom 1946, 11.

<sup>55</sup> Library Association of the United Kingdom 1946, 11.

## 7 Postscript

At the beginning of this essay I stated that it was Jacob Leveen who identified the crest displayed in the six manuscripts discussed here, as belonging to Jacques Nicolas Colbert, Archbishop of Rouen. But what if Leveen erroneously attributed that coat of arms to the wrong person? These qualms crossed my mind after I incidentally noticed that the Archbishop of Rouen and his cousin, the bibliophile Charles-Joachim Colbert de Croissy, shared, what appeared to be, a similar heraldic device. If Leveen was wrong, it could effectively mean that Jacques Nicolas Colbert had never been the owner of our manuscripts. In the hope of solving this enigma, my first course of action was to check out the Hebrew lots in the 1740 auction sale catalogue of de Croissy's collection<sup>56</sup>, followed by a fresh examination of the relevant crests. Unfortunately, copies of the auction catalogue have been untraceable in major UK academic libraries, while travelling to Paris to consult the Arsenal Library's copy has not been possible. To my great relief, I was able to locate an on-line electronic version of this rare catalogue.<sup>57</sup>

My search identified five lots that seemed to match five of the manuscripts I have discussed earlier.<sup>58</sup> The archaic Latin transliteration of the lots' Hebrew titles and the paucity of the lots' contents made the identification task slightly difficult. After some initial reservations, it became clear that our manuscripts had definitely been in de Croissy's ownership, prior to their sale in 1740.

I have thoroughly examined Jacques Nicolas Colbert's and Charles-Joachim Colbert de Croissy's individual heraldic devices, and I compared de Croissy's arms found on the incipit page of the aforementioned auction sale catalogue to those stamped on the manuscripts' covers. Although at first sight there is some resemblance, they actually differ a great deal, each presenting its own distinct characteristics. It is my conviction that the crest featured in our six codices is definitely Jacques Nicolas Colbert's, and therefore Jacob Leveen had been right all along.

In the course of my recent investigation I have come across Add 15437, a Hebrew manuscript the British Museum acquired from the bookseller Thomas Rudd (1796–1849) in 1845.<sup>59</sup> Copied in an Italian semi-cursive script of the 15<sup>th</sup>

---

<sup>56</sup> *Catalogus librorum bibliothecæ illustrissimi ac reverendissimi D.D. Caroli-Joachimi Colbert de Croissi, episcopi Montispessulani...* 1740.

<sup>57</sup> <http://elec.enc.sorbonne.fr/cataloguevente/notice150.php>

<sup>58</sup> All except *Shesh Kenafayim* (Or. 11795).

<sup>59</sup> Since 1972 the manuscript has been part of the British Library's Hebrew collection; it has been catalogued in Margoliouth 1899.

century, the manuscript contains the incomplete text of *Shibole ha-Leqet* ('The Gleaned Ears'), a halakhic work by Šidqiyahu ben Avraham ha-Rofe (active 13<sup>th</sup> century), and an additional work by the same author. Interestingly, stamped in the centre of the leather blind-tooled covers, is the gilded emblem of Jacques Nicolas Colbert. Several Latin notes on fol. 236v reveal significant information about the manuscript's provenance.

The first note: *Ex Libris Bibliotheca D.D. Caroli De Pradel Episcops Montisp.* indicates that the codex had belonged to the library of Charles de Pradel, Bishop of Montpellier.

The second inscription: *MS on vellum ex Bibliotheca Colbertina* indicates that this vellum manuscript came from the Colbertina Library, i.e. the library of Jean-Baptiste Colbert.

The third and final note: *ex Bibliotheca, non J.B. Colbert, sed Caroli Joachimi Colbert Episcopi Montispessulani, quae A.D. 1740 publica subhastationis lege fuit divendita* clarifies that the codex did not actually derive from the library of Jean Baptiste Colbert, but from Charles-Joachim Colbert de Croissy's library which was sold in 1740. An *ex libris* label pasted on the inside of the back cover, indicates that the last owner of this halakhic hand copied book was Prince Augustus Frederick, Duke of Sussex (1773–1843), the sixth son of King George III.<sup>60</sup>

## 8 Conclusion

The above findings reinforce my previous arguments that the six manuscripts under discussion had indeed belonged to Jacques Nicolas Colbert, ending up eventually in de Croissy's library. The exact circumstances of how, when and why the Archbishop of Rouen acquired these books continue to be, however, the subject of conjecture. Likewise, it remains unknown how exactly the items made their way into Charles-Joachim Colbert de Croissy's collection. The manuscripts are likely to have reached England not long after 1740, yet a great deal of mystery still hovers over the identities of their English owners, and their exact whereabouts between 1740 and 1946.

Despite the provenance uncertainties encountered so far, it is evident that there was a great interest in medieval Hebrew manuscripts among French Christian

---

<sup>60</sup> This manuscript as well as *Shesh Kenafayim* (Or. 11795) were both missing in the sale catalogue mentioned above. These omissions might be due to a genuine error on the part of the person who compiled the original catalogue, or, it may well be that the Internet version which I have consulted is flawed.

scholars from the 16<sup>th</sup> to the 18<sup>th</sup> century. The Hebrew language grew in importance during this period, while Hebrew studies influenced many areas of knowledge, from theology to philosophy, science and polemics. Many Hebrew texts had not been published in print, hence their increased value and significance to Christian intellectuals and bibliophiles who were keen to acquire them for their libraries.

Our six manuscripts have outlived five centuries of peregrinations changing hands multiple times before their final voyage and arrival to the British Museum library. The survival stories of Hebrew manuscripts are not dissimilar to those of the Jewish people. They are in fact closely linked and interconnected, testifying to a markedly diverse and trying history.

## References

- Balayé, Simon (1988), *La Bibliothèque nationale, des origines à 1800*, Genève: Librairie Droze.
- Bibliotheca Colbertina, seu, Catalogus librorum bibliothecae: quae fuit primum ill. v. d. J.B. Colbert, regni administri, deinde ill. d. J.B. Colbert, March. de Seignelay; postea rev. et. ill. d. J. Nic. Colbert, Rothomagensis Archiepiscopi, ac demum ill. d. Caroli-Leonorii Colbert, Comitís de Seignelay...*, (1728), 3 vols, Paris.
- Burnett, Stephen G. (2012), *Christian Hebraism in the Reformation era (1500–1660): Authors, Books and the Transmission of Jewish Learning*, Leiden: Brill.
- Catalogus librorum bibliothecae illustrissimi ac reverendissimi D.D. Caroli-Joachimi Colbert de Croissi, episcopi Montispeessulani...* (1740), 2 vols, [Avignon].
- Collet, Alain (1999), *Des livres et des hommes, 1989–1999*, Publications de l'Université de St. Étienne.
- Delcor, Mathias (1979), 'Jean Plantavit de la Pause évêque de Lodève un grand hébraïsant oublié (1579–1651)', in Mathias Delcor, *Études bibliques et orientales de religions comparées*, Leiden: Brill, 393–400.
- Dew, Nicholas (2009), *Orientalism in Louis XIV's France*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Dukas, Jules (1885), 'Lettres inédites écrites à Peiresc de Salomon Azubi: notice complémentaire', in *Revue des Études Juives* 11: 103–125.
- École nationale des chartes (ed.), *Esprit des livres: Catalogues de vente de bibliothèques de l'époque moderne, Manuscrits mis en vente: Vente (Livres). 1740. [Montpellier]* (Éditions en ligne de l'École des chartes) <http://elec.enc.sorbonne.fr/cataloguevente/notice150.php> (last accessed 5 August 2016).
- Fisquet, Honoré (1864–1874), *La France pontificale (Gallia Christiana) histoire chronologique et biographique des Archevêques et Évêques de tous les diocèses de France depuis l'établissement du Christianisme jusqu'à nos jours*, Métropole de Rouen; Paris: E. Repos.
- Florilegium Rabbinicum: complectens praecipuas veterum rabbinorum sententias, versione Latina et scholiis...*, Lodève, 1644.
- Gross, Henri (1897), *Gallia Judaica*, Paris.
- Hacker, Joseph (1997), 'Jean Baptiste Colbert's Hebrew Manuscript Collection and the Culture of Ottoman Jewry', in *Zion* 62: 327–368.



- James, Montague Rhodes (1913), *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of St John's College*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Katchen, Aaron L. (1988), *Christian Hebraism from the Renaissance to the Enlightenment, in Christian Hebraism: the Study of Jewish Culture by Christian Scholars in Medieval and Early Modern Times*, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Library.
- Leveen, Jacob (1951/52), 'Recent Acquisitions of Hebrew Manuscripts', in *The British Museum Quarterly* 16/4: 95–96.
- Library Association of the United Kingdom, Committee for the Recovery of Books and MSS (1946), *The Restoration of Libraries: A Brief Account of Book Recovery and the Inter-Allied Book Centre*, London.
- Lowe, Raphael (1971), 'Hebraists, Christian', in *Encyclopedia Judaica*, corrected edition, Jerusalem, vol. 8: 9–71.
- Margoliouth, George (1899), *Catalogue of the Hebrew and Samaritan Manuscripts in the British Museum*, 3 vols, London.
- Pouillon, François (ed.) (2012), *Dictionnaire des orientalistes de langue française*, Nouvelle édition revue et augmentée, Paris: Éditions Karthala.
- Sarmant, Thierry (2003), *Les demeures du soleil: Louis XIV, Louvois et la surintendance des bâtiments du roi*, Champ Vallon: Epoques.
- Saunders, Stewart (1991), 'Public Administration and the Library of Jean-Baptiste Colbert', in *Library and Culture : a Journal of Library History* 26/2: 283–300.
- Soll, Jacob (2008), 'The Antiquary and the Information State: Colbert's Archives, Secret Histories and the Affair of the Regale, 1663–1682', in *French Historical Studies Winter* 31/1: 3–28. This article appears also on the Internet: [http://www.academia.edu/2764767/The\\_Antiquary\\_and\\_the\\_Information\\_State\\_Colberts\\_Archives\\_Secret\\_Histories\\_and\\_the\\_Affair\\_of\\_the\\_Regale\\_1663-1682](http://www.academia.edu/2764767/The_Antiquary_and_the_Information_State_Colberts_Archives_Secret_Histories_and_the_Affair_of_the_Regale_1663-1682) (last accessed 5 August 2016).
- Soll, Jacob (2009), *The Information Master: Jean Baptiste Colbert's Secret State Intelligence System*, Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press. PDF: [http://www.academia.edu/2764767/The\\_Antiquary\\_and\\_the\\_Information\\_State\\_Colberts\\_Archives\\_Secret\\_Histories\\_and\\_the\\_Affair\\_of\\_the\\_Regale\\_1663-1682](http://www.academia.edu/2764767/The_Antiquary_and_the_Information_State_Colberts_Archives_Secret_Histories_and_the_Affair_of_the_Regale_1663-1682) (last accessed 5 August 2016).
- Stevenson, Allan (ed.) (1968), *Les Filigranes: Dictionnaire historique des marques du papier dès leur apparition vers 1282 jusqu'en 1600*, A Facsimile of the 1907 edition [by C.M. Briquet] with supplementary material, 4 vols, Amsterdam: The Paper Publications Society.
- Sturdy, David J. (1995), *Science and Social Status: The Members of the Académie des sciences 1666-1750*, Woodbridge: Boydell Press.
- Valentine, Patrick M. (2012), *A Social History of Books and Libraries from Cuneiform to Bytes*, Toronto; Plymouth: The Scarecrow Press.
- Waygand, Wayne A. / Davis, Donald J. Jr. (eds) (1994), *Encyclopaedia of Library History*, New York; London: Garland Publishing.
- White, Carl M. / Welsford, P.S.J. (1946), 'The Inter-Allied Book Centre in London', in *The Library Quarterly: Information, Community, Policy* 16/1: 57–62.

