

The Hebrew Library of a Renaissance Humanist Andreas Masius and the Bibliography to his *Iosuae Imperatoris Historia* (1574), with a Latin Edition and an Annotated English Translation *

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I

In the prefatory epistle to his bilingual edition of Abraham bar Hiyya's *The Shape of the Earth* and Elijah Mizrahi's *Abridgment of the Art of Mathematics*, the geographer and Hebraist Sebastian Münster (1488-1552), a former Franciscan who had become professor of Hebrew at Basel, attacked what a lifetime of teaching Hebrew had shown him to be a persistent and widespread view throughout the Christian West in the first half of the sixteenth century:

They are entirely mistaken, those conceited smatterers, who in their audacity are willing to claim that the Jews have no scholarly or scientific authors whatsoever, that they have alienated themselves from all studies of the human sciences and philosophy, and that nothing can be discovered among them but the aforesaid useless traditions of their ancestors and Talmudic twaddle.¹

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1. 'Erra[n]t propterea quidam scioli, qui audacter affirmare non uerentur, Iudaeos non habere in disciplinis ullos autores, sed ipsos ab omnibus philosophiae humanae studijs esse aliena-

Münster, ‘the German Strabo and Esdras’, was a leading exponent of the flourishing of Christian Hebrew scholarship north of the Alps in the first half of the 16th century.² From 1520 onwards, he composed Hebrew and Aramaic grammars and dictionaries and translated medieval rabbinic scholarship (Maimonides, Abraham ibn Ezra, David Kimhi and Moses of Coucy). He produced an edition of the Hebrew Bible with a new Latin translation of his own, starkly departing from Jerome’s version as transmitted, which Münster, reading the Vulgate against Jerome’s *Quaestiones Hebraicae in Genesim*, knew to be far from the text as Jerome must have had it.³ Münster also edited and translated the work of the Jewish scholar and poet Elijah Levita, acting along with Paul Fagius (though independently from him) as a crucial intermediary for the dissemination of Levita’s grammatical, lexicographical and masoretic works to the world of Christian scholarship.⁴

tos, nihil apud illos inueniri praeter memoratas patru[m] inanes traditiones & somnia Thalmudica. ספר צורת הארץ ותבנית כדורו הרקיע וסדר מהלך כוכביהם הנכתב על ידי ר' אברהם ב"ר חייא קיצור המלאכת מספר אשר חבר ר' אליה מזרחי ז"ל [sic] הספרדי. *Sphaera mundi, autore Rabbi A. Hispano filio R. Haijae arithmetica secundum omnes species suas autore Rabbi Elija Orientali. Quos libros O. Schreckenfuchsius uertit in linguam latinam, S. vero Munsterus illustravit annotationibus* (Basel: Henricus Petri 1546), Sebastianus Münsterus Hebraicae linguae atq[ue] Astronomicae disciplinae studiosis S.D., sig.*2v. For a bibliographic description, see J. Prijs, *Die Basler hebräischen Drucke (1492-1866)* (Olten 1964), p. 113-117, with partial reproductions of the prefatory letters by Münster and Schreckenfuchs on p. 509-510.

2. On Münster see M. McLean *The Cosmographia of Sebastian Münster* (Aldershot 2007); J. Weinberg, ‘Invention and Convention: Jewish and Christian Critique of the Jewish Fixed Calendar’, *Jewish History* 14 (2000), p. 317-330; J. Friedman, *The Most Ancient Testimony* (Athens, OH 1983); E. Rosenthal, ‘Sebastian Münster’s Knowledge and Use of Jewish Exegesis’, *Studia Semitica I* (1971), p. 127-145, and K.H. Burmeister, *Sebastian Münster* (Basel 1963), with a discussion of the *Shape of the Earth* on p. 80.

3. See J. Weinberg, ‘Azariah de’Rossi and the Forgeries of Annius of Viterbo’, in D. Ruderman (ed.), *Essential Papers on Jewish Culture in Renaissance and Baroque Italy* (New York 1992), p. 254, 270 n. 12.

4. G. Weil, *Élie Levita. Humaniste et Massorète (1469-1569)* (Leiden 1963) remains the authoritative study of Levita. Also see G. Weil, ‘Une leçon de l’humaniste hébreu Elias Lévíta à son élève Sebastien Munster’, *Revue d’Alsace* 95 (1956), p. 31-40, and Burmeister, *Sebastian Münster*, p. 43-46, 74-76. On Levita more recently, see C. Daxelmüller, ‘Zwischen Kabbala und Martin Luther – Elijah Levita Bachur, eine Jude zwischen den Religionen’, in L. Grenzmann, T. Haye, N. Henkel and T. Kaufmann (eds), *Wechselseitige Wahrnehmung der Religionen im Spätmittelalter und in der frühen Neuzeit I* (Berlin 2009), p. 231-250; D. Aranoff, ‘Elijah Levita: a Jewish Hebraist’, *Jewish History* 23 (2009), p. 17-40; and S. Iakerson, ‘An Autograph Manuscript by Elijah Levita in St Petersburg’, *Studia Rosenthaliana* 38/39 (2006), p. 178-185. On Fagius’ collaboration with Levita, see besides Weil also R. Raubenheimer, *Paul Fagius aus Rheinzabern* (Grünstadt 1957), p. 24-27, 47; A.M. Habermann, *Studies in the History of Hebrew Printers and Books* (Jerusalem 1978), p. 149-166 (in Hebrew). On Münster and Fagius as students of Levita, still see L. Geiger, *Das Studium der Hebräischen*

Now, towards the end of his life (he would die of the plague in 1552), Münster set out to expand even further the range of Hebrew sources available in print and in translation, to secular and scientific literature. Here, too, Levita proved an indispensable source. The combined editions of Abraham bar Hiyya and Elijah Mizrahi, printed in Basel in 1546, based on a manuscript which Levita had sent Münster's star student, Oswald Schreckenfuchs, offered vocalized Hebrew editions in the clear type employed by Münster's stepson, the printer Heinrich Petri. Together with Latin annotations by Münster to the first, and a Latin translation of the latter by Schreckenfuchs, it presented the burgeoning worlds of Renaissance Christian Hebraists and scientists alike with a volume as philologically accessible as it was typographically handsome. 'Surely', Münster confidently concluded, 'by this very book their errors are refuted.'⁵

One understands why Abraham bar Hiyya (c.1065-c.1140) and Elijah Mizrahi (1450-1526) appealed to scholars like Münster and Schreckenfuchs, both of whom shared with the Catalan astronomer and the Romaniot-Ottoman rabbi a dual devotion to Hebrew scholarship as well as to the natural sciences, astronomy, geography and mathematics.⁶

Sprache in Deutschland vom Ende des XV. bis zur Mitte des XVI. Jahrhunderts (Breslau 1870), p. 55-88. M. Peritz, 'Ein Brief Elijah Levita's an Sebastian Münster', *Monatschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judentums* 38 (1893-1894), p. 252-267, is an edition and annotated translation of the Hebrew letter Levita sent Münster in reply to his queries regarding the masorah and the history of Hebrew scripts, printed by Münster as an appendix to his edition of David Kimhi's commentary on Amos, *Commentarium Rabi David Kimhi in Amos Prophetam* (Basel 1531). Münster and Levita never seem to have met in person.

5. *Sphaera mundi*, sig.*2v: 'Certe hi errare co[n]iuncuntur ex hoc ipso libro.' On Schreckenfuchs (1511-1579), see *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie* 32 (1891), p. 467-468; M. Steinschneider, 'Christliche Hebraisten', *Zeitschrift für Hebräische Bibliographie* IV nr. 6 (1899), p. 177 and F. Secret, 'Notes sur Guillaume Postel IX: Erasmus Oswald Schreckenfuchs', *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance* XXII (1960), p. 377-380, with a description by Schreckenfuchs of his visit to Daniel Bomberg's printing press in 1539. It seems Levita sent Schreckenfuchs a rather poor copy: 'misit [Levita] mihi tandem sphaeram mundi, cuius autor est Abraham filius R. Chai Hispani, ita mutilatam, et minutis literis scriptam, ut dixi, ut subinde opus fuerit uel in legendo, uel in uertendo, diuinatione.' Schreckenfuchs to Homelius, [sig. 4r].

6. On Bar Hiyya, see recently J.V. Dauber "'Pure Thought" in R. Abraham bar Hiyya and Early Kabbalah', *Journal of Jewish Studies*, vol. LX, nr. 2 (2009), p. 185-201 and S. Sela, 'Abraham bar Hiyya's astrological work and thought', *Jewish Studies Quarterly*, vol. 13, nr. 2 (2006), p. 128-158. On his reception in the early modern period, see D.B. Ruderman, *Jewish Thought and Scientific Discovery in Early Modern Europe* (New Haven, CT 2001), esp. p. 24-29. On Elijah Mizrahi, see J. Hacker, 'Mizrahi, Elijah', *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, 2nd edition (2007), vol. 14, p. 393-395 and G. Wertheim, *Die Arithmetik des Elia Misrahi. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Mathematik* (Braunschweig 1896). On

Schreckenfuchs even dedicated his translation to Johannes Homelius (Johann Hommel, 1518-1562), theologian, astronomer, professor of mathematics at Leipzig, and Tycho Brahe's teacher there. Yet the discovery of varieties of living and intellectually dynamic Jewish cultures, engaged with and informed by the secular scientific traditions of Andalusian and Ottoman Islamic civilizations, was bound to challenge deeply rooted prejudices about contemporary Jewish thought and culture.

Building on an already significant incunabula production, the printing of Hebrew books by both Jews and Christians, independently and in collaboration, took flight in the first decades of the sixteenth century. Approximately 140 Hebrew incunabula editions were followed by some 2,700 Hebrew books printed between 1500 and 1599, of which Daniel Bomberg's press in Venice alone printed some 200 between 1516 and 1548.⁷ Through passionate correspondence with like-minded fellow scholars across deepening confessional divides – the budding Republic of Letters – Münster tried both to keep track himself and to inform others:

Furthermore, Andreas Masius, a man of limitless Hebrew learning, wrote to me last year about the multitude of Hebrew books, which he saw among the Jews in Rome, some printed, others still to be printed.⁸

Münster goes on to record several of the books Masius mentioned to him in what must have been a much longer list, and makes special mention of

early modern Hebrew scientific works more generally, see E. Lapon-Kandelshein and S. Baruchson-Arbib, 'Hebrew Scientific Publications from the 15th to the 18th Centuries: Social and Cultural Aspects', *La Bibliofilia* CIV, nr. 2 (2002), p. 167-188. Several of the most outstanding early modern Christian Hebraists owned copies of this book: Bodleian Library, Oxford, 4° A 43 Art. Seld., belonged to John Selden and to Edward Brerewood before him; Leiden University Library, 877 D 3(2), is from the bequest of Joseph Scaliger; British Library, 532.f.1, belonged to Isaac Casaubon. On this last copy, see A. Grafton and J. Weinberg, 'Isaac Casaubon's Library of Hebrew Books', in G. Mandelbrote and B. Taylor (eds), *Libraries within the Library* (London 2009), p. 24-42, at p. 36, 36 n. 41, 42. Casaubon also filled a notebook while studying Mizrahi's work, Bodleian Library, MS Casaubon 27. See A. Grafton and J. Weinberg, *I have always loved the Holy Tongue. Isaac Casaubon, the Jews, and a Forgotten Chapter of Renaissance Scholarship* (Cambridge, MA 2011), p. 78-80.

7. A. Offenberg, *Catalogue of Books Printed in the XVth Century Now in the British Library* (= BMC III, Hebraica) ('t Goy-Houten 2004), p. xi; M.J. Heller, *The Sixteenth-Century Hebrew Book: an Abridged Thesaurus I* (Leiden/Boston 2004), xiii; A.M. Habermann, *The Printer Daniel Bomberg and the List of Books Published by his Press* (Safed 1978) (in Hebrew).

8. 'Scripsit mihi praeterea superiori anno Andreas Masius, uir in Hebraicis supra modum doctus, de multis libris Hebraicis, quos Rom[a]e uidit apud Iudaeos, partim impressos & partim imprimendos...' Sebastianus Munsterus Hebraicae linguae atq[ue] Astronomicae disciplinae studiosus S.D, sig.*3r.

the *Behinat 'Olam*, by Jedaia ha-Penini ben Abraham Bedersi, a best-seller of medieval Jewish philosophy. This book, Münster exclaims, 'I would like to read more than all the others, if I could only gain access to it.'⁹ Vast worlds of Hebrew learning had begun to appear in print, and Münster was eager to explore them and share the discovery with his Christian readership.

By 1546 Münster had known and admired Andreas Masius for nearly a decade. In the summer of 1539 he had written the dedicatory epistle to his edition of Elijah Levita's *Sepher ha-Ta'amim* and *Masoret ha-Masoret* to 'the most worthy and learned gentleman Andreas Masius, a most dedicated scholar of the Hebrew language, and special friend', thanking him for the learned Hebrew letters Masius sent him from Leuven, from Luzern, on his way to Spain, from Austria and from Frankfurt.¹⁰ These two works by Levita, published in Venice by Daniel Bomberg the previous year, had been sent to Münster by Levita himself. This second edition, printed in Basel in 1539 with Münster's Latin translations, introduced the Christian world to the Masorah. A pivotal moment in early modern Biblical scholarship, Levita's works and Münster's translations thereof taught Christian scholars not only about massoretic traditions of textual criticism by which the Hebrew Bible had been transmitted for centuries; they also showed them how to consult and use a massoretic apparatus like that published in the Rabbinic Bible (the *Miqra'ot Gedolot*) edited by Jacob ben Hayim ibn Adoniyah and printed by Bomberg in Venice in 1524-25, an edition on which Levita himself

9. 'quem prae omnibus legere cuperem si mihi copia contingere posset.' Ibidem. The list Masius sent to Münster would prove of significant scholarly and bibliographical interest to the master Christian Hebraist of Basel in the following generation, Johannes Buxtorf the Elder, as he compiled his pioneering Hebrew bibliography, the *Bibliotheca Rabbinica* (Basel: Conrad Waldkirch and Ludwig König 1613). Commenting on the *Behinat Olam* (there, p. 279-280), Buxtorf notes 'de eo monitus aliquando Munsterus ab Andrea Masio, eum prae omnibus alijs legere exoptavit, si copia ipsi fieri possit, ut scribit ipsemet in praefatione in Sphaeram Hebraicam.' On Jedaiah ha-Penini, see C. Sirat, *A History of Jewish Philosophy in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge 1985), p. 273-277. On his appeal to humanists in Masius' circle, see T. Dunkelgrün, 'De Hebreeuwse Handschriften van het Museum Plantin-Moretus', *De Gulden Passer* 86 (2008), p. 7-28, at p. 25-27.

10. Elijah Levita and Sebastian Münster, *Sefer ha-Ta'amim ve-Sefer Masoret ha-Masoret* (Basel: Henricus Petri 1539), p. 3. 'Ornatissimo atque doctissimo uiro Andraee Masio hebraicae linguae studiosissimo & amico praecipuo Sebast[ianus] Munterus S[alutem] D[icit].' Unfortunately, hardly any of Münster's Hebrew correspondence survives. Two further extant letters from Münster to Masius are printed in K.H. Burmeister (ed. and transl.), *Briefe Sebastian Münsters* (Frankfurt a.M. 1964), nr. 9 (15 February 1540), p. 40-43, and nr. 23 (7 November 1544), p. 88-91.

had collaborated.¹¹ Moreover, they also contained Levita's own account of the origin of the Masorah and his striking theory of the late addition of the vowel-points to the ancient consonantal Hebrew Biblical texts, an issue that would soon be at the heart of fierce debates throughout the early modern period regarding the integrity of the transmitted text of the Hebrew Bible.¹²

It was to Andreas Masius, then, that Münster dedicated two of the most significant books of early modern biblical scholarship. Who was this itinerant scholar, this 'man of limitless Hebrew learning'? How did he earn this remarkable epithet from Münster, twenty-six years his senior and one of the leading Christian Hebraists of his day? How did he read the books Münster dedicated to him? And what was he doing hunting for books in the Jewish quarter of Rome and writing about it, as a Catholic, to the professor of Hebrew at Lutheran Basel during the first sessions of the Council of Trent?

II

Andreas Masius (Lennik near Brussels 1514 – Zevenaar near Arnhem 1573), is known as a groundbreaking scholar of the Syriac language and of Oriental Christianity, and as a collaborator on the Polyglot Bible printed at Antwerp by Christopher Plantin (1568-72).¹³ He composed the first Syriac

11. See C.D. Ginsburg (ed. and transl.), *Introduction to the Rabbinic Bible by Jacob ben Chajim ibn Adonijah and the Massoreth ha-massoreth of Elias Levita, being an exposition of the Massoretic notes on the Hebrew Bible, or the ancient critical apparatus of the old Testament* (London 1867, New York 1968).

12. See R.A. Muller, 'The Debate over the Vowel Points and the Crisis in Orthodox Hermeneutics', in R.A. Muller, *After Calvin* (Oxford 2003), p. 146-155. For Joseph Scaliger's understanding of the masorah and of Levita's work, see A. Grafton, *Joseph Scaliger: A Study in the History of Classical Scholarship II: Historical Chronology* (Oxford 1993), p. 734-735. Scaliger's annotated copy of Münster's edition of Levita's *Masoret ha-Masoret* and *Sefer ha-Ta'amim* is now Universiteitsbibliotheek Leiden 878 F 66. For Johannes Buxtorf's involvement in this debate, see S.G. Burnett, *From Christian Hebraism to Jewish Studies* (Leiden 1996), p. 203-239. For a forceful Jewish critique of Levita, see Azariah de' Rossi, *The Light of the Eyes. Translated from the Hebrew with an introduction and annotations by Joanna Weinberg* (New Haven, CT 2001), ch. 59, p. 699-709. My understanding of Levita is deeply indebted to the participants of the conference 'Between Jews and Christians: the many faces of the Jewish polymath Elijah (Bocher) Levita (1469-1549)', held at the Oxford Centre for Hebrew and Jewish Studies, December 2007.

13. On Masius see J. Wicks, S.J., 'Andreas Masius', in M. Saebo (ed.), *Hebrew Bible/Old Testament II* (Göttingen 2008), p. 641-642; H. de Vocht, 'Andreas Masius (1514-1573)', *Miscellanea Giovanni Mercati IV* (Vatican City 1946), p. 425-441, and the introduction by M. Lossen to his edition of Masius' correspondence, *Briefe von Andreas Masius und seinen Freunden 1538 bis 1573* (Leipzig 1886),

grammar in the West and the first Syriac-Latin dictionary, both printed in the lexicographical apparatus to the Antwerp Polyglot; he translated from Syriac into Latin the treatise on Paradise by Moses bar Kepha and a number of liturgical texts, and even corresponded in Syriac with a Jacobite priest with whom he had studied the language in Rome.¹⁴ By the end of the seventeenth century, Catholic and Protestant authorities from Richard Simon to the English compilers of the *Critici Sacri* considered him to be a Biblical scholar of the highest authority. As modern orientalist and Bibliacists such as Giorgio Levi della Vida, Max Leopold Margolis, and Paul de Lagarde were thrilled to discover upon studying his polyglot edition, with commentaries, of the book of Joshua, *Iosuae Imperatoris Historia* (Antwerp: Christopher Plantin 1574), Masius combined philological competence in Syriac, Greek, Hebrew and Rabbinical Aramaic with a deep knowledge of Jewish sources into something resembling the kind of historical-critical scholarship of Biblical versions they themselves practiced.¹⁵

p. XVI-XX, an expanded version, with reference to the letters in that edition, of the same author's entry on Masius in the *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie*. W. François, 'Andreas Masius (1514-1573): humanist, exegete and Syriac scholar', *Journal of Eastern Christian Studies*, vol. 61, nr. 3-4 (2009), p. 199-244, came to my attention after completing this article.

14. On Masius' Syriac scholarship, consult cautiously R.J. Wilkinson, *Orientalism, Aramaic and Kabbalah in the Catholic Reformation: the First Printing of the Syriac New Testament* (Leiden/Boston 2007), and the same author's *The Kabbalistic Scholars of the Antwerp Polyglot Bible* (Leiden/Boston 2007), along with the highly critical review of both books by A. Hamilton in *Quaerendo* 38 (2008), p. 398-409; A. Van Roey, 'Les débuts des études Syriaques et André Masius', in R. Lavenant, S.J. (ed.), *V Symposium Syriacum* (Rome 1990), p. 11-19, and A. Van Roey, 'Lés etudes syriaques d'Andreas Masius', *Orientalia Lovaniensia periodica* 9 (1978), p. 141-158. For Masius' involvement in the oriental scholarship of Christopher Plantin's printing house, see A. Hamilton, *Arab Culture and Ottoman Magnificence in Antwerp's Golden Age* (London 2001). For a full list of Masius' Syriac publications, see L. Voet, *The Plantin Press, 1555-1589* (Amsterdam 1980-1983). The title Masius gave his Syriac dictionary, *Syrorum peculium. Hoc est vocabula apud syros scriptores passim vsurpata: targumistis vero aut prorsus incognita: aut in Ipsorum vocabulariis adhuc non satis explicata* (Antwerp: Christopher Plantin 1571 and 1572), shows that he thoughtfully distinguished between Christian Syriac and the Jewish Aramaic of the Targumim. Masius' Syriac correspondence was partially published in A. Müller, *Symbolae Syriacae* (Berlin 1673). See J.W. Wesselius, 'The Syriac Correspondence of Andreas Masius: A Preliminary Report', in Lavenant, *V Symposium Syriacum*, p. 21-29. On the history of Syriac scholarship in early modern Europe from a typographical point of view, see J.F. Coakley, *The Typography of Syriac: a Historical Catalogue of Printing Types, 1537-1958* (New Castle, DE 2006). For some four hundred years, until the rediscovery of Syriac manuscripts of the *Treatise on Paradise*, Masius' Latin translation was thought to be the only extant version of Bar Kepha's work. See A. Vööbus, 'New Manuscript Discoveries for the Literary Legacy of Mose bar Kepha: The Genre of Theological Writings', *The Harvard Theological Review*, vol. 68, nr. 3-4 (1975), p. 377-384.

15. On Margolis' study of Masius, see L.J. Greenspoon, 'A Preliminary Publication of Max Leopold Margolis's "Andreas Masius"', in A. Salvesen (ed.), *Origen's Hexapla and Fragments* (Tübingen 1998), p. 39-69. A copy of Margolis' unpublished monograph on Masius is now at the University

Masius was the consummate Renaissance biblical humanist of the generation which followed Erasmus. Born in the Pajottenland west of Brussels, he was educated in Latin, Greek and Hebrew at the *Collegium Trilingue* in Leuven, co-founded by Erasmus himself as the pioneering school for the study of 'the three languages of Scripture.' His teachers were the Latinist Conrad Goclenus, the Hellenist and printer Rutger Rescius and the Hebraist Andreas Gennepius Balenus, all Erasmus' friends. Subsequently, Masius studied philosophy, theology and law there, graduated in 1537 and embarked on an illustrious diplomatic career, first as secretary to Johann von Weze, Bishop of Constance and a confidant of Charles V, in 1549 to William, Duke of Cleves-Jülich, and Frederik II, Duke of Bavaria and Elector Palatine, among others.¹⁶ His travels in their service across the continent following the Imperial court brought him into the halls of power of Western Christendom and into invaluable association with the bankers of the house of Fugger and the postmasters of the house of Taxis. But the political *vita activa* of diplomacy failed to still his hunger for scholarship. He obtained a doctorate *utriusque iuris* in 1544, and continued his study of Biblical languages. Masius sought out numerous leading European scholars, especially learned orientalisists such as Guillaume Postel, who taught him Arabic, Johann Albrecht Widmanstadt, his fellow student of Syriac, and the Hebraists Sebastian Münster and Paul Fagius. In Venice Masius befriended Daniel Bomberg from Antwerp, a fellow Leuven alumnus, who had moved to the Lagoon around the turn of the century and had

of Pennsylvania, Herbert D. Katz Center for Advanced Judaic Studies, ARC MS6 (Papers of Margolis, Max Leopold), box 9. I am grateful to the librarians of the Schottenstein-Jesselson Library for their assistance in consulting Margolis' *Nachlass*; P. de Lagarde, *Bibliothecae Syriacae* (Göttingen 1892), p. 19-32i, and following him R. Hanhart, *Text und Textgeschichte des Buches Judith* (Göttingen 1979), p. 17; G. Levi della Vida, *Ricerche sulle formazioni del più antico fondo dei manoscritti orientali della Biblioteca Vaticana* (1939)[= Studi e Testi 92], p. 444: 'Se ho ben veduto, la testimonianza più antica (dopo quella del Potken) dell'uso diretto di un codice orientale vaticano da parte di uno studioso europeo è fornita da Andrea Masio.'

16. On the history of the Leuven Collegium Trilingue, see H. De Vocht, *History of the Foundation and the Rise of the Collegium Trilingue Lovaniense 1517-1550* (1951-1955), 4 volumes (= Humanistica Lovaniensia 10-13); on Masius' studies there, see vol. 3, p. 282-290. The young Masius penned an elegiac couplet on the death of Erasmus in 1536 that was included in volume I of the edition of Erasmus' *Opera Omnia* edited by Jean LeClerc (Leiden 1703), p. 92, in which we already see him as a staunch defender of Erasmus' embattled legacy: 'Andreae Masii Liniacensis ad eos, qui acerbè nimis Erasmi mortem ferunt: Vivit, qui vixit, quid vos lugetis? Erasmus/ Vivit apud superos, qui modo vixit homo.'

founded a printing house that by 1530 had arguably become the most important Hebrew press of its day, having already printed the *editio princeps* of the complete Babylonian Talmud, the Palestinian Talmud, two Rabbinic Bibles and numerous other Hebrew books.

Bomberg's printing shop became a place of immense importance to Masius. It was there that he met Elijah Levita and Cornelio Adelkind, Bomberg's junior partner and editor-in-chief. He undoubtedly crossed paths with numerous other Jewish and Christian scholars and print professionals active there.¹⁷ Many worlds met in that Hebrew printing shop in the mercantile metropolis of Renaissance Venice: Mediterranean and transalpine Europe, Western, Byzantine and Oriental Christianities, Italian, Sephardi, Ashkenazi and Levantine Jewry, and the old manuscript- and new print-cultures of all. It was a table that fed all his humanist hungers, and it is little wonder that Masius felt so at home in the house of his fellow Hebraist Netherlander.

Their relationship was both professional and intimate. Masius was a significant client, and through Bomberg's own output and the network of his associates, began to build one of the most substantial Hebrew libraries of any Christian scholar of his day. Occasionally, Masius also served Bomberg as editor himself. He was sent the printer's copy of a new Latin translation of Maimonides' *Guide of the Perplexed*, apparently both to check the new text and to correct it against the Hebrew, with directions to a Roman book dealer who could provide him with a Hebrew exemplar for the purpose.¹⁸ Beyond business, a special rapport grew between the two Dutchmen abroad, and evocative signs of friendship have survived, such as the precious antique *sheqel* coin that Bomberg presented Masius

17. Weil, *Élie Levita*, p. 162-163.

18. See Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 23736, Nr. 204, Cornelius Adelkind to Masius, Venice 21 May 1547, edited by J. Perles, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Hebräischen und Aramäischen Studien* (Munich 1884), p. 209: 'Li nostri siniori bombergi vi mandano el מורה latino da veder ed intender la vostra opinion circa la corecion che a fatto fra paduano e cossi dela traslatacio, io credo tanto sol vi bisogniasse el מורה נבוכים בלשון הקדש, trovavile li in roma uno ebreo amico deli bombergi e mio in particolare che a nome biniamin de iosef de arimiano el qual M. gulielmo lo cogniosce bene, il qual ebreo vi trovava il more i ebreo e ancora qualche altro libro che vi bisogniasse...' 'Arimiano' is rabbi Benjamin d'Arignano, the Roman scholar, editor, and Hebrew tutor to J.A. Widmanstadt. 'Guilielmo' is most likely Guillaume Postel, though Guglielmo Sirleto, the future Cardinal, was also well known to d'Arignano. The edition was never published, but Masius did eventually acquire a Hebrew text of Maimonides' *Guide* (see note 105).

as a gift.¹⁹ As an extant letter from Cornelio Adelkind to him reveals, Masius even contemplated moving into Bomberg's house for an extended working stay.²⁰ And it was in Bomberg's storage vault on the Venetian island of San Giorgio that Masius fatefully entrusted his Hebrew library for the duration of his diplomatic wanderings.

Masius' polyglot command of vernacular and ancient languages as well as his competence in canon law proved invaluable in relations between the Church and the German clergy and nobility he served. He spent an increasing part of his time in Rome, where he lived with his friend and compatriot, Laevinus Torrentius (Lieven van der Beke, 1525-1595), the future bishop of Antwerp.²¹ As a scholar-diplomat in Rome in the mid-1540's, Masius became close to Latino Latini, Antonio Agustín, Jean Matal, (future) Cardinals Bernardino Maffei, Giovanni Morone, Guglielmo Sirleto and especially Marcello Cervini, President of the Congregation of Theologians at the Council of Trent in 1545-47, the first Cardinal-Librarian of the Vatican library, and for the last twenty-two days of his life, Pope Marcellus II. Cervini became Masius' patron, and he shared the Dutchman's passion for Hebrew and Oriental languages, supporting Masius' Syriac teacher, the Jacobite priest Moses Mardenus, in his attempt to print the *Peshitta*.²²

19. Masius records Bomberg's gift of a sheqel in his discussion of the coin in his commentary to chapter 7 of Joshua, *Commentaria in Josuam* (1574), p. 135: 'Et hoc verum sicli argentei pondus esse, ostendunt vetustissimi Sicli, iustissima trutina appensi: quoru[m] unum mihi amicitiae gratia olim dono dedit vir ob Hebraicam typographiam & eius linguae non solum studium, sed egregiam scientiam, atque in primis ob singularem animi probitatem & ca[n]dorem aeterna memoria dignissimus Daniel Bombergus.' See also Perles, *Beiträge*, p. 212, and Amram, *Makers*, 208.

20. Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 23736, Nr. 204, edited by Perles, *Beiträge*, p. 209, and translated into French in Weil, *Élie Levita*, p. 162-163: 'Mag[nifi]co M[astro] Andrea altre volte ho visto vostre lettere î man de רבי אליהו המדקדק e pur assai volte avemo ragionato dela V.S. dice venir qua a star alcun tempo î casa deli mei padroni bombergi tanto me son pur conteno e רבי אליהו e mi noi aspetemo lora che veniti e che fatti qualche bella cosa laudabil como spero.' It is not known whether this visit eventually took place or not.

21. On Torrentius, see the recent article on his nephew Johannes Livinaeus by L. Battezzato, 'Renaissance Philology: Johannes Livinaeus (1546-1599) and the Birth of the *Apparatus Criticus*', in C. Ligota and J.-L. Quantin (eds), *History of Scholarship. A selection of papers from the seminar on the history of scholarship held annually at the Warburg Institute* (Oxford 2006), p. 75-111. Torrentius would celebrate these Roman years and their 'bachanalìa' in the 'Odes to his Friends', included in his *Poemata* (Antwerp: Christopher Plantin 1579), including one long ode to Masius (p. 244-245).

22. On the Vatican Library in this period, see A. Grafton (ed.), *Rome Reborn. The Vatican Library and Renaissance Culture* (Washington, DC 1993). On Cervini, see W.H. Hudon, *Marcello Cervini and Ecclesiastical Government in Tridentine Italy* (DeKalb 1992). On the oriental collections of the Vatican Library, see A. Hamilton, 'Eastern Churches and Western Scholarship', in Grafton,

At the same time, as the letters by Münster and Adelkind show, Masius could equally be found on the other side of the Tiber, *apud Judaeos*, studying and buying Hebrew books. No more than a mile as the crow flies and yet so far apart, Masius moved in and out of the disparate worlds of the Vatican Library and the Jewish Quarter across the Tiber as only few Christian Hebraists could, and proved a vital intermediary between them in ways that have left evocative traces.

An early 14th-century parchment codex of David Kimhi's *Sepher ha-Shorashim* now in the Vatican Library, contains a note in Hebrew, imitating the language of its earlier notes of acquisition and ownership by the Provençal and Italian Jews through whose hands it had passed:

אני אנדריאס מאסיאוס קניתי ספר הזה לבית ספרי יוליאוס השלישי
בשנת אלף וחמש מאות וחמשים ושנים לביאת משחינו יתעלה שמו לפי מצות
אדוני מרצילא צרוינו קרדינל שר בית ספרים הנוכר אשר ירום רום הודו

I, Andreas Masius, bought this book for the library of Pope Julius III, in the year 1552 of the coming of our Messiah, may His name be exalted, on the instruction of my lord Marcello Cervino, Cardinal-Director of said library, may his majesty be exalted on high.²³

Rome Reborn, p. 225-249 (with a brief discussion of Masius on p. 239), and the classic study by G. Levi della Vida, *Ricerche sulle formazioni del piu antico fondo dei manoscritti orientali della Biblioteca Vaticana* (Vatican City 1939) [= Studi e Testi 92], with discussion of Masius on p. 136-140, 142-146, 308-322 and 444. On Cervini's personal library, see P. Piacentini, *La Biblioteca di Marcello II Cervini. Una ricostruzione dalle carte di Jeanne Bignami Odier. I libri a stampa* (Vatican City 2001) [= Studi e Testi 404]. The Syriac New Testament was eventually printed not in Rome but in Vienna, by Masius' friend and fellow scholar-diplomat Johann Albrecht Widmanstadt in collaboration with their Syriac teacher, Moses Mardenus, and Guillaume Postel. See Hamilton, 'Eastern Churches', p. 239; Wilkinson, *Orientalism, Aramaic, and Kabbalah*; and Coakley, *Syriac Typography*, p. 31-34.

23. Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana, Ms. Vat. Ebr. 416, with Masius' Hebrew note on fol. 1r. The most recent owner of the manuscript prior to Masius (see fol. 280 recto) was Benjamin ben Shabtai of Nola, probably the uncle of Elijah ben Menachem ben Shabtai of Nola, on whose friendship with Masius see below. An account book of expenses kept by Cervini during his tenure as cardinal-librarian confirms Masius' acquisition, and provides the exact date and price. See Ms. Vat. Lat. 3965, fol. 40 verso: 'A m[esser] Andrea Magi scudi dua et Jul[iii] 5 per altrettanti spesi da lui p[er] un libro hebraico p[er] ordine del R[everendissim]o Maffeo, p[er] un m[anda]to di S.S. R[everendissim]o ma sotto il dì 20 d'agosto 1552' (my transcription). Léon Dorez, 'Le Registre des dépenses de la Bibliothèque Vaticane de 1548 à 1555', *Fasciculus Ioanni Willis Clark dicatus* (Cambridge 1909), p. 180, does not identify 'Andrea Magi', but it must be Masius. The same manuscript is most likely identical to the Hebrew lexicon that entered the library on October 12, 1552, in which case Cervini paid Masius in advance. See the list of books that entered the Vatican Library during Cervini's librarianship, Ms. Lat. Vat. 3963, at fol. 8 verso. On Ms. Vat. Ebr. 416 and its earlier owners, see now B. Richler (ed.), with M. Beit-Arié in collaboration with N. Pasternak (palaeographical and codicological descriptions), *Hebrew Manuscripts in the Vatican Library* (Vatican City 2008) [= Studi e Testi 438], p. 357-358.

Little did Masius know, when he bought this manuscript that summer, that 1552 was the last year of the relatively untroubled flourishing of Renaissance Jewish culture in the Papal States. Rome in the preceding hundred years had known open, if cautious, exchange between non-converted Jews and Christians, with part of the Roman elite eager to learn Hebrew and study Jewish texts, and Jewish culture attracted to and affected by the main currents of the Italian Renaissance.²⁴ It was the city that produced the earliest Hebrew incunabula, where Cardinal Grimani would introduce the groundbreaking Christian Hebraist Johannes Reuchlin to Obadiah Sforno, where Elijah Levita and his family could live for twelve years in the palace of Cardinal Egidio da Viterbo and Leo X approve of the printing of the works Levita composed there, where Paul III would appoint Jacob ben Samuel Mantino his personal physician and professor of medicine at La Sapienza, in which Andreas Masius could visit an unwallled Jewish Quarter whenever he pleased, and in which Adelkind's and Postel's friend, the Roman rabbi Benjamin d'Arignano, collaborated with Isaac ben Immanuel de Lattes to print Hebrew books, such as the responsa of the Catalan Talmudist Nissim ben Ruben of Gerona (1545), on a bustling Campo de' Fiori, in the printing house of Antonio Blado (the Papal printer who in 1532 had printed the *editio princeps* of Machiavelli's *Prince* and in 1549 published the first index of forbidden books printed in Rome). Rabbi d'Arignano could even borrow Hebrew books from the Vatican library.²⁵

Seized by censorial and conversional zeal, Cardinal Giovanni Pietro Carafa, head of the Roman Inquisition, ordered all copies of the Talmud and related Hebrew books confiscated. On September 9, 1553, the first

24. See generally, Ruderman, *Essential Papers*, especially Ruderman's synthetic introduction.

25. On December 28, 1539, 'Benjamin the Jew' [Benjamin d'Arignano] borrowed a copy of the *Mivchar ha-Peninim* from the Vatican Library. See the library's lending register in Ms. Vat. Lat. 3966, at fol. 13 recto. On February 6, 1549, Cervini ordered him to be paid 8 scudi for a parchment manuscript of Rashi's complete commentaries to the Hebrew Bible. See the library's expense account in Ms. Vat. Lat. 3965, at fol. 4 verso. On Jewish life in Renaissance Rome generally, see L. Manino (ed.), *Italia Judaica. Gli ebrei nello Stato pontificio fino al Ghetto (1555)* (Rome 1998), and K. Stow, *Jewish Life in Early Modern Rome: Challenge, Conversion, and Private Life* (Aldershot 2007). On Viterbo and Levita, see (besides Weil, *Élie Levita*) J.W. O'Malley, *Giles of Viterbo on Church and Reform* (Leiden 1968), p. 70, 83-84. On De Lattes, see S. Schwarzfuchs, 'Rabbi Isaac Joshua ben Immanuel of Lattes and the Jews of the Apostolic States', in *Gli ebrei nello Stato pontificio* (Rome 1998), p. 66-79 and B.D. Cooperman, 'Political Discourse in a Kabbalistic Register. Isaac de Lattes' Plea for stronger communal Government', in J.M. Harris (ed.), *Be'erot Yitzhak. Studies in Memory of Isadore Twersky* (Cambridge, MA 2005), p. 47-68, with appendices.

day of *Rosh ha-Shana*, the Jewish New Year 5314, they went up in flames on the Campo de' Fiori in a furnace of folios, to what three days later was chillingly described as 'maximo populi applausu'.²⁶

'The decree spread like wildfire through Italy', David Amram wrote with little exaggeration in his classic study, 'and within a month the blaze of burning books ascended from the public squares of Bologna, Ravenna, Mantua, Ferrara and the entire Romagna.' The following month it had reached Venice, where the decree to confiscate Hebrew books and burn them on the Piazza San Marco, issued by the Council of Ten on October 21, was even more severe and comprehensive.²⁷

By the time the news reached Masius at the monastery of Weingarten near the Bodensee, midway through November, his books had been confiscated along with the rest of Bomberg's stock. Extant correspondence from the months immediately following the confiscation evokes Masius' deep distress for his books, but also his indignation at the decision itself. In moving letters that have been published, translated and discussed in several languages, we see an outraged Masius pulling all the

26. M. Stern (ed.), *Urkundliche Beiträge über die Stellung der Päpste zu den Juden* (Kiel 1893), nr. 100, p. 98-102, esp. 101. The same document is edited by S. Simonsohn, *The Apostolic See and the Jews. Documents 1546-1555* (Toronto 1990), nr. 3165, p. 2887-2890. See still W.A. Popper, *The Censorship of Hebrew Books* (New York 1899, 1968), p. 31-37. On the intertwining histories of the Roman inquisition and the Jews of Rome, see A. Prosperi, 'L'inquisizione Romana e gli Ebrei', in M. Luzzati (ed.), *L'Inquisizione e gli Ebrei in Italia* (Rome 1994), p. 67-120. On the Papal and inquisitorial policies towards Hebrew Books and the Talmud in particular, see the articles collected in F. Parente, *Les Juifs et l'Église Romaine (XVe-XVIIIe siècle)* (Paris 2007), translated by M. Anquetil-Auleta; F. Parente, 'The Index, the Holy Office, the Condemnation of the Talmud, and the Publication of Clement VIII's Index', in G. Fragnito (ed.), *Church, Censorship and Culture in Early Modern Italy* (Cambridge 2001), translated by A. Belton, p. 163-193; K. Stow, *Catholic thought and Papal Jewry Policy, 1555-1593* (New York 1977). P. van Boxel, 'Cardinal Santoro and the Expurgation of Hebrew Literature', in S. Wendehorst (ed.), *The Roman Inquisition, the Index, and the Jews* (Leiden 2004), p. 19-34. A. Raz-Krakovitzkin, *The Censor, the Editor, and the Text* (Philadelphia 2005). On the burnings of the Talmud in Italy in the sixteenth century from 1553 onwards, see K. Stow, 'The Burning of the Talmud in 1553 in the light of sixteenth-century Catholic attitudes to the Talmud', *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance* XXXIV, nr. 3 (1972), p. 435-459, reprinted in the same author's *Jewish life in Early Modern Rome*, p. 1-25. On Blado's edition of the Index of the Sorbonne, with additions through 1548, extant in a single copy, see J.M. de Bujanda (ed.), *Index de Rome 1557, 1559, 1564* (Sherbrooke 1990), p. 29.

27. D.W. Amram, *The Makers of Hebrew Books in Italy* (Philadelphia 1909), p. 268; see also Popper, *The Censorship of Hebrew Books*, p. 34; R. Bonfil, *Jewish Life in Renaissance Italy* (Berkeley, CA 1994), p. 65-66; Stow, 'The Burning of the Talmud'; P. Grendler, 'The Destruction of Hebrew Books in Venice, 1568', *Proceedings of the American Academy for Jewish Research*, vol. 45 (1978), p. 103-130.

strings in his web of connections to attempt both the retrieval of his library and the rescinding of the decree.

On Christmas Eve 1553, Masius wrote a bitter letter to one of the highest functionaries in the Roman Church, Cardinal Sebastiano Pighino, whom he had known since 1546, one of the two presidents of the 1551-52 session of the Council of Trent, an auditor at the *Sacra Rota*, and among the signatories to the decree for the burning of the Talmud. Masius describes the decree as of eternal disgrace and damage to the Apostolic See and to the Christian cause, to be ascribed to the complete blindness of the cardinals, none of whom ever bothered to read the least word of the Talmud. 'In fact, I have read the Talmud if not entirely then at least in large part,' Masius wrote, 'and I've found an infinity of unchallengeable arguments against the Jews, but not a single one of any significance against Christianity.'²⁸ The following February, Masius wrote to Marc'Antonio da Mula, the Venetian ambassador to the Imperial Court. Recalling that earlier in the century, Pico della Mirandola and Johannes Reuchlin had prevailed against an assault on Jewish books, Masius beseeched da Mula to help him secure his Hebrew library, 'for I fear that delay would mean a death sentence for my most precious books.'²⁹ Finally, he mobilized his most powerful protector. Frederik II, Duke of Bavaria and Elector Palatine, wrote on behalf of his counselor

28. 'eam sententiam, in aeternum sedi apostolicae ignominiosam et rei Christianae (...) damnosam', 'quum alioqui in ea re plane caecitire, neque vestrum quisquam vel verbum unicum in illis commentariis legisset (...) legi & ego Talmud, si non uniuersum, certe bonam partem; reperi infinita aduersus Iudaeos irrefragabilia testimonia, aduersus Christianos ne unum quidem, quod vel nauci sit.' Bayerische Staatsbibliothek MS Clm 23736, nr. 182, Andreas Masius to Cardinal Sebastiano Pighino, 24 December 1553 (copy), printed with lacunae in A. Lamey (ed.), 'Epistolae maximam partem palatinae ex codice MS Andreae Masii...', in *Historia et Commentationes Academiae Electoralis Scientiarum et Elegantiorum Litterarum Theodoro-Palatinae Vol. VII* (Mannheim 1794), p. 319-411, nr. XX, p. 344-346. Most missing passages are printed in Lossen, *Briefe*, nr. 128, p. 144-145. A partial German translation is given in Perles, *Beiträge*, p. 223-225, and paraphrased in Amram, *The Makers of Hebrew Books*, p. 271; a partial Hebrew translation is offered by A. Yaari, *Studies in Hebrew Booklore. Chapters in the History of the Hebrew Book* (Jerusalem 1958), p. 200 and a partial English translation is given in S.W. Baron, *A Social and religious history of the Jews, second edition, revised and enlarged*, vol. XIV (New York/Philadelphia 1969), p. 30. For Masius' early acquaintance with Pighino, see S. Ehses, 'Andreas Masius an Bernardino Maffei. Trient, 10 Januar 1546', *Römische Quartalschrift für christliche Altertumskunde und Kirchengeschichte* 21 (1907), fasc. 3, p. 50-53.

29. 'Nam metuo ne mora capitale periculum adferat meis charissimis libris.' Bayerische Staatsbibliothek Ms Clm 23736, nr. 185, Andreas Masius to Marco Antonio de Mula, 19 February 1554 (copy), printed in Lamey, 'Epistolae', nr. XXII, p. 348-349, and paraphrased in Lossen, *Briefe*, nr. 131, p. 147.

Masius to the Venetian Senate and to de Mula, protesting the confiscation of Masius' library. The Duke's letter was no doubt penned by Masius himself. Not only did it describe the location of the books in Venice, it also identified several titles by precise description and binding. Clever jurist that he was, Masius had the Elector point out the contradiction that all books confiscated had been printed in Venice by Bomberg with full Papal and Venetian approbation.³⁰

The attempt to burn every copy of the Talmud in Italy was something different altogether from the mere mockery of 'Talmudic twaddle' that Münster, who had died the previous year, had sought to refute. The Hebrew library of a Christian humanist had become the focal point of the eclipse of Catholic attitudes towards Hebrew and Jewish scholarship and printing at the cross-roads of the Counter-Reformation, the Inquisition, and the Index. And Masius, the indispensable intermediary between Renaissance Catholic and Jewish cultures, was now caught in the web of their entanglement.

A net was tightening around the Roman Jews, too. Julius III's bull of 29 May, 1554, *Cum Sicut Nuper*, slightly moderated the attack on Jewish books, and Kenneth Stow has suggested that Julius might well have been nudged in this direction by reading Masius' letter to Pighinus.³¹ Julius' successor, Masius' friend and patron, the bibliophile Cardinal-Librarian Marcello Cervini, who was sympathetic to biblical humanism and owned personal copies of Levita's works (even one in an edition by Münster), might have changed the course of events following his election to the See as Marcellus II during Holy Week 1555.³² But after a three-week pontificate he suddenly died, and Giovanni Pietro Carafa, the inquisitor who had ordered the burning of the Talmud, was elected

30. Bayerische Staatsbibliothek Ms Clm 23736, nr. 184, printed in Lamey, 'Epistolae', XXI, p. 347-348, and in German translation in Perles, *Beiträge*, p. 227-228, noting it is not certain whether the letter was actually sent. The Elector's letter is dated February 19, 1554 (in Lamey erroneously 1556), and mentions several books by name: the entire Talmud, Babylonian and Palestinian, 'in variis voluminibus eleganter compactum.' Evidently Masius had them handsomely bound. Masius also owned a copy of one of the editions of the Rabbinic Bible or *Miqra'ot Gedolot* in the final Bomberg edition (1548): 'Biblia magna cum commentariis diversis ultimo ab ipso Daniele Bombergo impressa.'

31. See Stow, 'The Burning of the Talmud in 1553', p. 458.

32. See Piacentini, *La Biblioteca di Marcello II Cervini*, p. 131. On the title page, Münster's name has been obscured by a censor. Cervini also owned an incomplete copy of the Complutensian Polyglot Bible (there, p. 9).

to the throne of St. Peter. Within two months of his election, on 17 July, 1555, Paul IV issued the bull *Cum Nimis Absurdum*. Among its numerous restrictive measures, it ordered the establishment of walls surrounding all Jewish quarters in the Papal States and the closing of all synagogues but one in each city; Jews were forced to sell all their real estate, forbidden to employ Christians and commanded to wear a sign on their clothing identifying them as Jews.³³ Masius was away from Rome at the time, but three letters have survived, addressed to him by Elijah ben Menachem of Nola, a young Jewish scribe and bookseller. Nola kept Masius abreast not just of the availability of Hebrew books Masius had ordered from him and from Benjamin d'Arignano, such as the Talmudic index *Moreh Maqom 'al ha-Talmud*, the kabbalistic *Sepher Raziel* and Jewish-Christian religious disputations of Ephod (Profiat Duran), but also of the despondent mood in the Jewish Quarter of Rome in the summer of 1555, and especially the fear on the part of Roman Jews that *Cum Nimis Absurdum* was designed to ensure forced conversion.³⁴ The letters are in Italian, but Nola uses a collage of Hebrew biblical citations in passages most critical of the new Pope and most expressive of his own desperation. He wished Masius had been in Rome for the election of Cervini, 'of blessed memory'. The new Pope, however, was someone of whom Nola doubted that it could be said *הושיעה יי כי גמר הסיד*, 'Help, Lord, for the godly man is gone' (Psalm 12:1).³⁵ As Giovanni Pietro Carafa, the Pope had

33. See Stow, *Catholic Thought*; Stow, *Jewish life in Early Modern Rome*; Stow, 'The Papacy and the Jews: Catholic Reformation and beyond', *Jewish History*, vol. 6, nr. 1-2 (1992), p. 257-259; Parente, *Les Juifs et l'Église Romaine*. A debate ensued over Stow's translation of a crucial passage in the bull. See D. Berger, 'Cum nimis absurdum and the conversion of the Jews', *Jewish Quarterly Review* N.S., vol. 70, nr. 1 (1979), p. 41-49 and K. Stow, 'The proper meaning of "Cum nimis absurdum"', *Jewish Quarterly Review* N.S., vol. 71, nr. 4 (1981), p. 251-252.

34. 'qui li hebrei stanno molto travagliati per una altra bolla novamente uscita de sua santita, per laqual pare che sua Santita vogli che cebatizamo per forza, dicendo che qual sivoglia persona che non creda che Christo non sia nato di maria virgine et che sia figliolo di dio che tutti habiano di partirsi del tutto tenimento de la eclesia fra termino de tre mesi. Considerate che animo stamo ...' Elijah of Nola (Rome) to Masius (Waldsaxen Monastery), 16 August, 1555. Printed from a manuscript in the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek by Perles, *Beiträge*, p. 219. The letters from Elijah of Nola to Masius were translated into Hebrew by I. Sonne in his edition of Benjamin Nehemiah ben Elnathan's *From Paul IV to Pius V. A Hebrew Chronicle from the Sixteenth Century* (1954), p. 106-109 (in Hebrew). See also I. Sonne, *La Politica di Paolo IV (1555-1559) verso gli ebrei* (Milan 1931).

35. 'Molti giorni mivissi in speranza che venissevo in Italia, maxima quando fu fatta la electione delabona memoria dimarcello; ma doppo lasua morte tutto merefredai et tanto piu dopo la electione de paulo, che dubio non sepossa dire *הושיעה יי כי גמר הסיד*', Elijah of Nola to Andreas Masius, 15 June 1555, printed from a manuscript in the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek by Perles,

been Bishop of Chieti, *Theate* in Latin, and the Congregation of Clerics Regular had been called the Theatine Order after him. As Joseph Perles showed, 'Theatino' in Nola's Hebrew transliteration טײאטינו, alludes to Isaiah 14:23 and has the same numerical value (95) as המן, Haman, King Ahasveros' evil counselor set on destroying the Jewish people in the book of Esther, and symbol of Israel's fiercest enemies.³⁶ It is a testimony not just to the knowledge of Hebrew literature on the part of his addressee presupposed by Nola, but especially to the trust that must have existed between the Roman Jew and the Catholic scholar that Elijah felt able to express to Masius his reservations about a newly elected Pope by means of Hebrew Scripture and gallows humor in Hebrew numerical allusion. And in view of Elijah of Nola's deeply troubled voice here, it is all the more striking that twenty years later, we find Masius' friend converted and baptized as Giovanni Paulo Eustachio, working as a lecturer of Hebrew at La Sapienza and as Hebrew *scrittore* in the Vatican Library.³⁷

III

Before turning to Masius' printed Hebrew books, any discussion of his library must bear in mind his acquisition of several extraordinary manuscripts. They are not mentioned in the bibliography he would append to his *Joshua*, but they merit consideration here, as they offer a fuller idea of his collecting, and the way his library and his scholarship intertwined.

The first is a manuscript of the Aramaic targums to Joshua, Judges, Samuel and Kings, copied by Alfonso de Zamora. A converted Jewish scholar who had remained in Spain after the expulsions of the 1490's,

Beiträge, p. 216-217. The expression 'delabona mimoria' seems to be a paraphrase of the traditional Jewish dictum upon mentioning the name of one dear or esteemed deceased, 'of blessed memory', a striking expression for a Jew to use for a Pope. By implication, Elijah calls Pope Marcello Cervini a 'hasid', a pious and saintly man.

36. Perles, *Beiträge*, p. 223.

37. See P. van Boxel, 'Cardinal Santoro and the Expurgation of Hebrew Literature' p. 28; U. Cassuto, *I Manoscritti Palatini Ebraici della Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana e la loro storia* (Vatican City 1935) [Studi e Testi 66], p. 65-66; K. Hoffmann, *Ursprung und Anfangstätigkeit des ersten Päpstlichen Missionsinstituts* (Münster 1923), p. 206-208. On the life and work of Elijah ben Menachem of Nola, see B. Leber, *A Jewish Convert in Counter-Reformation Rome. Giovanni Paolo Eustachio* (doctoral dissertation, University of Maryland, College Park 2000). I am grateful to Bernard Cooperman for bringing this dissertation to my attention, and to Barbara Leber for sharing a copy of her work with me.

Zamora (c. 1474 – after 1544) was the chief editor of the Hebrew and Aramaic texts in the Complutensian Polyglot Bible (Alcalá de Henares: Arnaldo Guillén de Brocar 1514-1517). Of all the targum texts he prepared and translated, only the targum to the Pentateuch was included in the monumental edition, which also included the *editiones principes* of the Old and New Testaments in Greek. The targums to the remaining books of the Hebrew Bible, deemed by Cardinal Jiménez de Cisneros to be corrupted through Jewish transmission, remained in manuscript in the university library at Alcalá de Henares, a location known to anyone who carefully read the Cardinal's preface to the reader.³⁸ At some point after 1517, one of Zamora's unpublished targum manuscripts went missing from Spain. Along paths that have yet to be traced, it wound up in Rome, where Masius acquired it.

When Benito Arias Montano, the Spanish Hebraist who had studied Zamora's manuscripts as a student at Alcalá under Cipriano de la Huerza from 1548 to 1552, was sent to Antwerp in the Spring of 1568 to direct the publication by Christopher Plantin of a new edition of the Polyglot, he discovered to his utter astonishment that Masius, Plantin's friend and associate, owned Zamora's missing Targum manuscript, and would gladly lend it for use in editing the new Polyglot. On November 9, 1568, Montano wrote to Gabriel de Zayas, secretary of state for the Spanish Netherlands at the court of Philip II:

And now another task has offered itself to me, one which keeps me awake at night, which is that among the Aramaic books which the Cardinal had [prepared] for [his Polyglot] edition, one volume was missing which is not extant at Alcalá, which was that of the Prophets which are called the Former ones, which are Joshua, Judges and the Books of Samuel and Kings, which remained in the possession of Zamora when the Cardinal died. This book had disappeared from Spain, and while here I learned that it was brought to Rome and that

38. Cardinal Francisco Jiménez de Cisneros, 'Prologus ad Lectorem', in *Vetus Testamentum multiplici lingua nunc primum impressa...* (Alcalá de Henares: Arnaldo Guillén de Brocar s.a. [1517]) [= Vol. I of the Complutensian Polyglot Bible], sig. + iiiv, 'Na[m] Chaldaica in caeteris libris praeterq[ue] in Pe[n]tateucho corrupta est aliquib[us] in locis: & fabulis merisq[ue] Thalmudistaru[m] nugis co[n]spersa: indigna prorsus quae sacris codicibus inseratur. Verum quia quibusdam in locis vbi integra est littera & incorrupta: miru[m] in modum fauet Christianae religioni. Idcirco reliquos libros totius Veteris testame[n]ti e Chaldaica lingua in latina[m] verti fecimus: & dilige[n]tissime cu[m] sua latina traductione co[n]scriptos in publica Co[m]plutensis nostrae Vniuersitatis Bibliotheca reponi.'

it was bought there by Andreas Masius, the secretary to the Duke of Bavaria and his ordinary envoy, to whom I spoke when he was passing through these parts this summer on a delegation to the Duke of Alva. And I asked him to lend it to me to add it to the rest of this [new Polyglot] Bible. And having promised that to me, I asked Plantin to pass by there [Masius' estate in Zevenaer] on his way back from [the book fair at] Frankfort to pick it up. And when he brought it to me with his [Masius'] letter, it turned out that it was not translated into Latin but was entirely in Aramaic, written by hand, and that only the first twenty verses had begun to be translated. As we have it [i.e. the Aramaic targum to these books also without Latin translation] in the Bibles of Rome and Venice, I am therefore forced to translate it [myself] because it will go [into our edition] entirely both in Aramaic and in its [Latin] translations. Thus I have begun to do so, with the help of *the One who giveth power to the faint* [Isaiah 40:29].³⁹

Masius' pivotal role in the production of the Antwerp Polyglot Bible, and Montano's and Plantin's deep affection for and gratitude to Masius have long been known.⁴⁰ In fact, it is in a letter to Masius, dated February 26,

39. Benito Arias Montano to Gabriel de Zayas, November 9 1568, in *Coleccion de Documentos inéditos para la historia de España*, vol. XLI (Madrid 1862), p. 135-136: 'Y agora se me ha ofrecido otro cuidado que me ejercita en las noches y es que entre los libros caldeos que el Cardenal tenia para imprimir, faltaba un tomo que no parecia en Alcalá, que era el de los Profetos que llaman Primeros, que son *Josué Judices et Libri Samuel et Reges*, el cual quedó en poder de Zamora cuando el Cardenal murió. Y este libro se habia desaparecido en España, y estando aquí supe que habia aportado á Roma y que allí lo habia comprado Andreas Masio, secretario del duque de Baviera y su embajador ordinario, al cual, pasando este estío por aquí con embajado al Duque d'Alba, hablé y lo pedí me lo prestase para juntarlo con los demás en esta Biblia; y habiéndomelo prometido, rogué á Plantino que de vuelta de Francafor, viniese por allí y lo trajese, y cuandome lo trajo con su carta, hallé que no estaba traducido en latin sino solo en caldeo, escrito de mano, y solo del primer capítulo comenzados á traducir veinte versos, y ansí en caldeo acá lo teníamos en las Biblias de Roma y vencia, de manera que me ha sido forzado traducirlo y porque vaya todo el caldeo con sus traducciones, y ansí lo he comenzado á hacer con la ayuda de aquel *qui dat lasso virtutem ...*' Cursive in the printed edition, interpunction slightly altered. The expression from Isaiah with which Montano ends is not uncommon in colophons to Hebrew manuscripts. Montano might even have been playing on a colophon by Zamora, which uses this very expression. See *Bibliotheca Historica* 'Marques de Valdecilla' (Madrid), MSS 12, fol. 104 recto. On Masius' Zamora manuscript, see G. Lacerenza, 'Il Commento ai Salmi di Dawid Qimhî in un manoscritto di Alfonso de Zamora', G. Lacerenza (ed.), *Hebraica hereditas. Studi in onore di Cesare Colafemmina* (Naples 2005), p. 67-93, at p. 85

40. B. Arias Montano, 'Ad lectores Praefatio', in *Biblia Sacra, Hebraice Chaldaice Graece & Latine, Bibliorum Sacrorum Tomus Primus* (Antwerp: Christopher Plantin 1568) (the first volume of the Antwerp Polyglot), sig. ***2v, describes Masius' contributions: 'Ab Andrea Masio uiro à Consiliis, & secretis Ducis Cluuiæ, plerisque ualde doctis annotationibus, & Chaldaica Paraphrasi in priores Prophetas, Psalmos, Ecclesiasten, & Ruth, ope Hispani exemplaris à se Romae inuenti, & quod maximum est, Dictionario Syriaco cum eiusdem idiomatis doctissima Grammatica aucti sumus. summam certè co[m]mendationem praestantissimus & antiquarum linguarum peritissimus

1565, that Plantin makes the earliest extant mention of his bold Polyglot plan.⁴¹ Beyond his deep biblical learning, his numerous political and scholarly connections, and the contribution of his own Syriac scholarship to the Antwerp Polyglot Bible, one must consider Masius' part in the production even more significant in light of this invaluable manuscript by Zamora which he made available. From a textual point of view, the Antwerp Polyglot Bible went beyond its Complutensian predecessor by adding the targums to the Hebrew Bible besides that to the Pentateuch and the Syriac text to the New Testament. As Montano's letter to Zayas shows, it was from this manuscript, along with printed editions, that the editions of the targums to the Former Prophets and their Latin translations in the Antwerp Polyglot Bible were edited. The correspondence attesting to this manuscript – from Arias Montano to Zayas, from Masius to Arias Montano, and from Plantin to Cardinal Granvelle – also offers a description of a hitherto unknown and apparently no longer extant autograph manuscript by Alfonso de Zamora, one of the most important figures in early modern Hebrew scholarship.⁴²

Two Arabic manuscripts are also known to have passed through Masius' library. The first is the current Leiden Ms. Or. 241, an illuminated Qur'ān in elegant maghribi script which had once belonged to his Greek teacher, Rutger Rescius, the Leuven printer and Hellenist. Rescius had also taught Nicolas Clenardus (Cleynaerts, 1493-1542), who corresponded with Rescius about his groundbreaking Arabic studies, lived in the Jewish quarter of Fez, and might very well have been the source for

hic uir apud omnes studiosos meretur.' For a lyrical evocation of Plantin's admiration for Masius, see Plantin to Masius, M. Rooses (ed.), *Correspondence de Christophe Plantin III* (Antwerp 1911), nr. 359 and Lossen, *Briefe*, p. 434. At one point, Masius planned to produce a translation of the Targum himself. See Lossen, *Briefe*, p. 185-186.

41. Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 23736, nr. 63, Lossen, *Briefe*, nr. 259, p. 362-365; Rooses, *Correspondence de Christophe Plantin III*, nr. 333, p. 1-4. See also L. Voet, *The Golden Compasses. The History of the House of Plantin-Moretus*, vol. 1 (Amsterdam/New York 1969), p. 56.

42. See Masius to Montano, October 10, 1568, in B. Macías Rosendo (ed.), *La Biblia Poliglota de Amberes en la Correspondencia de Benito Arias Montano (Ms. Estoc. A 902)* (Huelva 1998), p. 96-100; Plantin to Granvelle, October 22, 1568, in M. Rooses (ed.), *Correspondence de Christophe Plantin II* (Antwerp 1885), p. 10-14. Rooses states erroneously (*Correspondence III*, p. 55 n. 1) that it was a Spanish printed edition of the targums that Masius lent Montano. The fact that in Masius' manuscript the Latin translation is abandoned after a few lines suggests that this was the last of the three unpublished Targum manuscripts Zamora prepared for Cisneros, and furthermore, that Zamora discovered that his Targum texts were not going to be edited in the Polyglot after all before completing the translations. The unfinished nature of this third manuscript might have plaid a part in its sale.

Rescius' Qur'ān. The manuscript passed from Rescius to Masius, and from him, probably as a gift at Antwerp, to Franciscus Raphelengius (1539-1597), Plantin's son-in-law and co-editor of the Plantin Polyglot, who would take over the Leiden branch of the Plantin shop and become professor of Hebrew there.⁴³ The second is a twelfth-century Mozarabic Latin-Arabic glossary, now Leiden Ms. Or. 231, which Masius borrowed from Guillaume Postel, and apparently never returned.⁴⁴ Like Rescius' Qur'ān, it passed from Masius to Raphelengius, and both Raphelengius and Joseph Scaliger consulted it intensely in the compilation of their respective Arabic-Latin dictionaries.⁴⁵

Perhaps through the mediation of his Syriac teacher, the Jacobite priest Moses Mardenus, or through his friend and fellow Louvain alumnus Auger Ghiselin de Busbecq (1521-1591), Imperial diplomat to the court of Suleiman the Magnificent, Masius acquired what can be considered the single most important book in his library.⁴⁶ This was a manuscript of the Syro-Hexapla, believed to be the missing first half of a manuscript today

43. See T. Dunkelgrün, 'From Tunis to Leiden across Renaissance Europe. The Curious Career of a *Maghribi* Qur'ān', *Omslag. Bulletin van de Universiteitsbibliotheek Leiden en het Scaliger Instituut* 3 (2009), p. 7-8, P.Sj. van Koningsveld, 'Arabic Manuscripts of the Tunesian Teacher of Clenardus in Leiden, Uppsala and Vienna', *Omslag*, vol. 8, nr. 2 (2010), p. 3-4; and A. Hamilton, 'The Perils of Catalogs', *Journal of Islamic Manuscripts* 1 (2010), p. 31-36. Prof. Dr. Jan Just Witkam, interpres legati Warneriani emeritus, kindly pointed out to me that this Qur'ān was not written in Bizerte north of Tunis, as I claimed. The manuscript was written in the early 10th/16th century, and contains sura's 33:31-37:144, with a lacuna from 36:80 to 37:22. See A. Vrolijk and K. van Ommen (eds), *All my Books in Foreign Tongues. Scaliger's Oriental Legacy in Leiden 1609-2009* (Leiden 2009), p. 69-71, where it is still mistaken for part of the Scaliger bequest.

44. Giorgio Levi della Vida was the first to note that the Latin-Arabic lexicon of which Guillaume Postel speaks in a letter to Masius as having loaned to the latter, was likely Leiden Ms. Or. 231. See Levi della Vida, *Ricerche*, p. 320, with reference to a letter from Postel to Masius printed in J.G. de Chauffepié, *Nouveau Dictionnaire Historique et Critique*, tome III (1753), p. 232-233. On their first acquaintance, see F. Secret, 'La rencontre d'Andreas Masius avec Postel à Rome', *Revue histoire Ecclésiastique* 59 (1964), p. 485-489. For extensive study of this manuscript, see P.S. van Koningsveld, *The Latin-Arabic glossary of the Leiden University Library* (Leiden 1976). Masius' ownership is not mentioned by Van Koningsveld, but it is noted by J.J. Witkam, *Inventary of the Oriental Manuscripts of the Library of the University of Leiden University I* (Leiden 2007), <http://www.islamicmanuscripts.info/inventories/leiden/>, p. 100-101 [accessed November 4, 2011].

45. See A. Hamilton, "'Nam Tirones sumus": Franciscus Raphelengius' *Lexicon Arabico-Latinum* (Leiden 1613)', in M. de Schepper en F. de Nave (eds), *Studia in Memoriam Christophori Plantini (ca. 1520-1589)* (Antwerp 1989) (= *De Gulden Passer*, p. 66-67), p. 557-589, esp. p. 559.

46. Masius had written to Busbecq requesting that he buy Syriac books for him in Constantinople. See Masius' letter to Busbecq printed in his translation of Moses bar Kepha, *De Paradiso Commentarius* (Antwerp: Christopher Plantin 1569), p. 229, and the letter from Busbecq to Masius printed in Lossen, *Brieffe*, p. 260-263. On Busbecq, see Ogier Ghiselin de Busbecq, *Les Lettres Turques* (Paris 2010), translated by D. Arrighi with an introduction by G. Veinstein.

in the Biblioteca Ambrosiana in Milan.⁴⁷ The Syro-Hexapla is a seventh-century Syriac translation by Paul of Tella of the fifth column of Origen's Hexapla, to which it is a critical witness, especially as it includes the Origenic diacritical apparatus (an asterisk for a word or passage in the Hebrew Bible absent in the Greek, an obelus for the reverse).⁴⁸

As only a scholar with a rare combination of skills, a deep historical sense, equally at home in Greek, Hebrew, Aramaic and Syriac could, Masius recognized the treasure which had come into his hands for what it was. In the course of his broad biblical and oriental studies, his interests had come to focus on the history of the transmission of Biblical texts. Many of his contemporaries believed that the Hebrew Biblical text had been corrupted in the course of its Jewish transmission, particularly in passages traditionally read typologically. But from Levita's *Masoret ha-Masoret*, and quite certainly in conversation with Levita himself, Masius had learned about the exceedingly careful transmission of the text of Hebrew Bible and the accompanying masoretic apparatus. Masius also met Johannes Isaac Levita, a converted rabbi from Hesse who held the chair in Hebrew at Cologne from 1551-1577 (with a leave of absence in 1563-64 to work for Christopher Plantin) and who staunchly defended the integrity of the transmission of the Hebrew Bible. Masius had an acute sense of the textual tradition in Aramaic, too. As Masius, Montano and Raphelengius studied the manuscripts of Alfonso de Zamora in the course of editing the Antwerp Polyglot Bible, they acquired a sophisticated understanding of the ways in which the Sephardic transmission of the Aramaic Bible had remained alive, not only to their own day, but in the case of Alfonso de Zamora and Johannes Isaac, even beyond the gate of

47. See S.P. Brock, *The Bible in the Syriac Tradition* (Piscataway, NJ 2006), p. 47 and 132; N. Fernández Marcos, *The Septuagint in Context. Introduction to the Greek versions of the Bible* (Leiden 2000), translated by W.G.E. Watson, p. 353-354; and A.N. Ceriani, *Codex Syro-Hexaplaris photolithographice editus* (Milan 1874). If indeed these are two halves of the same MS, it would already have been divided in Masius' time, with Masius owning only the lost part. See the epistle dedicatory to Philip II in his *Iosuae Imperatoris* (p. 6), where Masius describes the (partial) contents of his Syro-Hexaplaric MS.

48. On Origen and the Hexapla, see recently A. Grafton and M. Williams, *Christianity and the Transformation of the Book. Origen, Eusebius, and the Library of Caesarea* (Cambridge, MA 2006), with discussion of the Syro-Hexapla on p. 169, and of Masius' groundbreaking interest therein on p. 336 n. 86. On the fifth column of the Hexapla, Origen's critical recension of the Septuagint, see S.P. Brock, 'Origen's aims as a Textual Critic of the Old Testament', *Studia Patristica*, vol. 10 (1970), p. 215-218. For a reconstruction of Masius' Syro-Hexaplaric MS, see De Lagarde, *Bibliothecae Syriacae*, p. 19-32i.

conversion.⁴⁹ Finally, from his ancient Syro-Hexaplaric manuscript containing in part the very same biblical books that he had in Zamora's now lost manuscript, as well as from his personal study and interaction with Moses Mardenus, Masius discovered that Oriental Christianity, too, had ancient textual traditions, not just of the *Peshitta*-text of the New Testament, but also in the Syro-Hexaplaric transmission of Origen's recension of the Jewish-Greek version.⁵⁰ These contemporary scholars, three of whom (Levita, Mardenus, and Isaac) Masius knew personally and closely, were so to speak native informants, who taught him that the textual traditions of Hebrew, Aramaic and Syriac Biblical texts were at the same time ancient and still very much alive in practice and trustworthy transmission.⁵¹

49. Masius' targum was not to the only manuscript by Zamora available to the circle of editors of the Antwerp Polyglot Bible, as Montano had several manuscripts sent or transcribed from the library at Alcalá. Leiden University Library Ms. Or. 645, furthermore, is a volume of miscellaneous papers by Zamora. Its ascription to the collection of Levinus Warner is, I believe, mistaken. Studying the 1626 auction catalog of the library of Franciscus I Raphelengius, Alastair Hamilton discovered that three Leiden Hebrew manuscripts, like nine in Arabic considered part of the Scaliger bequest, had in fact belonged to Raphelengius (see A. Hamilton, 'Franciscus Raphelengius: The Hebraist and his manuscripts', *De Gulden Passer* 68 (1990), p. 105-117). Among three additional, unidentified Hebrew manuscripts from Raphelengius' library, there is one that the catalog describes as 'Varii Scripturae textus Hebraici. Excerpta è Bibliis Hebraicè cum versione interlineari, caractere partim hispanico partim Iudaico currenti. Liber exercitij juvenilis in studiis Hebraicis Ben. Ariae Montani', which could very well be a rough description of Ms. Or. 645, if indeed it belonged to Montano. Given that Montano studied Zamora's *Nachlass* as a student in Alcalá, that Ms. Or. 645 contains (section D, fol. 14v) a sonnet to Montano, given Montano's affection for Raphelengius, and given that a catalog of the Leiden Library compiled after the Raphelengius auction (1626) but prior to the Warner bequest (1665) contains an appendix of new mss which could well describe Arabic and Hebrew manuscripts from Raphelengius' auction, including Or. 645 (see *Catalogus Bibliothecae Publicae Lugduno-Batavae* (Leiden: Elsevier 1640), p. 200), it would seem much more likely that Montano gave Raphelengius this Zamora miscellany than that it somehow wound up among the Karaites of Constantinople from whom Levinus Warner acquired his Hebrew manuscripts nearly a century later. See Hamilton, 'Franciscus Raphelengius,' p. 116 and Dunkelgrün, 'De Hebreuwse Handschriften', p. 14. On Ms. Or. 645, see recently J. de Prado Plumed, 'Unexpected Teaching from an Unexpected Location' in *Omslag*, vol. 9, nr. 2 (2011), p. 10-11, and C.A. Fontela, 'Prólogo arameo y anotaciones hebreas de Alfonso de Zamora para una copia manuscrita del Targum a los Profetas encargada por la Universidad de Salamanca', *Sefarad*, vol. 69, nr. 2 (2009), p. 382-396. I am grateful to Mr. Jesús de Prado Plumed for his discovery of the sonnet to Montano, and for the pleasure of our ongoing discussion of this manuscript.

50. See recently T.M. Law, 'A History of Research on Origen's *Hexapla*: From Masius to *The Hexapla Project*', *Bulletin of the International Organization for Septuagint and Cognate Studies*, vol. 40 (2007), p. 30-48, esp. p. 31-32.

51. A letter of 11 June 1547, from Cornelio Adelkind to Masius offers touching evidence of Levita's care for the Flemish scholar. Writing from Bomberg's printing shop in Venice, Adelkind informs him that he has passed Masius' greetings on to Levita, and that Levita would like very much to see him once more before he dies: 'sapiati che io ho fatto le debite salutacione de parte vostra a רבי אליה לוי, el qual vi vederia volutiera inante che el vada apatrem; sapiati che el e molto vecchio e

An Biblical Humanist in schooling, mentality and method, Masius also firmly believed that contrary to the Tridentine decrees, these oriental versions were indispensable to the comparative-historical and critical study of Scripture. It is a testimony to his education, from Leuven to Rome, to his relations and friendships with scholars and editors from Venice to Antwerp, to his historical imagination, his openness to the wisdom of strangers, and above all to the sustained analytical and synthetic powers of his mind, that Masius conceived of how the Syro-Hexapla might be used, and proceeded to do so.

IV

Masius' intimate understanding of ancient and living traditions of textual transmission provided the impetus to his *magnum opus*, a polyglot edition of the book of Joshua, on which he worked from the early 1560's until his death in 1573. He was still an active diplomat, and Ludovico Guicciardini describes his command of Hebrew, 'such that even the Jews themselves are amazed' among the attractions of the Brussels court.⁵² By the late 1550's, however, his *Wanderjahre* far from his native Low Countries had come to an end. From his home in Zevenaar, Masius remained a passionate participant in the intellectual and courtly life of the Rhineland, a world that included the Flemish geographer Gerardus Mercator, the irenic Flemish theologian George Cassander, the French antiquarian and legal scholar Jean Matal, Johannes Weyer, personal physician to Duke William V of Cleve, and the converted rabbi Johannes Isaac.⁵³ While Masius failed to

non sta tropo î Cervello lui Zavarìa spessi volte.' Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 23736, Nr. 156, published in Perles, *Beiträge*, p. 210-211, and translated into French in Weil, *Élie Levita*, p. 163.

52. 'ha Andrea Masio, Consigliere del Duca di Cleues, huomo dottissimo nelle due lingue, Latina & Graeca, ma singulare & forse unico nell'Hebraica, in quanto che gli Hebrei medesimi ne stupiscono.' Lodovico Guicciardini, *Descrittione di tutti I Paesi Bassi* (1567, reprinted by Christopher Plantin 1581), p. 84. See also Lossen, *Briefe*, p. 309, 377.

53. Masius seems to have had some kind of argument with Johannes Isaac, though the latter was full of praise for Masius, and the two were reconciled by Jean Matal, whom Masius had met in Rome. See Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 23736, Nr. 123 (autograph), Johannes Metellus (Jean Matal), Cologne, to Andreas Masius, 24 December 1565, published in Lossen, *Briefe*, nr. 265, p. 372-373: 'Isaacus quoque Judaeus de te magnifice non semel locutus est. Te certe linguae hebraeae cognitione omnibus christianis quos norit [novit?], haud obscure praeferet. Quamquam nescio quid inter vos ex minima re, quam oblivisci potes, dissidii ante aliquot annos ortum mihi significarit.' See also P.A. Heuser, *Jean Matal. Humanistischer Jurist und europäischer Friedensdenker (um 1517-1597)* (Cologne 2003), p. 234 n. 1.

secure Papal approbation for the founding of a University at Duisburg, the men who would have formed its core faculty remained a warmly collaborative community of scholars.⁵⁴ Mercator helped Masius understand the geography of the land of Israel as conquered by Joshua and divided among the tribes, while Masius in turn contributed a short treatise on the words for magic in the Hebrew Bible to Johannes Weyer's groundbreaking study of witches and madness, the *De Praestigii Daemonum et Incantationibus ac Ueneficijs* (Basel: Johannes Oporinus 1564), at which Jean Bodin would aim his ire.⁵⁵ But while his correspondence continued to reach wide and far, allowing him to collect variant readings from a Greek Biblical manuscript in the Vatican Library through his friend Latino Latini, for example, Masius spent as much of these years as possible in study and contemplation at *Borchkens Hof*, a modest estate he bought in Zevenaar, east of Arnhem on the border between Guelders and Cleve.⁵⁶

The immense work of these years, besides his contributions to the Antwerp Polyglot, was Masius' *Iosvae Imperatoris Historia*. As printed in

54. For Mercator's assistance to Masius, see J. van Raemdonck, 'La Géographie Ancienne de la Palestine. Lettre de Gérard Mercator à André Masius datée de Duisbourg du 22 mai 1567', *Annales du Cercle archéologique du Pays de Waas*, X, nr. 1 (1884), p. 5-35. The correspondence between Masius and Cassander is published in P. Burman (ed.), *Sylloges epistolarum a viris illustribus scriptarum* II (Leiden 1727), p. 284-288, from Universiteitsbibliotheek Leiden, MS Cod. Vulc. 105 II. For Masius' relations with Matal, see Heuser, *Jean Matal*, passim. On the negotiations regarding the new university, see Lossen, *Briefe*, p. 357-358, and S. Ehses, 'Andreas Masius an Kardinal Morone. Zevenaar, 18. September 1561. Die Universität Duisburg betreffend', *Römische Quartalschrift für Christliche Altertumskunde und Kirchengeschichte* XXII, nr. 1 (1908), p. 62-66. Jongkees suggests that Masius' positive position towards the Talmud contributed to failure to obtain Papal opposition to the foundation of a university at Duisburg. See J.H. Jongkees, 'Masius in moeilijkheden', *Gulden Passer* 41 (1963), p. 162.

55. See Johann Weyer, *De Praestigii Daemonum et Incantationibus ac Ueneficijs* (Basel: Johannes Oporinus 1564), p. 102-108; Lossen, *Briefe*, p. 341-342; and H. de Waardt, 'Witchcraft, Spiritualism, and Medicine: the Religious Convictions of Johan Wier', *Sixteenth Century Journal*, vol. 42, nr. 2 (2011), p. 369-391, with brief mention of Weyer's collaboration with Masius on p. 379-380. On Bodin's attack on Weyer in his *Démonomanie* (1580), see N. Malcolm, 'Jean Bodin and the authorship of the "Colloquium Heptaplomeres"', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, vol. 69 (2006), p. 95-150, at p. 128-130. On the humanistic learned culture at the courts of the lower Rhineland in the sixteenth century, see E.M. Kloosterhuis, *Erasmusjünger als politische Reformer. Humanismusideal und Herrschaftspraxis am Niederrhein im 16. Jahrhundert* (Cologne 2006), with numerous discussions of Masius, Mercator, Cassander and Weyer throughout.

56. On Masius' acquisition of this estate, see Lossen, *Briefe*, p. 329-331, and G. v. Below, 'Andreas Masius von der Hörigkeit befreit', *Korrespondenzblatt der Westdeutschen Zeitschrift für Geschichte und Kunst* XI, nr. 7-8 (July and August 1892), p. 150-152. Latini's letters to Masius are printed in D. Magri (ed.), *Latini Latini Epistolae, conjecturae et observationes* (Rome 1659 and Viterbo 1667).

Antwerp by Plantin in 1574, it became an edition of the Biblical text in Hebrew with a new literal translation into Latin, a recension of the Greek text in light of the ancient witnesses in the Syro-Hexapla, in which the Origenic diacritical apparatus as transmitted in the Syriac tradition was reproduced, and a new Latin translation of the Greek, printed in four columns across two pages, with the Vulgate across the bottom of both pages.⁵⁷ It also included not just a wealth of annotations and text-critical observations, but a full verse-by-verse commentary in which Masius draws upon his rich Hebrew library to illuminate the world of the Biblical book, its transmission and rabbinical reception. Not only did the various textual traditions complement each other in the work of the polyglot scholar, but various Jewish traditions, from the exegetical Rashi and Ibn Ezra to the philosophical Maimonides and Gersonides, from the masorete Levita to the kabbalist Recanati, were all mobilized by Masius in pursuit of his philological and antiquarian investigations.

Masius sent the manuscript of his *Joshua* to Plantin in Antwerp on April 2, 1571, and on September 17, 1571, Plantin, ever the prudent printer, replied that the printing would have to wait at least until the following January, given the demands of printing the Polyglot Bible.⁵⁸ Masius' manuscript was granted the necessary approbation by November 1571, but Plantin had underestimated the time it would take to print such a philologically and typographically demanding work. In the Spring of 1573, Heinrich von Weeze wrote a heart-rending letter to Plantin, describing his dear friend Masius' four months of illness and suffering, up to his death on April 7.⁵⁹

57. For a technical bibliographical description of Masius' *Iosuae Imperatoris Historia*, see Voet, *The Plantin Press* III, nr. 1474, p. 1269-1270.

58. On the back of Plantin's letter of January 31, 1571, Masius gives a précis of his reply, now lost: 'Respondi 2. Aprilis (...) Mitto Josuam (...)', Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 23736, Nr. 58, edited in Lossen, *Briefe*, p. 453-454. For Plantin's reply, see Christophe Plantin (Antwerp) to Andreas Masius, 17 September 1571, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 23736, Nr. 59, edited in Lossen, *Briefe*, p. 468 and Rooses, *Correspondence* III, p. 86-88.

59. Henricus à Weeze, 'Epistola de Morte Andreae Masii', addressed to Christopher Plantin, in Masius, *Iosuae Imperatoris Historia*, two unpaginated pages following p. 350: 'difficultate spirandi, tussi, dolore capitis, insomniâ[ue] ferè continua, diu grauitertq[ue] uexatus & afflictus: ita corpusculum eius, quod alioqui, uit scis, erat rarum & macilentum, debilitatem & extenuatum fuit, ut nihil nisi pellem & ossa, cerneret & conrectares [...] suum Iosuam typis tuis, mi Plantine, excusum, saepiùs, dum aegrotaret, uidere desiderauit, ut doctorum de eo iudicium audiret. Quamobrem te etiam atque etiam oro, ut quum primùm poteris, illum mundo exhibeas.'

With difficulty breathing, coughing, with pain in his head, nearly continuously sleepless, heavily suffering and afflicted. His little body, already slender and lean as you know, had been weakened and diminished, such that you bent over and embraced nothing but skin and bones. [...] As he withered away, he so often desired to see his Joshua printed with your types, my Plantin, so that he might hear how scholars judged it. Wherefore I beg and beseech you that you publish it as soon as you can.

Masius' *Iosuae Imperatoris Historia* was printed in Antwerp the following year, and Leon Voet might well be right in his suggesting that this moving letter pushed Plantin to finally get it done.⁶⁰ Plantin's assertions of preoccupation with the Polyglot suggest that the delay itself was primarily due to the fact that the most able editor and corrector of Greek, Hebrew, Aramaic and Syriac, Plantin's son-in-law Franciscus Raphelengius, was caught up in finishing the Antwerp Polyglot itself. Following the departure from Antwerp of Benito Arias Montano to Rome to obtain Papal approbation for the Polyglot, and Guy le Fèvre de la Boderie's return to Paris, Raphelengius was the only editor left in Plantin's shop capable of proof-reading and correcting all languages used in Masius' Polyglot Joshua. Raphelengius' role is confirmed by Plantin's remark to Masius, 'J'ay delivré vostre billet a mond[it] gendre pour le joindre au catalogue de vos livres a la fin de vostre Josue.'⁶¹ Evidently, Masius' initial copy had already contained a bibliography, a 'catalogue' of his books, but he continued to supply additions to it, at least as late as the Autumn of 1571. It is this catalogue to which we now turn.

V

The final, unnumbered pages of Masius' *Joshua* contain, as an appendix, a list of Hebrew books, 'which Andreas Masius used in writing these commentaries,' a list that goes unmentioned in Leon Voet's

60. Voet, *Plantin Press* III, p. 1270.

61. Plantin to Masius, 17 September 1571, in M. Rooses (ed.), *Correspondence de Plantin* III (1911), p. 83. In this bibliography, Masius sometimes speaks in the first person, sometimes he is referred to in the third person. The latter instances might well reflect Raphelengius' incorporation of Masius hand-written additions. Since Raphelengius was the editor of this book, Masius' list must also be considered an important source for Raphelengius' knowledge of Hebrew and Aramaic literature. Arias Montano's definite departure from Antwerp was only in May 1575, but he spent most of 1572 in Rome, trying to acquire Papal approbation for the Antwerp Polyglot Bible.

bibliographical description of the work.⁶² It is this bibliography, of interest to both historians of scholarship and historians of the book, which is offered here in two appendices, in Masius' Latin with interspersed Hebrew and Aramaic, and in an annotated English translation.

A systematic study of its application in Masius' edition of and commentary on Joshua, which it most certainly deserves, lies beyond the purview of the present article, but in spite of the brevity of its descriptions, the bibliography alone has much to tell us about Masius' library specifically, and about Christian scholarship and readership of the Hebrew book in the 16th century generally.

Firstly, it reveals the depth, breadth, and sophistication of Masius' grasp of Jewish sources and literature. Contrary to the Christian Kabbalist two recent studies have portrayed him to be,⁶³ we see Masius engaged in various and different traditions of post-Christian Jewish literature, kabbalistic, surely, but also talmudic, philosophical, halakhic, midrashic, homiletic, poetic. His approach is historical rather than mystical. We see him identifying rabbis of late antique Babylon and of medieval France, distinguishing between the Judeo-Arabic Andalusia of Abraham ibn Ezra and Judah ha-Levi and the masoretic tradition as introduced and explained to Christian scholars by Elijah Levita. We see him deciphering (some of) the Hebrew topographical names for European locales, and trying to reconstruct the chronology of the composition of various parts of the Talmudic corpus and later rabbinic literature. Franciscus Raphelengius, the future chair of Hebrew at Leiden University, must have learned much from this list when, as a younger man, he edited it for Plantin's press.

Secondly, the bibliography displays the scope of Hebrew typography in the sixteenth century. When read against Masius' extant correspondence, it shows us the kind of Hebrew and Aramaic library which, by the 1560's, a dedicated Christian Hebraist with sufficient connections and funds could acquire. It also shows us the ways in which he would do

62. *SEQVVNTVR NOMINA AVCTORVM ET LIBRORVM Hebraicorum, quibus And[reas] Masius in scribendis istis commentariis vsus est.* Cf. Voet, *The Plantin Press*, III, nr. 1474, p. 1269-1270. F. Secret, *Les Kabbalistes Chrétiens de La Renaissance* (Paris 1964), p. 55-56, briefly discusses Masius' bibliography, and offers a partial translation.

63. See R.J. Wilkinson, *The Kabbalistic Scholars of the Antwerp Polyglot Bible* (Leiden/Boston 2007), especially chapter 3, and R.J. Wilkinson, *Orientalism, Aramaic, and Kabbalah in the Catholic Reformation. The first printing of the Syriac New Testament* (Leiden/Boston 2007), especially chapter 3.

so, whether from Jewish book dealers in Rome and Venice (where Ottoman editions were traded, too), at the fair at Frankfurt or from Christian printers in Antwerp and elsewhere. The letter the Elector Palatine addressed to the Venetian senate, for example, requesting the release of Masius' confiscated Hebrew books printed by Bomberg, describes them 'all of which, while he was occupied in Rome on our orders, [Masius] had acquired partly as a gift from the Bombergs, partly bought, and partly ordered set aside for him until he would have the leisure to have them shipped.'⁶⁴ Cornelio Adelkind's letter of 11 June, 1547, shows that Masius had sent the Bombergs a list of the books he was looking for, and that in those cases where the Bomberg press had not printed them, or didn't have copies printed by others, or if the work in question hadn't been printed yet at all, as a last resort Masius could order a manuscript copy made from the personal copy in a Venetian Jewish Library. Elijah of Nola's letters to Masius reveal that Masius had sent a list of books he already owned, so that his Roman Jewish contacts would know how to complete his library on their own initiative. In Paul Fagius' dedicatory epistle to Masius in his *Liber Fidei* (1542), Fagius notes that Masius asked him for all the Hebrew books he printed. On the back of a letter he received in the Summer of 1570 from Christopher Plantin, Masius wrote a précis of his reply, itself no longer extant. After discussing a range of issues relating to the on-going production of the Polyglot, Masius ends with the request to Plantin to acquire a missing part of his *Zohar* from Italian Jews trading at the Frankfurt book fair: 'Mitto schedam defectus in Zohar, cuius exemplum posui apud Zohar, rogoque ut si potest, impetret a Judaeis Italis expleri eos defectos.' Plantin replied October 22, with surprising antipathy towards Jews: 'Quant a l'imperfection de vostre Zoar j'y feray tout mon pouvoir, mais je crains grandement que je n'y pourray rien faire a Francfort, vue que c'est avec juifs qu'il me faudra avoir affaire.'⁶⁵

64. 'quae omnia annis superioribus cum nostro jussu Romae ageret, a praedictis Bombergis partim dono, partim praetio impetravit, & sibi reservari jussit donec commoditas daretur omnia una sarcina evehendi.' See note 30.

65. Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm. 23736, nr. 62, Plantin to Masius, August 1, 1570, edited in Lossen, *Briefe*, p. 446. Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm. 23736, nr. 62, edited in Lossen, *Briefe*, p. 451, and Rooses III, p. 67-68. For Adelkind's letter, see note 51. On Fagius' dedication to Masius of his 1542 *Liber Fidei*, a Latin translation of the *Sepher Amana*, an anonymous convert's attack on Judaism, see Raubenheimer, *Paul Fagius*, p. 32-33.

The bibliography is not just a snapshot of Masius' own library, but like two other lists of Hebrew books published by Christian contemporaries of Masius, Conrad Gesner and Sixtus of Siena, it offers a panorama of both the flourishing Hebrew printing press and the burgeoning book trade in the early modern period, in Italy above all, two factors that made a Christian scholar's sophisticated grasp and use of the multiplicity of Jewish literature possible. Gesner's list, however, is that of an omnivorous bibliographer, while Sixtus' list was composed in the wake of his being dispatched as a censor of Hebrew literature to Cremona, with the order to destroy Hebrew books.⁶⁶ Masius' catalogue, by comparison, seems to be the first printed bibliography of Hebrew books compiled by a Christian Hebraist for explicitly scholarly purposes, and it provided a valuable resource to future Hebrew bibliographers, from Johannes Buxtorf to Johann Christoph Wolf.⁶⁷

Thirdly, though he refers here and there to 'Jewish superstitions' (a stock-phrase in contemporary literature), Masius' descriptions of his

66. C. Gesner, *Pandectarum sive Partitionum uniuersalium* (Zurich: Christophorus Froschouer 1548), includes a section (38v-41v), 'De Grammatica Hebraica, Chaldaica & Arabica & c.', consisting primarily of Hebrew and Aramaic grammars. Following that is a second list of Hebrew books (41v-42v), 'Sequuntur libri aliquot Hebraici Venetijs uenales, pretio quo singuli uenduntur adscripto monetae Venetae per libras & per solidos.', a catalogue of books for sale in Venice by Daniel Bomberg. Considered the earliest printed catalogue of Hebrew books, it is of further historical significance for including the price per book. See A. Freimann, 'Daniel Bomberg's Buchverzeichnis', *Zeitschrift für Hebräische Bibliographie* X (1906), p. 38-42. Sixtus of Siena's list is an appendix to his *Bibliotheca Sancta* (Venice 1575), 'Catalogus Expositorum Hebraeorum seu Rabinorum, Qui Iudaica lingua & iuxta hebraicas traditiones diuinas literas exposuerunt', p. 570-573. On Sixtus, see F. Parente, 'Quelques contributions à propos de la biographie de Sixte de Sienna et de sa (prétendue) culture juive', D. Tollet (ed.), *Les Eglises et le Talmud* (Paris 2006), p. 57-94 and J. Wicks, S.J. 'Sixtus of Siena', in Saebø, *Hebrew Bible/Old Testament II*, p. 639-640.

67. The Hebrew collections of several early modern Christian Hebraists have been (partially) reconstructed. See e.g. C. Astruc and J. Monfrin, 'Livres Latins et Hébreux du Cardinal Gilles de Viterbe', *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance* XXIII (1961), p. 551-554 (taken from Bibliothèque Nationale de France, MS Grec 3074, fol. 74v-79v); W. von Abel and R. Leicht (eds), *Verzeichnis der Hebraica in der Bibliothek Johannes Reuchlins* (Ostfildern 2005); 'Rekonstruktion einer Bibliotheca Rabbinica Münsters', in Burmeister, *Sebastian Münster*, p. 200-201; H. Striedl, 'Die Bücherei des Orientalisten Johann Albrecht Widmanstetter', in H.J. Kissling (ed.), *Serta Monacensia. Franz Babinger zum 15 Januar 1951 als Festgruss Dargebracht* (1952), p. 200-244 and H. Rebhan, 'Johann Albrecht Widmanstetter und seine Bibliothek', in *Kulturkosmos der Renaissance* (2008), p. 81-123; M. Hulvey, 'Les bibliothèques retrouvées de Sante Pagnini, dominicain de Lucques, et de Pierre BULLIoud, "gentil-homme" Lyonnais: en hébreu et en grec', *Bulletin du bibliophile* 1 (2009), p. 79-106; A. Grafton and J. Weinberg, 'Isaac Casaubon's Library of Hebrew Books', in G. Mandelbrote and B. Taylor (eds), *Libraries within the Library* (London 2009), p. 24-42, and A. Grafton and J. Weinberg, *I have always loved the Holy Tongue. Isaac Casaubon, the Jews, and a Forgotten Chapter of Renaissance Scholarship* (Cambridge, MA 2011), p. 329-331.

Hebrew books and their Jewish authors are strikingly free of polemic. He is full of praise for the learning and wisdom of Joseph Albo, Moses Maimonides, Elijah Levita, Gersonides and Jedaiah ha-Penini. This is not the place for a study of the manifold ways Masius used his Hebrew library, but the description of one book in particular strikes the eye, quite literally, and reveals something of the way Masius thought about his Hebrew books as a collection.

The very first word in the list, printed in a bold Hebrew type bigger than any other word in these pages, is *TALMUD*. Since the Tridentine index printed in 1564 under Paul IV (the former inquisitor general Giovanni Pietro Carafa), the Talmud could only be printed if censored and with the word 'Talmud' itself left out.⁶⁸ This latter stipulation was something other than the expurgation of an anti-Christian passage; the very word had come to be treated as blasphemous, even magical (though in light of the burnings of the previous decade, the Pauline index can also be considered a move of moderation). Indeed, during this episode, Plantin temporarily stopped the printing of the apparatus to his Polyglot Bible, for fear of not receiving Papal approbation for it, precisely because the introduction to Masius' Syriac Grammar explicitly mentioned the Talmud by name. In the event, two editions of Masius' Syriac Grammar were printed, based on his autograph printer's copy, preserved in the Royal Library in Brussels, one with and one without the word Talmud.⁶⁹

Given these events in the two years immediately preceding the posthumous publication of Masius' *Joshua*, the decision, presumably by Raphaelengius, to print the word *TALMUD* here at the head in a bold Hebrew type, constituted nothing short of an act of defiance. Masius'

68. *Index Librorum Prohibitorum* (Rome: Paulus Manutius 1564), p. 69-70, s.v. 'Incertorum auctorum libri prohibiti.': 'Thalmud Hebraeorum eius[ue] glossae, annotationes, interpretationes et expositiones omnes si tamen prodierint sine nomine Thalmud & sine iniuriis & calumniis in religionem christianam, tolerabuntur.' Cf. J. Bujanda (ed.), *Index de Rome, 1557, 1559, 1564* (Sherbrooke 1990), nr. 953, p. 691 and 869-870. The first edition of the Talmud so censored only appeared after Masius' death, printed in Basel in 1578-1580 by Ambrosius Froben.

69. See Voet, *The Plantin Press* I, nr. 644, p. 280-315 on the complete Antwerp Polyglot Bible, and p. 289-291 on Masius' Syriac grammar and dictionary in two versions, one with the mention of the Talmud and one without. See also Jongkees, 'Masius in moeilijkheden', p. 161-168, which includes an edition of a hitherto unknown letter from Masius to Cardinal Sirleto (Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Reg. Lat. 2023, fol. 228 recto-verso, in Masius' own hand), dated by Jongkees to early 1572. Masius' autograph copy prepared for Plantin is now Royal Library, Brussels, Ms 416.

attack on the burning of the Talmud in 1553, in the correspondence cited above, led him into serious trouble, and made him something of a hero in older literature on the history of Italian Renaissance Jewry.⁷⁰

But Masius was not only a protector of the Talmud; he was also an assiduous reader. The entry on the Talmud in Masius' bibliography is more extensive than for any other book. Masius goes out of his way to present himself as a critical if vehement defender of the Talmud *because* he has actually studied it. Throughout the commentary on Joshua, Masius occasionally disagrees with the Talmudic sages, but only after having read them. Condemning a book without knowing its contents, he wrote to Marc'Antonio da Mula, is like letting blind men judge colors (the expression 'caecis iudicium de coloribus' is taken from Erasmus' notes to the adage 'ne sutor ultra crepidam'). The knowledge of the Talmud he displays here tells us much about the mentality with which he approached Jewish literature. Masius' systematic discussion, *seder* by *seder*, seems intended not only to display his own panoramic understanding of this vast and dense work, but as the closing remark suggests also to dispel what myths and prejudices even his most learned reader might very well have of one of the most reviled books of the early modern period.

Masius' apparent mistakes are instructive, too. He dates the composition of Qalonymos ben Qalonymos' *Even Bohan*, for example, to 1239 rather than the correct 1322/3. Where did he go wrong? He could have owned three possible editions: a Neapolitan incunabulum (Joseph ben Jacob Ashkenazi Gunzenhauser, 1489), a Venetian edition (Cornelio Adelkind, 1545-46) or a later Cremona edition (Vincenzo Conti, 1558). The latter two both follow the colophon in the first, which opens with the phrase: סימתי האגרת בחדש העשירי הוא חדש טבת אחר האלף החמישי בן שלש ושמונים שנה אני הדל באלפי אשר ידעו ספר האלף ושמונים שנה (eighty-three years) as the age of the author, and האלף החמישי (the fifth millennium) as the year of composition. Since Rosh

70. See Amram, *Makers*, p. 64 and 66; A. Yaari, 'The Burning of the Talmud in Italy', in idem, *Studies in Hebrew Booklore. Chapters in the History of the Hebrew Book* (Jerusalem 1958), p. 198-234, esp. p. 200; C. Roth, *The Jews in the Renaissance* (1959), p. 164; S.W. Baron, *A Social and religious history of the Jews, second edition, revised and enlarged*, vol. XIV (New York/ Philadelphia 1969), p. 30. On Cecil Roth, see D.B. Ruderman, 'Cecil Roth, historian of Italian Jewry. A Reassessment', in D.N. Myers and D.B. Ruderman (eds), *The Jewish Past Revisited* (New Haven/London 1998), p. 128-142.

ha-Shana of the year 5000 fell in late summer of 1239, Masius dated the manuscript to 'approximately 1239' (*anno Christi circiter millesimo ducentesimo trigesimo nono*), some forty-seven years before Qalonymos was actually born. Upon autopsy, however, manuscripts of the *Even Bohan* in Italian, Sephardic and Byzantine traditions have a colophon with an additional word, והעולם, 'the world', which does not occur in any of the early printed editions. In these manuscripts, the colophon reads, סיימתי האגרת הזאת בחודש העשירי הוא חודש טבת והעולם אחר, האלף החמישי בן שלש ושמונים שנה אני הוא הדל באלפי אשר ידעו ספר ההעולם אחר האלף, והעולם אחר האלף, can be taken together as 'and the world is eighty-three years old after the fifth millennium', that is, the Jewish year 5083, or 1322-23 CE, the year external sources confirm to be the date of completion of the text. The confusion is not in Masius' interpretation, but rather in the incunable *editio princeps* having imperfectly edited a manuscript colophon, and later editions copying the first.⁷¹

Finally, in the pages of this bibliography, and in the immense work of biblical scholarship to which it is an appendix, we encounter a Catholic biblical scholar who has built an entire library of Jewish literature from Baghdad to Lisbon and from antiquity to his contemporaries, putting it to scholarly use and arguing for its relevance, importance and necessity to Christian scholarship. Moreover, he appears to have no qualms or reservations for doing so, theological or otherwise, nor does he feel the need to offer an apology, as even Fagius and Münster did. There is a persistent idea in modern studies of early modern Christian Hebraism according to which the Council of Trent brought an end to Catholic Hebrew scholarship, henceforth practiced nearly

71. I have consulted colophons of the *Even Bohan* in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, Ms. Michael 240 (Neubauer 1402), and Ms. Oppenheimer Add. 8° 28 (Neubauer 2413), three at the Jewish Theological Seminary, New York City, JTS Ms. 2319, JTS Ms. 2435, JTS Ms. 2439, and one at the Universiteitsbibliotheek, Leiden, Ms. Or. 4727 (Hebr. Scaliger 10). The latter manuscript belonged to Joseph Scaliger, who deciphered the colophon correctly, noting in the margin (fol. 110 recto) '5083 anno judaico.'

72. On the life and work of Qalonymos, see J. Schirrmann and E. Fleischer, *The History of Hebrew Poetry in Christian Spain and Southern France* (Jerusalem 1997), p. 514-541 (in Hebrew), and A.M. Habermann (ed.), *Qalonymos ben Qalonymos Even Bohan, edited from manuscript and first editions, with annotations and postface* (Tel Aviv 1956). I am grateful to Malachi Beit-Arié for helping me understand this colophon.

exclusively in Switzerland and in the Protestant North. Masius' work – and one could add that of Benito Arias Montano, in Spain, Montano, Johannes Wilhelmus Harlemius and Franciscus Lucas in the Catholic Netherlands, Gilbert Générard in France, Nicolas Claude Fabri de Peiresc in Provence, Marco Marini and Roberto Bellarmino in Italy, and Athanasius Kircher, to mention only the most conspicuous – forcefully belies this idea.

In the very last entry in the bibliography, almost as an appendix to his appendix, Masius goes even one step further:

Besides these books, I have a number of Hebrew poets, and among them [is] a great volume by rabbi Immanuel, filled with the loveliest verses composed metrically. But it is pointless mention them or the commonly known grammarians.⁷³

Quite certainly this 'magnum volumen' contained the *Machberot* of the great poet Immanuel ben Solomon of Rome, also known as Manuello Romano or Manuello Giudeo (c.1261-c.1335). Immanuel composed poetry in both Italian and Hebrew, and wrote the first Petrarchan sonnets in Hebrew. His work reflects both the Judeo-Arabic influence of the Andalusian *maqama*'s as well as the *dolce stil nuovo* of his Italian contemporary, Dante.⁷⁴ If Masius recognized that Immanuel's twenty-eighth *machberet* was modeled on the *Divina Commedia*, he doesn't mention it here. However, before saying that it is pointless to mention them, Masius mentions them: he took pleasure in noting the pleasure he took in reading Hebrew poetry, whether of use for scholarship or not. It is as open-minded and as non-polemical an attitude towards Jewish culture as could be found anywhere in the sixteenth century, anywhere in Christendom.

Strangely, there is no mention in Masius' extant correspondence about the release of his Hebrew books from confiscation. However, the detailed discussion and precise references in his commentary on Joshua – to Talmudic discussions, with tractate, chapter and page – strongly

73. 'Praeter istos libros, habeo poetas aliquot Hebraeos: & inter eos R. Immanuelis magnum volumen suauissimis versiculis rhythmicorum more factis plenum. Sed istos & grammaticos perulgatos, nihil attinet commemorare.'

74. On Immanuel, see W.J. van Bekkum, "The Emperor of Poets". Immanuel of Rome (1261-1323)', in M.F.J. Baasten and R. Munk (eds), *Studies in Hebrew Literature and Jewish Culture Presented to Albert van der Heide on the Occasion of his Sixty-Fifth Birthday* (Dordrecht 2007), p. 203-221.

suggest that he recuperated at least part of it.⁷⁵ And we know that his Aramaic and Syriac manuscripts were in the Low Countries by the late 1560's. But one last question about this library – what happened to it? – remains as burning as it is unresolved. In his Qur'ān in Leiden, Masius signed his name twice. Might it have been his custom in his Hebrew books, too? So far, none has come to light.⁷⁶

Notes on the edition and the translation

In the edition of the Latin text of Masius' bibliography presented below, the spelling, ligatures and abbreviations in Plantin's edition (accidentals of a sixteenth-century printing shop without historical or textual importance) have been abandoned in favor of modern punctuation and spelling.

In the English translation, whenever Masius notes a word first in Hebrew and then gives his own Latin reading, the Hebrew has been transliterated and set in cursive, and the Latin translated rather than the Hebrew, even where Masius' translation is infelicitous or mistaken, to preserve and present his understanding of the Hebrew in translation, too.

Here and there, Masius notes that a given book in his collection was in manuscript rather than in print. This does not necessarily imply that in all other cases his copy was a printed edition. There are a few cases in which the *editio princeps* of a text in Masius' list only appeared after his death. In these cases, therefore, Masius' copy must have been a manuscript even where he doesn't mention that it was. Conversely, it cannot be ruled out that Masius' copy of a given book was in manuscript, even

75. The first extant mention of his working on these commentaries dates from 1564, more than ten years after the confiscation. See J. van Raemdonck, 'La Géographie Ancienne de la Palestine. Lettre de Gérard Mercator à André Masius datée de Duisbourg du 22 mai 1567', *Annales du Cercle archéologique du Pays de Waas*, X, nr. 1 (1884), p. 5-35. Perles, *Beiträge*, p. 228, notes 'ob überhaupt Masius' Bemühungen, seine Bücher wieder zu erlangen, is nicht ersichtlich.' And Lossen, *Briefe*, p. 157 notes: 'Ob M[asius] seine hebräische Bücher aus Venedig wieder erhalten hat, weiss ich nicht.'

76. The only printed book from Masius' library that can today be identified with certainty is his annotated copy of the Septuagint: *Divinae scripturae, veteris ac novi testamenti, omnia* (Basel: Johannes Hervagius 1545), with a preface by Philip Melancton. Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, 2 L.impr.c.n.mss. 80. See K. Dachs, *Die Schriflichen Nachlässe in der Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek München* (Wiesbaden 1970), p. 98. I am grateful to Scott Mandelbrote for bringing Masius' Septuagint to my attention.

if he doesn't mention it to be, and even if an edition *had* already appeared in print. Indeed several texts of which he explicitly says his copy is in manuscript had already been printed in several editions by Masius' day, such as Gersonides' *Wars of the Lord* (printed by Jacob Marcaria in Riva di Trento in 1560), or Immanuel of Rome's *Machbarot* (printed in Brescia by Gershom Soncino in 1491 and again in Constantinople by his son Eliezer in 1535). There is nothing surprising about this; contemporary or slightly later Christian Hebraists with substantial Hebrew libraries, such as Masius' friends Benito Arias Montano and Franciscus Raphelengius, but also Joseph Scaliger and the elder Johannes Buxtorf, collected both printed editions and manuscripts.

I have tried to identify each title in Masius' bibliography, to ascertain whether the book in question had been printed during his lifetime, and if so in which editions, in order to establish whether he could have acquired the book in a printed edition, and if he had done so, to identify, as far as possible, which specific edition was the one in his library.

Appendix I – edition

Iosuae Imperatoris Historia, illustrata atque Explicata ab Andrea Masio (Antwerp: Christopher Plantin 1574) [375-377, unpaginated]

Sequuntur nomina auctorum et librorum Hebraicorum, quibus Andreas Masius in scribendis istis commentariis usus est. Nam Latinos et Graecos nihil attinet indicare, sunt enim omnis generis multi.

תלמוד, id est, Doctrinale, universum, cum commentariis. Divisum est autem in sex **סדרים**, hoc est, ordines.

Primus ordo vocatur, **זרעים**, id autem est, semina, nam in eo agitur de ritibus omnibus, qui quovis modo spectant ad eas res, quae gignuntur ex terra, cuiusmodi sunt, decimae, quies anni septimi, pars frugum relinquenda pauperibus, libum sacerdoti ex quavis massa dandum, semina non permiscenda, novarum arborum fructus non temere gustandi, et quae his sunt similes caeremoniae.

Secundus ordo dicitur, **מועד**, id autem est, ac si, celebritatem dicas. In eo enim tractatur de diebus festis, deque ieiuniis, et aliis constitutis temporibus, quae Iudaei admirabilibus superstitionibus observant.

Tertius ordo appellatur, **נשים**, hoc est, mulieres. In eo multis modis disceptatur de iis quae ad coniugia attinent, veluti, de iure leviri, de nuptialibus contractibus, de votis mulierum, de Nazaraeis, de libelis repudii, et huius generis aliis iuribus, non sine miris superstitionibus.

Quartus ordo inscribitur, **גויקין**, ac si, damna, dicas, agit enim de damnis, et commodis, quibus afficiuntur homines ab hominibus, deque variis contractibus, iudiciis, sententiis, testificationibus, iure-iurando, de poenis, de Messia quoque et resurrectione mortuorum, denique de cultu alienorum deorum et huiusmodi aliis negotiis, hominum inter ipsos.

Quintus ordo vocatur **קדשים**, id est de rebus consecratis. Etenim in eo disputatur de loco, deque modo sacrificandi, et de animantibus ad victimas utilibus, de libis sacris, denique de preciis, quibus quaeque res Deo dicatae possunt redimi, etcetera.

Sextus ordo titulum habet **טהרות**, id autem significat, res mundas, nam in hoc disceptant Iudaei, sane pueriliter plerumque de variis modis, quibus res tum contaminantur, tum expurgantur.

Atque tot sunt veluti genera universae doctrinae Iudaicae, quam vocant **תלמוד**, hoc est, doctrinam. Dividuntur autem singula rursus in aliquot **מסכתות**, hoc est, dispositiones. Nam primum genus, sive ordo primus, continet, dispositiones undecim, secundus duodecim, tertius septem, quartus octo, quintus undecim, sextus tredecim. Rursus unaquaeque dispositio diducitur in plures **פרקים**, hoc est, distinctiones, et tamquam capita rerum. Sed non pergam enumerare singula, ne in re non necessaria longior fiam.

Est autem תלמוד duplex. Alterum Ierosolymitanum vocant. Hoc conscripsit quidam ר יוחנן, Rabbi Ioannes, annis circiter ducentis post eversum a Tito templum. Ultimum tamen סדר, sive ordinem, qui vocatur טהרות, non absolvit ille, cum ei vita non suppeteret, sed eius successores, synagogae principes. Alterum vocant Babylonicum, et hoc paene solo utuntur Iudaei ubique gentium. Huius משניות, hoc est, δειντερωσεις, quae sunt tamquam ipsum textum, conscripserant multi collati studiis, qui tum principes synagogae erant, anno circiter centesimo et vicesimo, post expugnatam atque vastatam a Tito urbem sanctam. Nec annis, post illud tempus, pluribus quam circiter decem, composuit quidam Rabbi, dictus בר קפרא, additiones, quas vocant תוספתא. Ceterum ad illas Deuteroseas addi tandem coeperunt, tamquam commentaria, quae vocant, גמרא, hoc est, absolutionem perfectionemque, anno post vastatum a Tito templum, ter centesimo, quinquagesimo, a quodam Rabbino, nomine ר אשי. Sed cum is annis circiter octo in ea re operam multam consumpsisset, obiit. Itaque inchoatum ab ipso opus, tandem, anno post eius excessum, septuagesimo tertio, est ab ipsius filiiis, aliisque successoribus absolutum, cum incredibili omnium Iudaeorum qui tunc usquam vivebant gaudio et exultatione. Fuerunt igitur in hoc suo Doctrinali componendo districti Iudaei annis circiter octoginta. Sed dabit mihi veniam lector, quod haec longius persecutus sim, putabam enim nostris hominibus parum nota esse.

רבות. Sunt commentaria ex veterum dictis scriptisque congesta, in quinque libros Mosis. Eorum auctor nomen habebat, רבה, filius Nechmanni. Conscripsit autem anno Christi circiter ter centesimo. Nam illa רבות, quae Moses Hadarsan composuerat, sunt a Iudaeis, quantum apparet, abolita, quod a nostris mysteriis viderentur favere in multis locis.

מסרת, liber in quo annotata sunt ea, quae ad scripturam atque ad notas vocales accentusque sacrarum literarum pertinent. Eius auctores fuere olim multi, et quidem illi ipsi, qui principes fuere illarum notarum in Bibliis scribendarum, ut ait Elias Levita, qui nostra memoria etiam ipse rem istam egregio opere illustravit.

מכילתא. Sunt commentaria in maximam partem Exodi, ex veterum dictis composita, a quodam Rabbi Ismaele et sociis, ante Doctrinale Babylonicum.

תנהומא sive ילמדנו. Commentaria sunt qualia quae proxime dicebam, sed in quinque Mosis libros. Eorum auctor est ר תנהומא et ipse cum primis vetus.

סדר עולם, hoc est, series mundi, liber chronicus, continens temporum rationem, quam omnes Iudaei plenis approbationis velis sequuntur, iam usque ab aliquot retro saeculis.

מדרשות in Psalmos, in Cantica, in Ecclesiasten, in Ruth, in Lamentationes Ieremiae, in Esther, in Proverbia, denique מדרש Samuelis. Sunt autem מדרשות prorsus illiusmodi commentaria, qualia רבות, quae nuper dicebam. Neque iis, etiam vetustate cedunt. Quaedam etiam, nisi fallor, superant. Sunt enim etiam ipsa conscripta ab illis, qui dicebantur אמוראים. Floruerunt autem אמוראים fere ab anno Christi ducentesimo quadragésimo, usque ad eius annum

quadragesimum septuagesimum sextum quo anno obiit רב סימא בן רבא, qui fuit ultimus inter אמוראים.

שאלתור, id est quaestiones de constitutionibus sacris, quae in quinque Mosis libris habentur. Conscripsit autem eas Rabbi אהאי, qui floruit anno Christi septingentesimo quadragesimo, fuitque unus ex iis, quos vocabant גאונים, quasi principes viros dicas.

ר שמעון בן יוחי Commentaria in quinque libros Mosis, quae conscripsit circa tempora Adriani Imperatoris.

ספרא, sive, תורת כהנים, commentaria in Leviticum vetusta cum primis, quorum auctor dictus est Rabbi Iuda. Eum ego, coniectura quadam, auguror fuisse, caecum illum, qui inter גאונים floruit anno Christi circiter septingentesimo sexagesimo. Fieri tamen potest, ut fallar.

Sequuntur libri cabbalistici manu scripti aliquot, eiusdem Andreae Masii.

שערי אורה, hoc est, porta lucis, cuius libri veluti specimen quoddam exhibuit Latine, nostra fere memoria, Paulus Riccius Caesaris Maxaemiliani medicus.

ר עקיבא, de apicibus literarum. Floruit ille tempore Adriani Imperatoris cuius iussu dilaniatus est, cum fautor atque adiutor fuisset secessionis, quam apud Iudaeos fecerat בר כוויבא, Bar-Cosba.

Liber de decem ספירות, incerto auctore, cum explanatione adiecta.

ספר יצירה, liber de creatione, cuius fabulantur Iudaei auctorem fuisse Adamum. Adscripta sunt diversa etiam commentaria.

Liber inscriptus משנת אברהם אבינו ויוסף בן עוזיאל, hoc est, Deuterosis Abrahami patris nostri et Rabbi Iosephi Uzielis filii. Sunt etiam ista tamquam commentaria libri יצירה.

Liber inscriptus כתר שם טוב, id est corona boni nominis, tacito nomine scriptoris. Liber est exiguus, sed in quo est recondita eruditio.

Liber inscriptus שרשים מספרי קבלה, hoc est, radices librorum cabbalisticorum. Neque hic auctoris nomen apparet.

מערכת האלוהות, hoc est, dispositio rerum divinarum, liber in quo nihil fere est praetermissum, quod ad cabbalisticam philosophiam pertineat.

ספר הבהיר, id est liber illustris. Eius auctor fuit, ut tradunt Iudaei, ר נהוניא, qui vixit ante compositas Deuteroses Doctrinalis Hebraeorum, fuit enim ex תנאים, qui in ipsis deuterosis citantur, in quibus huius quoque nomen non raro occurrit. Vidi ego etiam aliquando huius commentaria in Mosis libros, sed adhuc non potui adipisci.

פירוש תפלה, hoc est, explanatio orationum et precationum aliquot, quas solent Iudaei ad Deum adhibere. Hunc librum conscripsit Rabbi Menahem Recanatensis, eoque prosequitur abstrusissima quaeque in intima philosophia cabbalistica, Deique proprietates, ut vocamus, explicat et qua mente orandus sit Deus, docet.

סוד הייחוד, Mysterium unitatis. Et hunc libellum ab illo Rabbi Menahem conscriptum esse suspicor. Eius argumentum praecipue versatur in simplicissima Dei unitate ostendenda.

עשר ספירות, explanatio est decem numerorum, quibus cabbalistsae maximam suae doctrinae partem tradunt, sed brevis admodum. Auctoris nomen non apparet.

שם המפורש, hoc est, nomen explicatum, liber cabbalisticus sane mirabiliter scriptus, tacito auctore.

Epitome libri, qui inscribitur **מבחר המאמרים**. Scripsit autem olim eum librum quidam Rabbi Nathan, cum quinque Mosis libros arcanis modis interpretaretur, atque sacram historiam, ad rectam et sanctam communis vitae viam ubique accommodaret. Itaque libellus iste lectu profecto dignissimus est, sed parum cabbalisticus.

Liber qui inscribitur **מאזני העיונים**, id autem est, statera contemplationum. Neque iste liber fere distringitur in cabbalistarum philosophia, sed ipsum creatorem, et res creatas contemplatur, qualis sit cuique indita natura, et cetera.

שערי צדק, porta iustitiae, liber prorsus cabbalisticus. In quo ea doctrina, quae in porta lucis, de quo libro supra dixi, veluti inchoata erat, absolvitur. Est autem utriusque libri idem auctor, Rabbi Ioseph, cognomento Nyctelo. Cuius etiam pauca quaedam, cabbalistico more scripta de notis vocalibus nominis divini, apud me sunt. Et hi sunt fere libri cabbalistici, manuscripti, quos apud me habeo.

Ceterum alii auctores typis pervulgati, ex recentioribus, quibus usus sum, hi sunt:

Rabbi Mosis Maimonii Aegyptii explanatio in Doctrinalis Misnaioth, sive deuteroses.

Eiusdem liber qui inscribitur **מורה הנבוכים**, hoc est, doctor eorum qui dubitant, neque se expedire possunt.

In hunc librum varia diversorum auctorum commentaria, partim edita in lucem typis, alia manu scripta.

Rabbi Solomonis Galli commentaria in Doctrinale, et in sacra Biblia.

Rabbi Moses filii Nechmani Gerundensis commentaria in Pentateuchum et in Iobum.

Rabbi Abraham filii Ezdrae commentaria in Biblia Sacra.

Rabbi Bahaiai explanatio in quinque libros Mosis.

Rabbi Recanatensis sive Ricinetensis explanatio secretior, in eosdem libros.

Rabbi Davidis Kimhi commentaria in maximam Bibliorum partem.

Rabbi Isaiae explanatio compendiosa in Iosuaam. Liber est manu scriptus.

Rabbi Levi filii Gersonis, insignis philosophi commentaria in Pentateuchum, et multos alios sacrae historiae libros.

Eiusdem libri bellorum Domini, manu scripti.

Rabbi Isaac filii Rabbi **עראמה**, quem ego Aeramaeum voco, commentaria in quinque libros Mosis, referta varia doctrina, quae ille inscripsit, **עקידת יצחק**, ac si Isaaci vincula dicas.

Rabbi Isaac Cari liber, inscriptus ab eo, **תולדות יצחק**, generatio Isaaci, quo libro auctor multa loca per universum Pentateuchum breviter explicat, multaque dubia dissolvit.

Rabbi Abraham Levitae liber, cui titulus est, Cabbala, quo ille res gestas, atque ipsos principes synagogae apud Iudaeos, ab exsilio Babylonico, ad suam usque memoriam, hoc est, usque ad annum Christi circiter millesimum centesimum et sexagesimum, luculenter explicavit.

אבקת רוכל, hoc est, pulvis aromaticus, liber cuiusdam Rabbi Iacob de bellis Messiae cum Antichristo, sive Gog et Magog, tum de statu animarum post resurrectionem, denique de homine creato et de quibusdam dictis doctorum Hebraeorum explicatis.

ספר המוסר, hoc est, liber disciplinae, scriptus a quodam Rabbi Iuda quo ille tum ea, quae ad communem hominum vitam attinent, tum multa insuper legis diuinae mysteria, sed Iudaico more explicavit.

Liber inscriptus, **עיקרים**, hoc est, fundamenta sacrae legis videlicet, auctore Rabbi Iosepho Albo Soriense Hispano, doctus profecto liber et ex media philosophia scriptus. Divisus est autem in **מאמרים**, sive orationes quatuor, et harum unaquaque in multa et varia capita. Prima oratione agitur universe de fundamentis divinae legis, quae et qualia sint. Secunda, de primo fundamento, hoc est, de ipsa Dei essentia, ut sic dicam. Tertia, de secundo fundamento, id autem est, legem quam Moses edixit, caelestem esse. Quarta, de fundamento tertio, quod est; de poena malorum hominum, deque praemio proborum.

Liber cui titulus est, **נוה שלום**, id est habitatio pacis. Eius auctor est Rabbi Abraham, cognomento **שלום**, pax. Opus grande et multifaria eruditione referunt, de Deo, de mundo, de hominis corpore et anima, de caeremoniis legis Mosis, de sacris vatibus, de arte cabbalistica, et ut universe dicam, de rebus prope omnibus, de quibus Iudaei usquam solent in suis libris disputare.

Liber inscriptus **הליכות עולם**, consuetudo mundi. Est introductio ad doctorum Hebraeorum disciplinam. Eius auctor est Rabbi Iosua Levita.

Liber inscriptus **פסיקי הליכות** auctore Rabbi Menahem Ricinatense, quo ille, quid in Iudaeorum quibusvis caeremoniis observandum sit, definivit, tamquam pronuntiatis sententiis.

רבינו תם ספר הישר id est liber recti, eius scriptor est **רבינו תם**. Tractatur in eo, docte sane, et minime vulgariter, de fundamentis atque mysteriis cultus divini.

אילה אהבים, cerva amorum, est explanatio et commentarius in Cantica Cantorum, auctore Solomone Levita.

כוזרי liber continens variam disputationem de religione Hebraeorum per colloquium. Scripsit eum Rabbi Iudas Levita Hispanus Arabice, sed est in Hebraicam linguam traductus.

אור העמים, Lux Populorum. In hoc libro agitur de Deo, an sit primus omnium rerum opifex, an corpus, an vero animus, unus an plures, cognoscens, moderansque, res omnes, omnipotens, an vero secus. Deinde hominis animus, possit ne corpus relinquere, res divinas contemplari et quae sunt his similes disputationes. Est autem eius scriptor **ר עובדיה מספורנו**.

מבחר הפנינים, hoc est, selectissimae gemmae. Sunt selectae sententiae ex veterum dictis, de sapientia, de prudentia, iustitia, temperantia et in summa,

de omnibus fere virtutibus et vitiis atque aliis hominum affectionibus, veluti de amore, de odio, de divitiis, de paupertate et cetera, cum doctis commentariis.

עולם בחינת עולם id est experimentum mundi, libellus a **ר ידעיה** Philosopho conscriptus, quo docet res huius mundi caducas atque incertas esse, et proinde ad solas caelestes et divinas nobis esse aspirandum. Adscripta est etiam explanatio non inerudita.

אבן בחן hoc est, lapis experimenti. Libellus scriptus a Rabbi Calonymo Hispano, anno Christi circiter millesimo ducentesimo trigesimo nono. Argumentum fere eiusmodi est cuiusmodi superiori libelli, continet enim varia adhortamenta, quibus hominum animus a vanis mundi rebus avertatur ad res aeternas.

אור ספר תורה אור libellus inscriptus lex lumen est. Tractat de ultimo animae thesauro, id est de vita vel beata, vel infelice, de Paradiso, de Gehenna et de saeculo post mortem venturo. Doctus sane libellus, in quo tamen plurimae sunt Iudaicae nugae et superstitiones. Eius auctor est Rabbi Ioseph Davidis filius, Hispanus, scripsit autem patrum nostrorum memoria.

Rabbi Menahem filii Simonis commentaria in Ieremiam et Ezechielem.

Rabbi Benjamin filii Iudae Romani commentaria in duos posteriores libros Regum a capite septimo usque ad finem, et in Paralipomena, et in Proverbia Solomonis.

Rabbi Isaias commentaria in librum Iudicum, in duos priores libros Regum atque in septem priora capita libri tertii Regum, nam cum illuc commentando pervenisset, concessit fati. Eiusdem etiam commentaria in Ezdram.

Denique habeo etiam manu scriptos commentarios Rabbi Abraham Ezdrae in Isaiam, et XII prophetas minores, ab ipso auctore emendatos, auctosque.

Praeter istos libros, habeo poetas aliquot Hebraeos, et inter eos Rabbi Immanuelis magnum volumen suavissimis versiculis rhythmicorum more factis plenum. Sed istos et grammaticos pervulgatos, nihil attinet commemorare.

FINIS.

Appendix II – translation

The History of Joshua the Commander, elucidated and explained by Andreas Masius (Antwerp: Christopher Plantin 1574) [375-377, unpaginated]

Here follow the names of the Hebrew authors and books which Andreas Masius used in writing these commentaries. Mentioning all the Latin and Greek authors would not be sensible, there being many of all kinds.

The *Talmud*, that is, the entire teaching or doctrine, with commentaries.⁷⁷ It is divided into six *sedarim*, that is, orders.

The first order is called *zera'im*, which means seeds, for it deals with all those rites which have to do in any way with those things which come forth from the earth, of which kind they are, tithing, letting the land lie fallow the seventh year, the part of the crop to be left to the poor, the offering of the priest to be given from whichever matter, that seeds are not to be mixed, that the fruit of new trees is not to be desecrated by tasting from it, and similar sacred rituals.

The second order is called *mo'ed*, that is to say, festal celebrations. It deals with both the feast-days, as well as the fast-days, and other set times, which the Jews observe in their astonishing superstitions.

The third order is named *nashim*, that is, women. Through numerous regulations, it debates matters relating to marriages, such as the law of the ritual bath, marriage contracts, women's vows, the Nazarenes, appeals for divorce, and other laws of this kind, not without surprising superstitions.

The fourth order is entitled *nezigin*, which is to say, damages, for it deals with damages and loans, which are done to men by men. It further deals with various contracts, judgments, verdicts, testimonies, vows, collateral, also with the Messiah and the resurrection of the dead, and finally, the worship of strange gods and other matters of this kind of men between each other.

77. By the time of Masius' death, numerous editions of single tractates of the Babylonian Talmud had been printed (the earliest dated, Tractate *Berakhot*, by Joshua Solomon ben Israel of Soncino in 1483), as well as four complete editions of both the Babylonian Talmud and one of the Palestinian (Jerusalem) Talmud. See M.J. Heller, *Printing the Talmud: A History of the Earliest Printed Editions of the Talmud* (Leiden 1992) and still R.N.N. Rabinovicz, *An Essay on the Printing of the Talmud. The History of Editions of the Talmud* (Munich 1887; second edition Jerusalem 1952, edited by A.M. Habermann) (in Hebrew). The first complete edition of the Babylonian Talmud was printed in Venice by Daniel Bomberg of Antwerp, in 1519-1523. His press issued a second edition between 1526 and 1539, and a third edition between 1543 and 1549. Between 1546 and 1551, Marco Antonio Giustiniani, also in Venice, published an edition of the Babylonian Talmud with the help of Cornelio Adelkind, Bomberg's erstwhile partner and main editor. Masius owned a complete set of Bomberg's Babylonian Talmud, though it was probably made up of tractates from different Bomberg editions, as is the case in numerous extant copies. See M. Gatch and B.E. Nielsen, 'The Wittenberg Copy of the Bomberg Talmud', *Gutenberg-Jahrbuch* 78 (2003), p. 296-326. Masius' Jerusalem Talmud was the *editio princeps* printed by Bomberg in Venice (1522-1523), based in part on Leiden Ms. Or. 4720, a manuscript acquired by Joseph Scaliger, and part of his 1609 bequest to Leiden.

The fifth order is called *godashim*, that is, of things consecrated. Indeed, first the place and then the manner of sacrifice are debated in it, and the animals that can serve as sacrificial, and sacred offerings, and finally the prayers with which anything sanctified can be redeemed from God, etcetera.

The sixth order has the title *tohorot*, which means clean things, for in this order the Jews deliberate, usually in a rather childish way, about the various ways in which things become unclean, and then are purified.

This, then, is the number of categories [*sedarim*] of the entire Jewish doctrine, which they call *Talmud*, that is, teaching. They are each divided further, however, into a number of *masekhtot*, that is, divisions. For the first category, or the first order, contains eleven divisions, the second twelve, the third seven, the fourth eight, the fifth eleven, the sixth thirteen.⁷⁸ Furthermore, each division is in turn split up into numerous *peraqim*, that is, distinctions, as well as into central issues. But I will not continue to enumerate each and every one, nor be wordy on a point that is not essential.

The *Talmud* is in fact twofold. One is called the Jerusalemite. It was written down by a certain *Rabbi Yochanan*, Rabbi Johannes, approximately two hundred years after the destruction of the Temple by Titus. The last *sefer* or order, however, which is called *tohorot*, he did not finish, for his life did not last long enough, but rather his successors [completed it], the heads of the synagogue. The other *Talmud* is called Babylonian, and Jewish people everywhere consult this one nearly exclusively. Its *mishnayot*, that is, the *repetitions*, which are as it were the text itself, were written down together with numerous studies by those who were at that time the heads of the synagogue, about one hundred and twenty years after the siege and destruction of the Holy City by Titus. No more than ten years after that time, a certain Rabbi called *Bar Kaphra* wrote down additions, which are called the *Tosephta*. Furthermore, the additional commentaries which they call *Gemara*, which means the absolute and perfect, began to be added in the three hundredth and fiftieth year after the destruction of the Temple by Titus, by a certain Rabbi named *Rabbi Ashi*. But when he had devoted some eight years to much work on this material, he passed away.⁷⁹ The

78. In fact, *Neziqin* has ten *masekhtot*, not eight, while *Tohoroth* has twelve, not thirteen. There are a total of sixty-three *masekhtot*, not sixty-two. Perhaps Masius considered the first three *masekhtot* of *Neziqin* (*Baba Kamma*, *Baba Metzia* and *Baba Bathra*) as one, as they are sometimes considered one tri-partite tractate. However, in his commentary he also refers to *Baba Bathra* as an individual tractate. Alternately, he might not have counted *Aboth* as a treatise.

79. Masius' chronology on Rabbi Ashi here is correct. According to Abraham ibn Daud's *Sefer ha-Qabbalah*, which Masius owned and read (see below, note 118), he died c. 427 C.E., and was therefore indeed active some 350 years after the destruction of the Second Temple. Abraham ibn Daud also notes that R. Ashi began to commit the Talmud to writing. See G.D. Cohen, *A critical edition with a translation and notes of The Book of Tradition (Sefer ha-Qabbalah) by Abraham ibn Daud* (Philadelphia 1967), p. 27 in Hebrew, p. 35 in Cohen's English translation. The idea that Rabbi Ashi was the final editor of the Babylonian Talmud was common, and even supported by such authorities as Rashi and Maimonides. However, several rabbis mentioned in the Talmud are

work that he left unfinished was completed in the seventy-third year after his death by his own sons and by other successors, to the unbelievable joy and elation of all the Jews who were living at that time.⁸⁰ About eighty years had therefore passed during which the Jews were busy with the writing down of his Teaching. The reader will forgive me for pursuing these things at some length, for I thought they were insufficiently known by our people.

Rabot. These are commentaries on the Five Books of Moses, gathered from old sayings and writings. Their author had the name *Rabah*, the son of Nachman. He compiled them around the year 300 A.D. For those *Rabot*, which Moses ha-Darshan had written, were abolished by the Jews, it seems, for in numerous places they seem to favor our mysteries.⁸¹

Masoret, a book in which those matters are noted which pertain to Scripture and to the vocal signs and accents of sacred writings. Their authors were once numerous, and it is they who were the masters of that punctuation and those marks that must be written in Scripture, as in our time Elijah Levita has said, who illuminated this matter in an excellent work.⁸²

The *Mekhilta* consists of commentaries on the greater part of Exodus, gathered from ancient sayings, by a certain Rabbi Ishmael and his associates, prior to the Babylonian teaching [i.e. Talmud]⁸³

now known to have lived later than Rabbi Ashi, and his editorship is no longer supported. See R. Hidary, *Encyclopedia Judaica* (2nd ed., 2007), s.v. 'Ashi'.

80. Again, Masius' source seems to be the *Sefer ha-Qabbalah* of Abraham ibn Daud: 'Its [the Talmud's] composition had begun in the days of R. Ashi, but it was sealed in the seventy-third year after his death.' See Cohen, *The Book of Tradition*, p. 33 in the Hebrew, p. 43 in the English.

81. It appears that Masius owned the copy of the Midrashim to the Pentateuch in the edition of Marc'Antonio Giustiniani (Venice 1545), as his description reads like a close paraphrase of the opening of the title page of the Giustiniani edition: 'מדרש רבות to the five books of the Pentateuch, written by Rabba bar Nachmoni in the year 4060 of the Creation. 4060 A.M. corresponds in part to 300 CE. The title page description in the Giustiniani edition continues: *in the Third Generation of the Amora'im, and he was Rosh Yeshiva for twenty-two years, and it was written prior to the Babylonian Talmud. Thus it is found in the Book of the Tradition by the Rabad [Rabbi Abraham ibn Daud], may the memory of the righteous be a blessing.*' By directing the reader to the *Sefer ha-Qabbalah* of Abraham ibn Daud, this title page would have handed Masius an invaluable key to unlocking the history of Talmudic and early rabbinic literature. Masius eventually acquired a copy of the *Book of Tradition* (see below, note 118). In the rest of this entry, Masius is referring to the long-lost midrashic anthology by Moses ha-Darshan of Narbonne, now thought to be the basis for *Genesis Rabbati*. Masius' knowledge of Moses ha-Darshan could well have come from his copy of the *Sefer ha-Yashar*, noted in this list (see below, note 125), as well as from the *Pugio Fidei*, by Ramon Marti, which refers to it on numerous occasions.

82. Elijah Levita, *Masoret ha-Masoret* (Venice: Daniel Bomberg 1538). It is most likely that Masius also owned the bilingual edition printed in Basel by Henricus Petri in 1539, with the Latin translation by Sebastian Münster and a dedicatory epistle by Münster to Masius himself.

83. The *Mekhilta de-Rabbi Ishmael*, correctly identified by Masius as a commentary on (part of) Exodus. Masius' copy might be one of either two printed by his day, an edition printed in Constantinople in 1515 by Astruc de Toulon, or (much more likely) the edition printed in Venice by Daniel Bomberg in 1545.

Yelammedenu, or *Tanchuma*. These are commentaries, like the ones I just mentioned, but on the Five Books of Moses. Their author is *Rabbi Tanchuma*, and he is just as old as the earlier ones.⁸⁴

Seder 'Olam, that is, the Order of the World, a chronological book, containing the calculation of times, which all the Jews have been following in full agreement already for several centuries now.⁸⁵

Midrashot on the Psalms, the Song of Songs, Ecclesiastes, Ruth, Lamentations of Jeremiah, Esther, Proverbs, and finally a *Midrash* on Samuel. These *midrashot* are basically the same kind of commentary as *Rabot*, which I just mentioned, and they are not even inferior to them in antiquity. In fact, if I am not mistaken, they even surpass them [in age]. For they were gathered by those men who were called *amora'im*. The *amora'im* flourished from approximately 240 AD to the year 476, the year in which *Rabbi Sima ben Rabba* died, who was the last of the *amora'im*.⁸⁶

She'eltot, that is, questions concerning holy regulations which are found in the five books of Moses. They were composed by Rabbi Achai, who flourished in the 740's and he was one of those called *geonim*, which is to say, the preeminent ones.⁸⁷

Commentaries on the five books of Moses by *Rabbi Shimon ben Yochai*, [composed] around the time of Emperor Hadrian.⁸⁸

84. *Midrash Tanhuma ha-Nigra Yelammedenu*. By Masius' day, several editions had appeared. His copy might have been that printed in Constantinople by Shlomo ben Mazal Tov in 1520-22, that printed in Venice by Cornelio Adelkind for Daniel Bomberg in 1545, or that printed in Mantua by Giacomo Ruffinelli for Meir ben Ephraim of Padua and Ezra ben Isaac of Fano, in 1563. Masius ascribes the work as a whole to Rabbi Tanhuma bar Abba, probably based on the numerous ascriptions in the text itself.

85. *Seder 'Olam Rabba* (not *Seder 'Olam Zuta*). Two editions had appeared by Masius' death, the first published in Mantua by Samuel ben Meir Latif in 1513 together with the *Seder Olam Zuta*, the *Megilath Ta'anith* and the *Sefer ha-Qabbalah*, and again in Venice in 1545-46 by Marc'Antonio Giustiniani. The *Seder Olam Zuta* was translated into Latin by Gilbert G  nebrard, and published in 1572, the year before Masius died. His Latin translation of *Seder Olam Rabba* appeared in 1578.

86. Masius correctly identifies the midrashic collections *Bereshit Rabbah* through *Devarim Rabbah* as precisely that, and gives them the plural 'rabbot'. In so doing, we see him discovering midrash as one among different genres within rabbinic literature. The *editio princeps* of the *Midrash Shmu'el* was printed in Constantinople in 1517, but Masius most likely owned the Bomberg edition printed in Venice in 1546, in which the Midrash to the Psalms, Samuel and Proverbs are printed together with continuous pagination.

87. Rabbi Achai of Shabha, *She'eltot de-Rav Achai Ga'on* (Venice: Daniel Bomberg 1546), edited by Yohanan of Treves. Masius' copy of Abraham ibn Daud's *Sefer ha-Qabbalah*, under the section 'the Succession of Geonim', would have told him that 'After R. Samuel bar Mari there was a great scholar [by the name of] R. Aha of Shabha, who composed his *She'eltot* on all the commandments specified in the Torah', a wording which is very close to Masius' description thereof here. See Cohen, *The Book of Tradition*, p. 37 in Hebrew, p. 47 in English.

88. The work in question is quite certainly the *Zohar*, as Masius refers in his commentary to Joshua (p. 14), to 'R. Simeon Iohai filius [...] qui librum Zohar in Pentateuchum scripsit'. The *Zohar* had been printed twice by Masius' death, once in Mantua by Meir ben Efraim of Padua and

Siphra, or *Torat Cohanim*, an ancient commentary on Leviticus, among the earliest, whose author is said to be Rabbi Judah.⁸⁹ With some conjecture, I suspect him to have been the Blind One who flourished among the *geonim* around the year 760, but it could also be that I am mistaken.

Several Cabbalistic books in manuscript follow, belonging to the same Andreas Masius.⁹⁰

Sha'arei Orah, that is, the Gates of Light, of which book Paul Ricci, physician to Emperor Maximilian, produced in our day a Latin translation.⁹¹

Rabbi Aqiba on the crowns of the letters. He flourished in the time of Emperor Hadrian, upon whose command he was torn to pieces, for he was an adherent and an accomplice of the uprising which *Bar Koziba*, Bar Cosba, had instigated among the Jews.⁹²

A book on the ten *sephirot*, the author [of which is] uncertain, with an added explanation.

Jacob ben Naftali ha-Cohen of Gazzuolo, in a three-volume edition by Isaac de Lattes in 1558-1560, and once in Cremona by Vicenzo Conti in 1558-1559, edited by Vittorio Eliano, Elijah Levita's converted grandson. Masius' copy was incomplete, and in he asked Plantin to try to obtain the missing part from Jewish booksellers at the Frankfurt Fair (see above, note 65).

89. The classic halakhic midrash to Leviticus, printed for the first time in Constantinople in 1523. Masius most likely owned the Bomberg edition (Venice: Cornelio Adelkind for Daniel Bomberg 1545), edited by Yohanan of Treves. It is unclear why Masius guessed Yehudai ben Nahman to be the author.

90. The reference to Masius in the third person here suggests an editorial note added by Raphelengius (see above, note 61). The description itself suggests a *Sammelband* containing manuscripts bound together with the work immediately preceding printed work.

91. The Hebrew original is by Joseph ben Abraham Gikatilla, and Masius' copy would have been one of two editions, Mantua (Jacob ben Naftali ha-Cohen 1561) or Riva di Trento (Jacob Marcaria 1561). The Latin translation by the famous convert Paolo Ricci is *Portae Lucis* (Augsburg: Johann Miller 1516). Though he doesn't mention it here, from his notes on *Shaarey Tsedeq* (see below, note 102), it is clear that Masius knows the author of both books to be Joseph 'Nyctelo.' As Johann Christoph Wolf noted in the first part of his *Bibliotheca Hebraea* (Hamburg/Leipzig 1715), p. 525, this spelling was the result of Masius' misreading of the first letter of Gikatilla as a *nun* rather than a *gimmel*, an understandable error for someone to whom Gikatilla is unknown and who comes across the name for the first time on the title page as printed by Marcaria. This misreading furthermore suggests that Raphelengius, editing the text of Masius' Hebrew bibliography for Plantin in Antwerp, did not know to correct the spelling of Gikatilla's name. On Ricci, see S. Ramos Maldonado, 'La obra Latina del converso Paulus Ricius (+1541/2): catalogación bibliográfica', *Sefarad*, vol. 69, nr. 2 (2009), p. 397-425 and B. Røling, *Aristotelische Naturphilosophie und Christliche Kabbalah im Werk des Paulus Ritus* (Tübingen 2007).

92. The *ארתיות של רבי עקיבה* was printed in Constantinople c. 1519, and again in Venice by Marc'Antonio Giustiniani in 1546. The title page of the latter edition describes the book as explicitly kabbalistic, as does Buxtorf in his *Bibliotheca Rabbinica* (Basel 1613), p. 273, with ashkenazi transliteration: 'Osios, id est, Literae R. Akivae. Liber est Cabalisticus'. Masius most likely owned the Giustiniani edition. His dating of Aqiba could very well have come from his copy of the *Sefer ha-Qabbalah* of Abraham ibn Daud, who gives exactly this background to Aqiba, his association with Bar Kochba/Ben Koziba, his revolt against Hadrian and the manner of his death. See Cohen, *The Book of Tradition*, p. 20-21 in Hebrew, p. 28-29 in Cohen's English translation (see note 118).

Sepher Yetsirah, or the Book of Creation, the author of which the Jews imagine to have been Adam. Some commentaries are added to it.⁹³

A book entitled *Mishnat Avraham Avinu: and Josef ben Uziel*, that is, the repetition of Abraham our father and Rabbi Joseph the son of Uziel. These are like commentaries on the Book of *Yetsirah* as well.

A book titled *Keter Shem Tov*, that is, *The Crown of the Good Name*, the name of the author [is] unmentioned. The book is very small, but it contains hidden knowledge.⁹⁴

A book entitled *Sborashim mi-Siphre Kabbalah*, that is, The Roots of Kabbalistic Books. The name of the author is not given.

Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut, that is, The System of Divine Things, a book in which nearly nothing is excluded which pertains to kabbalistic philosophy.⁹⁵

Sepher ha-Bahir, which means The Book of Radiance. According to the Jews, its author was *Rabbi Nechunia ben Haqana*, who lived prior to the composition of the later Hebrew teaching [i.e., the Talmud], for he was one of the *tana'im*, who are cited in those later teachings, and in which his name is mentioned not infrequently. I have seen some commentary or other by him on the Pentateuch, but so far I have been unable to acquire it.⁹⁶

Perush Tephilah, that is, an explanation of several prayers and pleas which Jews commonly address to God. This book was written by Menachem Recanati,

93. Masius' copy was quite certainly the *editio princeps* printed in 1562 in Mantua by Jacob Cohen of Gazzuolo. As the first chapter of the *Sepher Yetsirah* deals with the ten *sephiroth*, it cannot be ruled out that the title immediately preceding this in Masius' list is in fact the first chapter of the this work, mistaken for a separate title. Masius gives the mythical ascription to Adam. However, both the 1562 Mantua edition, as well as the Latin translation by Masius' friend Guillaume Postel published ten years earlier (Paris 1552), conventionally ascribe this ancient mystical text to Abraham, not Adam.

94. Masius' book is probably the work of this name by Rabbi Shem Tov Melamed. The first edition known to me dates from 1596, over twenty years after Masius' death, and if this is indeed the work in question, Masius' copy must have been in manuscript or of an edition of which no known copies have survived.

95. Masius' copy could be either of two editions printed in his day, an edition printed in Ferrara in 1557 by Abraham ibn Usque, or an edition printed in Mantua in 1558 by Yaacov Naftali ha-Cohen of Gazzuolo. The editor's preface in the latter edition calls into question the authorship of Rabbi Perets ba'al ha-Tosaphot, that is Perets ben Isaac ha-Cohen Gerondi, and its title page mentions no author at all, which might account for Masius not doing so here. The plural 'divinarum' shows that Masius mistakenly read the unvocalized האלוהות as 'ha-elohot' rather than the correct 'ha-elohut', but he correctly grasped the systematic kabbalistic nature of the work.

96. This must refer to a manuscript, as the *editio princeps* was only printed in in 1651 in Amsterdam by Judah ben Mordechai and Samuel ben Moses ha-Levi. Johannes Buxtorf, in the entry on this book in his *Bibliotheca Rabbinnica* (1613), p. 277-279, also describes the *Bahir* as still in manuscript. Masius' own description also shows that he remained a dedicated collector until the very end of his life. For the reception of this work by Renaissance Christian Kabbalists of the Italian Renaissance prior to Masius, see S. Campanini (ed.), *The Book of Bahir: Flavius Mithridates' Latin translation, the Hebrew text, and an English version* (Turin 2005), with a foreword by Giulio Busi.

and in it he discusses all the most hidden matters of secret kabbalistic philosophy, and he explains the attributes of God, as we call them, and he shows with which mental disposition God is to be addressed in prayer.⁹⁷

Sod ha-Yihud, the Mystery of Unity. I suspect that this short book was written by that rabbi Menachem [Recanati], too. Its argument consists above all of explaining the unity of God in the simplest terms possible.⁹⁸

Eser Sephirot, an explanation of the ten categories through which the kabbalists transmit the main part of their teaching, but is very short. The name of the author is unclear.

Shem ha-Mephorash, that is, the explained name, a kabbalistic book written quite miraculously, by an unknown author.⁹⁹

An epitome of a book, entitled *Mivchar ha-Ma'amarim*. This book was once written by a certain Rabbi Nathan, who interpreted the five books of Moses in arcane ways, and he accommodated sacred history to the straight and holy road of communal life. Thus this little book is truly most worthy of being read, though it is less kabbalistic.¹⁰⁰

A book entitled *Moznei ha-'Iyunim*, that is, the Scale of Contemplations. Even though this book does not nearly extend into kabbalistic philosophy, it

97. On June 15, 1555, Elijah of Nola wrote to Masius, offering him a *Perush ha-Tefilah*, and a commentary by Recanati. See Perles, *Beiträge*, p. 217. It would appear that Masius bought this book from Elijah. If it was not a manuscript, Elijah likely was describing Menachem ben Benjamin Recanati, *Perush ha-Tefilot* (Constantinople: Eliezer ben Gershom Soncino 1544). It is the second item in this edition, following the same author's *Taamei ha-Mitsvot*. It has the title *Perush ha-Tefilot* only on its own first page. The title page of the entire work calls it *Perush ha-Berakhot ve-ha-Zemiroth*. On Recanati, see M. Idel, *R. Menahem Recanati the Kabbalist* (Jerusalem 1998) (in Hebrew) and now M. Idel, *Kabbalah in Italy, 1280-1510: A Survey* (New Haven, 2011), esp. chapters 7-10. On Recanati's *Perush ha-Tefilah* and its reception by the Christian Kabbalist Giovanni Pico della Mirandola, see G. Corazzol (ed.), *Menahem Recanati, Commentary on the Daily Prayers: Flavius Mithridates' Latin translation, the Hebrew text, and an English version* (Turin 2008).

98. The book in question was certainly not written by Recanati, though Masius' suspicion is interesting in that it shows he had formed an idea of Recanati's method and style, which we believed to recognize when reading the *Sod ha-Yihud* alongside what he knew for certain to be a work by Recanati. It is possibly the brief work of this title by Judah ben Samuel he-Hasid, also known as Judah the Pious or Judah of Regensburg, the leader of the medieval German pietistic movement known as *Hasidei Ashkenaz*.

99. Masius had mentioned a work with this title in the letter to Münster, to which the latter refers in his prefatory letter to the *Sphaera Mundi* (see n. 8). Johannes Buxtorf added it to his *Bibliotheca Rabbinnica* (1613, p. 327), where Masius' letter to Münster still seems to be Buxtorf's only source: 'Nomen Dei tetragrammaton expositum... Munsterus meminit ejus in praefatione sua in Sphaeram Hebraicam.' From Masius' description of the contents here, it is certainly not Martin Luther's anti-Jewish pamphlet *Vom Schem Hamphoras* (1544).

100. Nathan ben Samuel ha-Rophé, *Mivchar ha-Ma'amarim*, is a commentary on the Pentateuch. It does not seem to have been printed prior to 1830, in which case Masius' copy must have been a manuscript. One manuscript I consulted, Bodleian Library, Ms. Michael 442, does not contain Masius' ex libris note.

nevertheless investigates the Creator Himself, and created things, how nature is, and to whom it is given, etcetera.¹⁰¹

Sha'arei Tsedeq, the Gates of Justice, a very kabbalistic book indeed, in which that teaching was completed, which in the Gate of Light, which I discussed above, was [left] as if unfinished. Rabbi Joseph, also known as Nyctelo, is the author of both books.¹⁰² I have several of his [writings], written in kabbalistic fashion, about the vowel-points of the Divine Name. The manuscripts I own are mainly Kabbalistic books.¹⁰³

Furthermore, other well-known authors in print which I have consulted among the more recent ones are these:

The commentary of Rabbi Moses [the son] of Maimon from Egypt on the Misnaioth [sic] of the Teaching [Talmud], or repetitions.¹⁰⁴

A book by the same, entitled *More Nevuchim*, that is, the teacher of those who doubt and who cannot disentangle themselves.¹⁰⁵

101. The *Moznei ha-ʿIyyunim*, 'The Balance of Investigations', continues to puzzle scholars, and we know only slightly more than Masius did. Its sources are Islamic. Colophons in extant manuscripts, secondary medieval sources and modern scholars alike have ascribed it to the Islamic philosophers al-Ghazālī or Ibn Rushd (Averroes). Differences between manuscripts suggest that they are independent translations of an Arabic or Judaeo-Arabic original yet to be identified, though it is quite certainly neither by al-Ghazālī or Ibn Rushd. The translation has also been attributed to Jacob ben Machir, the grandson of Samuel Ibn Tibbon and nephew of Moses ibn Tibbon. Binyamin Abrahamov has identified its primary sources to be the *Rasāʾil Ikhwān as-Safāʾ*, the writings of the encyclopedic-scientific movement in tenth-century Basra known as the Brethren of Purity, and the *Kitāb al-Hadāʾiq*, or 'Book of Cycles', by the Andalusian philosopher Abu Muhammad Ibn Sid al-Batalyawsi (= 'from Badajoz'). See Y.T. Langerman, 'A Judaeo-Arabic poem attributed to Abu Hamid al-Ghazālī', in *Miscelánea de Estudios Árabes y Hebreos, sección Hebreo* 52 (2003), p. 183-200, esp. p. 190-191, and B. Abrahamov, 'The Sources of the Book *Mozney ha-ʿiyyunim le-sedeq ha-sarʿefim*', *Daʿat* 34 (1995), p. 83-86 (in Hebrew). I am grateful to Sabine Arndt and Binyamin Abrahamov for their expert advice regarding this text.

102. Jacob ben Abraham Gikatilla, *Sepher Shaarei Tsedeq* (Riva di Trento: Jacob Marcaria 1561). Masius seems to have read the letter gimel in Gikatilla as a nun (see above, note 91 on *Sepher Shaarei Orah*). Variations of Gikatilla's name, Niktelo and even Qarnitolo run through manuscripts and printed editions.

103. In his letter to Masius of 11 June 1547, Cornelius Adelkind acknowledges the receipt of Masius' list of the Kabbalistic books for which the latter is looking, and offers him in return a list of those Kabbalistic books available from Bomberg's house at that time, adding that among the Jews of Venice there are additional Kabbalistic works which Masius could have copied. See Perles, *Beiträge*, p. 210, Amram, *Makers*, p. 212.

104. The term 'Misnaioth' here suggests that Masius is referring not to the *Mishneh Torah* but rather to Maimonides' *Commentary to the Mishnah*. Since Masius' copy of the Babylonian Talmud was the Bomberg edition, his copy of Maimonides' *Commentary on the Mishnah* need not have been a separate edition, since the relevant part of Maimonides' *Commentary* was included among the appendices to a Talmudic tractate in the Bomberg edition.

105. By Masius' day, there had been several editions, including incunabula, of both Maimonides' *Mishneh Torah* as well as of the *Guide of the Perplexed*, the latter in the Hebrew translation from the Arabic by Samuel ibn Tibbon. In May 1547, Bomberg's assistant and editor-in-chief Cornelius Adelkind wrote to Masius with the request that he correct and revise a new Latin

To this book [there are] some commentaries of various different authors, partly published in print, others in manuscript.¹⁰⁶

The commentary of Rabbi Solomon of France on the Teaching [Talmud] and on the Holy Bible.¹⁰⁷

The commentary of Rabbi Moses the son of Nachman from Gerona on the Pentateuch and on Job.¹⁰⁸

The commentary on the Holy Bible by Rabbi Abraham the son of Ezra.¹⁰⁹

The exegetical work on the five books of Moses by Rabbi Bachya.¹¹⁰

A rather esoteric exegesis of the same books by Rabbi Menachem of Recanati or Ricinetti.¹¹¹

translation of the *Guide of the Perplexed* (see above, note 18), referring him to the Roman Rabbi and bookman Benjamin d'Arignano for a copy of the Hebrew text. That new translation of the *Guide* does not seem to have materialized, but as this list shows, Masius clearly did acquire a Hebrew copy. For a list of editions and translations of the *Guide*. See the appendix 'The Guide of the Perplexed: its translators and translations', in M. Schwarz' translation of the *Guide* into modern Hebrew, *Moreh Nevukhim le-Rabenu Moshe ben Maimon* (Tel Aviv 2002), p. 742-766 (in Hebrew).

106. Following the request to edit the new translation of the *Guide*, Adelkind replies to Masius (whose letter, not extant, seems to have conveyed his favorable if critical disposition towards editing the new *Guide*) in June 1547, describing his own *Guide* in manuscript, 'io vene ho 4 pezi scritti amano antigissimi co[n] la dechiaracion deli מילות זרות', that is, the philosophical lexicon to the *Guide* composed by its Hebrew translator, Samuel ibn Tibbon. Adelkind also informs Masius of four extant commentaries on the *Guide*, 'el se trova 4 comentatori sopra deli quale se apar el meglio el גרבוני', that is the fourteenth-century Jewish Averroist Moses Narboni (= of Narbonne). See Perles, *Beiträge*, p. 210, Amram, *Makers*, p. 212. It was in this way, through his Roman friends, that Masius acquired quite a sense of the Maimonidian tradition in late Medieval Provence.

107. Solomon of France is Rabbi Solomon ben Isaac of Troyes in Champagne 1040-1105, known as Rashi, the most widely read and printed commentator on the Hebrew Bible and on the Talmud. Masius owned a Rabbinic Bible printed by Bomberg as well as Bomberg's edition of the Babylonian Talmud; both include Rashi's commentaries.

108. Moses the son of Nachman is Rabbi Moshe ben Nachman, known by his rabbinic acronym *Ramban* as well as by the Greek patronymic Nachmanides. Nachmanides' Biblical commentaries would have been available to Masius in numerous printed editions (not to mention manuscripts), starting with one published in Rome c. 1470. Masius refers to Nachmanides throughout the Commentaries to Joshua, but in other works too, such as in his translation of Moses bar Kepha, *De Paradiso Commentarius* (Antwerp: Christopher Plantin 1569), p. 194. Masius' scholarship thus integrated distant and different exegetical traditions, Iberian-Jewish and Near Eastern Christian, into one great conversation between civilizations of the Book.

109. Abraham ibn Ezra's commentary on the Bible could have been available to Masius in numerous editions, starting with the incunable printed by Joseph ben Jacob Ashkenazi in Naples in 1488. Masius owned a copy the 1548 edition of the Rabbinic Bible printed by Bomberg (see above, note 30), which contained several commentaries by Ibn Ezra, including those to the Pentateuch.

110. Bachya ben Joseph ibn Paquda, *Rabbenu Bachya Biur al ha-Torah*, quite certainly the Bomberg edition (Venice: Cornelio Adelkind in the house of Daniel Bomberg 1546).

111. Menachem Recanati, *Perush ha-Torah 'al Derekh ha-Emet* (Venice: Daniel Bomberg 1523).

A commentary by Rabbi David Kimchi on most of the Bible.¹¹²

A compendious explanation on the book of Joshua by Rabbi Isaiah. The book is in manuscript.¹¹³

The commentary on the Pentateuch and many other books of sacred history by the exceptional philosopher Rabbi Levi the son of Gerson.¹¹⁴

By the same [philosopher], the books of the Wars of the Lord, in manuscript.¹¹⁵

A commentary on the five books of Moses, by Rabbi Isaac the son of 'Aramah which I pronounce Aeramae, filled with various teachings, which he entitled *Aqedat Yitschaq*, which is to say, the Binding of Isaac.¹¹⁶

A book by Rabbi Isaac Caro, entitled by him *Toledot Yitschaq*, the Posterity of Isaac, in which the author explains many passages throughout the entire Pentateuch briefly, and resolves numerous doubts.¹¹⁷

A book by Rabbi Abraham ha-Levi with the title *Cabbala*, in which he has clearly expounded the deeds, and the heads of the synagogue themselves, among the Jews, from the Babylonian exile up to his own day, that is, to approximately 1160 A.D.¹¹⁸

Avkat Rochel, that is Aromatic Powder, a book of a certain Rabbi Jacob [firstly] about the wars of the Messiah with the Antichrist, or Gog and Magog,

112. Masius' copy of the *Miqra'ot Gedolot*, the 1548 Bomberg Rabbinic Bible, contained Kimhi's commentary only to the Prophets and Chronicles.

113. The commentary on Joshua by Isaiah ben Elijah di Trani on the Former Prophets (*Nevi'im Rishonim*), which includes the Book of Joshua, was also contained in Masius' copy of the Bomberg *Miqra'ot Gedolot*. That he should have owned this, a second copy, in manuscript, need not be surprising, the Book of Joshua being Masius' chief interest.

114. Levi the son of Gerson is Rabbi Levi ben Gershom (1288-1344), known by his rabbinic acronym Ralbag as well as by the Greek patronymic Gersonides. Masius' copy of the *Miqra'ot Gedolot* included among numerous others the commentaries of Gersonides on the Former Prophets, Proverbs and Job. Gersonides' commentary on the Pentateuch would have been available to him in several editions, beginning with the incunabulum printed in Mantua by Abraham ben Solomon Conat and Abraham Jedidiah ha-Esrachi in 1476. On the reception of Gersonides in 16th century Italy, see M. Andreatta (ed.), *Gersonide: Commento al Cantico dei Cantici nella traduzione ebraico-latina di Flavio Mitridate: edizioni e commento del ms. Vat. Lat. 4273 (cc. 5^r-54^r)* (Florence 2009), a study of a manuscript Masius might very well have consulted.

115. Levi ben Gershom, *Milchamot ha-Shem*, which had been printed in 1560 by Jacob Marcaria in Riva di Trento. See Gersonides, *The Wars of the Lord, translated with an introduction and notes by Seymour Feldman* (Philadelphia 1984-1999), 3 volumes, and Seymour Feldman, *Gersonides: Judaism within the Limits of Reason* (Oxford 2010).

116. Isaac ben Moses Arama, *Aqedat Yitschaq*, first printed in Salonika 1522, and three times in Venice, by Daniel Bomberg in 1547, by Aloisio Bragadin in 1565, and by Giovanni di Gara in 1573, the year of Masius' death. Masius' copy would most likely have been the Bomberg edition.

117. Isaac ben Joseph Caro, *Toledot Yitschaq*, already available in several editions by Masius' time (Constantinople 1518, Mantua 1552 and 1558, Riva di Trento 1558, Salonika 1571). Isaac ben Joseph Caro was the uncle and adoptive father of the famous Joseph Caro, author of the *Shulkhan Arukh*.

118. Abraham ibn Daud ha-Levi of Toledo, *Sefer ha-Qabbalah*. The *editio princeps* was printed in Mantua in 1514, though Masius would more likely have owned the 1545-1546 edition printed in Venice by Giustiniani. As we have seen (n. 80, 82, 88, 93), this work furnished Masius with a chronology and history of Talmudic and Rabbinic literature, providing him with detailed information on numerous books in his library.

after that about the state of the souls after the resurrection, and finally about the creation of man. Some sayings of the Hebrew sages are clarified as well.¹¹⁹

Sepher ha-Musar, that is, the Book of Ethics, written by a certain Rabbi Judah, in which he has explained (but in a Jewish manner) now those things that pertain to the common life of man, and now moreover numerous mysteries of the divine law.¹²⁰

A book entitled *Iqqarim*, that is, namely, the foundations of the sacred law, by Rabbi Joseph Albo of Soria the Spaniard, a learned book indeed, written from the very heart of philosophy. It is divided into four *ma'amarim*, or discourses, and each and every one of them into numerous different chapters. The first discourse deals entirely with the foundations of the divine law, what and of what nature they are. The second [deals] with the first foundation, which is to say, the essence of God itself. The third [deals] with the second foundation, which is that the law proclaimed by Moses is divine. The fourth deals with the third foundation, which is the punishment of the wicked and the reward of the virtuous.¹²¹

A book whose title is *Neveh Shalom*, that is, the Abode of Peace. Its author is Rabbi Abraham, also known as *Shalom*, Peace. It is a great work full of multifarious erudition, concerning God, the world, the body and soul of man, the ceremonies of the law of Moses, the holy prophets, the art of kabbalah, and concerning practically all those matters about which the Jews like to argue in their books.¹²²

119. *Avkat Rochel*. This is not the well-known book of responsa by Joseph Caro of the same title, not printed until 1791. Rather, given Masius' brief description, it would seem to be that *Avkat Rochel* attributed to Rabbi Makhir, of which numerous editions had appeared by Masius' time (Constantinople 1516, Rimini 1526, Augsburg 1540 and Venice: Giorgio di Cavali 1566). Masius would likely have known that the title derives from *Song of Songs* 3:6, but doesn't translate the Hebrew according to the Vulgate, 'pulveris pigmentarii' which is in fact a rather correct rendering of the Hebrew, a *pigmentarius* being a kind of merchant or *rochel*.

120. Judah ben Solomon Khalaz (d. before 1537, sometimes noted as Judah ben Abraham Khalats), *Sefer ha-Musar*, available to Masius in two editions, one printed in 1536 in Constantinople by Eliezer ben Gershom Soncino, the other printed in 1560 in Mantua by Giacomo Ruffineli. On the Castillian Khalats, see A. Gross, 'R. Yehudah Khalats in Tlemcen: Judeo-Iberian Culture in North Africa', in A. Mirsky, A. Grossman and Y. Kaplan (eds), *Exile and Diaspora. Studies in the History of the Jewish People Presented to Professor Haim Beinart on the Occasion of His Seventieth Birthday* (Jerusalem 1988), p. 356-373 (in Hebrew).

121. Several editions of Joseph Albo's *Sefer ha-Iqqarim* had appeared by Masius' day: an incunable, printed in 1485 in Soncino by Joshua Solomon ben Israel Nathan Soncino, and four sixteenth-century editions: Salonika (1520), Venice (Daniel Bomberg 1520-21), Rimini (Gershom Soncino 1522), and again Venice (Cornelio Adelkind for Giovanni di Gara, 1544). The Soncino incunabulum already identified Albo as a native of the city of Soria in Castile, though in fact he moved there from his native Saragossa Province, from the town of Daroca which he served as rabbi after his studies with Hasdai Crescas. For a study of the early modern reception by Jews and Christians of Albo's *Iqqarim*, see S. Rauschenbach, *Josef Albo (um 1380-1444): jüdische Philosophie und christliche Kontroverse in der frühen Neuzeit* (2002), with a brief mention of Masius' admiration for Albo on p. 273.

122. Abraham ben Isaac ben Judah ben Samuel Shalom, *Sefer Neveh Shalom*, printed in Constantinople by Eliezer ben Gershom Soncino in 1538-9, with a title taken from Isaiah 32:18. A second edition appeared in Venice shortly after Masius' death (Giovanni di Gara, 1575).

A book entitled *Halikhot 'Olam*, the Custom of the World. It is an introduction to the teaching of the Hebrew doctors. Its author is Rabbi Joshua Levita.¹²³

A book entitled *Pesiqei Halikhot* [sic] by the author Menachem Ricinati [sic], in which he has stipulated both that which is to be observed in all the ceremonies of the Jews as well as in the pronunciation of sentences.¹²⁴

Sepher ha-Yashar, that is, the Book of the Righteous, written by *Rabbenu Tam*. In this book the foundations and the secrets of Divine worship are discussed with exceptional erudition and sophistication.¹²⁵

Ayalah [sic] *Abavim*, that is, the Doe of Loves, is a work of exegesis and commentary on the Song of Songs by Solomon Levita.¹²⁶

Kuzari, a book containing an alternating disputation on the religion of the Hebrews by means of a dialogue. Rabbi Judah Levita the Spaniard wrote it in Arabic, but it is translated into the Hebrew language.¹²⁷

Or ha-Amim, that is the Light of the Peoples. This book deals with God, whether he is the first creator of all things, whether he is a body, or a soul, one or many, whether he knows and governs all things, omnipotent or indeed otherwise. Subsequently, [it deals with] the soul of man, whether it can leave the

123. Jeshua ben Joseph ha-Levi of Tlemcen, *Halikhot 'Olam*, one of several editions published by Masius' time: Leiria, Portugal (Samuel Dortas, 1490), Constantinople (presumably by David ibn Nachmias, 1510), Venice (Giovanni di Gara, 1544), and Sabbioneta (Vincenzo Conti, 1567). The correct translation of 'olam here (in an expression taken from *Habakkuk* 3:6) is 'eternal' or 'everlasting', rather than 'world.'

124. Menachem ben Benjamin Recanati, *Piskei halakhot* (Bologna, ha-Shutafim 1538).

125. *Sefer ha-Yashar* is indeed attributed by many to Jacob ben Meir, known as Rabbenu Tam, the grandson of Rashi, but by others it is ascribed to Zerahia ha-Yevani. Joseph Dan, who published a modern edition of the text (Jerusalem 1986), asserts in the *Encyclopedia Judaica* (2nd edition, 2007), s.v. 'Sefer ha-Yashar', that the *editio princeps* was published in Venice in 1544 by Cornelio Adelkind for Zuan de Gara. However, an earlier edition appeared in Constantinople in 1518-20, of which there are copies in the Bodleian Library, the Beinecke Library, the Jewish Theological Seminary in New York, and the New York Public Library. See A. Yaari, *Hebrew Printing at Constantinople. Its History and Bibliography* (Jerusalem 1967), p. 80, nr. 79 (in Hebrew) = Supplement to *Kiriath Sepher*, vol. XLII.

126. Solomon Levita is Solomon ben Moses ha-Levi Alkabetz the younger, and the book is his *Ayelet Abavim* (Venice: Daniel Adelkind 1552), which is indeed a commentary on the Song of Songs. The final 'h' in *ayalah* here is the only Hebrew typographical error in the bibliography (and it is surely that: both Masius and Raphelengius knew what *semichut* was). Alkabetz (1505-1584), best known as the author of the Sabbath hymn 'Lecha Dodi', should not be confused with his grandfather of the same name, the printer in Guadalajara. Solomon ben Moses ha-Levi Alkabetz the younger is the most contemporary Jewish author in Masius' library, surviving him by some ten years.

127. The *Sepher ha-Kuzari* by Judah ben Samuel (Abu-I-Hasan) ha-Levi was translated from the Arabic by Judah ibn Tibbon, and first printed in Fano by Gershon Soncino in 1506. A second edition, by Meir ben Jacob Parenzo, appeared in Venice in 1547. Parenzo had been trained in the printing shop of Daniel Bomberg, and his is the edition most likely to have been owned by Masius. The most important edition in terms of the reception of the *Kuzari* was printed by Giovanni di Gara in Venice 1594, after Masius' death, and contained the famous commentary *Kol Yebuda* by Judah Moscato. See A. Shear, *The Kuzari and the Shaping of Jewish Identity, 1167-1900* (Cambridge 2008), p. 43-52.

body, contemplate divine things, and discussions similar to these. The author of this book is *Rabbi Obadiah of Sferno*.¹²⁸

Mivchar ha-Penanim, that is, the Choicest Pearls. These are selected sentences from old sayings, on wisdom, on prudence, on justice, on temperance, and in short, concerning practically all virtues and vices and other affections of man, such as love, hate, wealth, poverty, etcetera, with learned commentaries.¹²⁹

Behinat ha-'Olam, that is, the Examination of the World, a booklet written by the philosopher *Rabbi Yedaiah*, which shows that the things of this world are transitory and uncertain, and that therefore we must aspire only to things heavenly and divine. An explanation, not without learning, is added as well.¹³⁰

Even Bohan, that is, the Stone of Experiment, a short book written approximately in 1239 by Rabbi Calonymos the Spaniard. Its argument is nearly identical to the previous book, for it contains various exhortations through which the soul of man is to be lead away from the trivial things of this world to eternal things.¹³¹

Sepher Torah Or, a brief book entitled The Law is Light. It deals with the final treasure of the soul, that is, with the blessed life or the wretched life, with Paradise and Hell, and with the age to come beyond death. It is a learned little book indeed, even though it does contain much Jewish nonsense and superstition.

128. Obadiah ben Jacob Sferno, *Sepher Or 'Amim* (Bologna: ha-Shutafim 1537). Sferno (c. 1470-c. 1550), a Jewish Renaissance humanist, was an older contemporary of Masius, and taught Hebrew to Johannes Reuchlin. His *Sepher Or 'Amim*, a philosophical work of anti-Aristotelian purport, was translated by the author into Latin and published in Bologna in 1548 as *Lumen Gentium*. See S. Campanini, 'Un intellettuale ebreo del Rinascimento: 'Ovadyah Sferno a Bologna e i suoi rapporti con i cristiani', in M.G. Muzzarelli (ed.), *Verso l'epilogo di una convivenza. Gli Ebrei a Bologna nel XVI secolo* (Florence 1996), p. 99-128.

129. The *Mivchar ha-Penanim* is a masterpiece of Andalusian Judeo-Arabic ethical literature. Attributed to Solomon ben Judah ibn Gabirol, it consists in large part of wisdom sayings collected from Islamic sources, and was translated from Arabic into Hebrew by Judah ibn Tibbon. It is unclear whether Masius was aware of this. In his notes to the *Kuzari* he mentions Arabic-Hebrew translation, here he does not. Several editions of Ibn Tibbon's Hebrew translation of this popular classic had appeared by Masius' day: Soncino (Joshua ben Israel of Soncino, 1484), Venice (Cornelio Adelkind, 1545/6), and Cremona (Vincenzo Conti, 1558).

130. By Masius' day, eight (!) editions of Yedaiah ben Abraham Bedersi ha-Penini's popular classic of medieval Jewish philosophy had appeared: Mantua (1474), Soncino (1484), Constantinople (1520), Venice (1546), Ferrara (1551), Mantua (1556), Riva di Trento (1559) and Salonika (1560). The Mantua and Ferrara editions also include the *Baqashat ha-Memin* by Yedaiah, and since Masius doesn't mention this, it is less likely that his copy was one of these editions, and most like he owned the Venetian edition.

131. Qalonymos ben Qalonymos ben Meir ha-Nasi, *Even Bohan*. Masius owned one of three possible editions, a Neapolitan incunabulum (Yom Tov Zarfati for Joseph ben Jacob Ashkenazi Gunzenhauser, 1489), a Venetian edition (Cornelio Adelkind, 1545-46) or a later Cremona edition (Vincenzo Conti, 1558). Qalonymos, a native of Arles in Provence, dedicated much of his life to Andalusian Judeo-Arabic culture, translating philosophical and scientific works from Arabic into Hebrew and from both into Latin. The *Even Bohan* is dedicated to ten Jewish Catalan noblemen, which is perhaps why Masius identified the author as a Spaniard. See A.M. Habermann (ed.), *Qalonymos ben Qalonymos, Even Bohan, edited from manuscript and first editions, with annotations and postface* (Tel Aviv 1956) (in Hebrew).

Its author is Rabbi Joseph the son of David, the Spaniard, and he wrote it in the time of our fathers.¹³²

Rabbi Menachem the son of Simon's commentary on Jeremiah and Ezechiel.¹³³

Rabbi Benjamin the son of Judah of Rome's commentary on the latter two books of Kings, from the seventh chapter to the end, and on Chronicles as well, and on the Proverbs of Solomon.¹³⁴

A commentary on the Book of Judges by rabbi Isaiah, on the first two books of Kings, as well as on the seven first chapters of the third book of Kings, for when he had reached that place in his commentary, he passed away. A commentary on Ezra as well, by the same.¹³⁵

Finally, in manuscript, I have the commentaries of Rabbi Abraham son of Ezra on Isaiah and on the twelve minor prophets, emended and expanded by the same author.

Besides these books, I have a number of Hebrew poets, among them a large volume by Rabbi Immanuel, filled with the loveliest verses composed metrically.¹³⁶ But it is of no importance to mention them or the commonly known grammarians.¹³⁷

The End.

132. Don Joseph ben David ibn Yachya, *Torah Or* (Bologna 1537/8). Masius' brief description of its contents is a nearly word-for-word translation of the contents from the Hebrew of the title page of the Bologna edition: ספר תורה אור לחכם הכולל האלהי דון יוסף י"צו בן לגאון הכולל האלהי הדיין דון דוד אבן יחייא הספרדי י"צו אשר בו יתבאר האושר האחרון אל הנפש וענין גן עדן ונהנים ועולם הבא... This book is not to be confused with the technical apparatus of the same title (a phrase taken from Proverbs 6:23) composed by Joshua Bo'az ben Simon Baruch for the 1546-1551 edition of the Babylonian Talmud printed in Venice by Marco Antonio Giustiniani.

133. Menachem ben Simon of Posquières, quite certainly a manuscript. No printed edition appeared prior to the 20th century.

134. Benjamin ben Judah Bozecco (Bozeczchi), also known as Benjamin ben Judah of Rome. Yehoshua Horwitz (*Encyclopedia Judaica*, 2nd ed., s.v. 'Bozecco'), asserts that Benjamin ben Judah completed the commentary to Kings left unfinished by Isaiah ben Elijah di Trani, which confirms the identification of the author of this title and the next.

135. Isaiah ben Elijah di Trani, that is Isaiah di Trani the younger, to be distinguished from Isaiah (ben Mali) of Trani, the elder. There is some scholarly disagreement as to which Elijah (of Trani) was the author of the commentaries on several prophets included in the third edition of the Bomberg Rabbinic Bible.

136. Quite certainly this 'magnum volumen' is the *Mabbarot* of Immanuel ben Solomon of Rome, also known as Manuello Romano or Manuello Giudeo. See Jarden, *The Cantos of Immanuel of Rome*.

137. Like his letter to Münster mentioned at the beginning of this article, this last remark suggests that Masius might also have had some more systematic bibliographic intentions in compiling this list. Conrad Gessner's *Pandectarum sive Partitionum uniuersalium* (Zurich: Christophorus Froshoverus 1548), which Masius might have considered commonly available, already includes a list of Hebrew and Aramaic grammars.