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## Codex hebraicus 18 and Codex hebraicus 53 in the Hamburg State and University Library – ‘Corrected by Yiṣḥaq of Arles’

**Abstract:** In the 16<sup>th</sup> century, the Catholic Church’s censorship of Hebrew manuscripts in Italy was largely carried out by converts to the Christian faith. One of the few Jews permitted to censor such manuscripts was Yiṣḥaq of Arles, whose note מתוקן על ידי יצחק מארלי (‘Corrected by Yiṣḥaq of Arles’) can be found in around thirty manuscripts and books. Isaiah Sonne (1942) identified him as the brother of Giacomo Geraldini, a convert whom the Pope commissioned with the task of censoring Hebrew works in the middle of the 16<sup>th</sup> century. Since the signature of Laurentius Franguellus appears at the end of one of the manuscripts that Yiṣḥaq of Arles ‘corrected’ and that Sonne was able to examine personally, the latter concluded that the censoring Yiṣḥaq had performed had subsequently to be confirmed by a Christian before being accepted. Franguellus’s signature is also found in the Hamburg manuscript known as Codex hebraicus 18. A material analysis of the two kinds of ink both men used in this codex points to the inks coming from the same region as both contain nickel (Ni).

A list of all the censors’ signatures that appear in the manuscripts Yiṣḥaq censored reveals that only four of the thirty works were actually signed by Laurentius Franguellus. The other censors went about their work at a time when Yiṣḥaq of Arles presumably was no longer alive, namely from 1593 onwards. Hence we may assume that the manuscripts had to be scrutinised by censors a number of times, which we already know was the case in Italy. Nonetheless, there is no justification for seeing any connection here between the times when Laurentius Franguellus and Yiṣḥaq of Arles both worked as censors.

It seems that Yiṣḥaq’s work was fully accepted by the Church while he was a censor and that he went about his task at a time when Jews were permitted to

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censor Hebrew manuscripts themselves; there is no reason to believe otherwise. Consequently, it is quite plausible that Yiṣḥaq was actively involved in censoring Hebrew works in the middle of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, a time when the Pope himself commissioned his brother with the task of censorship.

## 1 A brief overview of the current state of research

For reasons of brevity, we will only cover a few salient works here that deal with the history of Hebrew book censorship. The subject will similarly be limited to important milestones, serving only to provide a general outline.

The first comprehensive study of the subject, *The Censorship of Hebrew Books* by William Popper, was published in New York at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century<sup>1</sup> and remains of fundamental importance to this day. Up to its publication, only shorter articles had ever appeared on the topic, such as ‘Die Censur hebräischer Bücher in Italien und der *Canon purificationis* (ספר הזיקוק)’ by Marco Mortara and ‘Die Censur hebräischer Bücher in Italien’ by Moritz Steinschneider, both published in *Hebraeische Bibliographie*.<sup>2</sup> Gustave Sacerdote undertook an examination of the *Sefer ha-Ziqquq* just a few years later – ‘Deux index expurgatoires de livres hebreux’.<sup>3</sup> While the manuscript catalogues of this period certainly pointed out the existence of censors, the issue was not subject to any rigorous, systematic treatment.<sup>4</sup>

At the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, another work on the *Sefer ha-Ziqquq* appeared, which was authored by Nathan Porges: ‘Der hebräische Index expurgatorius (ספר הזיקוק)’.<sup>5</sup> In 1942, Isaiah Sonne’s ‘Expurgation of Hebrew Books – The Work of Jewish Scholars’<sup>6</sup> was published, a work of key importance to this paper. The author described the personage of Yiṣḥaq of Arles in some detail here, who lived in Ferrara around 1573, and identified him as the brother of Rabbi Yosef of Arles, making him contemporaneous to Laurentius Franguellus’ activities there

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1 Popper 1889.

2 Mortara 1862; Steinschneider 1862.

3 Sacerdote 1896.

4 This happened in Steinschneider 1878: for example p. 18 in his description of Hamburg Cod. hebr. 53, Steinschneider pointed out the remark made by Yiṣḥaq of Arles, but p. 60f. in his outline of Hamburg Cod. hebr. 18, he only mentioned Laurentius Franguellus’ signature.

5 Porges 1903.

6 Sonne 1942.

as a censor.<sup>7</sup> In one of the two censored copies available to him, a signature by Yiṣḥaq of Arles was accompanied by another from Laurentius Franguellus dated 1575. Given that the former used the term מתוקן ('corrected'), while the latter wrote the word *revisus* ('reviewed'), Sonne assumed that Laurentius Franguellus had validated the corrections made by Yiṣḥaq in the capacity of an official representative church: 'I suppose, because of the use of the term "Metuqan", that the copy was "corrected" by our d'Arles and then revised by Franguelus [sic]'.<sup>8</sup>

In the latter half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, a number of monographs dealing with the subject of Hebrew printing and censorship appeared, particularly in Jerusalem, such as *Hebrew Printing at Cremona: Its History and Bibliography* and *Copyright, Authorization, and the Imprimatur for Hebrew Books Printed in Venice*, both written by Me'ir Benayahu.<sup>9</sup>

The focus has shifted in studies produced since the end of the last century. One focal point has been the study of the censorship of Hebrew books within the greater contextual confines of Catholic Church censorship in general, which saw its predominant position threatened by humanists such as Erasmus of Rotterdam, scientists like the later Galileo Galilei, the Reformation and the rise of printing. A few studies worthy of mention here are 'The Burning of the Talmud 1553, in Light of Sixteenth-Century Catholic Attitudes toward the Talmud' by Kenneth R. Stow,<sup>10</sup> 'The Index, the Holy Office, the Condemnation of the Talmud, and Publication of "Clement VIII's Index"' by Fausto Parente,<sup>11</sup> and 'Cardinal Santoro and the Expurgation of Hebrew Literature' by Piet van Boxel.<sup>12</sup> A second focus can be found in the effects of censorship on the development of traditional rabbinical Judaism, such as in Amnon Raz-Krakotzkin's article 'Censorship, Editing, and the Reshaping of Jewish Identity: The Catholic Church and Hebrew Literature in the Sixteenth Century'<sup>13</sup> and his comprehensive monograph *The Censor, the Editor, and the Text: The Catholic Church and the Shaping of the Jewish Canon in the Sixteenth Century*<sup>14</sup>. Piet van Boxel recently published a response to his uncritical stance regarding the censorship promulgated by the Catholic Church.<sup>15</sup>

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<sup>7</sup> Sonne 1942, 985–987.

<sup>8</sup> Sonne 1942, 986.

<sup>9</sup> Benayahu 1971a; Benayahu 1971b.

<sup>10</sup> Stow 1991.

<sup>11</sup> Parente 2001.

<sup>12</sup> Boxel 2001.

<sup>13</sup> Raz-Krakotzkin 2004.

<sup>14</sup> Raz-Krakotzkin 2007.

<sup>15</sup> Boxel 2016, 75–99.

In recent years, we have seen the publication of *The Hebrew Book in Early Modern Italy*<sup>16</sup>, a collection of essays with contributions from Joseph R. Hacker ('Sixteenth-century Jewish Internal Censorship of Hebrew Books'<sup>17</sup>) and Nurit Pasternak ('Marchion in Hebrew Manuscripts: State Censorship in Florence, 1472'<sup>18</sup>), among others, the latter being on the censorship of Hebrew books in the second half of the 15<sup>th</sup> century.

Research on this topic has been greatly facilitated in recent decades thanks to a number of factors:

1. Internet access to the National Library of Israel's (NLI) catalogue, which also provides access to the Institute of Microfilmed Hebrew Manuscripts (IMHM) catalogue containing detailed information on the manuscripts. This has greatly increased the body of data available to researchers and, of course, includes the treasures of the microfilm collection.
2. The 'SfarData' database maintained by Malachi Beit-Arié provides important information on Hebrew codices and their scribes.
3. High-resolution digitised versions of manuscripts, which more and more libraries are providing access to, offer much greater fidelity in comparison to black and white microfilms. This greatly facilitates their deciphering and analysis.
4. Multi-spectral photography, which can make previously 'invisible' passages visible and thereby allow the recovery of 'lost' texts.
5. New methods in researching ink types, in particular iron-gall inks, make it easier to ascribe corrections and additions to specific authors.

The aim of the current study is a critical analysis of Sonne's theory of the relationship between Yişḥaq of Arles and Laurentius Franguellus, based on the greater body of data bearing Yişḥaq of Arles' signature, the two Hamburg codices and the analysis of the inks used.

## 2 History of censorship

The history of censorship is neither straightforward nor consistent, but rather characterised by a wide variety of different factors and circumstances. It reflects the interests of the (Catholic) Church, of the secular authorities, of popes and the papal curia, of humanists and theologians, and, of course, of Jewish groups. Censorship

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<sup>16</sup> Hacker/Shear 2011.

<sup>17</sup> Hacker 2011.

<sup>18</sup> Pasternak 2011.

applied not only to existing codices and books, but also to the publication and printing of Hebrew books, particularly from the 16<sup>th</sup> century onwards. In principle, we need to differentiate between the censorship of individual manuscript copies and the censorship of printed works. In the latter case, the methods employed were more systematic, since each printed copy is affected. In the censorship of existing codices or books, it is always limited to the individual copy. Its effects are more limited, particularly given that not every copy is censored in exactly the same manner.<sup>19</sup>

Popper begins his account in the 13<sup>th</sup> century, when Solomon ben Avraham of Montpellier turned to the Dominicans for support in the struggle against the Jewish ‘heresy’ manifested in the philosophy of Maimonides. This led to the first public burning of Hebrew books in 1233, particularly of the works of Maimonides.<sup>20</sup> In the following period, ‘censorship’ generally meant the confiscation and burning of manuscripts. Roughly nine years later, for example – the exact date is disputed<sup>21</sup> – 24 cartloads of Hebrew manuscripts, many of which were Talmud codices, were burnt in Paris on the grounds that the works contained ‘blasphemy, fallacy or heresy’ (*blasphemia, errores aut haereses*). This radical approach was tempered following the Disputation of Barcelona in 1263, whereby Pope Clemens IV instructed King James I of Aragon to pass a decree on 19 August 1263, forcing Jews to pass their books to Dominican and Franciscan monks such that they might be reviewed and expurgated before being returned.<sup>22</sup> To what extent such ecclesiastical decrees were implemented by the secular authorities, whether in the one or the other extreme, lay at the latter’s discretion. The following period up to the 16<sup>th</sup> century was marked by the struggle over whether the Talmud and other related works were to be viewed as anti-Christian or heretical. In principle, the possession of a Talmud was forbidden in the eyes of the Church on the grounds of its ‘blasphemy, fallacy or heresy’, and rebuttals to these accusations from Jewish scholars, Christian theologians and humanists remained to a large extent unsuccessful. Worthy of mention among those who strove to allow Jews the use of their own religious books was Rabbi Yosef of Arles,<sup>23</sup> whose role will be expanded upon below.

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<sup>19</sup> Cf. Sonne 1942, 976.

<sup>20</sup> Popper 1899, 7.

<sup>21</sup> Popper 1899, 7, states the year 1244; Cohen 1999, 318; 1242; Raz-Krakovitzkin 2007, 26f.: 1242. In addition, see Galinsky 2012, 109–140, and Friedman/Hoff/Chazan 2012.

<sup>22</sup> Popper 1899, 13.

<sup>23</sup> Sonne 1954, 134; Boksenboim 1985, 11; Raz-Krakovitzkin 2007, 86f.

These oscillations finally came to a close (of kinds) in 1559 under Pope Paul IV.<sup>24</sup> At the beginning of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, the issues surrounding the Talmud were superseded by discussions and debates on the necessity of censorship brought about by what was perceived by the Roman Catholic Church as the subversive ideas of the Reformation, as well as by the invention of the printing press. On the one hand, the Catholic Church saw its position attacked by the reformers, while on the other, the development of printing enabled writings and ideas to be quickly and effectively disseminated, with hundreds of copies capable of being made simultaneously in comparison to a single manuscript. After much groundwork, the first version of the Index of Forbidden Works (*Index librorum prohibitorum*) was issued and published under Pope Paul IV in 1559. This long list included works which were deemed as heretical and incompatible with the Catholic Church's teachings. It was forbidden to print, read, own or disseminate any of these writings. The Talmud and other Hebrew works, such as Recanati's commentary on the Pentateuch, were definitively included in the *Index librorum prohibitorum*, which came to be referred to simply as 'the Index'.<sup>25</sup>

Under Pius IV, this decision was somewhat attenuated, as he allowed the Talmud and other critical works to be printed and owned under certain circumstances. However, the text of these works had to be expurgated first, with all passages and terms deemed by the Church to be anti-Christian or heretical being either replaced by others – for example גוי (*goy* = 'gentile') by עובדי עבודה זרה ('idolaters') – or being deleted altogether. The Talmud itself was not allowed to be printed with the title 'Talmud' on it. In addition, at the Jews' own suggestion, a Jewish committee consisting of three rabbis had to provide consent to the printing of every Hebrew book.<sup>26</sup> Ultimately, as with every other work, an *imprimatur* was required from the Church. The title 'Talmud', however, remained on the Index.

## 2.1 *Sefer ha-Ziqquq*

The Church authorities were faced with two core problems when it came to the censorship of Hebrew works. Firstly, they had to deal with the issue of finding someone capable of censoring the books. Secondly, they had to determine which books needed to be censored and which could be viewed as unobjectionable.

<sup>24</sup> Popper 1899, 45f.; Raz-Krakotzkin 2007, 57–69.

<sup>25</sup> Popper 1889, 45; Raz-Krakotzkin 2007, 33–36.

<sup>26</sup> On the resolution made in Ferrara in 1554, see Popper 1899, 38; Sonne 1942, 976; Raz-Krakotzkin 2007, 117.

As early as 1555, Pope Julius III commissioned Avraham ben David Provençal<sup>27</sup> with the task of drawing up a relevant list. In light of the great number of Hebrew works that existed at the time, it is not surprising that this endeavour was never completed, but it served as the basis for the later compilation put together by Hippolitus Ferrarensis.<sup>28</sup> At approximately the same time, an index was compiled and repeatedly revised by Laurentius Franguellus, with the final version from 1596 comprising 36 titles.<sup>29</sup> The most detailed compilation, the *Sefer ha-Ziqquq*, was assembled by Domenico Gerosolimitano (also known as Dominico I[er]osolimitano), a convert who had himself baptised in 1593.<sup>30</sup> A number of different versions of this manuscript exist.<sup>31</sup> From the end of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, this document proved to be definitive for a long period of time. Nevertheless, neither the manuscript nor any other compilation was granted official status by the Church, leaving them as non-binding documents and making it unclear exactly which documents fell under the rules of censorship. Presumably this question was left unanswered intentionally, since official regulation would have meant that any work not on the list was, by implication, to be considered unobjectionable.<sup>32</sup>

The lists follow two different approaches; on the one hand, searching for specific words and terminology which might indicate any anti-Christian or heretical content, such as גוי ('goy'), אדום ('Edom'), רומי ('Rome') etc.<sup>33</sup>, or alternatively paying more attention to the contents themselves, for example whether the interpretation of the Bible or the presentation of the issue of transmigration corresponded to the Catholic viewpoint or not. This latter approach was preferred by neophytes in particular.<sup>34</sup>

Nathan Porges conducted a more detailed study of the extent to which the various indices were applied, coming to the conclusion that although there were guidelines, these were in no way followed stringently, not even by the author of the *Sefer ha-Ziqquq* himself, Domenico Gerosolimitano. One and the same censor

<sup>27</sup> Popper 1899, 39f.; Sonne 1942, 979–981; Porges 1903, 277f.; Raz-Krakotzkin 2007, 84f. However, Sonne does not rule out the idea of the figure in question being Avraham's father, David Provençal, Sonne 1942, 981.

<sup>28</sup> Sonne 1942, 980f. states the year 1584; Raz-Krakotzkin 2007, 84f. the year 1594; and Sacerdote 1896, 260 the year 1596.

<sup>29</sup> Raz-Krakotzkin 2007, 85, mentions 33 titles.

<sup>30</sup> On Domenico Gerosolimitano, see Habermann 1966/1967; Prebor 2010–11, 467–481.

<sup>31</sup> Regarding ספר הדיקוק, see Sacerdote 1896, 257–283; Popper 1899, 77–84; Porges 1903, 273–295; Prebor 2008; Boxel 2016, 75–99. Unfortunately, I was unable to access Gila Prebor's 2003 work.

<sup>32</sup> On this point, see Porges 1903, 273–277; Boxel 2016, 75–99.

<sup>33</sup> Popper 1899, 28f., 58f.; Porges, 1903, 286ff.; Prebor 2008, 16f.

<sup>34</sup> Cf. Sacerdote 1896, 275.

can, of course, apply a very lax or very strict form of censorship,<sup>35</sup> and one reason for volumes being censored multiple times may be discernible from the accusation found in the records of the Vatican that the censorship had been too lax.<sup>36</sup>

## 2.2 The censors

Porges raised the question as to what extent, if any, one can consider ‘censorship’ being applied in the case of Jewish books in comparison to Christian works, given that this term was seldom used in the context of Jewish works. For this reason, he prefers to use a term such as ‘revisor’ or ‘corrector’ himself.<sup>37</sup> Nevertheless, despite this justifiable consideration, I shall use the more common term ‘censor’ in this paper. In relation to *Yiṣḥaq* of Arles, it is usually described as a form of ‘internal censorship’.

Christian theologians were rarely fluent in Hebrew and thus incapable of reading, let alone understanding and censoring such texts, which made them unsuitable for the task of revision. The option of granting Jews themselves the right to examine and, where necessary, censor the works<sup>38</sup> was discussed over a long period of time, but ultimately found no approval, the arguments outweighed by the general mistrust of Jews.<sup>39</sup>

Apart from the previously cited Avraham and David Provençal, Sonne also mentions Natani’el ha-Dani and *Yiṣḥaq* of Arles as Jewish ‘censors’.<sup>40</sup> This does not take into consideration those who played a role later with the development of printing.

The only people who thus could be considered for the task of censoring these works were former Jews who had converted to Christianity. Giacomo Geraldini, a baptised Jew, was made apostolic commissioner by the Pope in 1555 on the suggestion of the Jews.<sup>41</sup> In 1556, he was further appointed ducal commissioner by the Duke of Modena<sup>42</sup> and was active in Rome, Bologna, Mantua and Ferrara. In the following period, it was mainly neophytes who were entrusted with this

<sup>35</sup> Porges 1903, 280–283; Prebor 2008, 21f.; Prebor 2010–11, 477.

<sup>36</sup> See Margulies 1903, 269; Porges 1903, 273–277.

<sup>37</sup> Porges 1903, 274–277.

<sup>38</sup> Berliner 1891, 9f.; Popper 1899, 72–76; Raz-Krakotzkin 2007, 85.

<sup>39</sup> Raz-Krakotzkin 2007, 42–44, 81–84.

<sup>40</sup> Sonne 1942, 980–987.

<sup>41</sup> Popper 1899, Popper, 40f., 72; Porges 1903, 273–278; Raz-Krakotzkin 2007. See below for more details about him.

<sup>42</sup> Popper 1899, plate IV: Jac. Geraldini commiss[ari] Ap[ostol]ici et Ducalis, die 18 Martij 1556.



task – members of the institute later known as the Collegio dei Neofiti (*Collegium Ecclesiasticum Adolescentium Neophytorum*) set up to educate converts from Judaism and Islam. In addition to Laurentius Franguellus, who rose to prominence between the 1570s and 1590s,<sup>43</sup> two others are worthy of note: Domenico Gerosolimitano, who converted in 1593<sup>44</sup> and was active at the end of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, and Camillo Jaghel, who was active at the beginning of the 17<sup>th</sup> century.

The converts' Jewish names are largely unknown to us, leaving their origins in the dark. Nevertheless, as in the cases of Domenico Gerosolimitano and Giacomo Geraldini, it is occasionally possible to identify their backgrounds. Some of them remained well disposed towards the Jews despite their conversion to Christianity, whereas others attempted to prove their devoutness as 'true' Christians after baptism and were extremely stringent in their censorship, some going as far as to call for the burning of the Talmud.

## 2.2.1 Giacomo Geraldini and Yiṣḥaq of Arles

The origins of Giacomo Geraldini, who Pope Julius III tasked with censoring Jewish works, remained unknown for a long time and were first brought to light by Yacov Boksenboim in 1985. He discovered a clue among the letters of Italy's Jewish Renaissance scholars revealing that his identity was that of Rabbi Yosef of Arles, mentioned previously, since he agitated against the prohibition of the Talmud in 1554.<sup>45</sup> Rabbi Yosef of Arles was a great, albeit controversial scholar who was suspended from his duties as rabbi for a time.<sup>46</sup> It is not known exactly when he was baptised; however, Boksenboim suggests 1553 as a plausible date.<sup>47</sup> Even after his conversion to Christianity, he appears to have retained the respect of Jews, or at least this is generally assumed.<sup>48</sup>

Isaiah Sonne had previously managed to identify Yiṣḥaq as the brother of Rabbi Yosef of Arles.<sup>49</sup> An official document from the Jewish community in Ferrara dated 1573 contains a contract between the Ashkenazic and Italian communities

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<sup>43</sup> Popper 1899, Raz-Krakotzkin 2007, 85.

<sup>44</sup> Zorattini 1998; Raz-Krakotzkin 2007, 88; Prebor 2010–11, 469.

<sup>45</sup> Sonne 1954, 134; Boksenboim 1985, 10–15; Boksenboim 1987, 10, 29–34; Raz-Krakotzkin 2007, 86f.

<sup>46</sup> Marx 1937, 171–184. On R. Yosef of Arles, also see Sonne 1954, 133–138.

<sup>47</sup> Boksenboim 1985, 33.

<sup>48</sup> Boksenboim 1985, 10–14.

<sup>49</sup> Sonne 1942, 985–987.

with the signature of *Yiṣḥaq of Arles ... son of David 'Azari'el*,<sup>50</sup> illustrating this person to have commanded a certain standing in society. From another document stemming from the mid-16<sup>th</sup> century, we also know that Rabbi Yosef's father was called David.<sup>51</sup> As a result, we can surmise that the two of them were brothers, and Sonne assumes that Yiṣḥaq was the younger of the two. No exact dates of birth or death exist for either man. A. Marx supposes that Rabbi Yosef of Arles lived from 1490–1560,<sup>52</sup> and Sonne estimates him to have been around sixty years old in 1562.<sup>53</sup> All of which means that his brother Yiṣḥaq cannot have been particularly young by 1573.

One of the censored copies available to Sonne contained a revisor's note from Laurentius Franguellus dated 1575 in addition to the note from Yiṣḥaq of Arles.<sup>54</sup> Sonne, somewhat troubled by the terms מתוקן ('corrected') and *revisus*<sup>55</sup>, assumed that Yiṣḥaq of Arles' corrections therefore had to be confirmed by a Christian authority, in this case Laurentius Franguellus, who was living in Ferrara at the same time.<sup>56</sup> In my opinion, however, given the familial connection between Yiṣḥaq of Arles and Giacomo Geraldini, it would be more logical to assume Yiṣḥaq played the role of corrector rather in the time of this brother than in the time of Laurentius Franguellus.

### 2.2.2 מתוקן על ידי יצחק מארלי

The phrase מתוקן על ידי יצחק מארלי ('corrected by Yiṣḥaq of Arles') has been clearly pointed out by Steinschneider and others. However, the location itself has proven difficult to decipher, resulting in other variations such as מארון or אריצי.<sup>57</sup> The remark was not considered to have been related to censorship, but rather the term 'corrected' was understood to refer to the elimination of an error. In this sense, it

<sup>50</sup> Sonne 1942, 986: יצחק מארלי... בן דוד עזריאל.

<sup>51</sup> Marx 1937, 171–184.

<sup>52</sup> Marx 1937, 173.

<sup>53</sup> Sonne 1954, 134.

<sup>54</sup> *Revisus p[er] me Laurentiu[s] Franguellu[s]* 1575.

<sup>55</sup> See below regarding the terminology used.

<sup>56</sup> According to Sonne 1942, 985; Raz-Krakovitzkin 2007, 92.

<sup>57</sup> Steinschneider 1878, 18, on Codex hebraicus 53: 'Vorher von anderer Hand על ידי יצחק מארלי' (Previously [done] by another hand יצחק מארלי (?). 'מזוקק מארון' (?)) (Previously [done] by another hand יצחק מארלי (?). 'מזוקק מארון' (?)). Wachstein 1914, 11, 28; Freimann 1950, 266 also considered the possibility of a relationship existing to the town of Forlì in Italy.

could easily be seen as an indication of who the document's owner was.<sup>58</sup> To the best of my knowledge, Wachstein was the first to suggest a connection to censorship.<sup>59</sup>

Apart from no. 6,<sup>60</sup> Yiṣḥaq of Arles' notes generally appear at the beginning of each work, generally on fol. 1r or 2r, while the Christian censors' signatures are generally found at the end of the book (with few exceptions).<sup>61</sup>

The terminology used for the purposes of censorship in Latin/Italian signatures is far from consistent, even if each individual person tended to use the same wording. Some signed the manuscripts with just their name and the year, particularly the later censors such as Camillo Jaghel. As seen in the facsimile in Popper,<sup>62</sup> others used the following terminology: *revisus* or *revisto*, ('reviewed, checked'), *vidit ... et approbavit* ('reviewed ... and approved'), *visto* & (?) *correto* ('viewed ... corrected'), *expurgavi* ('expurgated'), *subsignavi* ('sealed') or *p[er]mittitur* ('permitted').

These are supplemented by a large number of Hebrew terms:<sup>63</sup> מעיין ( $\triangleq$  *vidit*), לתקן ( $\triangleq$  *correx*, *corretto*),<sup>64</sup> לזקק ( $\triangleq$  *expurgavi*), לחקור ('examined')<sup>65</sup> or להגות ( $\triangleq$  'proof-read'). When printing books, it seems the terms להגות and מזוקק or מוזקק (meaning 'proof-read carefully') were largely used, while the other forms were mainly employed for codices or for already printed works at a later date. The most commonly used term was לזקק,<sup>66</sup> equivalent to the title ספר הזיקוק (meaning *index/liber expurgatorius*). The texts were essentially 'expurgated' of all 'negative' (i.e. anti-Christian and heretical) content.

The word 'corrected' is found almost exclusively in connection with the name of Yiṣḥaq of Arles.<sup>67</sup> Only two other examples can be found for כלו מתוקן כהוגן ('everything corrected to how it should be'),<sup>68</sup> those being in Columbia University Library New York, NY USA Ms. X 893 M 112 Q from 1615 on fol. 1r<sup>69</sup> and in the

58 Cf. Hirschfeld 1904, 31; Neubauer 1886, 703; and others.

59 Wachstein 1914, 175.

60 See the list of corrected works below.

61 On this point, see Popper 1899, 78f.

62 Popper 1889, plates IV–V.

63 Sonne 1942, 977–979; Benayahu 1971b, 190–192; Raz-Krakotzkin 2007, 112–113.

64 According to Sonne, this was used at the end of the 16<sup>th</sup> century; Sonne 1942, 895.

65 See no. 9 in the list (see below).

66 Sonne 1942, 977f., 'familiar expression in official circles dealing with the censorship'.

67 The catalogue of the National Library of Israel was the source I used for my search.

68 Cf. מזוקק הכל כהוגן in a copy belonging to Bahya ben Asher *Qad ha-Qemah*, Venice, 1545, now kept at the Hebrew Union College Library; Sonne 1942, 978, n. 10.

69 Below the remark, there is a number that has been written by another person: '625' [http://web.nli.org.il/sites/NLI/Hebrew/digitallibrary/pages/viewer.aspx?presenterid=MANUSCRIPTS&dodid=PNX\\_MANUSCRIPTS000136025-2](http://web.nli.org.il/sites/NLI/Hebrew/digitallibrary/pages/viewer.aspx?presenterid=MANUSCRIPTS&dodid=PNX_MANUSCRIPTS000136025-2), viewed on 5 March 2017.

National Library of France, Paris, Ms. hebr. 866, fol. 28r in the upper left.<sup>70</sup> Both are autographs written by Menahem 'Azariah da Fano with numerous corrections. The notes are not in the same handwriting, however.

In at least two of the codices bearing Yiṣḥaq of Arles' note, a later statement – מזוקק ('expurgated') – can be seen, in the Hamburg Cod. hebr. 53 written in minuscules next to the word מארלי, and in Parma Biblioteca Palatina 2386<sup>71</sup>, in the margins in strong letters. This is an indication that the term 'corrected' was not (or no longer) unequivocally understood to be an act of censorship, and thus had to be explained explicitly.

## 2.3 A list of books and codices with notes by Yiṣḥaq of Arles

So far, a total of thirty manuscripts have been found bearing Yiṣḥaq's signature in library catalogues, secondary literature and the National Library of Israel's manuscript catalogue. With the exception of no. 6 and four printed works (nos 27–30), all of them are recorded in the NLI's catalogue.<sup>72</sup> They are listed here in alphabetical order of the library locations, the printed works coming at the end.

### **Cambridge, University Library Add. 649 (IMHM: F 74208)**

*Perush* (commentary) by Recanati on the Tora (3r–282v) and Prayers (283r–307r); 15<sup>th</sup> century; catalogue: Reif 1997, no. SCR 88.

Further censors: fol. 307r: Hippolitus Ferrarensis, 1601; Giovanni Dominico Vistorini, 1609 (1610); Camillo Jaghel, 1611.

### **Cambridge, University Library Add. 450 (IMHM: F 16331)**

*Ṭur Even ha-‘Ezer*; 14<sup>th</sup>/15<sup>th</sup> century; catalogue: Reif 1997, no. SCR 246.

No further censors listed.

<sup>70</sup> <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b107226937>, viewed on 19 Feb. 2017. Other censors were Clemente Renatto (fols 1r, 173v, 191r) and Domenico Carretto 1628 (173<sup>v</sup>).

<sup>71</sup> Parma Biblioteca Palatina 2386, fol. 1r, [http://web.nli.org.il/sites/NLI/Hebrew/digitallibrary/pages/viewer.aspx?presenterid=MANUSCRIPTS&doid=PNX\\_MANUSCRIPTS000072663-1](http://web.nli.org.il/sites/NLI/Hebrew/digitallibrary/pages/viewer.aspx?presenterid=MANUSCRIPTS&doid=PNX_MANUSCRIPTS000072663-1), viewed on 19 Feb. 2017.

<sup>72</sup> <http://web.nli.org.il/sites/NLI/English/Pages/default.aspx> (viewed on 19 Feb. 2017); I searched for 'Old Catalogue' using the following options: 'Select Library': 'Manuscripts' and 'Select Search Option': 'Keyword anywhere' and 'Search for': מתוקן.

**Cambridge, Trinity College R 14 61 (IMHM: F 12598)**

Hebrew translation of Euclid: *Sefer ha-Yesodot*, 14<sup>th</sup> century; catalogue: Palmer 1870, 226f.

No further censors. The end is missing.

**Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana Plut. II.1 (IMHM: F 17656)**

*Tanakh* with commentaries; 1396; location mentioned: Ferrara.

Further censors: fol. 945v: Renato da Modena, 1626; Alessandro Scipione, 1596 (?) fol. 946r: Domenico Gerosolimitano, 1598; Camillo Jaghel, 1613.<sup>73</sup>

**Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana Plut. III.6 (IMHM: F 17818)**

R. Levi ben Gershom: *Perush* on the *Miqra* (*Tanakh*), 14<sup>th</sup> century, in the colophon: 1330–1338.

No censor found at the end of it.<sup>74</sup>

**Hamburg, Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Cod. hebr. 18 (IMHM: F 881)**

*Mishna* and *Birkhot Maharam*, 1416; Spello (?); catalogue: Steinschneider 1878, 18.

Further censor: Laurentius Franguellus, 1574.

**Hamburg, Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Cod. hebr. 53 (IMHM: F 903)**

*Perush* by Recanati on the Tora and Prayers, 1410; Perugia (sold); catalogue: Steinschneider 1878, 60f.

Further censor, name unknown; name was presumably found on the folios cut out at the end of the manuscript.

**London, British Library Add. 26902 (IMHM: F 5441)**

*Perush Tehillim* by Yosef ben Avraham Ḥayyun; 15<sup>th</sup>/16<sup>th</sup> century; catalogue: Margoliouth 1899, 169, no. 230.

No further censor.

**Mantua, Biblioteca Teresiana 7 (IMHM: F 787)**

*Milḥemet ha-Shem*; 14<sup>th</sup>/15<sup>th</sup> century; catalogue: Mortara 1878.

The end of the manuscript is missing; the final page ends with a catchword.<sup>75</sup>

<sup>73</sup> <http://teca.bmlonline.it/ImageViewer/servlet/ImageViewer?idr=TECA0001391575&keywork=s=plut.02.01#page/1/mode/1up>, viewed on 19 Feb. 2017.

<sup>74</sup> <http://teca.bmlonline.it/ImageViewer/servlet/ImageViewer?idr=TECA0000018968#page/1/mode/1up>, viewed on 19 Feb. 2017.

<sup>75</sup> [http://digilib.bibliotecateresiana.it/sfoglia\\_ebraici.php?op=ebr&gruppo=CME\\_001\\_030&volume=CME007&offset=0](http://digilib.bibliotecateresiana.it/sfoglia_ebraici.php?op=ebr&gruppo=CME_001_030&volume=CME007&offset=0), viewed on 19 Feb. 2017.

**Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana O 13 sup. (IMHM: F 12913)**

*Rambam Perush Mishna (Neziqin Avot)*; 15<sup>th</sup> century; catalogue: Bernheimer 1933, no. 44; probably Milan.<sup>76</sup>

Further censor: fol. 86v: Domenico Gerosolimitano (Hebrew, probably after 1605).<sup>77</sup>

**Previously Montefiore 121 (IMHM: F 7303)**

*Sefer Mišvot ha-Gadol*; 14<sup>th</sup> century; catalogue: Hirschfeld 1904, 31.

No further censor listed.

**Previously Montefiore 123 (IMHM: F 4635)**

*Sefer Mišvot Qaṭan* ('*SeMaQ*'); 15<sup>th</sup> century; catalogue: Hirschfeld 1904, 31.<sup>78</sup>

Further censors: fol. 211v: Giovanni Dominico Vistorini, 1609; Laurentius Franguelus (no date).

**Moscow, Ms. Günzburg 41 (IMHM: F 6722)**

*Qad ha-Qemaḥ* by Baḥya ben Asher; 1532; Florence, Italy.

No further censor mentioned.

**New York, Jewish Theological Seminary Ms. 2266 (IMHM: F 28519)**

Miscellaneous, *Sefer 'Iqarim*; 1498; Camerino, Tunis.

Further censors: Hippolitus Ferrarensis, 1601 *purgavit* ('purged'); Giovanni Dominico Vistorini, 1610; deletions made by censors.

**Oxford, Bodleian Library Opp. Add. fol. 40; Neubauer 879 (IMHM: F 21838)**

*Sefer Mišvot Qaṭan* ('*SeMaQ*'); 15<sup>th</sup> century (1518?); Modena, Italy; catalogue: Neubauer 1886, 185, no. 879; Beit-Arié / May 1994, 138, no. 879\*.

Further censor: fol. 286v: Hippolitus Ferrarensis, 1601.

**Oxford, Bodleian Library Ms. Mich. Add. 59; Neubauer 911 (IMHM: F 21870)**

Miscellaneous; 1538/1539 (1536–38); catalogue: Neubauer 1886, 196–198, no. 912; Beit-Arié/May 1994, 144, no. 911.

Further censor at the end of Oxford Bodleian Library Ms. Mich. Add. 60: Luigi da Bologna, 1600; the two manuscripts belong together.

**Oxford, Bodleian Library Ms. Mich. 350; Neubauer 2052 (IMHM: F 19337)**

Miscellaneous; 15<sup>th</sup> century (1446); Burgos, Mantua; catalogue: Neubauer 1886, 703; Beit-Arié / May 1994, 376f., 2052\*.

<sup>76</sup> Sonne 1942, 982.

<sup>77</sup> On Domenico Gerosolimitano's Hebrew signature, see Prebor 2010–11, 476–479.

<sup>78</sup> Presumably, Yiṣḥaq of Arles was the owner.

Further censors: fol. 90v: Giovanni Domenico Carretto, 1618, fol. 91v: Domenico Gerosolimitano, 1597, fol. 203v: Luigi da Bologna, 1600.<sup>79</sup>

**Oxford, Bodleian Library Ms. Opp. Add. fol. 42; Neubauer 1512 (IMHM: F 16431)**  
*‘Arukh* by Natan ben Yehi’el; 13<sup>th</sup>/14<sup>th</sup> century; catalogue: Neubauer 1886, 533; Beit-Arié / May 1994, 252, no. 1512.

Further censor: fol. 451v: Camillo Jaghel, 1600.<sup>80</sup>

**Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale 422 (IMHM: F 4445)**

*Ṭur Even ha-‘Ezer, Oraḥ Ḥayyim, Yore De‘a*; 1487, 1496; Soncino, Italy.

Further censors: Laurentius Franguellus, 1575; Hippolitus Ferrarensis, 1601, deletions made by censors.<sup>81</sup>

**Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale 1457 (olim Vélins 908) (IMHM: F 73304)**

*Siddur Minhag Roma*; 16<sup>th</sup>/17<sup>th</sup> century; catalogue: I. Adler 1961/62, 194–199 (no. 1457).

Further censors mentioned at the end of the manuscript: Renato da Modena, 1626; Luigi da Bologna, 1599; Camillo Jaghel, 1613,<sup>82</sup> Girolamo da Durallano, 1640.<sup>83</sup>

**Parma, Biblioteca Palatina 2 (IMHM: F 27533; F 14072)**

*Tora*; 15<sup>th</sup> century; Ferrara (sold in 1494); catalogue: Richler 2001, 41f. No. 176.

Further censors: fol. 450v: Domenico Gerosolimitano 1578;<sup>84</sup> Alessandro Scipione 1597; Camillo Jaghel 1613.

**Parma, Biblioteca Palatina 1779 (IMHM: F 13005)**

*Siddur*; 15<sup>th</sup> century; catalogue: Richler 2001, 235 No. 964.

Further censors: Camillo Jaghel 1603 and an unidentifiable signature.

**Parma, Biblioteca Palatina 2160/2161 (IMHM: F 14247; F 14248)**

*Tanakh*; 14<sup>th</sup> century; catalogue: Richler 2001, 44, no. 186.

No further censor.

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<sup>79</sup> These details are from the IMHM catalogue.

<sup>80</sup> These details are from the IMHM catalogue.

<sup>81</sup> These details are from the IMHM catalogue.

<sup>82</sup> Adler 1961/62, 194–199.

<sup>83</sup> Adler 1961/62, 194–199.

<sup>84</sup> According to the dates mentioned in Prebor 2010–11, 469f., Domenico Gerosolimitano only converted to Christianity in 1593 and he spent 1578–79 in Istanbul, which means that the date of his signature is probably incorrect; perhaps it was simply misread.

**Parma, Biblioteca Palatina 3518 (IMHM: F 14025)**

*Siddur*; 1306; Nursia; catalogue: Richler 2001, p. 271f., no. 1065.

No further censor.

**Parma, Biblioteca Palatina 2386 (IMHM: F 13251)**

Philosophy; 1525–1528; catalogue: Richler 2001, 479, no. 1577.

Further censors: fol. 185v: Renato da Mod[en]a, 1626, Luigi [da Bologna], 1600, Gir[olamo] da Durallano, 1640.<sup>85</sup>

**Turin A II 7 (IMHM: F 34401)**

*Ṭur Even ha-‘Ezer*, *Ḥoshen Mishpat*; 1306 or 1311; Bologna; catalogue: Peyron 1880, 31f.

Further censorship from 1601.<sup>86</sup>

**Vienna, Jewish Community Library, Salo Cohn Donation, Wachstein Catalogue No. 25**

*Sefer Halakhot (Rif)* by R. Yiṣḥaq Alfasi (R. Isaac Fasi); 1554–1555; printed in Sabbioneta; catalogue: Wachstein 1914, 11.

Further censors: Domenico Gerosolimitano, Alessandro Scipione, 1593, Vincentius Matellica, Girolamo da Durallano, 1640.

**Vienna, Jewish Community Library, Salo Cohn Donation, Wachstein Catalogue No. 67**

Bible; 1517; printed in Venice; catalogue: Wachstein 1914, 25.

Censors: no further censors are listed.

**Cincinnati, Hebrew Union College Moshe Coucy Sefer Miṣvot Gadol Venice 1522**

Moshe Coucy, *Sefer Miṣvot Gadol*; 1522; printed in Venice; Ferrara; source: Sonne 1942, 985.

No further censor is known.

**Cincinnati, Hebrew Union College Isserlein Terumat ha-Deshen, Venice 1519**

Isserlein *Terumat ha-Deshen*; 1519; printed in Venice; source: Sonne 1942, 985.

Further censor: Laurentius Franguellus, 1575.

<sup>85</sup> [http://web.nli.org.il/sites/NLI/Hebrew/digitallibrary/pages/viewer.aspx?presentorid=MANUSCRIPTS&docid=PNX\\_MANUSCRIPTS000072663-1](http://web.nli.org.il/sites/NLI/Hebrew/digitallibrary/pages/viewer.aspx?presentorid=MANUSCRIPTS&docid=PNX_MANUSCRIPTS000072663-1), viewed on 19 Feb. 2017.

<sup>86</sup> There is no indication of this in Peyron; no name is mentioned in the IMHM catalogue.



### 2.3.1 Censors

In ten of the copies cited here, no further censor is mentioned (nos 2, 5, 8, 11, 13, 23f., 28f.) and for two others (nos 3 and 10) the end containing any possible signatures has not been preserved. Hamburg Cod. hebr. 53 (no. 7) was censored a second time, but the name of the censor is unknown.<sup>87</sup>

As for the other Christian censors, we can make the following chronological picture:

1574–1575	6, 12, 19, 30	Laurentius Franguellus <sup>88</sup>
1593–1597	4, 21, 27	Alessandro Scipione
1597–1598	4, 9, 17, 21, 27	Domenico Gerosolimitano <sup>89</sup>
1599–1600	16, 17, 20, 25	Luigi da Bologna
1601	1, 14, 15, 19	Hippolitus Ferrarensis
1601	16	unknown
1600–1613	1, 4, 18, 20, 21, 22	Camillo Jaghel
1609–1618	1, 12, 14	Giovanni Dominico Vistorini
1618	17	Giovanno Domenico Carretto
1626	4, 20, 25	Renato da Modena
1640	20, 25, 27	Girolamo da Durallano
n.d.	27	Vincentius Matellica

This greatly increased pool of data with 30 manuscripts does not confirm Isaiah Sonne's theory, recently adopted by Raz-Krakovitzkin,<sup>90</sup> that the use of the terms מתוקן and *revisus* in the notes from Yiṣḥaq of Arles and Laurentius Franguellus suggests the corrections by a Jewish 'censor' needed to be further authorised by a representative of the Church. The name 'Laurentius Franguellus' – a censor who must have resided in Ferrara at the same time as Yiṣḥaq of Arles – appears in just four codices. This fits in with the hypothetical chronology. If we assume that Yiṣḥaq of Arles' brother, if not already dead, was around 60 years old in 1562, then Yiṣḥaq must have been approximately 70 years old in 1573. No other censors are likely as contemporaries of Yiṣḥaq – the time lag between them

<sup>87</sup> See below on this point.

<sup>88</sup> In one case, no year was mentioned.

<sup>89</sup> The date given in no. 21 is ignored.

<sup>90</sup> Raz-Krakovitzkin 2007, 86f.

is simply too great, meaning that none of those mentioned come into question to officially approve his corrections. Another point which debases this argument is the fact that there is no evidence of a further censor in at least ten of the manuscripts.

Since we know that works were censored several times,<sup>91</sup> we have to assume that this would have applied equally to the copies corrected by Yiṣḥaq of Arles. It is therefore reasonable to assume that, during his lifetime, his signature was both sufficient and accepted. It also follows that his activities need not have taken place contemporaneously with those of Laurentius Franguellus, but quite possibly may have occurred earlier.

### 2.3.2 Places mentioned in the manuscripts

The places named in the documents must be treated with caution: books are moveable items that can be sold and transported to different locations quite easily. There is similarly no reason for families and individual book owners to reside in the same place permanently.<sup>92</sup> Two of the few places mentioned here – Burgos (no. 17) and Tunis (no. 14) – are completely irrelevant. The others are spread across two main areas: Umbria, including Perugia (no. 7), Camerino (no. 14), Spello (?) (no. 6) and Nursia (no. 24); and Ferrara and surroundings, including Ferrara (nos 4, 21, 29), Mantua (no. 17), Modena (no. 15), Bologna (no. 28,) Florence (no. 13) and Soncino (Lombardy) (no. 19). One was censored in Milan by Domenico Gerosolimitano.<sup>93</sup>

### 2.3.3 The times of Yiṣḥaq of Arles

The fact that Yiṣḥaq is named as a witness in a document from 1573 only proves that he was alive at this point in time, without saying anything about whether he was active as a ‘corrector’ on or before this date. Marx surmises that his brother lived between 1490–1560, meaning that Yiṣḥaq cannot have been particularly young by 1573. The argument that he must have been active at the same time as Laurentius Franguellus no longer applies, in as far as an earlier time period is also conceivable.

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<sup>91</sup> Berliner 1891, 9f.; Porges 1903, 274–276.

<sup>92</sup> Cf., for example, Hamburg Cod. hebr. 19; Reeg 2014b, 81f.

<sup>93</sup> Sonne 1942, 982; Prebor 2010–11, 476–479.

The dates in some of the codices and books only provide a modicum of help, since they merely provide information on the age of the codices, not when Yiṣḥaq of Arles had them in his hands. Only the dates provided in printed works offer a point of reference, such as the last given year, 1554/55, in the printed works from Sabbioneta (no. 28). We can at least assume that he was active as a ‘corrector’ at or after this point in time, but saying how long he was active before or thereafter is mere speculation. This work was printed during the time when his brother Giacomo Geraldini had been commissioned by the Pope with the task of censoring Hebrew codices and books.

As previously mentioned, there was a lengthy discussion as to whether the task of censorship could be delegated to Jews. It therefore seems likely that Yiṣḥaq of Arles was active earlier than 1573, i.e. during the period before it was decided that Jews should not be called upon as censors, but that censorship should only be entrusted to converts.

### 3 Hamburg State and University Library, Codex hebraicus 18

The codex was written by Yeḳuti’el ben Yeḥi’el in 1416 for Moshe ben Yehuda ha-Rofe of Spello.<sup>94</sup> On fol. 1r, Asher Ḥanan Eli(hu) is named as a further owner from whom the codex was purchased,<sup>95</sup> but he cannot be identified. The codex therefore had at least three owners. In addition to the first three *sedarim* of the *Mishna* and a commentary by Maimonides, it also contains the *Hilkhot Berakhot* by Me’ir of Rothenburg, which is at the end of it (from fol. 232v onwards).

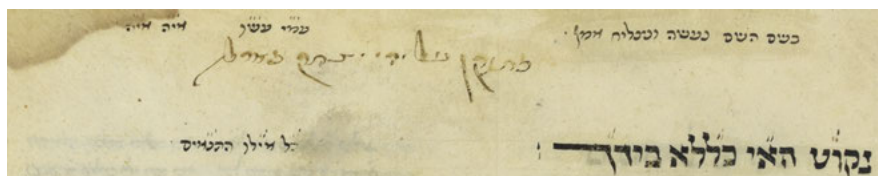


Fig. 1: Hamburg Cod. hebr. 18 fol. 2r. © All images State and University Library Hamburg.

<sup>94</sup> Fol. 231v; cf. SfarData 0G156 <http://www.sfardata.nli.org.il/sfardatanew/Home.aspx>, viewed on 10 March 2017. On the scribe and his family, see Reeg 2014a, 74f.

<sup>95</sup> קניתי זה הספר מאשר חנן ? לעבדו בעד ז' אייוקוי??

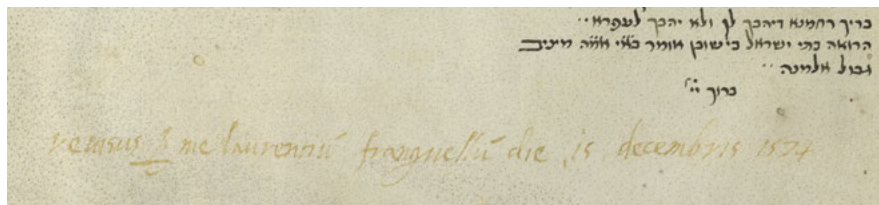


Fig. 2: Hamburg Cod. hebr. 18, fol. 237r.

The note *יצחק מארלי* על ידי מתוקן appears at the beginning of the introduction to the *Mishna* by Maimonides on fol. 2r (Fig. 1), while the Christian censor's note – *revisus p[er] me laurentiu' frangellu' die, 15 decembris 1574* – appears at the end of the codex on fol. 237r (Fig. 2).

### 3.1 Yiṣḥaq of Arles' corrections

There are numerous examples of textual corrections within the codex, but acts of censorship, on the other hand, could only be identified at one point, that being on fols 19v and 20r in the text of the *Mishna Berakhot* 8:6 and Maimonides' commentary to the *Mishna Berakhot* 8:6 and 8:8. The letters גוים and הגוים have been erased from the text and replaced by עע״ז.

The shape of the 'ayin in the corrections (fols 19v/20r) (Fig. 3) matches the handwriting style found in Yiṣḥaq's note at the start of the text (fol. 2r), which allows us to deduce that he made the corrections himself.

#### 3.1.1 Fol. 19v<sup>1</sup>, lines 9f. 17, 19<sup>96</sup> *Mishna Berakhot* 8:6.

<sup>97</sup> אין מברכין לא על הנר ולא על הבשמים | של {גוים} {עע״ז}

They do not bless over the candles or the spices of the {Gentiles} {idolaters}.

On line 17 of Maimonides' commentary, it says {גוים} {עע״ז} ונר של and on line 19 {גוים} {עע״ז} ובשמים של.

<sup>96</sup> The blank lines included in the columns were counted here as well.

<sup>97</sup> The various types of brackets used in the texts cited here mean the following: (...) – the original text that was crossed out or erased; {...} – corrected text written by the censor; [...] – normal deletion; (...) – normal correction.

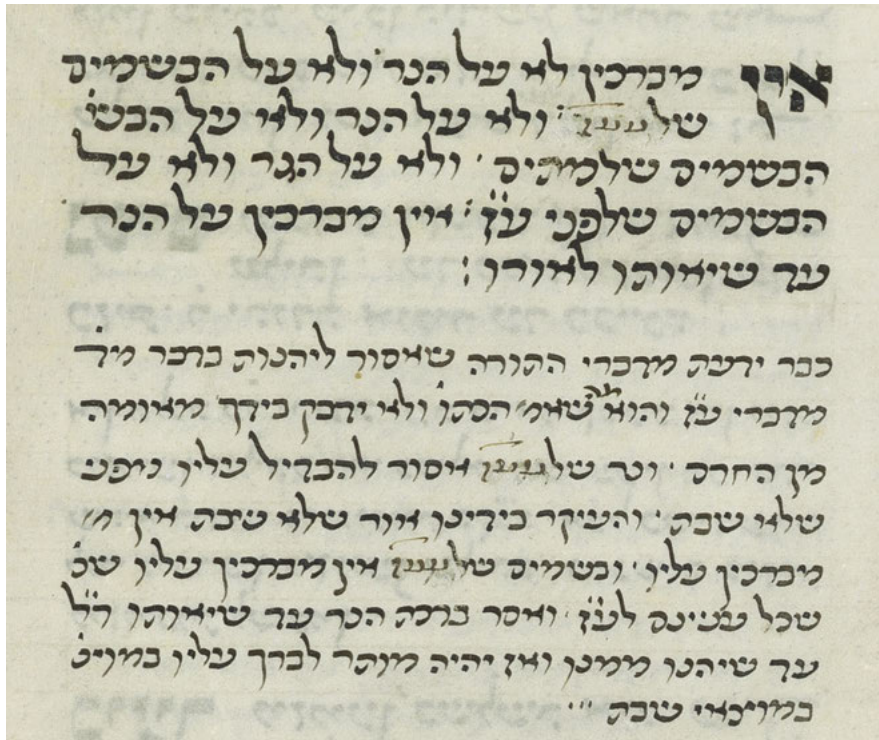


Fig. 3: Hamburg Cod. hebr. 18, fol. 19v<sup>l</sup>, lines 9–22.

### 3.1.2 Fol. 20r<sup>l</sup>, lines 1–10: *Mishna Berakhot* 8:8, Maimonides' commentary

ומצאו להם בהר ההוא דמות יונה | וידעו שהם עובדים ע"ז ואז החזיקום בחזקת {גוים} {עע"ז} | גמורים לכל דבריהם: וכל מה שתמצא במשנה מן | הדברים בעניין הכותים אשר תבין מהם שהכותים | נכבדים מן {הגוים} {מעע"ז} ופחותין מישראל כמו שאמרו | מזמנין עם הכותי. וכותי המברך וזולתו. לא אמרו | זה אלא קודם שחקרו עליהם. אבל מעת שחקרו | עליהם ומצאו אשר זכרנו הם פחותין מן {הגוים} {עע"ז} | מאד. ועל כן דע אותו ולא נצטרך לשנות | לך זה העיקר בכל מקום שנוכח כותי:

And (the Sages) found that the Cuthites had the figure of a dove on that mountain<sup>98</sup> and the Sages realised they were worshipping idolatry. Then they were considered to be com-

<sup>98</sup> Babylonian Talmud *Hullin* 6a.

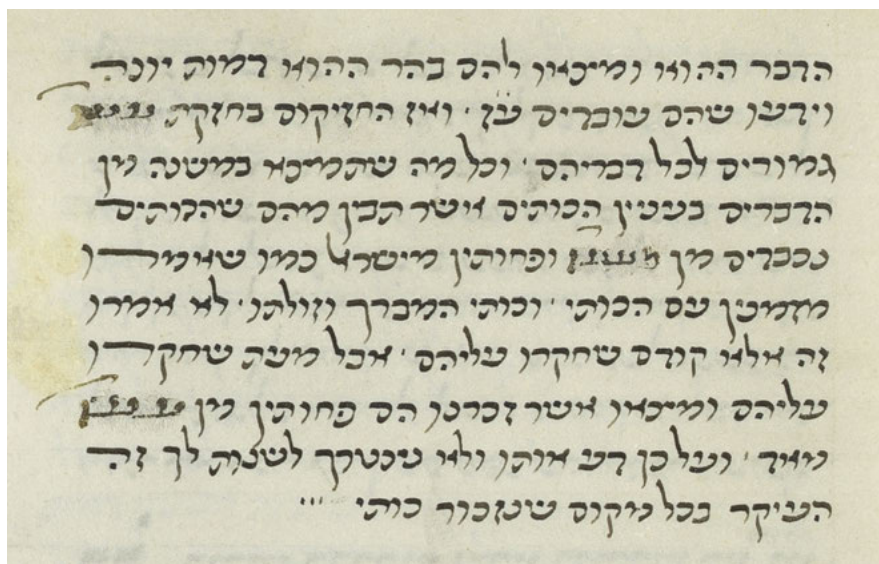


Fig. 4: Hamburg Cod. hebr. 18, fol. 20r<sup>1</sup>, lines 1–10.

plete {heathens}{idolaters} in all respects. Wherever you find in the Mishna an allusion to the Cuthites from which we might infer that Cuthites are more honourable than {heathens} {idolaters} though less than Israelites as we have mentioned ‘a Cuthite may be included for *zimmun*’<sup>99</sup> and, ‘a Cuthite who says a benediction’<sup>100</sup> and the like, such a statement refers to the stage prior to the (Sages’) investigation when they found to be (idolaters), as we have explained; they are much less (honourable) than {heathens}{(other) idolaters}. Therefore, know well, so that it will be necessary to repeat this principle wherever (the name) Cuthite is mentioned.<sup>101</sup>

With the aid of a processed digital reproduction, it is possible to make out the word גוים on fol. 19v, but not on fol. 20v. The reason why the erasure here is so thorough may have to do with the nature of the parchment surface. Based on the available space, we may once again assume this originally read גוים or הגוים. This reading is provided in both the Ms. Kaufmann manuscript and the Soncino (Naples 1492) print, with the traditional printing matching the censor’s interpretation.

In general, the word גוי (‘Gentile’, ‘non-Jew’) was deemed problematic, as this equally applied to Christians, and every passage could thus contain an anti-

<sup>99</sup> Mishna Berakhot 7:1.

<sup>100</sup> Mishna Berakhot 8:8.

<sup>101</sup> This translation is based on Rosner 1975, 219.

Christian sentiment. However, passages from the Halakha were largely exempt, according to the rules of the later *Sefer ha-Ziqquq*.<sup>102</sup> As a result, we find no examples of censorship in other passages in the codex, such as fol. 110v<sup>II</sup> *Mishna Shabbat* 23:4<sup>103</sup>; fol. 126r<sup>II</sup> *Mishna Pesahim* 3:7; fol. 138r<sup>II</sup> *Mishna Sheqalim* 7:6; fol. 152r<sup>I</sup> *Mishna Beša* 3:2; fol. 159v<sup>I</sup> *Mishna Ta'anit* 3:7 etc. In traditional prints, however, the word נכרי ('stranger') can be found in these passages, evidence that there were precautionary changes to the printing to ensure there was no cause for objection, even though technically, according to the rules of the *Sefer ha-Ziqquq*, both נכרי and גוי should have been erased or replaced by עבד זרה ('worshipper of stars and the zodiac').<sup>104</sup>

The term 'idolater', as found in traditional prints of *Mishna Berakhot* 8:6 – when not referring specifically to idolatry in the past – is similarly considered problematic in the general rules and was to be replaced with the word עבד זרה.<sup>105</sup>

Maimonides' commentary on *Mishna Berakhot* 8:8 was presumably decisive for Yiṣḥaq of Arles' intervention, in which he explained the position of the Samaritans in relation to Israel on the one hand and the Gentiles on the other. The Samaritans differ from the Gentiles in being descendants of the Northern Kingdom, and as a result, they were not originally considered Gentiles in all matters, but were more esteemed. However, when the sages found that the Samaritans kept the image of a dove on Mount Gerizim, they were seen to be idolaters and were no longer to be trusted in any matters concerning idolatry. They then commanded even less respect than the Gentiles. Although the discussion revolves around the Samaritans, there remains a form of judgemental ranking of Israel, the Samaritans and the Gentiles. If the Samaritans were now less esteemed than the Gentiles, there remained an implied derogative against the Gentiles. Yiṣḥaq used the substitute term עבד זרה ('idolater'). However, the original point of the commentary, whether the Samaritans should be seen as Gentiles or as part of Israel, is made meaningless by this alteration, given that the word 'Gentile' no longer appears in the text.

<sup>102</sup> Popper 1889, 59, 82; Porges 1903, 286; Raz-Krakovitzkin 2007, 121; Prebor 2008, 53.

<sup>103</sup> Ms. Kaufmann also reads גוי in all the passages with the exception of *Mishna Pesahim* 3:7 (גויס).

<sup>104</sup> 'When the word *goy*, *goyim*, *nokhri*, or *nokhrit* [Gentiles] appears, if it may be understood as implying slander, insult, or vilification of the Gentile, the word should be erased and replaced by *aku'm*. If, however, it deals with any of the laws of the Hebrews, such as the laws of the Sabbath or prohibited foods, or wine touched by a Gentile or such, it is acceptable.' Rule 3 in Raz-Krakovitzkin 2007, 121; cf. Porges 1903, 286; Prebor 2008, 16, 53.

<sup>105</sup> Cf. Popper 1899, 82; Porges 1903, 287; Raz-Krakovitzkin 2007, 121; Prebor 2008, 16.

No passages appear to have been deleted from this manuscript (i.e. blackened out), such as was the norm for Christian censors, which leaves fols 19v/20r the only passage exhibiting evidence of censorship, and that being in the form of a textual correction.

### 3.2 Analysis of the ink in collaboration with Ira Rabin

Ira Rabin from the Centre for the Study of Manuscript Cultures carried out an analysis of the ink (see Appendix) on the following areas: from the main text and the note by Yiṣḥaq of Arles on fol. 2r,<sup>106</sup> from the corrections on fol. 19v and fol. 20r,<sup>107</sup> and from Laurentius Franguellus' signature on fol. 237r.<sup>108</sup> According to Ira Rabin's analysis, there were three different inks used:

The corrections on the pages fol. 19v and fol. 20r and the signature from the page fol. 2r are conducted in the same ink, which is different from the main ink. Laurentius (fol. 237r) is conducted in a different ink. It should be pointed out though that the corrections, the signature of Yiṣḥaq of Arles and Laurentius' signature all contain nickel. This is an indication that the inks probably come from the same location.<sup>109</sup>

This confirms our assumption that the censorship of the one passage in this codex was carried out by Yiṣḥaq of Arles. On the other hand, Laurentius Franguellus, who 'reviewed' the manuscript (*revisus per me*), did not delete anything from the text.

The nickel content of the inks used by Yiṣḥaq and Laurentius Franguellus indicate that they came from the same location, which corresponds to their activities in Ferrara. Whether or not the two of them were there at the same time cannot be determined from the results of the ink analysis.

The ink used by the scribe differs from these two inks, containing no nickel but showing a great similarity to that used in writing Codex hebraicus 53, in whose production the same scribe participated six years earlier.

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**106** See Fig. 1.

**107** See Figs 3 and 4.

**108** See Fig. 2.

**109** Rabin 2015, *Ink analysis, Hamburg Cod. hebr. 18 and Cod. hebr. 53*; see diagram 2 in the appendix.



## 4 Hamburg State and University Library, Codex hebraicus 53

According to the colophon (fol. 198v), this multiple-text manuscript was also written by Yeḡuti'el ben Yeḡi'el in 1410, probably in Perugia. However, only fols 122r–198v were written by him personally, fols 2r–121v and fols 200r–241v being produced by a different scribe.<sup>110</sup> The codex contains Menaḥem Recanati's commentary on the Tora and Prayers as well as some short excerpts from the *Zohar* on fol. 199. This folio differs from the rest of the manuscript both in the handwriting and the ink used. The client, Yehoshua' ben Binyamin, sold the codex to 'Immanu'el ben Dani'el later (fol. 1r). His name is emphasised on numerous pages by three dots on the initial letters of lines,<sup>111</sup> while a number of different notes and texts by him can be found elsewhere, for example on fols 1r–2r, 198v and 215r–216r.

As with Cod. hebr. 18, Yiṣṣaq of Arles' notation is to be found at the beginning of the manuscript on fol. 1r (Fig. 5). However, below מארלי we also find the word מוֹקָק written in another ink and smaller letters, added as an explanation to make it clear that מְתוּקָק is not to be understood simply in the sense of 'corrected' or 'improved' but indeed as an act of censorship.

Words in this codex have been crossed out by a censor, however the name of a Christian censor is missing from the end of the manuscript. Presumably this was written on one of the final folios, cut out before the rear flyleaf. It is also striking how often the word עיין appears in the margins or between the columns, emphasised through ornamentation.

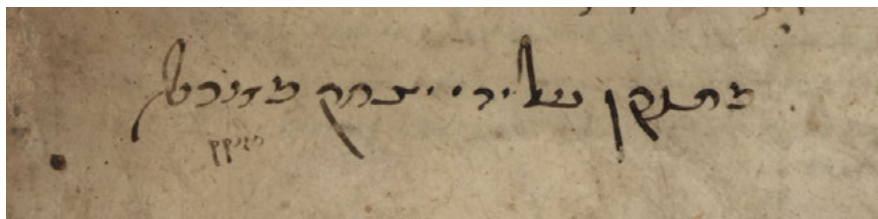


Fig. 5: Hamburg Cod. hebr. 53, fol. 1r, top.

<sup>110</sup> See SfarData no. 0G157.

<sup>111</sup> Fols 8r, 9v, 28r, 53v, 61r, 79r, 95v, 97v, 98r, 99r, 101v, 106v, 107r, 111r (2×), 121v, 124v (2×), 125r, 134v, 166v, 193r, 196v, 211v.

## 4.1 Yiṣḥaq of Arles' corrections

As in Cod. hebr. 18, passages can be found where the existing text was erased and a correction supplemented either over the top of the erasure or in the margin next to the respective column. Some sections can clearly be traced back to Yiṣḥaq of Arles, particularly on the basis of the shape of the *'ayin*, however given that no longer passage of text in his hand exists, not all of his letterforms are known to us, and therefore many passages cannot be positively identified without further evidence. His method differed from the way Christian censors crossed out individual words or passages, as was standard practice in most censored codices, and this manuscript is no different, as seen for example on fol. 125<sup>v</sup>. The sections which can be attributed to Yiṣḥaq of Arles' actions are detailed below. In addition to his alterations to the text, we of course find the usual textual corrections.

A number of manuscripts have survived containing Recanati's commentary on the Tora, of which many were censored or bear the mark of a censor. These include codex Ms. Canonici Or. 85<sup>112</sup> in the Bodleian Library in Oxford (hereafter Ms. Oxford 85), which was censored by Domenico Gerosolimitano in 1597 (fol. 199r) and Giovanni Domenico Carretto in 1617, and the codex Parma Biblioteca Palatina Cod. Parm. 3538<sup>113</sup> (hereafter Ms. Parma 3538), which exhibits the deletions of a censor. Both are accessible on the internet and are used by way of comparison to examine to what extent the corrections made by Yiṣḥaq of Arles corresponded to the changes made by other censors. The *Sefer ha-Ziqquq* is also considered here, even though this compilation must be dated later than Yiṣḥaq's period of activity. We refer to the general rules of censorship<sup>114</sup> and the list of passages to be censored in Recanati's *Perush*.<sup>115</sup>

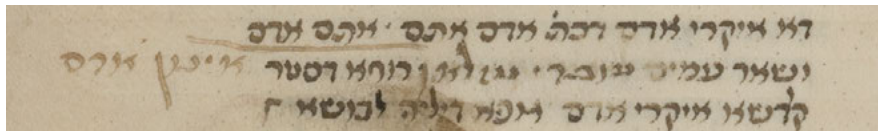
Giving the relevant folio and lines of the Hamburg manuscript, I have included a reference to the modern edition by Amnon Gros.

<sup>112</sup> <http://digital.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/inquire/p/9f3afa6e-bb0b-4dd4-a14f-dcb7e719cb6c>, viewed on 27 Mar 2017; Neubauer 1886, 563, no. 1611; IMHM no. F 17189.

<sup>113</sup> [http://web.nli.org.il/sites/nli/english/digitallibrary/pages/viewer.aspx?presentorid=MANUSCRIPTS&docid=PNX\\_MANUSCRIPTS000067529-1](http://web.nli.org.il/sites/nli/english/digitallibrary/pages/viewer.aspx?presentorid=MANUSCRIPTS&docid=PNX_MANUSCRIPTS000067529-1), viewed on 27 Mar 2017; IMHM no. F 14045, MSS-D 6047.

<sup>114</sup> Prebor 2008, 53f. Also cf. Popper 1899, 82f.; Porges 1903, 286–288; Raz-Krakovitzkin 2007, 121–123.

<sup>115</sup> Prebor 2008, 215f.

4.1.1 Fol. 12r<sup>ll</sup>, lines 3–5 (ed. Gros בראשית, p. 54)Fig. 6: Hamburg Cod. hebr. 53, fol. 12r<sup>ll</sup>, lines 3–5.

דכת' אדם אדם. אתם אדם | ושאר עמים (לאו אינון אדם) {עובדי ע"ז לאו} + {אינון אדם}

Before the correction, the text read as follows:

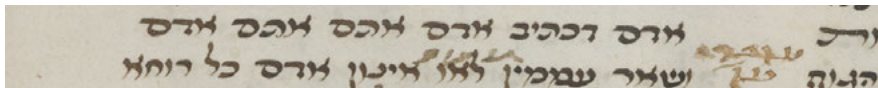
As it is written: 'You are "Adam".' (Ezekiel 34:31). You are 'Adam' and the other nations are not 'Adam'.

After the correction, the text reads:

As it is written: 'You are "Adam".' (Ezekiel 34:31). You are 'Adam' and the other nations. The idolaters (however) not, they are not 'Adam'.

Because it was written over, the erased text is difficult to decipher now. However, the exaggerated length of the *lamed* is still recognisable. אדם can mean both 'Adam' and 'person'. The Jews can be equated to 'Adam', but the nations of the world cannot, as they do not possess the same kind of soul.<sup>116</sup> The dividing line drawn between Israel and the other nations is rescinded by this correction. Instead, the contrast is drawn between Israel and the other nations on the one hand and the idolaters on the other.

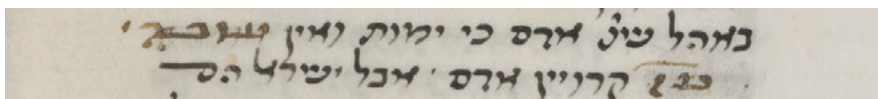
<sup>116</sup> See Scholem 1961, 281f.; Wolfson 2006, 42–47 about this part: 'Jews alone possess the human soul (*nefesh adam*) in its ideal or pristine sense and hence they are differentiated ontologically from other nations.' (43); Ogren 2009, 79f.

4.1.2 Fol. 112v<sup>l</sup>, lines 20–21 (ed. Gros שמיני, p. 46)Fig. 7: Hamburg Cod. hebr. 53, fol. 112v<sup>l</sup>, lines 20–21.

אדם דכתיב אדם אתם אדם אתם אדם | ושאר עממין {ע"ז} {עובדי ע"ז} לאו אינון אדם

'Adam' is written. You are 'Adam' and the rest of the nations. The {idolaters} {the idolaters} they are not 'Adam'.

The abbreviation ע"ז ('idolaters') added above the line is repeated in the margin to the right of the column. With this addition, the text is altered corresponding to the passage on fol. 12r. Similar additions are found in Ms. Oxford 85 on fol. 11v (עובדי ע"ז) as a marginal note [to *parasha* בראשית] and on 120r (עכ"ז) as an interlinear note [to *parasha* שמיני]. In Ms. Parma 3538, the text on fol. 117r (to *parasha* שמיני) following אדם was blacked out; the passage to בראשית, on the other hand, is not present.<sup>117</sup> This passage respectively interpretation is also objected to in the *Sefer ha-Ziqquq*.<sup>118</sup>

4.1.3 Fol. 158v<sup>l</sup>, lines 22–23 (ed. Gros חקת, p. 74)Fig. 8: Hamburg Cod. hebr. 53, fol. 158v<sup>l</sup>, lines 22–23.

ואין {אומות} {עובדי} | {העולם} {ע"ז} קרוין אדם

The {nations of the world} {idolaters} are not called 'Adam'.

<sup>117</sup> Unfortunately, the codex is incomplete. Apart from that, it has been rebound incorrectly. The beginning of it is missing and the correct order of the leaves should be fols 17–24, gap, fols 2–10, fols 25–33, gap, fol. 1, fols 95–114, fols 34–56, fols 58–94, fols 115–134, gap, fol. 57 and fols 11–16 (ends with the *parasha* נשא).

<sup>118</sup> Prebor 2008, 215.

The interpretation of Ezekiel 34:31 from fols 12v and 112v can be found here again with the same correction made and אומות העולם replaced with עובדי ע"ז.

There is no alteration of this passage on fol. 162r in Ms. Oxford 85, while this text is missing from Ms. Parma 3538. In the *Sefer ha-Ziqquq* this passage is marked as one to be erased.<sup>119</sup>

#### 4.1.4 Fol. 158v<sup>II</sup>, lines 17–34 (ed. Gros חקת, p. 74)

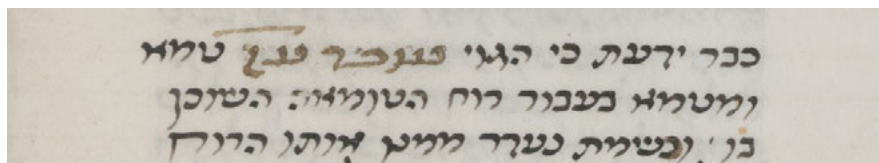


Fig. 9: Hamburg Cod. hebr. 53, fol. 158v<sup>II</sup>, lines 17–19.

כבר ידעת כי הגוי (בעוֹדוֹ בְּחַיִּים) {עובד ע"ז} טמא | ומטמא בעבור רוח הטומאה השוכן בו.

You have already recognised that (while he lives,) a Gentile {who practises idolatry} is impure. He pollutes through the spirit of impurity that resides within him.

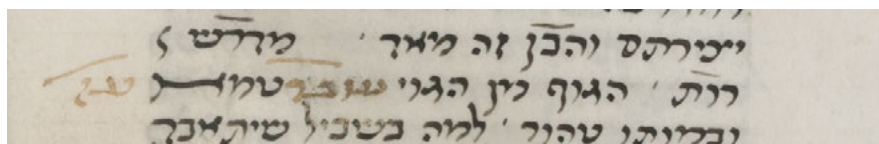


Fig. 10: Hamburg Cod. hebr. 53, fol. 158v<sup>II</sup>, lines 32–34.

הגוף מן הגוי (בחייו) {עובד ע"ז}<sup>120</sup> טמא | ובמותו טהור

The body of the Gentile, (while he lives){who practises idolatry}, is impure, and with his death he is pure.

The declaration regarding the impurity of non-Jews, which complicated contact with Jews and promoted the separation of Jews and non-Jews, is now restricted through the addition of 'who practises idolatry'. This amendment means that not

<sup>119</sup> Prebor 2008, 216.

<sup>120</sup> The abbreviation is in the left-hand margin.

all Gentiles are implied, only those who practise idolatry. Yiṣḥaq of Arles obviously sees a form of disparagement in the impurity of the Gentile.

There are no alterations to the text on fol. 162r<sup>II</sup> of Ms. Oxford 85 regarding the impurity of nations, while the text is not present in Ms. Parma 3538. This entire passage is objected to in the *Sefer ha-Ziqquq*.<sup>121</sup>

#### 4.1.5 Fol. 123v<sup>II</sup>, lines 6–9 from the bottom (ed. Gros קדושים, p. 96)

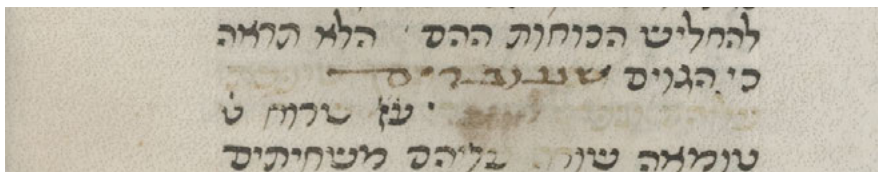


Fig. 11: Hamburg Cod. hebr. 53, fol. 123v<sup>II</sup>, lines 6–9 from the bottom.

הלא תראה | כי (הגוים אשר מדת הדין שופעת) {שעובדים} | (עליהם ובפרט לכוזר). עז שרוח ט' | טומאה שורה עליהם

Do you not see that the nations on whom the divine attribute of justice flows, in particular on the priest of idol worship, above whom a spirit of impurity hovers.

The corrected text reads:

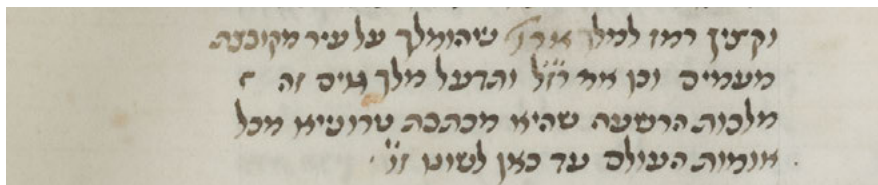
Do you not see that they who practise idolatry, that a spirit of impurity hovers over them.

As the erased text has not been completely overwritten, some parts are still easily readable.

Fol. 131v<sup>II</sup> in Ms. Oxford 85 was not censored. The entire passage from הלא תראה has been blacked out on fol. 127r in Ms. Parma 3538, just as it has been listed to be erased in the *Sefer ha-Ziqquq*.<sup>122</sup>

<sup>121</sup> Prebor 2008, 215.

<sup>122</sup> Prebor 2008, 216.

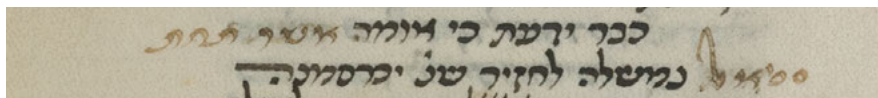
4.1.6 fol. 37r<sup>ll</sup>, lines 17–20 (ed. Gros לך לך, p. 187f.)Fig. 12: Hamburg Cod. hebr. 53, fol. 37r<sup>ll</sup>, lines 17–20.

רמו למלך (רומי)<sup>123</sup> {אדום} שהומלך על עיר מקובצת | מעמים וכן אמר ר' זיל ותדעל מלך גוים זה | מלכות הרשעה שהיו מכתבת טרוניא מכל | אומות העולם עד כאן לשוננו ז"ל.

This points to the king of (Rome) {Edom}, who was appointed as king over the city where the nations are gathered. And so said our teachers – may they be blessed – ‘and of Tidal, king of nations’ (Genesis 14:1) – that is the wicked government ...

The word ‘Rome’, one of the problematic terms, is replaced here by ‘Edom’, which itself however is objected to in the general rules of the *Sefer ha-Ziqquq*, since it generally refers to ‘Rome’.<sup>124</sup>

On fol. 38r<sup>l</sup> of Ms. Oxford 85, the two words רומי and הרשעה have been erased; it is still possible to make out remnants of the letters, though.<sup>125</sup> The word רומי has been struck through on fol. 101r<sup>l</sup> of Parma 3538, and the following הרשעה after מלכות erased. The following words העולם were similarly blacked out. This passage is also objected to in the *Sefer ha-Ziqquq*.<sup>126</sup>

4.1.7 Fol. 162r<sup>ll</sup>, lines 9–10 from the bottom (ed. Gros בלק, p. 88).Fig. 13: Hamburg Cod. hebr. 53, fol. 162r<sup>ll</sup>, lines 9–10 from the bottom.

<sup>123</sup> The word is not discernable anymore, but is in this form included in the edition by Gros.

<sup>124</sup> Popper 1899, 59; Porges 1903, 287; Raz-Krakotzkin 2007, 122; Prebor 2008, 16–9, 54.

<sup>125</sup> The whole paragraph itself is marked by a pointer in the left-hand margin, and to the right of the column there is a brief note at the end: עד כאן (‘up to here’).

<sup>126</sup> Prebor 2008, 215.

כבר ידעת כי אומה {הרשעה} אשר תחת | {הזאת} {סמאל} נמשלה לחזיר שני יכרסמנה

You already know that {this wicked} nation {under (the reign) of Sama'el} is comparable to a pig, as it is said: '(the boar from the forest) ravages it' (Psalm 80:14).

The phrase *הזאת הרשעה* ('this wicked nation') refers to Rome, which is why the word 'wicked' has been struck out and replaced by *אשר תחת סמאל* ('under [the reign] of Sama'el'). However, since Sama'el is associated with the devil or Satan, the wording has hardly been softened, but it no longer refers directly to Rome.

There are no acts of censorship at this point on fol. 165r in Ms. Oxford 85; the text is not included in Ms. Parma 3538. This passage and its overall context is objected to in the *Sefer ha-Ziqquq*.<sup>127</sup>

#### 4.1.8 Fol. 58r<sup>ll</sup>, lines 11–16 (ed. Gros ויישב, p. 302).

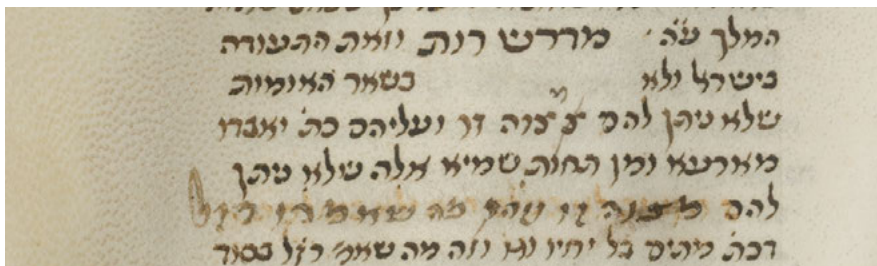


Fig. 14: Hamburg Cod. hebr. 53, fol. 58r<sup>ll</sup>, lines 11–16.

וזאת התעודה | בישראל ולא בשאר האומות | שלא ניתן להם [צ] (מ)צוה זו ועליהם כת' יאבדו | מארעא ומן תחת  
שמיא אלה שלא ניתן | להם (תקומה לא בעולם הזה ולא בעולם הבא)<sup>128</sup> {מצוה זו וזה} [?] מה שאמרו רז"ל | דכת' מתים  
בל יחיו וגו' וזה מה שאמ' רז"ל בסוד'

And this is the testimony in Israel and not among other nations, for this commandment is not given to them. And about them is written: 'They must perish from the earth and from under the heavens' (Jeremiah 10:11). For it is not given to them (to exist, neither in this world nor in the world to come), as it is written: 'The dead will not live etc.' (Isaiah 26:14). And this is what our teachers – may they be blessed – said ...

<sup>127</sup> Prebor 2008, 216.

<sup>128</sup> Parts of the erased text are still discernable.



The censored passage reads:

And this is the testimony in Israel and not among other nations, for this commandment is not given to them. And about them is written: 'They must perish from the earth and from under the heavens' (Jeremiah 10:11), for {this commandment} is not given to them, {and this is what our teachers – may they be blessed – said,} as it is written: 'The dead will not live etc.' (Isaiah 26:14). And this is what our teachers – may they be blessed – said ...

In place of the erasure which states that the nations of the world will not endure in this world nor in the next, Yiṣḥaq of Arles adds מצוה זו, and fills the space available with four words from the following lines, producing a nonsensical doubling of the text. The passage deals with the commandment of levirate marriage, which is ascribed great significance in the context of the transmigration of souls.<sup>129</sup>

There is no censorship of fol. 62v<sup>1</sup> in Ms. Oxford 85. On fol. 42v of Ms. Parma 3538 the entire text from ... בל יחיו וגו' has been blacked out. Only the ascenders and descenders of the letters are visible. This passage is also listed in the *Sefer ha-Ziqquq*.<sup>130</sup>

#### 4.1.9 Fol. 120r<sup>1</sup>, lines 7–13 (ed. Gros אחריו מות, p. 77)

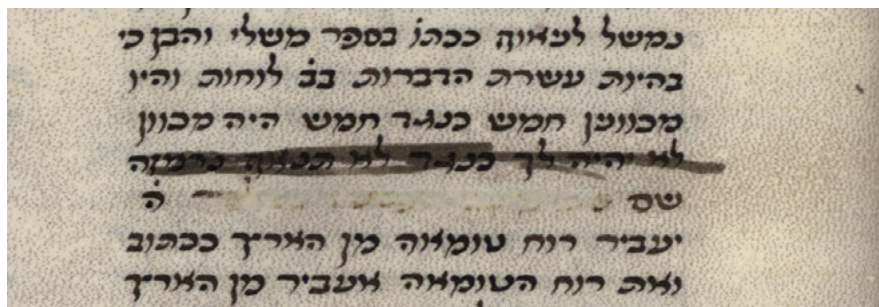


Fig. 15: Hamburg Cod. hebr. 53, fol. 120r<sup>1</sup>, lines 7–13.

והבן כי | בהיות עשרת הדברות בב' לוחות והיו | מכוונין חמש כנגד חמש היה מכוון | (לא יהיה לך כנגד לא תנאף  
נרמזה) | שם (האמונה בעולם)<sup>131</sup> ה' יעביר רוח טומאה מן הארץ ככתוב | ואת רוח הטומאה אעביר מן הארץ

<sup>129</sup> Cf. Ogren 2009, 67f., 183.

<sup>130</sup> Prebor 2008, 215.

<sup>131</sup> In Gros's edition, it also says רעה after אמונה.

It is possible to decipher the erased text with the aid of a multi-spectral image: האמונה שפשטה בעולם ('the faith that spread throughout the world').<sup>132</sup> The full text reads as follows:

And know that when the Decalogue stood on the two tablets, there were five on (each tablet) and there stood ('Thou shalt have no (other gods before me)' (Exodus 20:3) opposite 'Thou shalt not commit adultery' (Exodus 20:14)<sup>133</sup>. This is a reference) (the faith that has spread throughout the world) – may the Lord cause the unclean spirit to pass, as it is written: 'and (also) I will cause (the prophets) and the unclean spirit to pass out of the land' (Zechariah 13:2).

The words in line 11 (the faith that has spread throughout the world) refer to the Christian faith which embraces the doctrine of the Trinity and therefore represents a violation of the second commandment from a Jewish perspective. These words are neatly erased such that the subsequent appeal for the unclean spirit to pass now pertains to the prohibition of adultery and not to the faith that has spread.

By contrast, line 10 ('Thou shalt have no other gods before me' opposite 'Thou shalt not commit adultery'. This is a reference) has been crossed out. While additions can often be ascribed to a specific hand, erasures do not provide any clues as to who made them. Since it is unlikely for a censor to have made a strike-through and an intricate erasure within the same passage, however, we can assume that it was the censor who deleted the juxtaposition of the two commandments – and also blacked out some words in other passages – but Yişhaq of Arles who made the erasure since we know that he also made other erasures and corrections in the text.

According to rabbinic tradition, the Ten Commandments were divided between the two tablets with five on each tablet. This means that in the rabbinic version, the second commandment 'Thou shalt have no other gods before me' (Exodus 20:3) stood opposite the seventh commandment 'Thou shalt not commit adultery' (Exodus 20:14). The division of the Decalogue in Exodus 20 into ten distinct commandments and the numbering of the commandments is disputed in Judaism and Christianity. The division into two groups of five, which is the division assumed here, and the arrangement and numbering of the second and seventh commandments do not comply with the teachings of the Catholic Church.<sup>134</sup>

<sup>132</sup> Reeg 2014c, 71.

<sup>133</sup> Compare *Mekhilta de-Rabbi Yishma'el, ba-hodesh* 8 (ed. Horovitz/Rabin 1930, 233.)

<sup>134</sup> Regarding the division of the Decalogue, see Reicke 1973.

In Ms. Oxford 85, only the words האמונה שפשטה בעולם are blacked out on fol. 127v/128r. The words שם האמונה שפשטה בעולם are deleted on fol. 124r of Ms. Parma 3538, as are the words which come after מן הארץ. This passage is contested twice in the *Sefer ha-Ziqquq* – once at the beginning in a list of general passages added by Domenico Gerosolimitano,<sup>135</sup> and again in the list of problematic passages which was taken from Recanati's *Perush*.<sup>136</sup>

#### 4.1.10 Fol. 154r<sup>l</sup>, lines 14–16 (ed. Gros שלח, p. 55)

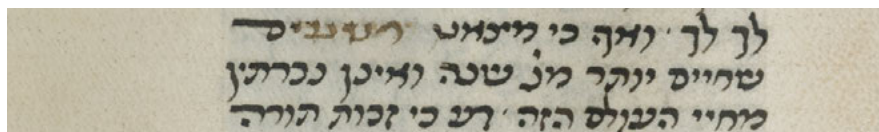


Fig. 16: Hamburg Cod. hebr. 53, fol. 154r<sup>l</sup>, lines 14–16.

ואף כי מצאנו (משומד) {רשע} ים | שחיים יותר מן שנה ואינן נכרתין | מחיי העולם הזה.

Even if we find (apostates) {wicked} who have lived longer than 50 years and have not yet been eradicated from life in this world.

The general rules set out in the *Sefer ha-Ziqquq* contest the word משומד, calling for it to be replaced by the term עכרם ('venerator/worshipper of stars and the zodiac').<sup>137</sup>

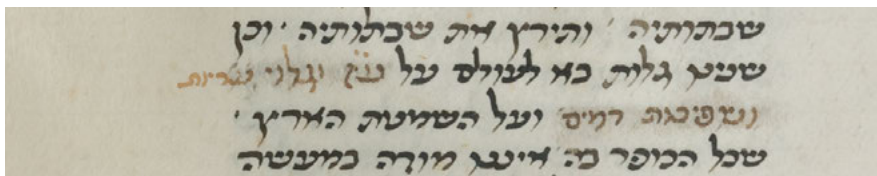
Fol. 158r<sup>l</sup> in Ms. Oxford 85 was not censored. The text is not included in Ms. Parma 3538. However, the section containing this passage is listed in the *Sefer ha-Ziqquq*.<sup>138</sup>

<sup>135</sup> בריקנטי פ' אחרי מות בפסוק ענין המולך חרוף גדול נגד אדונינו ואמו הקדושה באמרו ש' הדברות דבור לא יהיה לך ('In Recanati's *parasha* מות אחרי in the section about the matter with the Moloch, [there is] great blasphemy against our Lord and against His Holy Mother with the proclamation about the Decalogue "Thou shalt have no other gods before me" opposite "Thou shalt not commit adultery"'); see Prebor 2008, 31.

<sup>136</sup> Prebor 2008, 215.

<sup>137</sup> See Popper 1899, 83; Porges 1903, 287; Raz-Krakotzkin 2007, 121f.; Prebor 2008, 53.

<sup>138</sup> Prebor 2008, 215.

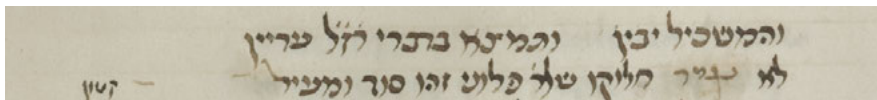
4.1.11 fol. 133r<sup>l</sup>, lines 11 – 12 from bottom (ed. Gros ביהר סיני, p. 134)Fig. 17: Hamburg Cod. hebr. 53, fol. 133r<sup>l</sup>, lines 11–12 from bottom.

וכן | שנינו גלות בא לעולם על {ע"ז וגלוי עריות | ושפיכות דמים}

We learned: exile comes upon the world because of {idolatry, incest and the shedding of blood}.

The corrected text mirrors the text of *Mishna Avot* 5:9. It is impossible to decipher the part which is erased. The same passage in Gros's edition reads as follows: עיניי | שנינו גלות בא לעולם על {ע"ז וגלוי עריות | ושפיכות דמים} ועל עיוות הדין | ועל השמעת הארץ ('because of the delaying of justice and the perverting of justice'), a quote from *Mishna Avot* 5:8: 'The sword comes upon the world because of the delaying of justice and the perverting of justice ...'. The latter could be interpreted as an accusation against the (Christian) courts and the Christian authorities, in which case it would be 'anti-Christian'<sup>139</sup> and therefore a passage to be contested. However, it could also be seen as a 'normal' correction – an amendment to the text of the *Mishna*. The shape of the 'ayin suggests the hand of Yiṣḥaq of Arles. There has been no ink analysis carried out on this section.

There is no evidence of any corrections or censorship measures on fol. 140r<sup>ll</sup> of Ms. Oxford 85 or on fol. 133v of Ms. Parma 3538. The passage is not mentioned in the *Sefer ha-Ziqquq*.

4.1.12 fol. 41r<sup>l</sup>, lines 1–2 (ed. Gros וירא, p. 208)Fig. 18: Hamburg Cod. hebr. 53, fol. 41r<sup>l</sup>, lines 1–2.

<sup>139</sup> Cf. Porges 1903, 288; Raz-Krakovitzkin 2007, 123.

עדיין | לא (נשלם) {נגמר} חלוקו שלר' פלוני זהו סוד

Rabbi NN's robe is still not {completely} {finished}. This is a secret.

It is not possible to read the erased word. The נשלם inserted at this point is found in Gros's edition. The handwriting cannot be definitively ascribed to Yiṣḥaq of Arles. In terms of the content, censorship measures do not appear necessary. The text was not corrected on fol. 42v<sup>1</sup> of Ms. Oxford 85 or on fol. 105v of Ms. Parma 3538. The passage is not mentioned in the *Sefer ha-Ziqquq*.

#### 4.1.13 Fol. 184v<sup>11</sup>, lines 6–10 (ed. Gros שופטים, p. 74)

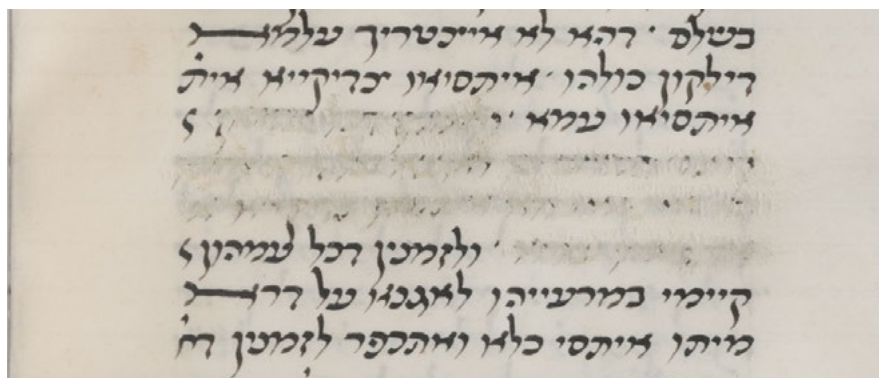


Fig. 19: Hamburg Cod. hebr. 53, fol. 184v<sup>11</sup>, lines 5–12.

The erasure made after איתסיו | איתסיו עמא cannot be ascribed to a specific hand. With a few variations, the text is the same as the text on fol. 186v<sup>1</sup> of Ms. Oxford 85 and in Gros's edition. The text does not appear in Ms. Parma 3538. It is almost certainly a correction to the Aramaic text rather than an act of censorship.

#### 4.1.14 Conclusion

The corrections by Yiṣḥaq of Arles concern passages which are deemed 'anti-Christian'.<sup>140</sup> Some of these passages feature the words גוי ('Gentile'), אומה ('nation') or עם ('nation'), which are all amended such that they refer to עובדי זרה

<sup>140</sup> Prebor 2008, 16.

(‘idolaters’) – a term which is also contestable in certain contexts according to the rules in the *Sefer ha-Ziqquq* and should be replaced by עֲבוֹדָם (‘worshipper of stars and the zodiac’). They include passages referring to Rome, Edom and the Christian faith in general or they contain the term מְשֻׁמֵּד (‘apostate’), which sometimes refers to baptised Jews.<sup>141</sup> Not all of the passages amended by Yiṣḥaq of Arles are also corrected in Ms. Oxford 85 and Ms. Parma 3538, the manuscripts taken as the basis for comparison. The Oxford manuscript does show interventions by the censor in four instances (the first, second, sixth and ninth); equally, there are six instances which show no traces of censorship. Five instances in Ms. Parma 3538 have been censored (the second, fifth, sixth, eighth and ninth), while the text is not included in the other five instances. All instances are listed in the *Sefer ha-Ziqquq*. Instances 11 and 12 have not been included here, since it is not clear whether they really do represent acts of censorship.

## 4.2 Deletions by the censor

The method applied by the censor, who was presumably Christian, is considerably different from that of Yiṣḥaq of Arles. While the latter corrected the text, the censor blacked out the words or passages he objected to with thick strokes of the pen and without any consideration of whether the text remained intelligible. Consequently, only the words that were blacked out are usually listed. Although the reasons for the censorship measures are obvious in some places, they are not immediately apparent in others.

### 4.2.1 Fol.9r<sup>l</sup>, last line (ed. Gros בראשית, p. 39)

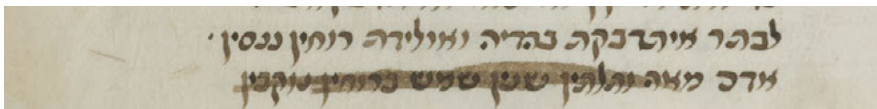


Fig. 20: Hamburg Cod. hebr. 53, fol. 9r<sup>l</sup>, last two lines.

אדם (מאה ותלתין שנים שמש ברוחין נוקבין)

<sup>141</sup> Popper 1899, 82–83; Porges 1903, 286–288; Raz-Krakotzkin 2007, 121–123.

Adam (for 130 years had intercourse with female spirits)

This passage was censored on fol. 8v of Ms. Oxford 85, but not on fol. 23r of Ms. Parma 3538. It is not mentioned in the *Sefer ha-Ziqquq*.

#### 4.2.2 Fol. 20v<sup>1</sup>, lines 7–9 from bottom (ed. Gros בראשית, p. 101)

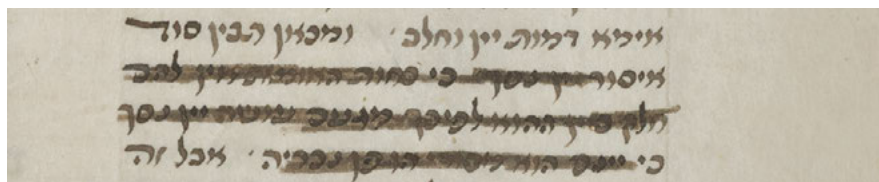


Fig. 21: Hamburg Cod. hebr. 53, fol. 20v<sup>1</sup>, lines 7–9 from bottom.

... ומכאן תבין סוד | אי(סור יין נסך כי כחות האומות אין להם | חלק ביין ההוא לפיכך מגעם עושה יין נסך) | כי (ייןם  
הוא מסורי הגפן נכר)יה

From here you understand the secret of the pro(hibition of the libation wine, for the powers of the nations have no share in that wine. Therefore – he who sweetens the wine<sup>142</sup> turns it into libation wine.) For (‘it originates from the corrupt, foreign vine’.<sup>143</sup>)

The above passage may refer to the wine for the Eucharist. In this case this passages is a vilification, when it is argued that the sacramental wine is obtained from a ‘corrupt, foreign vine’.

There are censor marks in this passage, both in Ms. Oxford 85 (fol. 20r) and in Ms. Parma (fol. 9v). It is also noted in the *Sefer ha-Ziqquq*.<sup>144</sup>

#### 4.2.3 Fol. 23v<sup>1</sup> right, lines 19, 26–31 (ed. Gros בראשית, p. 118)

Line 19: (גלות השכינה) (‘The exile of the Shekhinah’)

<sup>142</sup> Read מגעם instead of מנעם.

<sup>143</sup> Cf. Jeremiah 2:21

<sup>144</sup> Prebor 2008, 215.

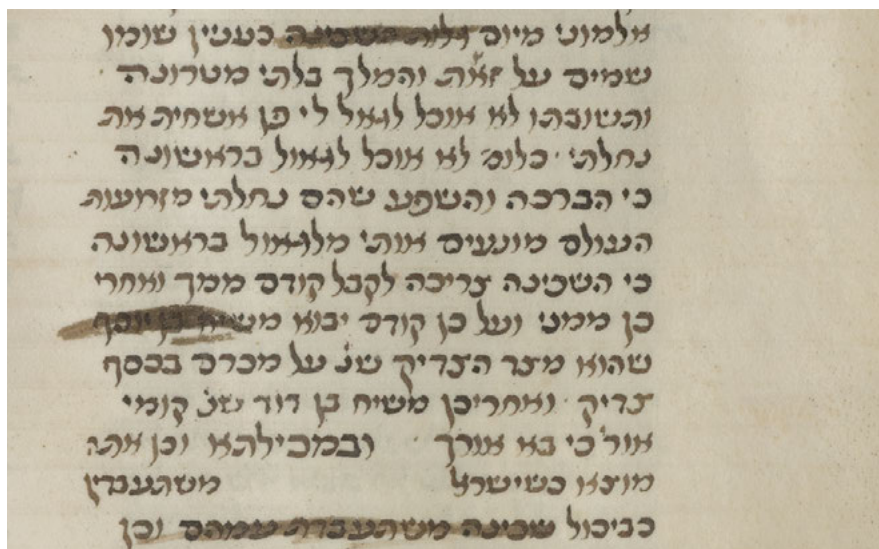


Fig. 22: Hamburg Cod. hebr. 53, fol. 23v, lines 19–31.

Lines 26–29:

ועל כן קודם יבוא משיח בן יוסף | שהוא מצד הצדיק שני על מכרם בכסף | צדיק. ואחריכן משיח בן דוד שני קומי |  
אורי' כי בא אורח. ובמכילתא וכן אתה | מוצא כשישראל משתעבדין | כביכול (שכינה משתעבדת עמהם) וכן | הוא אומ'  
אשר פדית לך ממצרים גוי | ואלהיו.

(Messiah ben Joseph) must therefore come first, he who is from the side of the righteous, as it is said: 'because they sold the righteous for silver, and the poor for a pair of shoes' (Amos 2:6). And thereafter Messiah ben David, as it is said: 'Arise, shine; for thy light is come, and the glory of the LORD is risen upon thee' (Isaiah 60:1) And in the Mekhilta: and so you find that, whenever Israel is enslaved, (the Shekhinah is enslaved with them), so to speak. And so it says: 'which thou redeemedst to thee from Egypt, from the nations and their gods' (2 Samuel 7:23).

The concept of two Messiahs – one the son of David and the other the son of Joseph – contradicts Christian teaching since Jesus is the Messiah, namely Messiah ben David. There cannot be a second one from a Christian viewpoint and this is to be considered heretical.<sup>145</sup> In the *Midrash*, Amos 2 verse 6 is seen to pertain to the selling of Joseph by his brothers.<sup>146</sup>

<sup>145</sup> Cf. Popper 1899, 83.

<sup>146</sup> Cf. *Tanḥuma* נה 5 (13b); *Tanḥuma* (ed. Buber) נה 4 (16a); Reeg 1985, 12\*.



In the *Mekhilta* text – the text of the quote differs from the Horovitz/Rabin edition<sup>147</sup> – the suffering or exile of Israel is linked to the exile of the Jews.<sup>148</sup> Enslavement or degradation of the Jews would therefore also be directed against God and would be a denouncement of the Church's actions against the Jewish people.

This passage was not censored in Oxford Ms. 85 (fol. 23v) or in Ms. Parma 3538 (fol. 27r). It is cited in the *Sefer ha-Ziqquq*, however.<sup>149</sup>

#### 4.2.4 Fol. 58<sup>r</sup> line 3 (ed. Gros וישב , p. 300)



Fig. 23: Hamburg Cod. hebr. 53, fol. 58<sup>r</sup> line 3.

אד(ם דוד משיח במ)ספר

Ad(am, David, Messiah).

‘Adam, David Messiah’ – the first three letters of the three names yield the acronym ‘ADaM’. In the context of the reincarnation these three names resp. this acronym signifies that the soul of Adam will transmigrate into David and afterwards into the Messiah. Hence there may be a hint in this passage to the concept of reincarnation.<sup>150</sup> This passage was not censored on fol. 62r of Ms. Oxford 85 or on fol. 42v of Ms. Parma 3538, nor is it listed in the *Sefer ha-Ziqquq*. However, there is a note entered in a different passage in the *parasha* בראשית requesting that the words ‘Adam, David, Messiah’ be deleted.<sup>151</sup>

<sup>147</sup> MekhY פסחא 14 (ed. Horovitz/Rabin 1930, 52).

<sup>148</sup> See also Porges 1903, 287.

<sup>149</sup> Prebor 2008, 215.

<sup>150</sup> Ogren 2009, 76–77.

<sup>151</sup> Prebor 2008, 215.

4.2.5 Fol. 120<sup>v</sup>, lines 10–11 (ed. Gros אחרי מות, p. 77)

﴿לא יהיה לך כנגד לא תנאף נרמזה﴾

Regarding this passage, see the corrections made by Yiṣḥaq of Arles to instance 4.1.9 on page 417–418.

The passage is not blacked out, neither in Ms. Oxford 85 (fol. 127<sup>v</sup>) nor in Ms. Parma 3538 (fol. 124<sup>r</sup>). However, it is listed in the *Sefer ha-Ziqquq* as requiring deletion.<sup>152</sup>

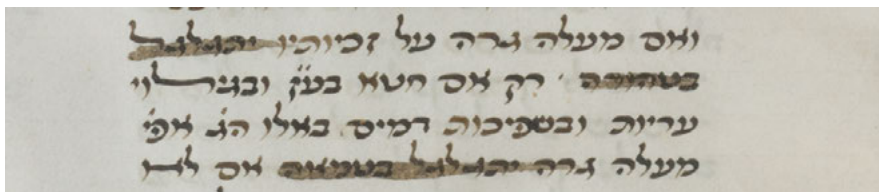
4.2.6 Fol. 113<sup>r</sup>, lines 25–28 (ed. Gros שמיני, p. 47f.)

Fig. 24: Hamburg Cod. hebr. 53, fol. 113<sup>r</sup>, lines 25–28.

﴿יתגלגל | בטהורה﴾ ... ג(רה יתגלגל בטמאה).

He shall be reborn to purity ... He shall be reborn to impurity.

The concept of reincarnation is prevalent in Jewish mysticism and is also found in Recanati's *Perush*. However, it is condemned by the Catholic Church as 'heresy'.<sup>153</sup>

On fol. 120<sup>v</sup> of Ms. Oxford 85, only the word יתגלגל is blacked out both times it occurs, but fol. 117<sup>v</sup> of Ms. Parma 3538 has not been censored. This passage may also be included in the *Sefer ha-Ziqquq* within a longer section.<sup>154</sup>

<sup>152</sup> Prebor 2008, 31, 216.

<sup>153</sup> Prebor 2008, 54. Cf. Scholem 1961, 264–265; Scholem 1974, 344–349.

<sup>154</sup> Prebor 2008, 215.

## 4.2.7 Fol. 125v (ed. Gros קדושים, p. 104f.)

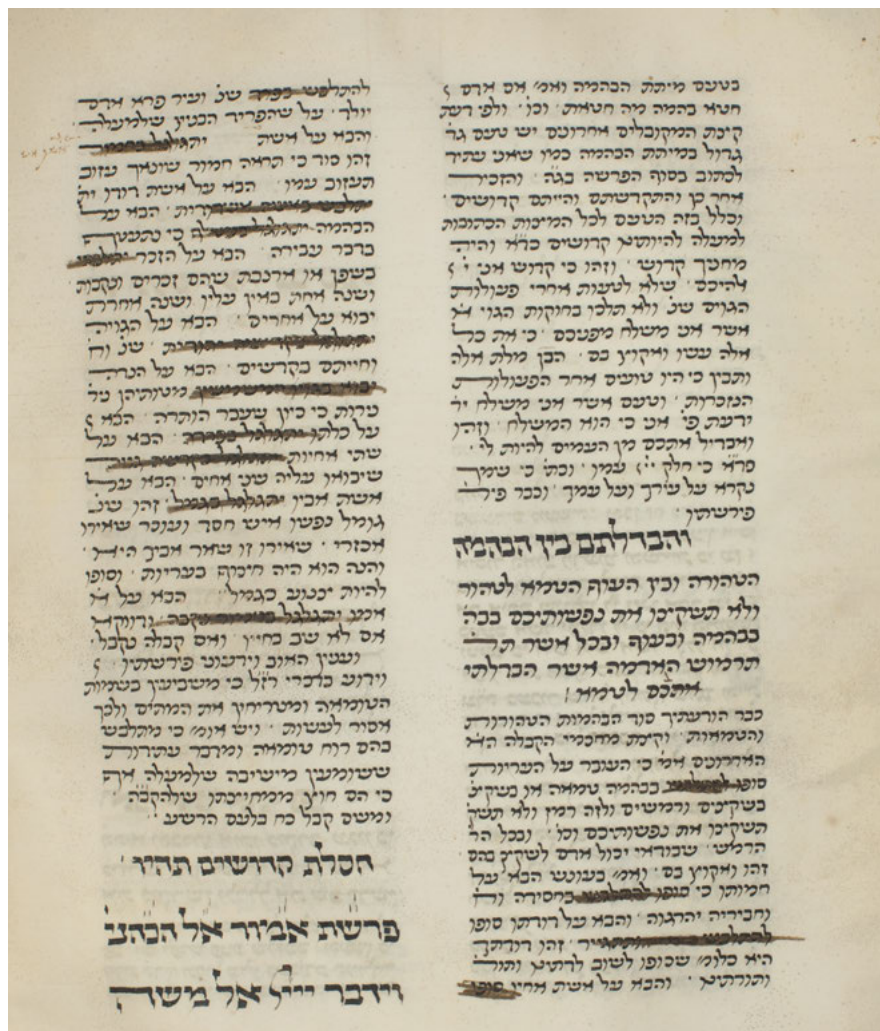


Fig. 25: Hamburg Cod. hebr. 53, fol. 125v.

סו(פו להתלבש) בבהמה ... (סופו להתלבש) ... (להתלבש בגזייה ותתגיי)ר. ... (סופו | להתלבש)בש בפרד) ... ית(גלגל בחמור)  
 ... (יתלבש באשה אשדודית) ... (יתגלגל בעטלף) ... (יתלבש) ... (יתגלגל בקדושה יהודית) ... (יבוא בגזייה המשמשין) ...  
 כלת(ו יתגלגל בפרדה) ... (יתגלגל בקדשה גזייה) ... (יתגלגל בגמל) ... אמ(ו יתגלגל בחמור נקבה).

The whole passage is concerned with the forms of punishment a soul must accept after infringing a commandment relating to sexual conduct and what embodiment the offending person will be reborn in, as in 'Whoever has carnal relations with their uncle's wife will assume the form of an Ashdodite'.<sup>155</sup> All the verbs connected with the transmigration of souls have been blacked out: יתלבש ('he will assume the form of ...') and יתגלגל ('He will be reborn').

There are also a number of deletions in this piece of writing in Ms. Parma 3538, fol. 128v, and Ms. Oxford 85, fol. 133. While the deletions in the Hamburg and Oxford codices correspond almost completely, other passages that are longer than these have been blacked out in the Parma codex. A remark has also been made in the *Sefer ha-Ziqquq* about deleting this passage.<sup>156</sup>

#### 4.2.8 Conclusion

The censor did not alter the text in three of the seven places where the entry occurs in Ms. Oxford 85 (at the third, fourth and fifth instances, to be precise). The deletions in the two manuscripts largely correspond for the four other instances. In Ms. Parma 3538, there are only two places (no. 2 and 7) where the censor intervened. Unlike the corrections that Yişhaq of Arles made, there is one place in this manuscript that is not listed in the *Sefer ha-Ziqquq* (the very first instance). At two points in it (the fourth and sixth instance), it is unclear whether they were included there or not.

Unlike the corrections made by Yişhaq of Arles at points in the manuscript that could be regarded as anti-Christian polemic, the deletions tend to concern individual terms and phrases relating to Catholic teachings and which can therefore be classified as 'heretical'.<sup>157</sup> It seems they were not an issue for Yişhaq of Arles. Three of the seven passages (the fourth, sixth and seventh) are concerned with the notion of the transmigration of souls.

The ink used by the censor does not match the ink that Laurentius Franguellus wrote with, which means he was not the one who made the deletions. Since

<sup>155</sup> Cf. Scholem, 1961, 243. On reincarnation in the early Italian Kabbala, see Ogren 2009.

<sup>156</sup> Prebor 2008, 54, 216.

<sup>157</sup> Prebor 2008, 18f.

it does not contain any nickel,<sup>158</sup> there is no reason to suppose that Yiṣḥaq of Arles and the censor were working in one and the same place. Many manuscripts were reviewed critically a number of times in various waves of censorship, as the several censors' remarks on them show. This happened in the middle of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, in the 1570s and towards the end of that century. It is therefore not necessarily the case that the (Christian) censoring of this codex occurred while Yiṣḥaq of Arles was active or that it was expedient simply because he was Jewish and his activities as a censor had to be confirmed by a Christian censor. The fact that the strike-throughs were not to be regarded as particularly 'anti-Christian', but rather as 'heresy' could also indicate that a second round of censorship took place, since heresy was a subject of growing importance in the conflict with the Reformation from the middle of the 16<sup>th</sup> century onwards.

### 4.3 'Check' – עיין

Apart from the corrections that Yiṣḥaq of Arles made and the deletions due to censorship, the codex contains a number of instances where the expression עיין occurs, meaning 'See' or 'Check'. It is not possible to analyse these passages here, unfortunately, as that would be beyond the scope of this paper. The remarks are not connected with Yiṣḥaq of Arles in any way either, but I would like to list them here, at least. Following the relevant folio of the manuscript, I have included a reference to a modern edition in brackets, either to the edition by A. Gros or the edition of the commentary to the prayers provided by J. Corazzol:

- fol. 17r<sup>II</sup>, line 13 (ed. Gros בראשית, p. 83)
- fol. 18r<sup>II</sup> line 8 (ed. Gros בראשית, p. 88)
- fol. 19r<sup>I</sup>, line 1 (ed. Gros בראשית, p. 91)
- fol. 24r<sup>II</sup>, line 4 (ed. Gros בראשית, p. 122)
- fol. 25r<sup>II</sup>, line 24 (ed. Gros בראשית, p. 127)
- fol. 27v<sup>I</sup>, line 3 (ed. Gros בראשית, p. 138)
- fol. 39r<sup>I</sup>, line 1 (ed. Gros לך לך, p. 196)
- fol. 44r<sup>II</sup>, line 12 (ed. Gros וירא, p. 226)
- fol. 51v<sup>I</sup>, line 14 (ed. Gros ויצא, p. 264)
- fol. 52v<sup>I</sup>, line 1 (ed. Gros וישלח, p. 270)
- fol. 56r<sup>I</sup>, line 11 (ed. Gros וישב, p. 291)
- fol. 71v<sup>I</sup>, line 1 (ed. Gros בא, p. 39)

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158 See diagrams 2 and 4 in the appendix.

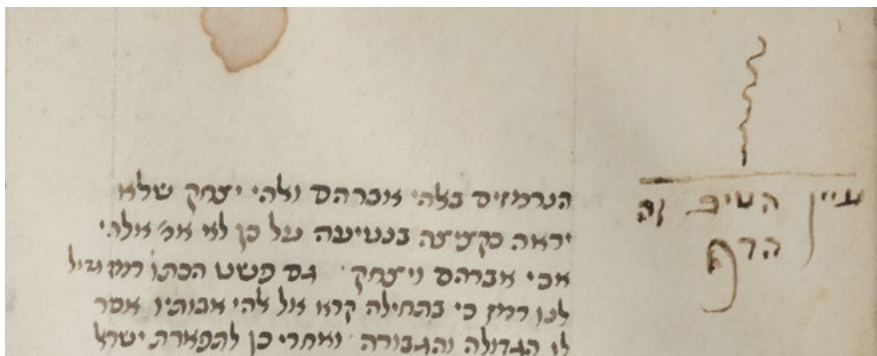


Fig. 26: Hamburg Cod. hebr. 53, fol. 52v.

fol. 76r<sup>I</sup>, line 7 (ed. Gros בשלח, p. 60)

fol. 200v<sup>I</sup>, line 3 (ed. Corazzol 1.5, p. 27\*)

fol. 200v<sup>II</sup>, line 3 (ed. Corazzol 1.6, p. 29\*)

fol. 207v<sup>I</sup>, line 29 (ed. Corazzol 7.13.6f, p. 89\*)

fol. 207v<sup>II</sup>, line 29 (ed. Corazzol 7.13.10, p. 91\*).

The pointers are in the left- or right-hand margin of each page, with the exception of the two on fols 200v and 207v in Menaḥem Recanati's commentary to the prayers, where they are written in between the two columns. There are two folios that the censor apparently regarded as being particularly important, as his remarks reveal: fol. 52v (Fig. 26), where it says עין הטיב זה הדף ('Check this page in particular'), and fol. 56r, where it says עין הטיב ('Check in particular').

Thanks to the analysis of the ink on fol. 18r,<sup>159</sup> it is now clear that these comments were neither made by the scribe nor the owner of the manuscript ('Immanu'el), and that they were not due to the censor responsible for the deletions either.

A remark of this type, עין, is often connected with censorship. It indicates that a careful check needs to be made to see if it is necessary to intervene at this point in the text.<sup>160</sup> A note of this type also occurs in the *Sefer ha-Ziqquq* occasionally. At one point, for example, it says ושמ כל ענין הגלגול ע"ה (= על המחק) וצ"ע (וצריך עיון) ('And there the part about the transmigration of souls needs to be deleted and checked')<sup>161</sup> concerning a relatively long passage in the *parasha* שמיני

<sup>159</sup> See diagram 4 in the appendix.

<sup>160</sup> Cf. Porges 1903, 291; Sonne 1942, 978–979; Prebor 2008, 19.

<sup>161</sup> Prebor 2008, 216.

in the commentary of Recanati.<sup>162</sup> Ms. Oxford 85 also contains a עיי in a number of places.<sup>163</sup> Apart from that, what is particularly noticeable in this manuscript is the numerous pointers drawn on it in the shape of a finger or hand.<sup>164</sup> Presumably, these two symbols both mean the same thing.

#### 4.4 Ink analysis in collaboration with Ira Rabin

The analysis of the inks used, for which more places were sampled than in Cod. hebr. 18, viz. fols 1r,<sup>165</sup> 2r, 18r, 58r,<sup>166</sup> 120r,<sup>167</sup> 121v, 131r, 162r, 166v, 125v,<sup>168</sup> 197r, 198v, 199r and 200r, led to the following results:

1. The two inks that Yiṣḥaq of Arles used in the Cod. hebr. 18 and Cod. hebr. 53 match up; they are the same ink, which contains nickel.<sup>169</sup>
2. The inks used in the censorship of Cod. hebr. 53 (fol. 120r, 125v) differ from one another both in terms of the ink the scribes employed for the manuscript and the ink used by Yiṣḥaq of Arles and Laurentius Franguellus. The inks used in both cases of censorship in Cod. hebr. 53 do not contain any nickel.<sup>170</sup> Consequently, there is no reason to assume the same region for these inks and the ink that Yiṣḥaq employed, as in the case of Cod. hebr. 18, even though we cannot be absolutely sure about it, of course. The inks that were used for the two passages that were analysed do not match up entirely, even though they are similar, i.e. we may also be dealing with two different censors here. The inks the censor(s) employed to alter the passages of the manuscript differ from all the other inks that were examined.
3. The ink used to write the note עיי (on fol. 18r) is different to the censor's ink.<sup>171</sup>
4. Ink A2 used by the first scribe on fols 120r and 121v and ink A4 used by the second scribe, Yequṭi'el, on fols 125v, 166v, 197r and 198v are very similar to

<sup>162</sup> See the sixth instance of a strike-through in Hamburg Cod. hebr. 53, fol. 113r<sup>l</sup>.

<sup>163</sup> Fols 37, 38v, 39r and other instances.

<sup>164</sup> Fols 20v, 21v, 24 and other instances.

<sup>165</sup> See Fig. 5.

<sup>166</sup> See Fig. 14.

<sup>167</sup> See Fig. 9.

<sup>168</sup> See Fig. 26.

<sup>169</sup> See diagram 2 in the appendix.

<sup>170</sup> See diagram 2 and 4 in the appendix.

<sup>171</sup> See diagram 4 in the appendix.

the ink of the second owner, 'Immanu'el, who wrote a number of texts on the blank leaves of the manuscript and emphasised his name on several pages by marking the initial letters of the lines – ink A1 on fol. 1r and 2r, and A3 on fol. 121v and 166v. They can be grouped together to form a specific family of inks.<sup>172</sup>

5. The ink used by the second scribe, Yequti'el, in Cod. hebr. 18 can also be classified as belonging to this family.<sup>173</sup> Both manuscripts name Yequti'el ben Yehi'el as the scribe in their colophons and were written within six years of each other. They presumably originate from Perugia and Spello, two towns in Umbria.
6. Additional inks employed for corrections, notes and additions and the texts on fol. 199 containing passages from the *Zohar* and fols 200–214 with Recanati's commentary differ from these inks.

## 5 Summary

Databases such as the catalogue of the National Library of Israel (NLI) and the work by the Institute of Microfilmed Hebrew Manuscripts (IMHM) give us the opportunity to access a considerably larger corpus of material than we were able to do fifty years ago. Thanks to modern analytical techniques such as multi-spectral imaging, it is possible for experts to read faded texts now and even read words and passages that were once erased. The analysis of inks enables us to link written passages to specific scribes who employed inks of this kind in their writing.

As a result of such insights, we can tell that the amendments to texts found in Cod. hebr. 18 were clearly the work of Yiṣḥaq of Arles. The two sets of deletions analysed in Cod. hebr. 53, however, may be the work of two different censors. Whatever the case, the remark עיי was written multiple times by a person with different handwriting. These are merely minor details, admittedly, but they are also significant enough to help us verify or reject hypotheses that have been made. Contrary to what Sonne assumed was the case, a number of things speak for the idea that the corrections made by Yiṣḥaq of Arles did not have to be confirmed by Laurentius Franguellus – or any other Christian censor for that matter –

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172 See diagram 3 in the appendix.

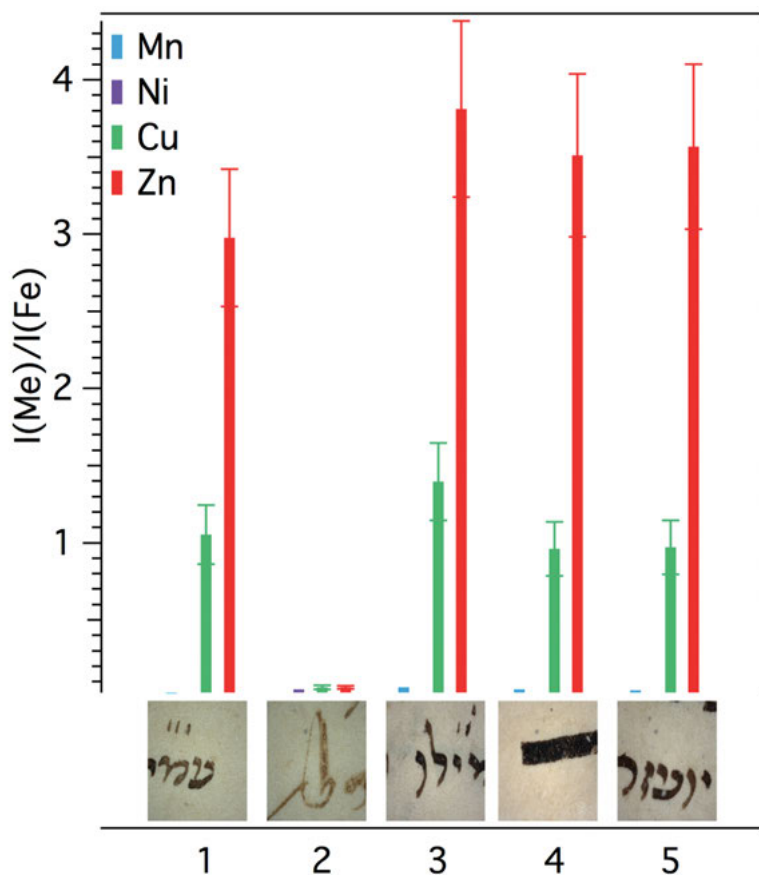
173 See diagram 1 and 3 in the appendix.



before they were accepted. The manuscripts that he corrected were presumably censored again sometime later, which is what happened to many other Hebrew manuscripts in the period in question. Yiṣḥaq was one of a small group of Jewish ‘censors’ who were only employed to do such work for a short while until the Catholic Church decided that the censorship of Hebrew manuscripts ought to be conducted by the Church itself. This hypothesis is not intended to question the significance of Sonne’s work by any means, however; after all, he was the scholar who identified Yiṣḥaq as being the brother of Giacomo Geraldini, or rather, Rabbi Joseph of Arles.

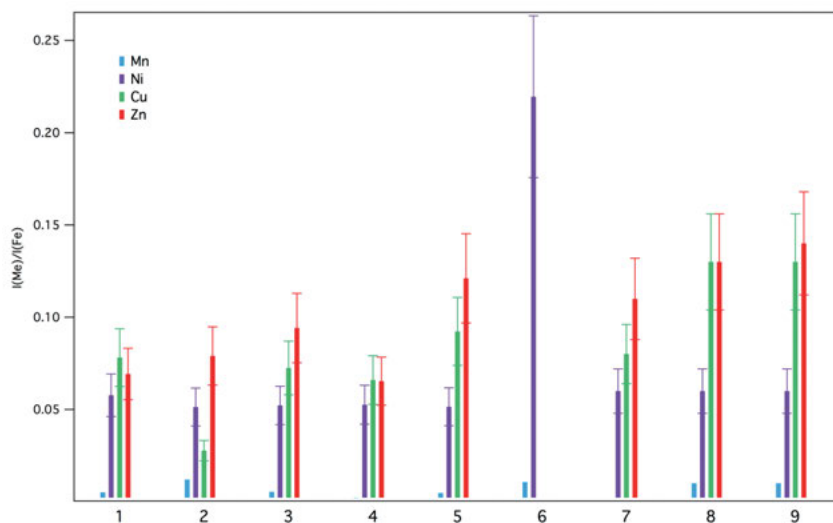
## 6 Appendix in collaboration with Ira Rabin

For comparative analysis of the ink we followed the protocol that is described in great detail in the contribution of Cohen et al. in this volume. In short, with the help of NIR reflectography conducted with a three-colour USB microscope we established that all the inks to be analyzed belong to the iron-gall type. We used commercial high-resolution micro XRF spectrometer Artax (Bruker Nano GmbH) to probe the inks. The exact locations were established with the help of microscopy performed in transition mode so that each analyzed point corresponded to a single ink layer. The data were analyzed with the help of the commercial software ‘Spectra’. To produce comparable charts we normalized the resulting net peak intensities to the intensity of iron, the main ingredient of the iron-gall ink.



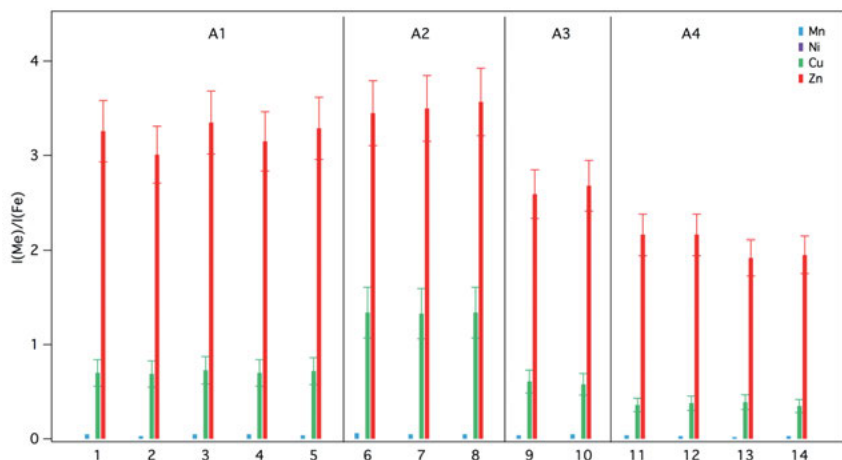
**Diagram 1:** Hamburg Cod. hebr. 18: ink used by the scribe and Yişḥaq of Arles

- 1 – fol. 2r, line 1: עמר – the scribe's ink
- 2 – fol. 2r, below line 1: מארלי לי – ink used by Yişḥaq of Arles
- 3 – fol. 2r, line 2<sup>II</sup>: אילוי – the scribe's ink
- 4 – fol. 2r, line 2<sup>I</sup>: horizontal stroke in ך – the scribe's ink
- 5 – fol. 2r, line 5<sup>II</sup>: יועזר – the scribe's ink



**Diagram 2:** Hamburg Cod. hebr. 18 and 53: ink used by Yiṣḥaq of Arles and Laurentius Franguellus

- 1 – Hamburg Cod. hebr. 18, fol. 20r, line 8<sup>i</sup>: correction עעז on the erased part
- 2 – Hamburg Cod. hebr. 18, fol. 20r, line 2<sup>i</sup>: correction עעז on the erased part
- 3 – Hamburg Cod. hebr. 18, fol. 19v, line 9<sup>ii</sup>: correction עעז on the erased part
- 4 – Hamburg Cod. hebr. 18, fol. 2r line 1 from bottom: note מתוקן על ידי יצחק מארלי ('Corrected by Yiṣḥaq of Arles')
- 5 – Hamburg Cod. hebr. 18, fol. 19v, line 15<sup>ii</sup>: correction עעז
- 6 – Hamburg Cod. hebr. 18, fol. 237r: signature by Laurentius Franguellus
- 7 – Hamburg Cod. hebr. 53, fol. 1r: note מתוקן על ידי יצחק מארלי ('Corrected by Yiṣḥaq of Arles')
- 8 – Hamburg Cod. hebr. 53, fol. 58r<sup>ii</sup>, line 15: correction on the erased part (ל at the end)
- 9 – Hamburg Cod. hebr. 53, fol. 162r<sup>ii</sup>, lines 9–10 from bottom: correction on the erased part.



**Diagram 3:** Hamburg Cod. hebr. 53: ink used by the scribe and the owner, 'Immanu'el

#### A1 – 'Immanu'el

- 1 – fol. 1r: note on purchase written by 'Immanu'el
- 2 – fol. 1r: ink used for the text
- 3 – fol. 2r: 'Immanu'el
- 4 – fol. 2r: text
- 5 – fol. 198v<sup>I</sup>, final line: אמן

#### A2 – scribe 1

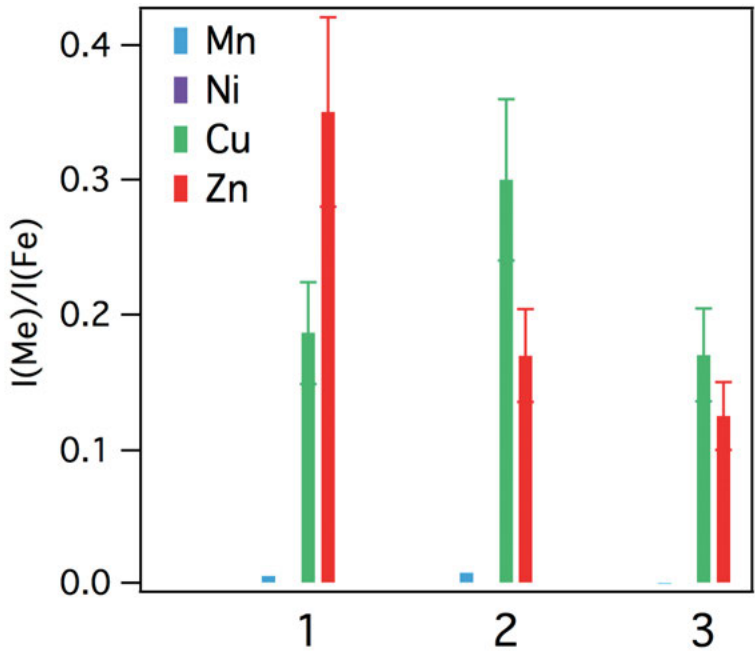
- 6 – fol. 120r: ink used by the scribe
- 7 – fol. 121v: catchword
- 8 – fol. 121v<sup>I</sup>, line 1: letter ר

#### A3 – 'Immanu'el

- 9 – fol. 121v<sup>II</sup> – dots on the initial letters of lines marking the name 'Immanu'el
- 10 – fol. 166v<sup>II</sup> – dots on the initial letters of lines marking the name 'Immanu'el

#### A4 – scribe 2

- 11 – fol. 198v<sup>I</sup>, line: על
- 12 – in the margin of fol. 166v<sup>I</sup>: פרש
- 13 – fol. 125v<sup>I</sup>, line 28: כ
- 14 – fol. 197r<sup>II</sup>: dots on the initial letters of lines marking the name Yequiti'el



**Diagram 4:** Hamburg Cod. hebr. 53: ink used for the censorship and note עיין

- 1 – fol. 18r, left-hand margin: note עיין ('see')
- 2 – fol. 120r<sup>l</sup>, line 10: strike through where it says תנאף
- 3 – fol. 125v<sup>l</sup>, third line from the bottom: strike through

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