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The Oldest Hebrew Bible Manuscript in Poland

Among the treasures of the once flourishing Jewish culture on Polish territories and saved from the World War II holocaust we find, i.a., manuscripts. These include also Hebrew manuscripts of the Bible. One of them, particularly precious and the eldest at the same time, has been housed in the manuscript collection at the University of Wrocław since 1945. It is a manuscript bearing the catalogue number M 1106. Brief descriptions of it were published in the last century by C. Brockelmann, Renata Kohn and M. Garell. The manuscript preserved in the collection of the City Library of Wrocław since 1865 had been formerly owned by the Magdalean Library (since 1703). It was in that year that the manuscript was offered to the Library from the collection of Ferdinand Mudrach.

To the manuscript is appended a dedication in Latin written on two parchment pages, stitched together, which reads as follows: (page 1 recto): "Advortite (sic) animum lectores/4 hic Deus habitat/ Codicem hunc/ in/ Membranis permagno aestimandis/ sacros aliquot Prisci Foederis libros/ una cum paraphrasi chaldaea/ complexum et/ ante quinque propemodum saecula/ a/ Iosepho Kalonymi F./ ac/ Meschallemo/ celeberrimis Haebraeorum magistris/ pulcherrime diligentissimeque/ exaratum/ simulque alium/ vix minoris pretii/ qui in isto ipso desiderantur/ divinos scriptores/ absque paraphrasi tamen/ exhibentem (page 1 verso:) vir illustris/ Vitus Ferdinandus/ a Mudrach Ratenae, Wohnewicii, Hermsdorfii et Strachwicii/ dynasta/ pro eo/ quo in bonas literas sic/ earum cultores/ amore fertur/ currenti simul calcar addentibus/ viro nobillissimo/ Christophoro Seidelio/ Illustris Reipublicae Wratislaviensis/ secretario gravissimo/ huiusque Bibliothecae Magdalenae/ custode/ Chris-

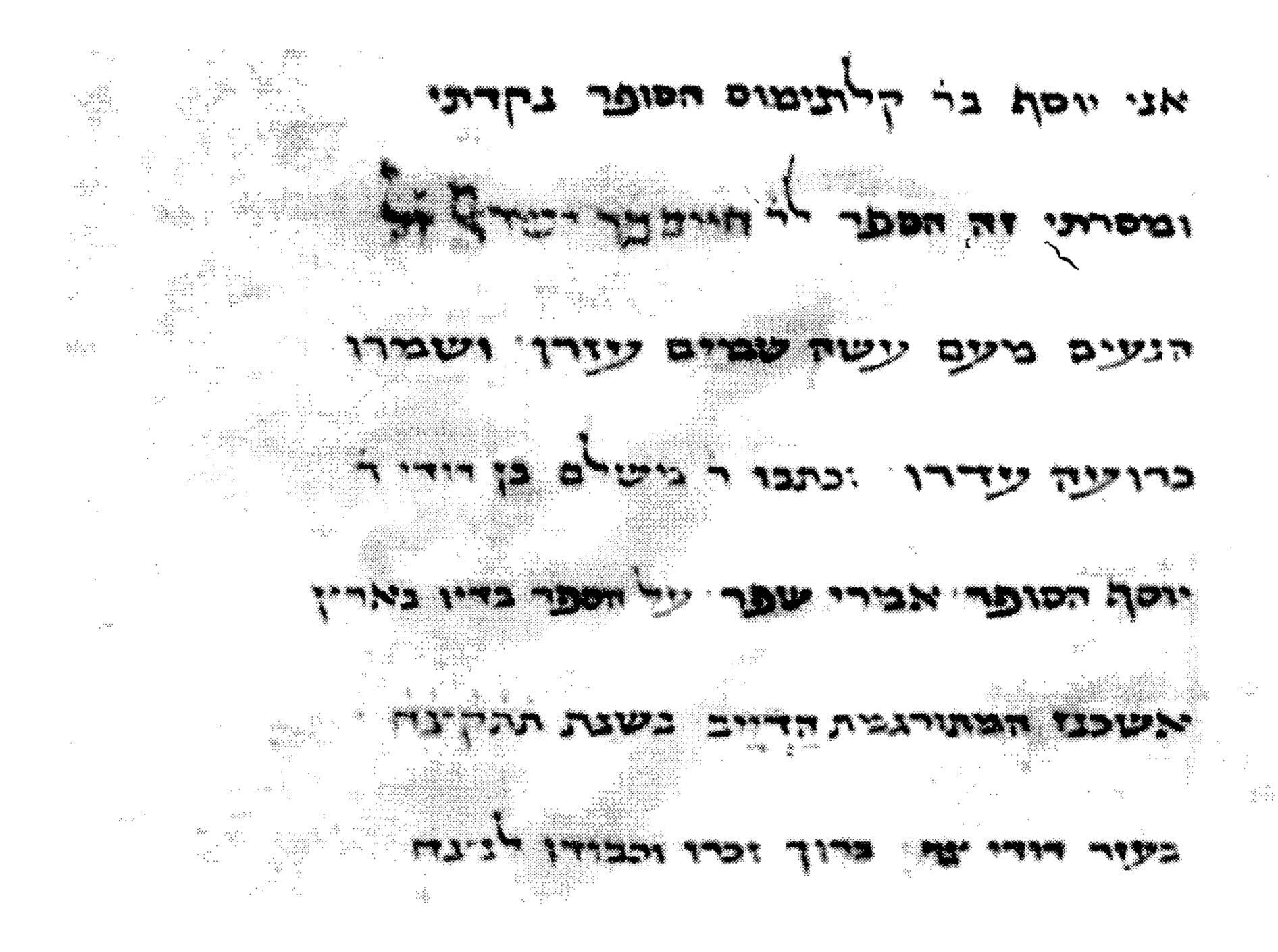
Zbiory rękopisów orientalnych w bibliotekach wrocławskich, "Przegląd Orien-

talistyczny", 1954, p. 290.

¹ Verzeichniss der Arabischen, Persischen, Türkischen und Hebräischen Handschriften der Stadtbibliothek zu Breslau von C. Brockelmann, Verlag von M. und H. Marcus, Breslau 1903, pp. 45–47.

Manuscrits hébreux en Pologne, «Revue d'Histoire des Textes» 5, 1975, pp. 365–367.

Slanted lines indicate subsequent verses of the dedication. In the brackets successive pages are given.



The colophon of Manuscript 1106 from Wroclaw University Library providing information concerning the execution of this manuscript. Folio 456 recto.

tiano Gryphio gymnassi sic/ cognominis/ Rectore ac professore publico (page 2 recto:) Quorum mentionem disserte fieri/ illustris donator voluit/ ex/ Bibliotheca/ quae ipsi est lectissima/ ablatum die XIX Calend. Septembris/ A.O.R.MDCCIII/ Magdalenae/ intulit/ publicoque eruditorum usui/ consecravit". On page 2 verso there is the coat-of-arms of the donor.

The text is written on 456 pages of white, well-preserved parchment; it forms a large book of 489 mm x 362 mm in size and 170 mm thick; the volume is bound in wood covered with leather 15 mm thick which most likely comes from the 17th century. At that time the original Hebrew pagination was partly cut off. The manuscript contains subsequent, later pagination of all pages in ink. The text of the

⁵ "Attention, readers! God lives here. This codex on venerable very large sheets of parchment contains some of the books of the Old Testament with Aramaic translations nearly five centuries old, beautifully and carefully written by Joseph, son of Kalonymos and Meshullam, famous Hebrew scholars. At the same time there are represented other, somewhat less renown divine writers without translation; the distinguished Vit Ferdinand from Murdach, lord of Ratyn, Wojnowo, Jerzmanowo and Strachowice to the man who incessantly has loving care for good writings and their lovers, at the same time an outstanding man — Krzysztof Seidel, glorious Res Publica of Wrocław, with its most venerable secretary and protector of the Magdalean Library, Krystian Gryf, the rector and professor of the school. Their names the distinguished donor wishes to be clearly mentioned. From the library which was the nearest to him on August 14th, 1703 he had taken it and transferred to the Magdalean School for it to be used publicly by scholars."

Bible, however, is incomplete, and there are some missing elements.⁶ There is no text of Numeri 18, 2-22, 23 with Targum covering probably two pages, i.e. a single four-page stitch. Moreover, between pages 394 and 395 the text of Proverbs 14,

14–17,8 with Targum is also missing, despite continuous pagination.

The text was written in three columns 65 mm wide. Each column contains 35 lines, on the margins appear remarks of masorets. On the side margins, there is a large massora, while on the top and bottom margins there is a large masora, frequently taking the form of decorative motifs. It is a typical Franco-Ashkenazi manuscript, similar to the one kept in the Ambrosiana Library in Milan,8 containing a typical Hebrew masoretic text written in careful square letters with vocalization. In the Wrocław manuscript the Hebrew text of the Bible was written intermittently with the text of Onkelos' Targum.

The Pentateuch begins with Genesis first page recto adorned by a beautiful, richly gilded initial covering the entire width of the page; it contains the first Hebrew word of Genesis: $b^e r \bar{e}$ 'šit — 'at the beginning' surrounded by arabesques in an embellished frame. On both sides of the initial, there are naked figures of Adam and Eve covering their intimate parts with fig leaves. The image of Adam is on the left-hand side of the initial and that of Eve — on the right. On her left leg there is a Hebrew inscription: 'I entered the garden'. Both images have their faces erased in order to comply with the prohibition of rendering human images introduced later to Judaism. The text of the Book of Genesis ends on sheet 55, in its third, unfinished column.

On the next page — folio 55 verso, begins the Book of Exodus again with a gilded initial in the top right corner. It is two columns wide (ca. 120 mm). The initial has the form of a rectangle with an adorned frame and it contains the first Hebrew word of this Book: we'elle(h), the letters of which are surrounded by images of animals (a monkey, a lion, a fox, and some birds). The text of this book ends on sheet 100 recto in its third, unfinished column.

At folio 1 recto there is a sheet of paper with a German text bearing the date: December 9th, 1891 and signed by Dr Königsberger: "Nach fol. 53 b (ist zwar fortlaufend paginiert, nb) fehlt aber von Numeri 18,2 Targum bis Numeri 22,23, habe ich aufgezeichnet 182b in 188 b (189 b corr. Gins.) setzt der Text mit d't im Msc mit 't fort. — Dr Königsberger".

Some sheets have only one central column at the ends of the books.

The manuscript of the Bible kept there was written in 1236. It consists of three volumes. The first B 30 inf contains the Pentateuch (Torah), on 222 sheets in folio, the second — b 31 inf — contains the Prophets (Nebiim) on 208 sheets, and the third — the Writings (Ketubim) on 136 sheets. Cf. C. Bernheimer Codices Hebraici Bibliothecae Ambrosianae, Florentiae 1933, pp. 2-6; Hebraica Ambrosianae, vol. II: Luisa Mortara Ottolenghi, Description of Decorated and Illuminated Hebrew Manuscripts in the Ambrosiana Library, Edizioni II, Polfilio, without place 1972, pp. 119-125.

The text of the Book of Leviticus begins on the next page, sheet 100 verso. The first word: wayyiora' forms a colourful gilded initial, rectangular in shape. The letters are surrounded by arabesques and images of animals which include a bull, a lion, a dog, a fox, a capricorn, a unicorn, a sheep with bound legs and two birds. Above the sheep there is a Hebrew micrographic inscription: 'an immaculate sheep from the herd.' The initial covers the width of two columns at the beginning of the page, that is its upper right corner.

The Book of Numeri begins on sheet 131 verso with an initial embracing the first Hebrew word: $banmidb\bar{a}r$ in the desert, in gilt, embellished rectangular frame. The surface between the letters of the initial is filled with anabesques and images of animals. The text of the book ends in the middle of the two last columns on sheet 169 verso.

The text of the Book of Deuteronomy begins on sheet 169 verso. It starts with a colourful initial including the first word of this book: 'elle(h) — written in gilt letters against blue background. In the top right corner of this rectangular initial, above the letter aleph, there is an image of Moses in a golden coat and a pointed Jewish hat which was to distinguish the Jews from Christians. Moses is holding an open book in his hand; on the book there is a Hebrew inscription in tiny letters: 'The anger of Moses raged' and to the left of it: 'He threw away the tablets from his hands.' Under the letter aleph there is a bird, and under lamed — a lion ready to jump; an archer with erased face is aiming at the lion, the archer is standing in the letter he and behind him there is a golden animal, probably a bear, not a lion as C. Brockelmann believed, which also is getting ready to jump. On the animal there is a micrographic inscription: 'A monster deprived of its ilk' (šakul de-rahab). Over the letter lamed there is a deer with the inscription *swi* on it. The deer is chased by a dog that is located on the letter he. It is defined as a dog by the inscription keleb. It is quite characteristic that whoever it was he did not dare to deform Moses' face or to erase it as it was done with the archer. The text ends on sheet 208 verso just in the middle, i.e. on line 18.

On sheet 209 verso begins a text which continues up to sheet 244 verso. On the sheet 244, however, only the middle column was completed, so this part of the manuscript is incomplete. There is only Haftarot, i.e. those fragments of the books of prophets which are read in synagogues on Saturdays and on holidays during the morning services after the readings from Torah. These fragments also include the Aramaic Targum added to the Hebrew text, verse after verse. The fragment has no embellishments except for masora.

After Haftarot we find in the manuscript the books read in the synagogue during holidays. They form the five Megillot. Here, they begin on sheet 245 recto with the Book of Ruth whose beginning is formed by an initial composed of its first letter surrounded by gilt arabesques. The initial forms a rectangle covering the width of two columns and the height of seven lines of text in the top right corner. The text of this book ends on sheet 249 verso on which it fills the right-hand side column and 18 lines written from top to bottom in the two remaining columns.

On the same page (249 verso), in the centre column below the 18th line of the text there is a rectangular initial that fills the width of the second and third columns and is seven lines high. The initial includes the first word of the book: \hat{sir} 'a song', agains a background of arabesques, images of three animals and a bird. The initial begins the Song of Songs whose text ends with the first column of sheet 259 verso.

Immediately after it, in the second column, an initial two columns wide and seven lines of text high, begins the Book of Kohelet. The initial has a rectangular background which contains gilt letters of the first word of the book: $dibr\bar{e}y$, and gilt arabesques with an image of King Solomon who was said to have been its author. Here too, someone scraped out the contours of Solomon's face. The text of Kohelet ends on sheet 272 verso, the second and the third columns are shorter (only 18 lines both).

After an initial, rectangular in shape, two columns wide and seven lines high, begins the Book of Lamentations. The initial contains the first word of the book: $ak\bar{a}(h)$ 'how' written in gilt letters. Under the first letter of the initial, in the right-hand corner, there is a golden castle, and in the lower left corner — an image of King Nabuchodonosor with a crown on his head, sitting on a lion. This image has its face scraped out, too. The text of the Book of Lamentations ends on sheet 278 verso.

On the same page, in the second and third columns, after the fifth line from the top, the Book of Esther begins with a gilt initial covering the first word: way hi, against the background of a rectangle. In the bottom right corner of it there is a drawing picturing three men at a golden table. They have all their eyes scraped out in order to disfigure their faces. In the middle part, in the letter he, there is a tree, and in the bottom left corner — a bird resembling an ostrich. On the margin, there is a micrographic inscription in Hebrew which explains the meaning of the illustration: 'A feast, and on a golden table there are gold vessels, all this in the small, paved yard of the king's garden.' The text of the Book of Esther ends on sheet 301 verso. On this page, on the right-hand side margin there is a picture of a tree. On the upper right side of this tree Haman is hanging: the man who prepared the holocaust of the Jews, was, however, stopped by Mordochai and Esther, and lost his life. Under Haman, to the left and to the right of the tree Haman's sons are hanging, five of them on each side. On the lower margin there are images of Esther and Mordochai holding sceptres in their hands. Next to the image of Esther whose hair is in braids, there is a Hebrew inscription in fine letters: 'Royal crown on the heand of Esther'. Next to Mordochai there is an inscription: 'A big gold crown on the head of Mordochai, the Jew.' To the Hebrew text was added Aramaic translation known as Targum Sheni (The Second Targum).

The text of the Book of Esther ends on sheet 304 verso, but on sheet 303 recto only the middle column is written; on sheet 303 verso there are two columns of text. The middle column of the whole text contains the Hebrew text of the book, while the right column contains the Aramaic translation. The remaining central column on

sheet 304 recto contains the Hebrew text with Targum, in the left column there are only two words and a final masora. Also on the next page only the central column remains, written in Hebrew and Aramaic. Then, there is a micrographic text: bišnat tartên 'in the second year'.

On sheet 305 recto we find the beginning of the text of Book of Psalms, accompanied by the Targum. The book opens in the top right corner with an elaborate blue and red rectangle on which the first word of the Psalm: 'ašrey 'happy' appears. Under the letter reš, there is a drawing of King David with a gold crown, sitting on a throne in a red robe and a blue coat, playing the harp. Above the initial, over the image of the king, there is a fine-lettered inscription in Hebrew. It says: 'King David playing the harp with his hand, singing.' The text of the psalms ends on sheet 363 recto, filling the entire first column, and 18 top lines of the second and third columns. Then, at the height of six lines and the width of two columns, there is a space without text where the initial of the next book should have been.

It is the Book of Job which begins on the page where the Psalter ends; there is space left for the unexecuted initial. In it, there was to be the first word of the Book of Job: 'man'. Consequently, the text begins with the words: 'he was in the land of Uz'. The text of this book ends on sheet 388 recto; in the middle column seven lines are missing from the bottom, and in the left-hand column eight lines are empty. It is a space hardly large enough for an initial and the beginning of the next book of the Bible.

It is the Book of Proverbs the text of which starts on sheet 388 verso. On this sheet, however, empty space was left in the top right corner of the right and central columns; altogether 10 lines are missing in each of the columns. In this space only a pencilled outline of the frame and the Hebrew word mišlê 'a proverb' is to be seen. The initial is not finished, thus the text begins with the word $S^e lomoh$ 'Solomon.' After sheet 394 most probably two pages are missing, though the pagination is continuous. On sheet 394 verso there is a Latin inscription in ink: hic est defectus. Indeed, on the sheet there is the text of Proverbs up to 11,10 while on sheet 395 recto the text of Proverb 17,9 starts. In other words, proverbs 11,11 up to 17,8 are missing together with their Targum. On the top of this page there is an ink inscription: Cap. XVII, and on the right-hand side 9 is written. With another hand a German explanation is written: fehlt Prv 11,14 trg a — 17,8 trg, zwei Bogen des Quaternion. The text of the Book of Proverbs ends on sheet 404 verso where there is only the central column with its last line extending over the whole width of the page. This column is surrounded on the right and on the left, as well as on its top and bottom margins by a large masora, decoratively executed.

On sheet 405 recto begins the text of the Book of Daniel. It opens with an initial two columns wide including the first word of the book: 'in the year.' The word is gilt, there are arabesques, a drawing of a monkey, a dog and three birds in red, green and

⁹ Cf. Brockelmann, op. cit., p. 46.

blue. The book has no Targum since a considerable part of it is in Aramaic: Dan 2.4–7,28, while the rest (1.1–2,3 and 8,1–12,13) is in Hebrew. The Book of Daniel ends on sheet 412 verso, and it covers the first, i.e. right, column and five lines from the top of the central and left columns.

Directly on the same sheet — 412 verso, there is the initial opening the Book of Ezra without Targum. The rectangular initial covers the width of two columns and it has the height of seven lines. Within it there is the Hebrew word $\hat{u}\underline{b}i\check{s}nat$ 'and in the year' against an arabesque background. In the letter bet there is a drawing of a bird, and in the final letter taw — a drawing of a lion. The text of the Book of Ezra ends in line 27, that is, 8 lines from the bottom. Immediately follows the Book of Nehemiah. This means that the copyist treated both books as a unity. The text of the Book of Ezra and Nehemiah ends on sheet 424 verso in the third line from the bottom which contains only one word placed in the centre. The remaining two lines remain empty, only at the bottom to the left there is a micrographic word $z\bar{a}h\bar{a}b$ 'gold,' perhaps indicating that some gilt matter was to be put there.

In the top right corner on sheet 425 recto there is a two-column wide and seven lines high initial in which the name of Adam is written in gilt letters against arabesques. This name opens the Book of Chronicles. This book also contains only the Hebrew text written without any break. The second Book of Chronicles begins on sheet 438 verso on the central column, line 8 from the bottom. In other words, both books are — according to tradition — treated as one. Their text ends on sheet 455 verso, there the first and the second columns have 28 lines each, the third one has 29 lines. The free space is filled with a decorative masora.

On sheet 456 recto, which is glued on the cover, the central column contains the text of the so-called final masora. It gives a register of books included in the manuscript, the number of verses and letters. Following the masora in the same column in the 27th line from the top there is a seven-line Hebrew colophon which provides information about the scribe (or, rather the copyist) and the person who vocalized the consonantal text (punctator). This is the English translation of the colophon: "I, Joseph, son of Kalonymos the scribe, have punctuated this book and handed it over to rabbi Chaim son of Israel, blessed be his memory, beloved by the people, who made Heavens with his help and care as a shepherd of his flock.

The Hebrew term *sofer* means 'a writer, scholar'. Here it denotes a copyist dealing with copying the Torah and the books of the Bible. The treatise Soferim added to the Babylonian Talmud describes in detail the principles applied by these writers.

The verb *niqqed* used here in the first person singular literally means 'to punctuate, to dot', i.e. supplementing the Hebrew consonantal texts with vowels, accents and other diacritical signs, which allows it to be read correctly and unequivocally.

12 Hebre samaim literally means there are the same that th

Hebr. *šāmaîm* literally means: 'heaven, heavens'. In the rabbinical texts this term became synonymous with God.

It was written by rabbi Meshullam, cousin of rabbi Joseph, the scribe of beautiful words, ¹³ in this book with ink, in this German land, ¹⁴ which is interpreted as Hazjev ¹⁵ in the year 998 with the help of my enlightened paternal uncle, blessed be his memory and glory to him forever."

Thus, the manuscript was written by rabbi Meshullam in Germany in 4998 of the Jewish era since the creation of the world. Rabbi Meshullam was a son of the brother of Joseph bar (son of) Kalonymos, a renowned scholar, a masoret, who marked the consonantal text, written by his brother's son with vowels, accents, diacritical marks and the masora.

Joseph bar Kalonymos Ha-Naqdan I or Joseph son of Kalonymos the Punctator I, lived in the 13th century. The precise dates of his birth and death are not known. He belonged to a well-known clan of grammarians, poets and punctators of biblical texts active in Germany in Rhineland from the 9th to the 13th centuries. Joseph was also a grammarian and a poet. He wrote and vocalized 16 numerous manuscripts which he marked in the colophon with characteristic words: ha-soper 'imrāy šeper 'the scribe (or writer) of beautiful words' (cf. Gen. 49,21). He also composed religious poems, some of which are preserved. Among them is the prayer of atonement (Heb. $s^e liha/h$), written to commemorate the Jewish martyrs from Laudna and Bischofsheim brought to death in 1235. It begins with the words: "I will cry out, for violence was exerted on me". 17 There is also a lithurgical poem (Heb. piyyut) for the New Year holiday which begins with the words: "The supreme king, the powerful Lord in heavens". 18 They were found in a prayer-book used during holidays in France. The book is dated 1278. Joseph is also quoted in the matters of language and poetry by Abraham ben Azriel who lived in the 13th century in

Hebr. 'imre šeper literally: 'beautiful (or fine) words' may also denote fine writing, caligraphy.

14 Hebr. 'eres 'aškenaz.

¹⁵ This is exactly how the name should be read according to the vocalization. This manuscript was written in this locality. Nevertheless, it is difficult to identify this place. S.G. Wald describing the manuscript in the "Magazin für Deutsche Geschichte und Statistik" (Teil I, Leipzig 1794, pp. 98-102) wrote: "Zwischen Landau und Strassburg liegt ein Flecken, der noch von Juden Hadif genannt wird", which may indicate that the manuscript was written and vocalized in Rhineland. However, according to Prof. Malachi Beit Arie (I owe him my gratitude for this information) it is only the Aramaic translation of the word 'aške anaz as it appears in Targum to Jer.51,27.

¹⁶ The verb 'to vocalize' denotes here supplementation of Hebrew consonantal texts with vowel signs and accents.

¹⁷ Hebr. 'eşaq ḥāmās qôrôtay.'

¹⁸ Hebr. melek 'elyôn 'addîr ba-mārōm.

his work 'Arugat ha-Bośem (The Fragrant Lot). Some consider it possible to identify Joseph bar Kalonymos with Jose from Heidelberg who was known as the corrector of Torah megillot and lived in Bohemia where Abraham ben Azriel also lived. The brother's son of Joseph bar Kalonymos was Joseph ben Kalonymos Ha-Naqdan II who died in 1294. He was also a grammarian and a poet, and like his paternal uncle dealt with copying and vocalizing manuscripts. He also wrote poems that were to facilitate correct reading of biblical texts. So there were two punctuators of the same name, but the one who vocalized the Wrocław manuscript could only have been the first one. 21

Beside the name of the punctuator the colophon reports that it was written by rabbi Meshullam, cousin of rabbi Joseph son of Kalonymos. There is no further information as to whom the manuscript was dedicated and who ordered its execution. In the second line from the top of the colophon we read that the manuscript was prepared for "rabbi Chayyim bar Israel of blessed memory." The last two words added to the name may indicate that Chayyim bar Israel had already been dead when the manuscript was finished. Still it is quite probable that he was not the person who ordered the manuscript and for whom it was written, since in this particular place the text is scraped out and in a handwriting different from the rest of the work the name Chayyim bar Israel b.m. (Hayyim bar Iśrael z.l.) is written. Thus, if we wanted to know who was the original addressee of the manuscript we should try to decipher the original text with infra-red photography technique.

Moreover, the colophon makes it clear that the manuscript was written and "punctuated", vocalized in Germany in 4998, i.e. in 1238. The same date appears in the manuscript No. B 30 inf at the Ambrosiana Library in Milan, where the following colophon appears: "I, Joseph son of Kalonymos, wrote the masora and punctuated

Abraham ben Azriel who lived in Bohemia in the 13th century was a commentator of liturgical poetry. His work is a commentary to the liturgical poetry written in 1234. It was published by E.E. Urbach in 1939. The work proves that he had an excellent knowledge of the text and its vocalization, exegesis, grammar, midrashim, both Talmuds (the Jerusalem and the Babylonian) and of their commentators. He also knew philosophical and kabbalistic literature. He was one of the "Elders of Bohemia".

²⁰ Cf. A. Dawid, *Joseph ben Kalonymos Ha-naqdan I, Encyclopedia Judaica*, vol. 10, pp. 213–233. Cf. also L. Zunz, *Litteraturgeschichte der synagogalen Poesie*, Berlin 1863, p. 335; A. Brühl, "Jahrbücher für Jüdische Geschichte und Litteratur" 8. 1887, pp. 118–121; E.E. Urbach, 'Ârûğat ha-Bośem, Yerûšālaîm 1939, p. 281.

The family of Kalonymos was one of the most eminent Jewish families. Among its members there were many learned Talmudists, rabbis, preachers, grammarians, teachers and poets. Numerous members of this family were heads of Jewish communities in the towns of Rhineland, Lombardy and Provence. But he did not necessarily belong to this family, since the name was rather popular among the Jews in the Middle Ages.

it and I finished it in the year 998 according to the time-count in the month of shevat." Thus the punctuator completed the vocalization of both manuscripts in the same year 1238.

The Wrocław manuscript is marked by its careful handwriting and precise notation; the illustrations and illuminations are similar to those in the Milan manuscript. All this indicates that the Hebrew manuscript No. 1106 kept in the University Library of Wrocław University is a very important monument of Hebrew writing and medieval Jewish art of illuminating manuscripts. It is one of the very few illuminated manuscripts and, at the same time, the oldest Hebrew manuscript of the Bible in Poland. It is a real treasure of medieval culture.

In the Library of the Ossoliński National Foundation in Wrocław there is a valuable Hebrew manuscript of the Bible. It belongs to the Pawlikowski collection, and it bears the catalogue number 141. It is, however, much later, since it dates back to the 14th century.