

IRINA WANDREY works as head of the research library at the Centre for the Study of Manuscript Cultures (CSMC) at the University of Hamburg. Since 2011 she has built up a special collection focussing on manuscript studies in Asia, Africa and Europe. After studying German Literature and Jewish Studies in Berlin and Jerusalem, she wrote her doctoral thesis on medieval Jewish magical literature. Since then she has participated in different research projects, on manuscripts from the Cairo Genizah and on the edition of the Samaritan Torah, and taught Jewish Studies and Hebrew at the Freie Universität Berlin, in the Jewish Community Berlin and also at the University of Hamburg. Her research focusses on Hebrew manuscripts. In 2014 she organized an exhibition showing a choice of beautiful and typical examples of Jewish manuscript cultures from the important and extensive collection of Hebrew manuscripts at the State and University Library in Hamburg (exhibition catalogue: *Tora – Talmud – Siddur*, ed. by Irina Wandrey, Hamburg, 2014 [= *manuscript cultures* 6], <https://fiona.uni-hamburg.de/21507602/manuscript-cultures-06.pdf>). Also, Dr. Wandrey was managing editor of CSMC’s research journal *manuscript cultures* until last year and continues with this task in the current editorial team (<https://journals.sub.uni-hamburg.de/hup4/mc/index>).

“The invitation by Tarik Tüten to participate in this marvellous book project about the Hafiz Ahmed Ağa Library on Rhodes and the world in which it was and is situated in today surprised and enchanted me, and I am grateful to be able to participate with my modest contribution. Being a librarian myself, I think the meaning of a library cannot be overestimated as each true library strives to include the world, to be comprehensive and – to borrow a term reinterpreted by Isaac Luria for his system of Kabbalah (1534–1572, Zefat, Galilee, Ottoman Empire) – to bring forward with its very own means, intentionally or unintentionally, the tiqqun of the world. That means to salvage the divine sparks of light scattered and entrapped in our physical world and to repair the primordial cosmic catastrophe and enable “the restoration of harmony” (see Sholem, 1946, 244–286; cf. Fig. 10).”

Irina Wandrey

Jewish Manuscript Cultures on Rhodes and in the Ottoman Empire

There were Jewish communities in all the regions that belonged to the Ottoman Empire from the 15th to the early 20th century. These groups had a long history dating back hundreds or even thousands of years: for example, to antiquity in Jerusalem, Damascus and Aleppo; to the Hellenistic and Roman eras in Constantinople/Istanbul and Adrianople/Edirne, Rhodes, Thessaloniki, Philippopolis/Plovdiv and Sofia; numerous other oriental Arabic-speaking communities, both rabbinical and Karaite, developed in the Levant, Mesopotamia and Egypt from the early Middle Ages.¹

The Greek-speaking Jews, the Romaniots (from Ῥωμανία, designation for the Eastern Roman Empire), lived in Greece, the Balkans, and in Asia Minor under Eastern Roman and Byzantine rule. As an example of the close integration of the Jewish communities into Hellenistic culture, I would like to present a votive inscription from the late antique synagogue of Andriake, Lykia (today Demre, Turkey), as it is often found in ancient synagogues in the Mediterranean (FIGURE 1). This inscription is engraved on two marble panels which were probably placed next to each other. It is written in Greek and all names mentioned in it are Greek as well. Only the last single letter, a *shin*, is Hebrew and is an abbreviation of the Hebrew word *shalom*. The votive dedication ends with the formula:

ΕΥΧΑΡΙΑ ΚΑΙ ἸΠΗΝΗ ΠΙΑΝΤΙ ΤΩ ΙΣΡΑΗΛ ΑΜΗΝ ψ.

The whole text reads: “Offering of Makedonios, son of Romanos, and his (Makedonios’) wife Prokle and their parents Romanos and Theodote. Blessing and peace onto all Israel. Amen! (corresponds to the last part of the Kaddish prayer) Shalom.”²

Jewish settlement on Rhodes has been attested since the end of the Hellenistic period, first in a decree between the Roman Senate and the High Priest Simeon (142 BCE), later during the reign of Herod the Great (1st c. BCE) who visited Rhodes several times (mentioned by the historian Josephus Flavius in his *Bellum Iudaicum* and his *Antiquitates*). However, as far as I am aware there are no written artefacts from Jewish Rhodes in Antiquity. During the Middle Ages the Jewish community on Rhodes was attested, e.g. by the Jewish travellers Benjamin of Tudela (12th c.), Meshullam of Volterra (1481) and Obadiah of Bertinoro (1488).³

A few major events significantly altered the structure of the Jewish population in the former Byzantine and now Ottoman Empire during the 15th and 16th centuries. First, the resettlement of entire Jewish communities following the conquest of Constantinople by the Ottoman Turks. All Romaniote communities in Asia Minor and numerous communities in Greece, Macedonia and Bulgaria as well as the large Karaite community of Adrianople/Edirne were resettled there (*sürgün*)

1 This contribution is a revised and enlarged version of my article from 2016. The research for it was funded by the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft (DFG, German Research Foundation) under Germany’s Excellence Strategy – EXC 2176 ‘Understanding Written Artefacts: Material, Interaction and Transmission in Manuscript Cultures’, project no. 390893796. The research was conducted within the scope of the Centre for the Study of Manuscript Cultures (CSMC) at the University of Hamburg.

2 Cf. Çevik et al. 2010, 245ff.

3 Gafni and Kerem 2007; for the population and the distribution of the Jewish settlements in Byzantium in the Middle Ages see Starr 1949, 85ff.; for Benjamin of Tudela see also Bowman 1985, 336.



FIGURE 1: Antalya Museum, Turkey, acquisition number 2009/217. Marble panel from the antique Synagogue (5th c.) of Andriake (Demre, Turkey) with Jewish inscription in Greek and depiction of a *menorah* (candelabrum) and other paraphernalia that were originally required for the service in the Jerusalem temple and after its destruction included in the synagogue service. A second inscription found next to it and more damaged complements the first one. They can be interpreted as a votive dedication, as often found in ancient synagogues. Photography and © Dick Osseman; CC BY-SA 4.0.

in the first 20 years after the capture of Constantinople in 1453. There were also repeated forced resettlements later on.⁴

Secondly, at the end of the 15th century (1492–1498) the Jewish population of Spain and Portugal (*Sefardim*) was expelled: an estimated 12,000 Jewish families (approx. 60,000 people) were admitted to the Ottoman Empire in the following decades; the number of Jews in the entire Ottoman Empire as determined by the preserved tax records (*tapu* or *tahrir defterleri*) from this time was around 150,000 at the end of the 16th century. The most important Jewish cities after the admission of the Spanish and Portuguese refugees became Istanbul, Izmir⁵ and Salonika, Sarajevo and Sofia, but also Cairo, Alexandria and Rosetta, Safed and Tiberias, Damascus and Aleppo, for example. In the 17th century, around 10% of the population of Istanbul was Jewish (approximately 11,000 persons).⁶

⁴ Rozen 2010, 46f.

⁵ Barnai 2023.

⁶ Epstein 1980, 178ff.; Rozen 2010, 50ff.

Rhodes was a special case as the Byzantine rule lasted, with several interruptions, only until 1309, when the Knights Hospitallers of St. John took the island. Since 1522, the year of the conquest of Rhodes by the Ottoman Turks from the Knights Hospitallers, the Jewish population of Rhodes grew again, after their numbers had declined drastically in the previous two decades due to displacement.⁷ On the one hand many expelled Sefardim from the Iberian Peninsula settled there now and on the other hand c. 150 Sefardic families from Salonika were resettled on Rhodes – hence the Spanish name for the Jewish Quarter of the town of Rhodes *La Judería*. This policy led to a large number of Jewish families on Rhodes, especially in the town of Rhodes, whose number was said by some to be at times even higher than that of the Turkish population.⁸ A *Sefer Torah* (parchment Torah scroll for the synagogue service, containing the five books of Moses), which was written in the 15th century on the Iberian Peninsula, as the script reveals, can be understood as a handwritten symbol of the immigration of Sefardic Jews to Rhodes as it was brought to Rhodes with the Iberian refugees and used in the synagogue service for centuries. During the German occupation in 1943–1944, it was kept in safety by Turkish community leaders and remained on Rhodes until 1984 (FIGURE 2).⁹



FIGURE 2: Jerusalem, The National Library of Israel, Ms. Heb. 7404=24, first three columns. Sefarad (Iberian Peninsula), 15th century, parchment, Hebrew, Sefardic square script. Torah scroll for synagogue service, beginning of Genesis, the first book of Mose. © The National Library of Israel. “Ktiv” Project; public domain.

⁷ Angel 1978, 17ff.

⁸ Angel 1978, 21f.

⁹ The Torah Scroll is today in the National Library of Israel, Ms. Heb. 7404=24; see manuscript description in *Ktiv* [https://www.nli.org.il/en/manuscripts/NNL_ALEPH990025600390205171/NLI#\\$FL177060246](https://www.nli.org.il/en/manuscripts/NNL_ALEPH990025600390205171/NLI#$FL177060246) (last visited 20 May 2025); cf. Hasson 2003; Rhodes Jewish Museum, “800 Year-Old Torah of Rhodes” <https://rhodesjewishmuseum.org/history/the-800-year-old-torah/> (last visited on 20 May 2025).

Rhodes developed in the 16th century into an important Sefardic centre with a population speaking and writing Judaeo-Spanish, and the Romaniote population, now in the minority, gradually assimilated.¹⁰ The significance and prosperity of the Jewish community on Rhodes can also be seen in the synagogue buildings erected, of which only the Kahal Shalom Synagogue from 1575 still exists today.¹¹

The Ottoman Jewish communities were associated with different cultural developments which varied considerably in terms of liturgical and everyday language and in respect of religious and secular traditions. Likewise, the respective manuscript cultures also had their own idiosyncrasies with regard to the production of manuscripts, their script and visual organisation. What all groups had in common, however, was their association with the Bible and its interpretation, the liturgical and traditional literary canon as well as the Hebrew script and the Hebrew and Aramaic languages.



FIGURE 3: Hamburg, Germany, State and University Library, Cod. Levy 113, fol. 19v. Ottoman Empire, 1466, paper, Byzantine cursive script. Multiple-text manuscript on mathematics and astronomy, opening of the *Sefer ha-Shem* ("Book of the Name [of God]") by Abraham Ibn Ezra (c.1089/1092 – c.1164/1167), Spanish Bible commentator, scientist, and philosopher. https://digitalisate.sub.uni-hamburg.de/recherche/detail?tx_dlf%5Bdouble%5D=0&tx_dlf%5Bid%5D=21373&tx_dlf%5Bpage%5D=1&tx_dlf%5Bpagegrid%5D=0&cHash=8717af5abe91cab70406a06678e5db4b. Public Domain Mark 1.0.

There are three different types of Hebrew writing: square script (predominantly used for Bible texts, headings and initial words), semi-cursive script and cursive script.¹² These three types were used in almost all Jewish book-production traditions. The specific palaeographical features of each geocultural tradition are clearly pronounced during the Middle Ages.¹³ The Byzantine style of writing of the Greek-speaking Jews, or Romaniots, was influenced by the way in which Greek letters were written (FIGURE 3). The oriental Arabic-speaking Jews living in the Levant, Mesopotamia and Egypt, but also in territories which were only loosely under the control of the Ottoman Empire such as the Maghreb and Yemen, developed a characteristic oriental style (FIGURES 4 and 5) which in turn can be split into sub-groups. The disputed peripheral regions of the Empire such as Hungary, the Caucasus, Persia, Kurdistan (FIGURE 6) and Crimea were also home to long-established Jewish communities.¹⁴



FIGURE 4: Hamburg, Germany, State and University Library, Cod. Levy 120, fols. 57v/58r. Baghdad, 1828, paper, oriental semi-cursive script with the written space framed in red, and title and catchwords written outside the frame. Gershon ben Shlomo of Arles (13th c.), *Sha'ar ha-Shamayim* ("The Gate of Heaven"), a popular encyclopaedia; here the sections on the ass, the mule and the camel. Public Domain Mark 1.0.

10 Angel 1978, 23f. Cf. Rozen 2010, 87ff.

11 Foundation for Jewish Heritage and the Center for Jewish Art at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem (ed.), *Historic Synagogues of Europe*, "Kal Kadosh Shalom Synagogue in Rhodes", <https://cja.huji.ac.il/mhs/browser.php?mode=set&id=20790> (last visited on 20 May 2025).

12 For the definition and comparison with classifications of Latin Medieval scripts as *textualis*, *hybrida* and *cursiva* see Beit-Arié 1993, 34.

13 Beit-Arié 1993, 25–78.

14 See Geller 2007, 523ff.



FIGURE 5: Manchester, UK, John Rylands Library, Genizah Collection, L 192r. Cairo, Ottoman Empire, early 19th c., Judaeo-Arabic, Hebrew cursive script. Commercial letter from Abraham ha-Levi to Francis Karo on the delivery of figs, salt and coal, among other things. CC BY-NC-SA 4.0.

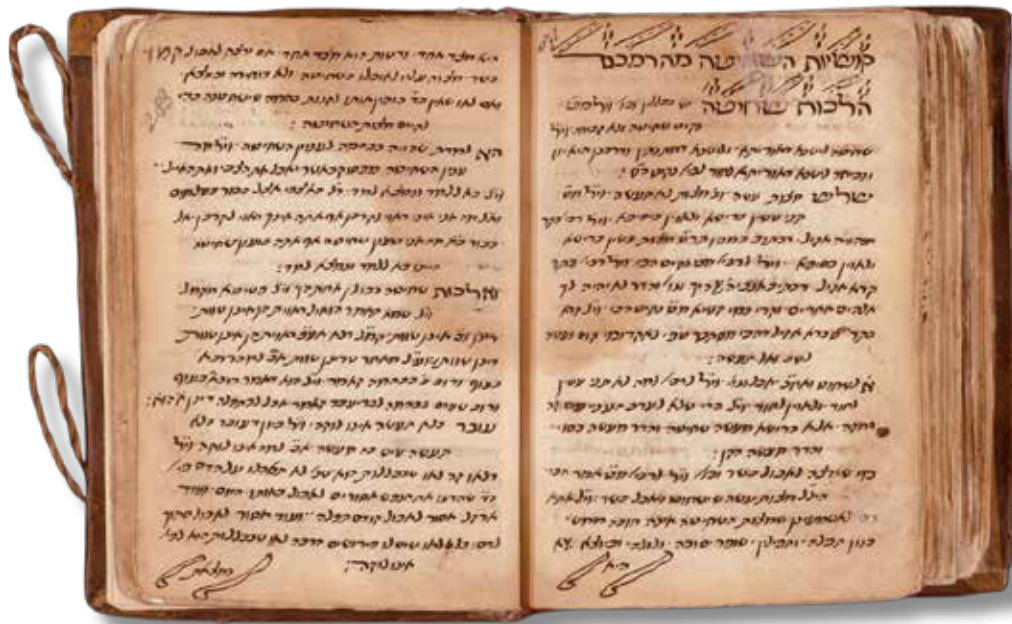


FIGURE 6: Hamburg, Germany, State and University Library, Cod. Levy 148, fols. 282v/283r. Maragheh (Iranian Azerbaijani), 1657, paper, Judaeo-Persian-/Kurdish cursive script. Multiple-text manuscript containing legends, stories and *halakhah* (religious law). Title in square script and ornated catchwords. Public Domain Mark 1.0.

The styles of writing and the methods of book production used by immigrants, be they Sefardim, Ashkenazim or Italians, were generally retained and thus also migrated in a sense. With time, however, styles changed and merged. Therefore, also the Byzantine style changed due to the Sefardic influence until it finally faded, but for some time a Sefardic-Byzantine style is discernible (cf. **FIGURE 19** colophon).¹⁵ The Sefardic Jews who settled throughout the Ottoman Empire retained their own script as well as the Judaeo-Spanish language (Ladino) (**FIGURE 7**), their liturgical traditions and other customs; they were modified through cultural assimilation, however, so that it is even possible to speak of an Ottoman style of calligraphy here (**FIGURES 8** and **9**).¹⁶ The Sefardic and oriental writing styles which developed in regions with an Arabic speaking population, mostly under Muslim rule, have many similarities to Arabic calligraphy, it is even appropriate to describe this style as “Arabized” (cf. **FIGURE 10**).¹⁷ The methods of book production and the codicological features of the local Hebrew manuscripts resembled strongly those of the Arabic or Ottoman books produced: the book format, the quire structure (usually quinions, i.e. five *bifolia* [double sheets], which when placed one inside the other result in 20 pages), the numbering of quires, the visual organisation of the page and the ruling, the oriental processing of parchment and the usage of glossy polished oriental paper (cf. **FIGURE 8**, which shows the reflection of the polished paper).¹⁸

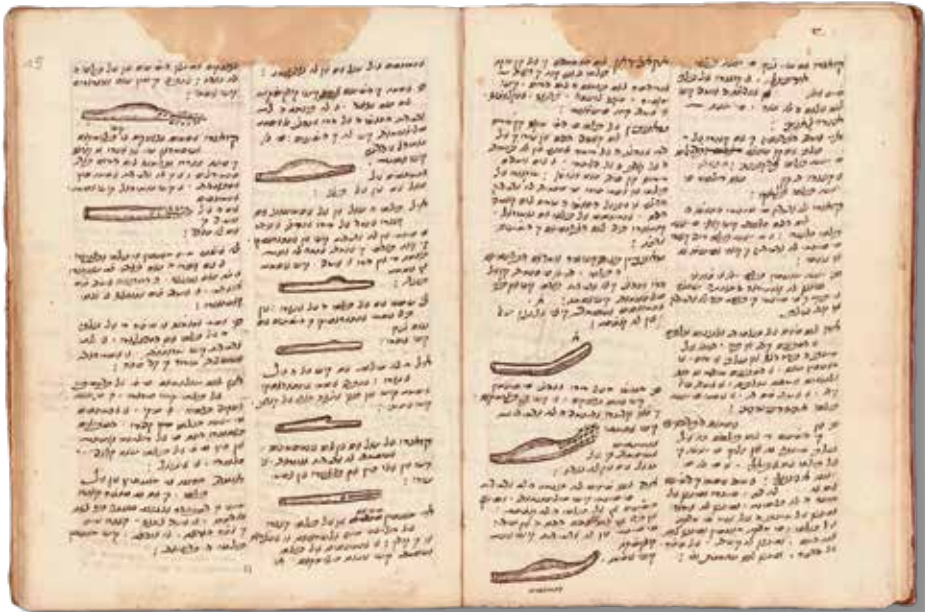


FIGURE 7: Hamburg, Germany, State and University Library, Cod. Levy 130, part I, fols. 14v/15r. Jerusalem, 1840, paper, Judaeo-Spanish written in Hebrew script, oriental cursive script. Hayyim Yisra'el Me'ir Mizrahi, *Sefer Tzitz Refu'a* (“Book of the Crown of Medicine”) with anatomical illustrations (here of blood vessels). Public Domain Mark 1.0.

¹⁵ “During the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries the [Byzantine] semi-cursive script took on variations, apparently due to the influence of the Sefardic script imported to the region by Sefardic immigrants.” Beit Arié 2022, 84.
¹⁶ Beit-Arié 1993, 35.
¹⁷ Cf. Beit-Arié 1993, 56f.
¹⁸ Beit-Arié 2022,



FIGURE 8: Cincinnati, OH, USA, Hebrew Union College Library, Ms. 161, fol. 24r. Izmir, 17th–18th century, oriental polished paper, Hebrew and Judaeo-Spanish, different oriental and Sefardic scripts. Collection of *she'elot u-teshuvot* ("questions and answers", *responsa*, i.e. written *halakhic* [legal] decisions and rulings) of Turkish Rabbis, partly autographs. Shown here the beginning of a *responsum* by Yehoshu'a Shababo, written on top of the page: "answers by the Rav Perah Shoshan [Yehoshu'a Shababo], manuscripts which have not yet been printed". <https://mss.huc.edu/portfolio/ms-161/> (last visited on 20 May 2025). © Hebrew Union College.

The monograms serving as signatures, which are often found at the end of a text, are a further example of how the aesthetic characteristics of neighbouring manuscript cultures were assimilated. They appear to emulate the Ottoman *tugras* (the royal monogram of the sultan above the text of a *ferman*) or the *pençes* ('hand-binding') and Greek *monocondylia* (names or phrases written ornately in one continuous line without any spaces between the letters or words), which in turn were inspired by Arabic models (FIGURES 11–14).¹⁹

19 Sirat 2002, 228–229.



FIGURE 9: *Sefer ginat weradim, she'elot u-teshuvot u-fiske dinim mehudashim be-seder Arba'ah Turim* ("Book of the Rose Garden"). Constantinople (Kostandina) 1716–1717, printed by Yonah [ben] Ya'akov. Title page of the collection of *halakhic* decisions onw the influential *halakhic* work *Arba'ah Turim* ("Four Rows") written by Ya'akov bar Asher (1270–c.1340) by three authors, one of them Yehoshu'a Shababo. New York Public Library <https://hdl.handle.net/2027/nyp.33433104979509> (last visited on 20 May 2025). Open access.



FIGURE 10: Hamburg, Germany, State and University Library, Cod. Levy 94, fols. 193v/194r. Baghdad, 1679/80, Hebrew, oriental cursive script emulating Arabic characters with the title in square script along with catchwords and glosses. Kabbalistic commentaries to the *Zohar* ("The Book of Splendor") in the tradition of Yitzhaq Luria and Hayyim Vital. The scribe is Shim'on ben Yona Mizrahi, who, like his well-known brother Ya'akov in Aleppo, was an adherent of Lurianic Kabbalah and at the same time active in the fields of astronomy and mathematics (Goldstein 1981, 245, 249). Public Domain Mark 1.0.



FIGURE 11: Hamburg, Germany, State and University Library, Cod. Levy 94, fol. 217v, detail. Baghdad, 1679/80, Hebrew, oriental cursive script. Lurianic Kabbalah. Colophon and monogram of the name Shim'on Mizrahi. Public Domain Mark 1.0.

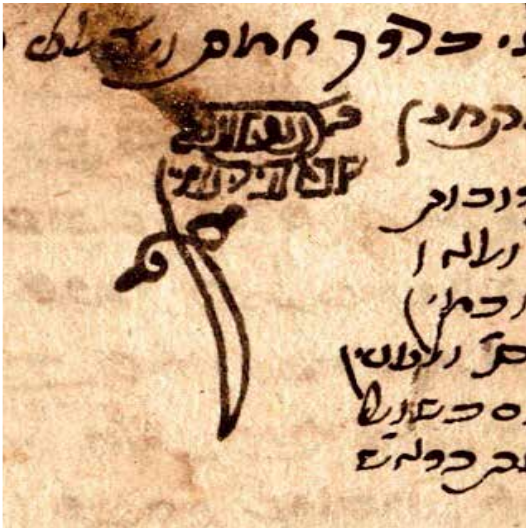


FIGURE 12: Cincinnati, OH, USA, Hebrew Union College Library, Ms. 161, fol. 33v. Detail: subscription of the name Yehoshu'a Shababo (cf. FIGURE 8). <https://mss.huc.edu/portfolio/ms-161/> (last visited on 20 May 2025). © Hebrew Union College.

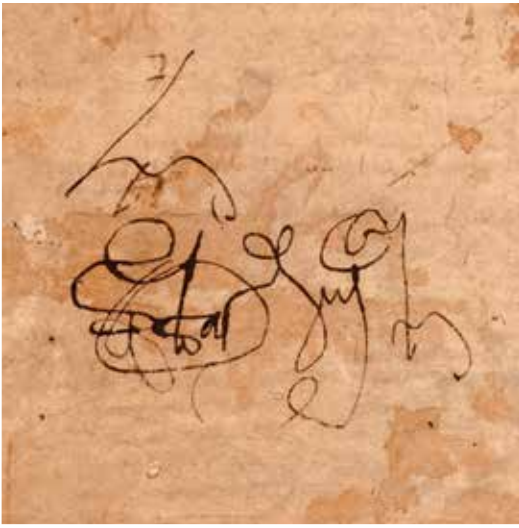


FIGURE 13: Oxford, UK, Bodleian Library, MS. Barocci 126, fol. 216v, detail. Byzantium, 13th–14th century, Greek. Gregory of Nazianzus, diverse texts. Monocondylion of the scribe's name θωμᾶς (Thomas). Photo: © Bodleian Libraries, University of Oxford, CC BY-NC 4.0.



FIGURE 14: Ottoman passport issued at Jaffa for the Ottoman subject Eliezer Schalite, born in Russia and living in Rishon Lezion near Yaffa, in 1914. Private Collection (Huddyhuddy's Collection of Old Passports). Above the dark line separating the Ottoman and the French written parts of the passport the tuğra of Sultan Mehmet V is visible. https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:1914_Turkish_Ottoman_passport_issued_at_Jaffa.jpg#file (last visited on 20 May 2025). Creative Commons Attribution-Share Alike 4.0 International.

Jewish manuscripts were not produced in scriptoriums and rarely in an institutionalised academic or other professionalised context, but primarily in scholarly circles and were intended for the scholars' own personal use or for their families. This is often indicated in the colophon at the end of a manuscript or text (FIGURES 15–19).

As a first example see the colophon from a Byzantine manuscript of the *Siddur* (daily prayer book) *Rav Amran Gaon* (fl. 9th c. CE) written in the year 1426 on Rhodes (see FIGURE 18). The colophon reads like this: “It was completed with the help of God, here in the city of Rhodes by my hands, by me ‘a worm and not a man’ (Psalm 22:7), Moshe, son of the honoured Rabbi Yitzhak Gracian, on Tuesday, the 24th day of Tevet, in the year 5186 (=1426 CE) and may it come to pass as it is written, ‘this Book of the Torah shall not depart from your mouth, but you shall meditate on it day and night’ (Josua 1:8). And a request to everybody who reads this book to judge the compiler and the scribe favourably.”



FIGURE 15: Hamburg, Germany, State and University Library, Cod. Levy 148, fol. 312v, detail. Maragheh (Iranian Azerbaidjan), 1657, Judaeo-Persian/-Kurdish cursive script. Ornamented colophon specifying the name of the scribe as “the young Shelomo”. Public Domain Mark 1.0.



FIGURE 17: Hamburg, Germany, State and University Library, Cod. Levy 153, fols. 181v/182r. 16th–19th century, oriental cursive script. Multiple-text manuscript containing poetry, legends and homilies. Anthropomorphic monogram of the scribe’s name ‘Ovadya ben Moshe, written twice. Public Domain Mark 1.0.



FIGURE 16: Hamburg, Germany, State and University Library, Cod. Levy 149, fol. 71v, detail. Zēbar (today Iraq), 17th century, Judaeo-Persian/-Kurdish cursive script. Colophon at end of the text in the shape of a flower containing the name of the compiler and scribe, Ya’aqov ben Pinhas. Public Domain Mark 1.0.

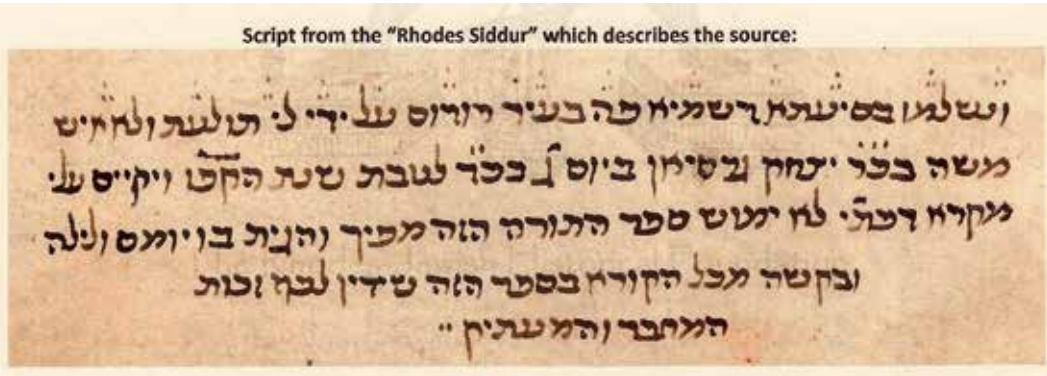


FIGURE 18: Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Opp. Add. 4° 28, fol. 90r, Rhodes, 1426, Hebrew, Byzantine semi-cursive script. Siddur (daily prayer book) Rav Amran Gaon, detail: colophon. Image citation from website of Ké Haber 2009, <https://rhodesjewishmuseum.org/wp-content/uploads/2022/03/Ke-Haber-2009-Newsletter.pdf> (last visited 20 May 2025). © Bodleian Libraries, Oxford.

Another colophon stems from a manuscript containing several kabbalistic and philosophical texts. It was written on Rhodes in the year 1383 (FIGURE 19).

“I completed the teacher’s book with the help of the Creator on Thursday in the city of Rhodes in the year five thousand one hundred and forty-three since the creation of the world (= 1383 CE), on the twentieth day of the month of Iyyar. And I wrote it, I, Moses Kimchi, for Rabbi Eliezer Kimchi, my son, may he be blessed to study it, he and his son after him, as it is said, ‘This is my covenant with them, says the Lord’ (Jesaja 59:21).” (fol. 67r)

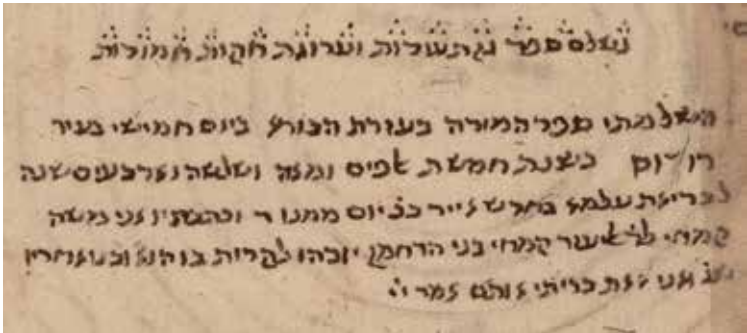


FIGURE 19: Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. ebr. 221 (Palatine Collection, Fondo Fuggeriana ebr. 75), fol. 67r, Rhodes, 1383, Byzantine and Sefardic-Byzantine semi-cursive script. Kabbalah and philosophy, detail: colophon. <https://doi.org/10.11588/diglit.45157#0139> (last visited 20 May 2025). © Universitätsbibliothek Heidelberg, Biblioteca Palatina – Digital, public Domain Mark 1.0.



FIGURE 20: Hamburg, Germany, State and University Library, Codex Levy 149, fol. 102r, detail. Zêbar (today Iraq), 17th century. Judaeo-Kurdish terms (recognisable by the vocalisation marks indicating the correct pronunciation) precluded by the words ‘in our language’ or ‘in Aramaic’. Public Domain Mark 1.0.

The Hebrew script was not limited to Hebrew or Aramaic texts – it was also regularly used to write literature and correspondence in the various different Jewish vernaculars of the time such as Greek, (Judaeo-)Arabic, (Judaeo-)Persian, (Judaeo-)Spanish or German (Yiddish). Examples include a Kurdish Jewish manuscript where selected terms are explained using Judaeo-Aramaic – the language is enriched by loan words from Kurdish, Persian, Arabic, Turkish, and Hebrew (FIGURE 20), as well as a medical compendium written in Judaeo-Spanish (FIGURE 7) or a Judaeo-Arabic trade letter from Ottoman Cairo (FIGURE 5).



FIGURE 21: Hamburg, Germany, State and University Library, Cod. Levy 81, fol. 1r. Baghdad, 1810, Hebrew, oriental script. Hayyim Vital, *Sefer ha-Gilgulim* ('Book of Reincarnations'). Title page influenced by print layout. Public Domain Mark 1.0.

Sefardic Jews brought the new technique of printing to Constantinople in 1493, with Istanbul becoming one of the two main centres for Hebrew printing during the 16th century, along with Venice (cf. FIGURE 9).²⁰ Manuscript production nevertheless carried on into the 20th century – not just for *responsa*, marriage certificates, divorce documents, circumcision books, letters, records, notes and so on, but for all kinds of texts. The key factor in deciding whether to print a work were the anticipated earnings, and profit was generated predominantly from bibles, texts on religious law and liturgical works. At the same time, printed books came to serve as models for manuscript production. The idea of having a title page preceding the main body of the text was adopted, for example (FIGURE 21).

20 Tamari 2002.

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Gershon Sholem, *Major Trends of Jewish Mysticism*, New York 1946, 244–286; cf. Fig. 10

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