

# Portuguese Jews, New Christians, and 'New Jews'

*A Tribute to Roberto Bachmann*

*Edited by*

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## A Treasured Trove. Sefardic Manuscripts and Books from Altona and Hamburg

Michael Studemund-Halévy

A Roberto Bachmann

Uma vida para os livros ou as obsessões de um bibliófilo



The wealthy and polyglot Portuguese merchant Binjamin Mussaphia (Musa-phia, Musafia) Fidalgo (1711-1801) spoke Portuguese and Plattdeutsch (Low German),<sup>1</sup> wrote in German, French and Hebrew, and he had as good a grasp of Latin as he had of French. He was a descendent of the famous physician of Spanish birth, rabbi and philosopher, erudite Hebraist, philologist, and poet, anti-Christian polemicist and later a staunch believer in Sabbatai Zvi, Dr. Benjamin b. Immanuel Mussaphia alias Dionys Mussaphia (c. 1600/06-1674), who emigrated from Venice to Hamburg in 1628.<sup>2</sup> Binjamin Mussaphia Fidalgo

- 
- 1 “No reader will probably approve of my bad way of writing. After all, it should be evident in advance that a Portuguese and a Lower German speaker to boot, cannot achieve anything much better here” (“Über meine schlechte Schreibart wird sich wohl kein billiger Beurtheiler machen. Man weiß ja im Voraus, daß ein Lusitanus und noch dabei ein Plattdeutscher hierin nichts besseres leisten kann”), in Binjamin Mussaphia Fidalgo, *Alte Neuigkeiten und Neue Alterthümer, enthaltend in einem merkwürdigen und vermutlich interessanten Gespräch, entworfen von B.M.F. Verfasser des Fragments: des Essais du Vieillard du mont Libanon*, in *Replica in Sachen des Propheten Samuels Ctra Agag* (Altona: Eckhardt, 1785). On the pervasive use of Plattdeutsch in Hamburg’s and Altona’s everyday speech of the Jews, Ashkenazim or Sefaradim, see Michael Studemund-Halévy, “Plattdeutsch oder Portugiesenplatt,” in *Portugal in Hamburg*. (Hamburg: Ellert & Richter, 2007), 172-176; Peter Freimark, “Sprachverhalten und Assimilation: Die Situation der Juden in Norddeutschland in der 1. Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts,” *Saeculum* 31 (1980): 246-251.
- 2 Michael Studemund-Halévy, “Binjamin Mussaphia,” in *Hamburgische Biografie*, ed. Franklin Kopitzsch, and Dirk Brietzke, vol. 1 (Hamburg: Christians, 2001), 215-216; Michael Studemund-Halévy, “Binjamin Mussaphia,” in Michael Studemund-Halévy (ed.), *Biographisches Lexikon der Hamburger Sefarden* (Hamburg: Christians, 2000), 660-662.

lived by his own means (“lebt von seinen Mitteln”), as was stated later.<sup>3</sup> Retired from business, he devoted himself entirely to his *collection of Sefardi books and manuscripts*. He was a bibliophile of a true taste, in the highest sense of the word.<sup>4</sup>

## I A Family of Literati

Binjamin de Jacob Mussaphia Fidalgo, merchant, writer, scholar, co-founder of the Altona Portuguese Community *Neveh Šalom* (Abode of Peace),<sup>5</sup> whose family was long resident in Hamburg,<sup>6</sup> Glückstadt<sup>7</sup> and Amsterdam,<sup>8</sup> was born on 9 *Tišri* 5472 (September 22, 1711) in Hamburg. He passed away on 24 *Tevet* 5561 (January 8, 1801) in Altona, leaving behind, as his gravestone in the Altona cemetery indicates, two sons (Jacob and Abraham), a nephew, three nieces and five great-nephews.<sup>9</sup> His tombstone also proudly communicated his enthusiastic interest in literature to his family. The lavishly decorated bilingual (Hebrew-Portuguese) *ohel* (pyramidal gravestone), purportedly slightly damaged by bomb fragments during Second World War, reads:

3 Hajo Brandenburg, *Bürgerbuch der Stadt Altona 1789* (Hamburg: Verein für Hamburgische Geschichte, 1990), 59. See also Hajo Brandenburg, *Einwohnerbuch der Stadt Altona 1902*. Kiel: Arbeitskreis für Wirtschafts- und Sozialgeschichte Schleswig-Holsteins 2005 (2 vols.): Benjamin Mussaphia Fidalgo / W3204; Jacob Mussaphia Fidalgo / N3493; Rahel Mussaphia Fidalgo / W2803; Rebecca Mussaphia Fidalgo / W3204.

4 Michael Studemund-Halévy, “A Treasured Legacy: Sefardic Manuscripts and Books from Altona and Hamburg,” *Transversal* 14, 2 (2013): 41-58.

5 See Gaby Zürn, *Die Altonaer jüdische Gemeinde (1611-1873): Ritus und soziale Institutionen des Todes im Wandel* (Hamburg: LIT, 2001); Michael Studemund-Halévy, *Biographisches Lexikon*.

6 Günter Marwedel, *Die Privilegien der Juden in Altona* (Hamburg: Christians, 1976), 189-192; Studemund-Halévy, *Biographisches Lexikon*, 646-663.

7 Michael Studemund-Halévy, “Die portugiesisch-spanischen Grabinschriften in Norddeutschland: Glückstadt und Emden,” *Aschkenas* 8, 2 (1997): 389-439; Michael Studemund-Halévy, “Ungeliebtes Erbe. Glückstadt und sein jüdischer Friedhof,” in *Menora und Hakenkreuz*, edited by Gerhard Paul and Miriam Gillis-Carlebach (Neumünster: Wachholtz, 1998), 743-753; Jürgen Faust and Michael Studemund-Halévy, *Betahaim. Sefardische Gräber in Schleswig-Holstein* (Glückstadt: Augustin, 1997).

8 Dave Verdooner and Harmen Snel, *Trouwen in Mokum / Jewish Marriage in Amsterdam, 1598-1871*, vol. 2 (Amsterdam: n.e., n.a.).

9 Michael Studemund-Halévy, *Biographisches Lexikon*, 646-663.

[A] Portuguese inscription<sup>10</sup>

Aqui jaz o Anciano & muy [B.A.] / Binjamin Musaphia Fidalgo Author dos Versos Poeticos / que se achaõ ao outro Lado desta Louza, os quais compos em sua Vida, / para lhe servir em vez de Epytaphio, Passou desta para a outra / melhor, em 24 Tebeth do AO 5561 da Idade de 89 As 3 Ms 15 Ds / Deixando por successão 2 Filhos, 1 Netto, 3 Nettas & 5 Bisnettos / S.A.G.D.G.

[B1] Hebrew inscription (across the top)<sup>11</sup>

שמר תם יראה ישר כי אחרית לאיש שלום

[B2] Hebrew inscription<sup>12</sup>

הבלים חבלים ימי איש מבלים  
 מסורים יצורים לעמל וצירים  
 וסרים יסורים כרצים וצירים  
 גברים קבורים בטלים וכלים  
 לבדה נשמה יחידה תמים  
 תשאר תרומם תפאר תקומם

10 “Here lies the venerably old and blessed Binjamin Musaphia Fidalgo, writer of the poetic verses to be found on the reverse side of this gravestone. He wrote these lines to serve as a personal epitaph. He left this life for a better one on 24 *Tebet* of the year 5561, at the age of 89 years, 3 months and 15 days. He leaves behind as progeny two sons, a grandson, three granddaughters and five great-grandsons. May his soul rest in peace.”

11 “Observe the innocent and see the upright, for there is a future for the man of peace” (Psalms 37:37).

12 “Vanities, pains waste away the days of man; creatures are given to toil and sufferings; and tribulations go away like runners and envoys; men are buried, gone, and finished; only the soul, alone the upright one, will remain, will be lifted, will be glorified, will be raised up.” See Michael Studemund-Halévy, *Biographisches Lexikon*, 649-650; see also Marian and Ramon Sarraga, “Some Epitaphs of Sefardic History As Reflected in Epitaphs of the Jewish Cemetery in Altona,” in *Die Sefarden in Hamburg. Zur Geschichte einer Minderheit*, edited by Michael Studemund-Halévy (Hamburg: Buske, 1997), vol. 2, 699-700.

[B3] Hebrew inscription (at the bottom of the ohel)<sup>13</sup>

אשר אל בן אני אומר לאל ישעי עלי גומר  
אני בצדק אחזה פניך אשבעה בהקיצ תמונתך

Binjamin Mussaphia Fidalgo was married to Ribca Curiel (b. 1720 in Amsterdam), the daughter of Abraham Refael de David Curiel and granddaughter of the Portuguese residents Jerónimo Nunez da Costa and Álvaro Nunez da Costa,<sup>14</sup> offspring of the wealthy merchant and resident family Curiel (alias Nunes da Costa), which played an important economic and political role down to the end of the seventeenth century in Hamburg.<sup>15</sup> She died on 15 *Tišri* 5560 (October 14, 1799) in Altona.<sup>16</sup>

In 1768, Binjamin Mussaphia Fidalgo moved with his sons Jacob and Abraham to Altona,<sup>17</sup> when once again the Portuguese in his city of birth were denied the right to purchase houses.<sup>18</sup> The Portuguese Jews in Altona, whose numbers had increased in relatively short time from five to eighteen families, decided in 1770 to build a synagogue and to provide their Community with a

13 "For which reason I say to God, my salvation, who gives me my due: in my uprightness, I will see your face; I will be satisfied when your countenance rise over me."

14 Michael Studemund-Halévy, *Biographisches Lexikon*, 651-652; Max Grunwald, *Hamburgs deutsche Juden bis zur Auflösung der Dreigemeinden 1811* (Hamburg: Janssen, 1904), 216; Dave Verdooner, and Harmen Snel, *Trouwen in Mokum*, 657.

15 Michael Studemund-Halévy, "Es residiren in Hamburg Minister fremder Mächte – sefardische Residenten in Hamburg," in *Hoffjuden. Ökonomie und Interkulturalität. Die jüdische Wirtschaftselite im 18. Jahrhundert*, edited by Rotraut Ries (Hamburg: Christians, 2002), 154-176; Michael Studemund-Halévy, "Die Hamburger Sefarden zur Zeit der Glikl," in *Die Hamburger Kauffrau Glikl*, edited by Monika Richarz (Hamburg: Christians, 2001), 195-222.

16 Michael Studemund-Halévy, *Biographisches Lexikon*, 659.

17 The banker Abraham Mussaphia (1751-1802), married to (1) Ribka Mussaphia Fidalgo and (2) Ester de Simson Abudiente, was a founding member of the Sancta Hirmandade de Hesed VeHemeth in Altona. In 1812, together with his nephew Binjamin de Jacob Mussaphia Fidalgo Jr. he became a member of the Patriotische Gesellschaft (Patriotic Society), see Franklin Kopitzsch, *Grundzüge einer Sozialgeschichte der Aufklärung in Hamburg* (Hamburg: Verein für Hamburgische Geschichte, 1990), 783. His artfully decorated grave is in the Jewish Cemetery Altona, see Michael Studemund-Halévy, *Biographisches Lexikon*, 647; Jürgen Faust, and Michael Studemund-Halévy, *Betahaim*, 57.

18 Max Grunwald, *Portugiesengräber auf deutscher Erde* (Hamburg: Janssen, 1902), 30 and 39.





FIGURE 18.1 Gravestone (ohel) for Benjamin Mussaphia Fidalgo (1711-1801): front (PHOTO: INSTITUT FÜR DIE GESCHICHTE DER DEUTSCHEN JUDEN, HAMBURG)



FIGURE 18.2 Gravestone (ohel) for Benjamin Mussaphia Fidalgo (1711-1801): back (AUTHOR'S COLLECTION)

set of bylaws.<sup>19</sup> In the *Uebersicht der jetzt lebenden schleswig-holsteinische Schriftsteller* (*List of Schleswig-Holstein Writers Now Alive*) published in 1793, Benjamin Mussaphia Fidalgo is mentioned as one of the 27 representatives of the “Literary Arts and Humanities.”<sup>20</sup>

His father Jacob Mussaphia, a wealthy broker, who died in 1747 in Hamburg,<sup>21</sup> was granted by Frederick IV of Denmark, together with 13 families of the Hamburg Portuguese Jews, the concession to settle in Altona and separation from the Portuguese Community in Hamburg, with continuing participation in their privileges (1704).<sup>22</sup> Yet he remained only a short time in Altona and later returned to Hamburg.<sup>23</sup> He was undoubtedly very prosperous (the dowry from his wife, who also came from a wealthy family, was probably quite substantial), because in connection with this matter he was constrained to pay the

19 Petition by the Community head Jacob Mendes da Costa, David Abenatar Pimentel and Jacob Mussaphia Fidalgo, dated 16 November 1770, Landesarchiv Schleswig-Holstein [LASH], Abt. 65.2, No. 3812; Günter Marwedel, *Privilegien*, 325-329.

20 *Schleswig-Holsteinische Provinzialberichte* VII, vol. 1, 1-3, Altona und Kiel 1793: Hammerich, p. 139.

21 Michael Studemund-Halévy, *Biographisches Lexikon*, 654-655.

22 Among these discontents, there were four members of the Mussaphia family, as may be seen from the following Privilegien granted to them by Frederick IV, king of Denmark: “We, Frederick the Fourth, by God’s Grace King of Denmark, Norway etc., hereby do let it be known that thirteen families of the Portuguese Nation, who dwell in our hereditary-subservient city Hamburg, namely Jonathan de Silva, Michael Meatob, Jacob Matioro [Machorro], Isaac Mussaphia, Benjamin Mussaphia, Isaac Belmonte, Guideon Labath Junior, Jacob Mussaphia, Jacob Belmonte, Abraham Mussaphia, Joseph de Silva, Jacob Samuel Jessurun and Daniel Brandon, in humble subservience, report in what form they are willing, due to a dispute between them and the remaining individuals of that same Nation, then desire to separate from them and locate to Altona, in order there to dwell, and do so with the utmost obedience and thus so request. We have thus granted them, as already earlier in the case of Isaac Fonseca, a highly gracious concession to the end that that they should engage in their negotiations themselves there ... and they are freed from the compulsion of the Hamburg Portuguese Elders, and [for] their deceased now as before at the Portuguese Cemetery they should contribute honorably pro rata.” Quoted in: Richard James Horatio Gottheil, *The Belmont-Belmonte Family: Record of our Hundred Years* (New York: n.e., 1917), 140 (reprint Nabu Press 2010). On the merchant family Mussaphia, see Hermann Kellenbenz, *Sephardim an der Unteren Elbe* (Wiesbaden: Steiner, 1958), 306-313; Max Grunwald, *Portugiesengräber*, 30 and 39; Jutta Braden, *Hamburger Judenpolitik im Zeitalter lutherischer Orthodoxie, 1590-1710* (Hamburg: Christians, 2001), 300-301.

23 Günter Marwedel, *Privilegien*, 189-192; Michael Studemund-Halévy, *Biographisches Lexikon*, 654-655.

sum of five-times the customary departure tax (Abzugsgeld).<sup>24</sup> He died on 25 *Tevet* 5507 (January 7, 1747).<sup>25</sup>

His son, the Royal Danish Collecteur-General Jacob Mussaphia Fidalgo (1744-1825), married to Clara Sara de Bezalel Israel de Andrade (c. 1744-1791),<sup>26</sup> edited in 1821, together with the Amsterdam Community scribe Joshua b. Samuel Cohen-Far(r)o,<sup>27</sup> a commemorative volume to mark the 50th anniversary of the Altona Portuguese Synagogue *Neveh Šalom*.<sup>28</sup> This volume of occasional verse composed by his father Benjamin Mussaphia Fidalgo must now be regarded as lost.<sup>29</sup>

24 Max Grunwald, *Portugiesengräber*, 33 and 39.

25 *Journal Hamburg und Altona* 2, fasc. 6 (1802): 339.

26 His epitaph reads: "Aqui yaz o muy B.A. Venerado anciano / Jahacob Mussaphia Fidalgo, Pai de sua / Familia Bemfeitor de muytos & hũ dos / Principaes Establecedores & Fundadores do / K.K. Neve Schalom em Altona," see Michael Studemund-Halévy, *Biographisches Lexikon*, 656-657.

27 Joshua b. Samuel Cohen Faro, born 1772 in Amsterdam, died November 11, 1851 in Amsterdam, was related to the Mussaphia family: grandson of Rabbi Joshua Hisquiah de Faro, born 1632 in Faro, died 10 June 1694 in Amsterdam, and son of Samuel b. Joshua Cohen Faro, born 1750, and Ribca de David Meldola. The husband of (1) Sara de David de Meza (1772-1842) and (2) Judith Jette de Zacharias Spijer/Speijer (1818-1894), he compiled apparently a Cantor's notebook, including Kaddiřim, Keduřot, Tefilot and various Pyyutim, for solo voice. Hamburg 1792-1831 [על ידי הצעיר והקטן] / שירים ברכות ושירים נכתב על ידי הצעיר והק יהושע די שמול כהן פארו בהמבורג שנת התכנ"ב / שרים חדשות בכטב על ידי הצעיר והק. ...]. The composition contains, apart from anonymous works, compositions by Abraham Caceres, Abraham Rathom, Christiano Giuseppe Lidarti and M (?) Mani. See also L. Fuks and R.G. Fuks-Mansfeld, *Hebrew and Judaic Manuscripts in Amsterdam Public Collection. Catalogue of the Manuscripts of Ets Haim / Livraria Montezinos Sefardic Community of Amsterdam* (Leiden: Brill, 1973, vol. 1, 93, no. 202 [HS. ROS. 449]; H. Jefim Schirmann, "Theater and Music in Italian Jewish Quarters XVI-XVIII Centuries", *Zion* 29 (1964): 61-111 (in Hebrew).

28 קול תרועת יובל שיר תודה אשר שוררו היהודים בק"ק אלטונא ... לקצ חמשים ... שנה מיסד ביה"כ ... הנקראת נוה ... שלום ... כה אלול ... תקפ"א See Yeshayahu Vinograd, *Thesaurus of the Hebrew Book*, Part II: Places of Print. (Jerusalem: Institute for Computerized Bibliography, 1993-1995), vol. 2, 28 (Altona No. 219); Max Grunwald, *Hamburgs deutsche Juden*, 175, no. 200a.

29 The only known copy of the booklet was formerly in the National Library of Israel.

His grandson Benjamin Mussaphia Fidalgo, Jr. (1784-1856),<sup>30</sup> son of the merchant Abraham Mussaphia Fidalgo (1751-1802),<sup>31</sup> and last male descendant of the Mussaphia family in Hamburg and Altona, appears in the Altona address books between 1805 and 1845 as an exchange broker. In 1850 and 1851, no profession is given, and in 1856 it states he was privatizing his affairs. Interested in literature, he was in correspondence with the historian Leopold Zunz,<sup>32</sup> one of the most important figures in the nineteenth-century development of the academic study of Judaism.<sup>33</sup> He is mentioned as a subscriber to a poetry volume by Friedrich Wagener.<sup>34</sup>

Benjamin Mussaphia Fidalgo Jr., *parnas* of the Altona Portuguese Community, was a superb and knowledgeable expert on German literature and local history, as evident from his numerous, instructive handwritten explanations and commentaries in a finely crafted script in ink on the poem *Der Laufpass fürs achtzehnte Jahrhundert* (Hamburg 1801), by the Altona-based physician, poet, theatre director, book dealer and natural scientist Johann Friedrich Ernst Albrecht (b. Stade 1752–d. 1814 Altona). This poem, today largely forgotten and unknown, develops in 12 songs a rhymed, heavily encoded and enigmatic retrospective glance at the turbulent and eventful eighteenth century, written in strict conformance to the model of Aloys Blumauer's travesties.<sup>35</sup> The poem, in its richness of meaning comprehensible only for intimate experts on the time

30 The broker Benjamin Mussaphia Fidalgo, Jr. (1784-1856), the last male descendent of the Mussaphia Fidalgo family, became a founding member in 1812 of the Schleswig-Holstein Patriotic Society (Schleswig-Holsteinische Patriotische Gesellschaft); see *Neue Schleswig-Holstein-Lauenburgische Provinzialberichte*, vol. 1, no. 1, 609; Kay Detlev Sievers, "Patriotische Gesellschaften in Schleswig-Holstein zwischen 1786 und 1829," in *Deutsche patriotische und gemeinnützige Gesellschaften*, edited by Rudolf Vierhaus, in *Wolfenbütteler Forschungen* 8 (1980): 119-141; Michael Studemund-Halévy, *Biographisches Lexikon*, 648; Dieter Lohmeier, "Mussaphia," 102.

31 Michael Studemund-Halévy, *Biographisches Lexikon*, 647.

32 See Leopold-Zunz-Archiv, ARC 4 792/G12-173.

33 Since the Enlightenment, educated German Jews were drawn to the Sephardic biculturalism and multifaceted legacy of Sephardic Jews, see now the groundbreaking study by Ismar Schorsch, *Leopold Zunz. Creativity in Adversity* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2016).

34 Friedrich Wagener, *Gedichte* (Hamburg: S.W. Wörmer, 1820), IX. Among the many subscribers we find some Portuguese and German Jews of Hamburg and Altona. We can mention the names of Dr. de Lemos; S[alomon] Heine; B.H. Schiff; R[uben] J[saac] Schiff, Dr. [Eduard] Kley; Dr. Emden.

35 Aloys Blumauer (1755-1798) was well known in his day as a poet and journalist of the Austrian Enlightenment and, above all, as the author of *Virgils Aeneis, travestirt*, see Richie Robertson, *Mock-Epic Poetry from Pope to Heine* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009),



and Hanseatic local historians (there are several allusions to Hamburg and Altona in the text) shows that Benjamin Mussaphia Fidalgo Jr. was a superb connoisseur of the works of Albrecht and of Altona. The notes were supplemented successively and concluded in 1850.<sup>36</sup>

In 1827, Benjamin Mussaphia Fidalgo, Jr. authored in Hebrew a catalog of some Hebrew books (רשימה).<sup>37</sup> The manuscript is stored today in the National Library of Israel in Jerusalem. It is likely that the books came into the possession of the Hamburg Municipal Library in 1859. Three years before, Wilhelm and Rachel Mussaphia, the last bearers of the name, had passed away in Glückstadt. Nothing is known about their origin or kinship with the Hamburg-Altona family.

## II The Portuguese Community *Neveh Šalom* of Altona

The first Altona Portuguese Community can be traced back to the earlier Hamburg-based and later Copenhagen citizen and resident Jacob Abensur,<sup>38</sup> who in cooperation with the Ashkenazic *Ḥaḳam* Juda Leb Ballin founded in 1701 the Community *Qahal Qadoš Neve Ha-Šédek ve ha-Šalom* in Breitenstrasse. Internal disputes within the Community led several years later to the estab-

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260ff.; Bärbel Becker-Cantarino, *Aloys Blumauer and the literature of Austrian Enlightenment* (Bern: Peter Lang, 1973).

36 I recently succeeded in acquiring this unique copy.

37 רשימה, *Verzeichnisse hebräischer Handschriften in verschiedenen Bibliotheken* [Lists of Hebrew Mss. in Various Libraries], Leopold Zunz Archive, ARC 4 792/D32-4, folder D 32. 1-61: Alcalá, Oxford, Konstantinopel, Munich, Vienna, the Vatican, Brody, Wolfenbüttel, Sussex, Halle, Berlin, Dresden, Hamburg, Torino) and various collections (inter alia those of Jacob Reifmann in Zolkiew, Salomon Hirschel in London, M. Fidalgo, Meyer Israel Bres-selau, Benjamin Pua [recte: Foa] in Livorno), cf. 62-76: alphabetical listing of Hebrew texts with notes, 77-114: alphabetical listing of authors of Hebrew texts with notes; 115f.: copy of text from "Or ha-Hayyim." Codicology.

38 Jacob Abensur, (c. 1640–c. 1727) was Ministerial Resident of the Polish King in Hamburg. In the 1680s, he fled for reasons of security to Altona, escaping from his fellow believers in Hamburg. In 1706 he was banished from Hamburg, initially relocating to Harburg, then to Paris, where he underwent baptism (Louis XIV served as his godfather). Then as Louis Abensur, he again became the Polish Royal Resident in Hamburg. In 1714 he was arrested and sent to Stralsund, but managed to escape and fled to Paris. Nothing is known about his subsequent life. The family continued to be known in Hamburg until the nineteenth century. See Michael Studemund-Halévy, *Biographisches Lexikon*, 100; see also *Historia Dyplomacji Polskiej*, vol. II (1572-1795) pod red. Zbigniewa Wójcika (Warszawa: Państwowe Wydawn. Naukowe, 1982), 271, 408-409, 451.

lishment of the new Portuguese Community *Bet Jacob Ha-Qaṭan* (The Little House of Jacob). However, until its disbandment at the end of the nineteenth century, it remained dependent on the Hamburg Portuguese:<sup>39</sup>

The Portuguese Jews behave and dress in a manner quite similar to the Christians. They likewise display in minor matters precious little anxiety, most probably attributable to the necessary caution they knew and practiced in Portugal. Their Community consists of only 26 families, they have but one precentor (since 1723)<sup>40</sup> and a synagogue only since 1771.<sup>41</sup> Among all the non-Lutheran communities, it is the only one that has fully united with the community of the official state religion in respect to providing for those in poverty.<sup>42</sup>

### III The Author

With the exception of his Hebrew gravestone poem and *his posthumously published occasional poems in Hebrew*, none of his *versos poeticos* in Hebrew, Portuguese, Spanish, German or French – if in fact he ever wrote them – have been preserved, but we know of four or five of his printed books:

(1) *Essays du Vieillard du Mont Libanon pour servir d'Examen à certaines assertions du livre Du Vieillard du Mont Caucase. Discite Justitiam moniti & non temere Divos ... Aeneid. Lib. vi. Premier Essay*, Altona 1782, J.D.A Eckhardt.<sup>43</sup>

(2) *Fragment des Essais du Vieillard du Mont Libanon ou VII<sup>me</sup> Section des Dialogues entre le Vieillard du Mont Libanon & le Vieillard du Mont*

39 Michael Studemund-Halévy, *Biographisches Lexikon*, 59-62.

40 The Šamaš and Ḥazan Isaac Delgado, who died 1746 in Altona, was the first *ḥazan* of the Altona Community. He was followed by Jacob Aboab, Moses de Lemos; Joseph Palache; Samuel Aschen; David Lumbroso; Abraham Meldola; Joseph Nehemias, and Jacob Delmonte; see Michael Studemund-Halévy, *Biographisches Lexikon*; Johan Adrian Bolten, *Historische Kirchennachrichten*, 199-200.

41 The Sefardic synagogue was located on Bäckerstraße in Altona.

42 Johan Adrian Bolten, *Historische Kirchennachrichten von der Stadt Altona und deren verschiedenen Religionspartheyen, von der Herrschaft Pinneberg und von der Grafschaft Ranzau*, Zweyter Band. (Altona: J.F. Hammerich, 1791); *Allgemeine Literatur-Zeitung* 26 (January 1792): 231-232.

43 The details contained in Max Grunwalds, *Hamburgs deutsche Juden*, 216, are often imprecise.

*Caucase. Extrait du reste de l'ouvrage qui est encore en Manuscrit*, Altona, chez J.D.A. Eckhardt, 1784.<sup>44</sup>

Six years later, the editor E.C. Eckstorff published in 1790 a second edition of the book:

(3) *Fragment des essais du vieillard du mont Libanon, ou VII<sup>me</sup> section des dialogues, entre le vieillard du mont Libanon et le vieillard du mont Caucase*, [Altona], 1790, 24 pp.<sup>45</sup>

(4) *Essays du Vieillard du Mont Libanon pour servir d'Examen à certaines assertions du livre Du Vieillard du Mont Caucase*, Altona März 1791, 147 pp.<sup>46</sup>

Mussaphia Fidalgo not only criticized the open anti-Semitism of Voltaire but also his critique of Christians and Muslims, since they are opposed to and struggle with the Mosaic revelation.<sup>47</sup> He did not complete and publish the full text of his polemic against Voltaire's pamphlet *Le vieillard du Mont Caucase*,

44 Christian Gottlob Kayser, *Vollständiges Bücher-Lexicon* (Leipzig: s.n. 1834-1912), 211.

45 E.C. Eckstorff joined together with Moses b. Mendel Bonn Halevi to produce Hebrew books, for example the *Ve-Šav ha-Kohen – Še'elot ha-kohanin Tora* by the chief rabbi Raphael Kohen ("gedruckt von Eckstorff dem Jüngeren, Königl. Privilegierten Buchdrucker," Altona, 1792). Moses Bonn, a former apprentice in Jacob Emden's printing house, set out on his own in 1765, and this business was operated for many years by his sons and grandsons as "Brothers Bonn" [Juda and Samuel Bonn]. The print shop existed until the beginning of the Nazi era. See Bernhard Brillung, "Zur Geschichte der hebräischen Buchdruckereien in Altona," *Studies in Bibliography and Booklore* 11 (1976): 41-56; 13, 1-2 (1980-1981): 27; Bernhard Brillung, "Die Privilegien der hebräischen Buchdruckereien in Altona (1726-1836)," *Studies in Bibliography and Booklore* 9 (1971): 157; Arthur Arnheim, "Altonas Hebraiske Bogtrykkerier," *Fund og Forskning i Det Kongelige biblioteks samlinger* 39 (2000): 67-84; Arthur Arnheim, "Hebrew prints and censorship in Altona," *Studies in Bibliography and Booklore* 21 (2001): 3-9.

46 Benjamin Mussaphia Fidalgo published a reply to the above work, entitled: *Essays du Vieillard du mont Libanon pour servir d'Examen à certaines assertions du livre du Vieillard du mont Caucase*. "Eine Gegenschrift gab heraus Binj. Mussafia Fidalgo," Julius Fürst, *Bibliotheca Judaica. Bibliographisches Handbuch umfassend die Druckwerke der Jüdischen Literatur* (Leipzig: Engelmann, 1863), vol. III, 486 (reprint Hildesheim: Olms, 1960).

47 Léon Poliakov, *De Voltaire à Wagner* (Paris: Calman-Lévy, 1968); Adam Sutcliffe, "Voltaire in context: the emergence of antijudaic rhetoric in the French early Enlightenment," in *L'antisémitisme éclairé*, edited by Ilana Y. Zinguer and Sam W. Bloom (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 115-124; Agnieszka Pufelska, "Voltaire," in *Handbuch des Antisemitismus* 2/2, edited by Wolfgang Benz (Berlin: Saur, 2009), 854-855.



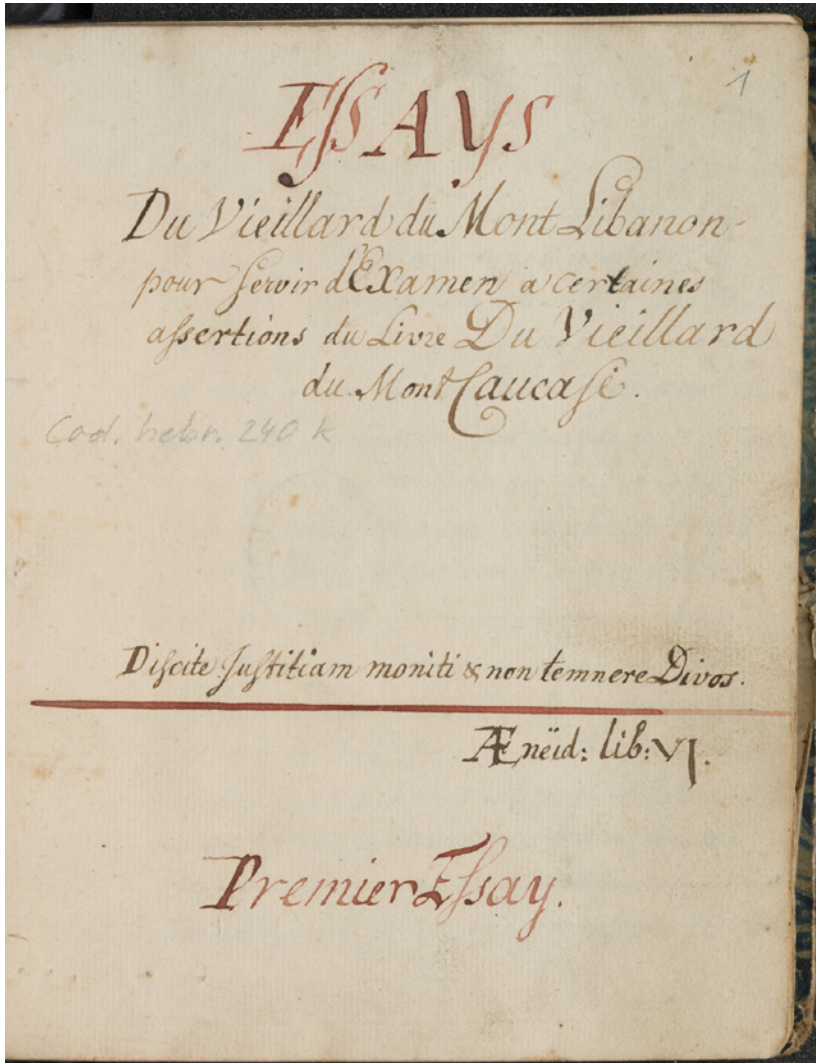


FIGURE 18.4 Essays Du Vieillard du Mont Libanon pour servir d'Examen à certaines assertions du Livre Du Vieillard du Mont Caucase, *Cod. Hebr. 240k* (COURTESY STAATS- UND UNIVERSITÄTSBIBLIOTHEK CARL VON OSSIETZKY)

Note: Moritz Steinschneider, *Catalog der hebräischen Handschriften in der Stadtbibliothek zu Hamburg und der sich anschliessenden in anderen Sprachen* (Hamburg: Otto Meissner, 1878), 171-172: Cod. hebr. 352/240k. The front cover of the manuscript bears the annotation: "Me jam in 15<sup>mo</sup> Lustrum aetatis versante concepi, composui & ipse scripsi has animadversiones ego, qui posthac, favente Numine jam nunc aetatem 80 annorum nactus, nunc nuper subscribo nomen meum. Altonae 5551: O.C. m. pp. Benjamin Mussaphia Fidalgo senior. Altona d. [...] März 1791."

*aux juifs Portugais, Allemands et Polonois. Ou Réfutation du Livre intitulé. Lettres de quelques Juifs Portugais, Allemands & Polonois, in 12, Paris 1776, ouvrage attribué à un ami de l'auteur de "La Henriade," orné du portrait de M. de V\*\*\*.*<sup>48</sup>

Another published work by Mussaphia Fidalgo is his

(5) *Replica / in Sachen / des Propheten Samuels, / ctra / Agag, / König der Amalekiter in Puncto homi & Infanticidii. Hierauf / folgt ein merkwürdiges / und vermuthlich interessantes / Gespräch / beydes entworfen / von / B[injamin] M[ussaphia] F[idalgo] Verfasser des Fragments des Essais du Vieillard du Mont Libanon. / Altona 1785 / Gedruckt bey J.D.A. Eckhardt, Königl. Dän. privil. Buchdrucker.*<sup>49</sup>

All his books were published by the well-known printer Johann David Adam Eckhardt (1743-1807) in Hamburg-Altona, whose books were also subscribed to by members of the Portuguese Communities from Altona and Hamburg, including, for example, Klopstock's *Messias* (Altona 1780), to which Benjamin Mussaphia Fidalgo also subscribed.<sup>50</sup>

#### iv The Collector

Benjamin Mussaphia Fidalgo was a man of considerable knowledge and wide reading in Jewish and secular literature. The first references to the book collector and author came from the local historians Berend Kordes (Cordes),<sup>51</sup>

48 Rotterdam 1776 (Genève [?]: Jean-Pierre Bonnant [?]); Lausanne, 1785. Voltaire, the most famous of the French Enlightenment philosophers, published his polemic a bit later under the title *Un Chrétien contre six Juifs, ou Réfutation d'un livre intitulé: Lettres de quelques Juifs portugais, allemands et polonais*. Den Haag: Jean-Pierre Bonnant, 1777.

49 Copies of this book can be found in the University Library Rostock and the State and University Library, Lower Saxony in Göttingen.

50 Hartmut Lehmann and Dieter Lohmeier (ed.), *Aufklärung und Pietismus im dänischen Gesamtstaat, 1770-1820* (Kiel: Wachholtz, 1983). Among the many subscribers, we may mention the names of several Portuguese and German Jews of Hamburg and Altona: Fidalgo, Meldola, Warburg, Heyne, Schiff, Holländer, Meyer.

51 Werner Kayser, *Vollständiges Bücher-Lexicon*, 211; Niels Nikolaus Falck, *Neues Staatsbürgerliches Magazin, mit besonderer Rücksicht auf die Herzogtümer Schleswig 1* (1832): 794-795; see also Franklin Kopitzsch, *Aufklärung in Hamburg*, 746ff.

Christian Gottlob Kayser,<sup>52</sup> Georg Christoph Hamburger and J.A. Meusel,<sup>53</sup> Johann Adrian Bolten<sup>54</sup> and Hans Schröder:

Fidalgo (Benjamin Mussaphia). A member of the Portuguese Jewish Community. His grandfather moved from Glückstadt to Hamburg and established himself there. Born in Hamburg on 22 September 1711, he dedicated himself to the calling of the merchant, living since 1768 in Altona, where he died on 8 Jan. 1801 at the age of 90. On his fourth trip to Amsterdam he married Rebekka Curiel on 15 August 1742, daughter of the late Amsterdam merchant Abraham Curiel, who was actually called Nunez da Costa. Our F. had 2 sons and 1 daughter. He survived his wife, 9 years his junior, and his daughter; and he left behind his two sons Jacob Mussaphia Fidalgo and Abraham Mussaphia Fidalgo, who both were engaged in commerce. The latter, Abraham, became a banker and independent broker in Altona.<sup>55</sup>

He was praised by the Altona theologian, historian and Bible translator Johan Adrian Bolten (1742-1807) as a “well-read, tolerant writer, widely read in Christian and Jewish matters.”<sup>56</sup> He not only acquired Jewish printed works and manuscripts, he also subscribed to books that were much appreciated by Jewish enlighteners (*maškilim*) and Jewish intellectuals in Altona and Hamburg. Thus, for example, together with the Altona Portuguese Jews Isaac

52 Werner Kayser, *Vollständiges Bücher-Lexicon*, 211.

53 Georg Christoph Hamburger and J.A. Meusel, *Das gelehrte Teutschland oder Lexikon der jetzt lebenden teutschen* (Lemgo: Meyerschen Buchhandlung & Christian Friedrich Helwing, 1797), vol. 2, 320.

54 Johann Adrian Bolten (1742-1807), well-known theologian, historian, and Bible translator at his time, see Reimer Witt, *Johann Adrian Bolten. Der Lebensweg eines Schleswig-Holsteinischen Theologen und Historikers*. Vorwort zur Neuauflage der J.A. Boltens vierbändiger *Ditmarsischen Geschichte* (Leer: Schuster, 1979).

55 Hans Schröder, *Lexikon der Hamburger Schriftsteller bis zur Gegenwart* (Hamburg: Perthes-Besser; Mauke, 1851-1883).

56 “Benjamin Mussaphia Fidalgo, ein sehr tolerant denkender, und in den Profanskribenten sowohl als in den christlichen und jüdischen Religionsbüchern wohlbelesener Schritsteller,” *Allgemeine Literatur-Zeitung*, 26 January 1792, 232; see also Johann Adrian Bolten, *Historische Kirchennachrichten von der Stadt Altona*; see also Michael Studemund-Halévy, “A well-read, tolerant writer, widely read in Christian and Jewish matters: the book collector and author Benjamin Mussaphia Fidalgo,” in *HGJG 1996-2016: Zwanzig Jahre Hamburger Gesellschaft für jüdische Genealogie e.V.*, edited by Jürgen Sielemann (Hamburg: HGJG, 2016), 129-147.

Bravo and Benjamin Cohen and the Hamburg Portuguese Jews David Meldola,<sup>57</sup> Joseph de David da Fonseca,<sup>58</sup> Samuel Henriques, Abraham Meldola<sup>59</sup> and J. Luria, he appeared on a pre-publication (Prenumeranten) order list for the *Moseide* by the Hebraist, writer and educational theorist and teacher Naftali Hartwig Wessely (1725-1805).<sup>60</sup> We also find his name listed as a subscriber to a song book of the Freemasons published in Hamburg in 1790.<sup>61</sup>

## v The Collection

In March 1859, the Stadtbibliothek (Hamburg Municipal Library), the predecessor of today's State and University Library Carl von Ossietzky, was able to acquire numerous Sefardica and Judaica books,<sup>62</sup> as well as thirteen

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- 57 Michael Studemund-Halévy, "David Meldola," in *Hamburgische Biografie*, edited by Franklin Kopitzsch and Dirk Brietzke, vol. 6. (Göttingen: Wallstein, 2012), 215-216; Michael Studemund-Halévy, *Biographisches Lexikon*, 624-625.
- 58 A[legra] Benesra, "Naphtali Hirz Wessely. Ein Gedenkblatt," *Ost und West* 5 (1905): 326-336; see also Hartmut Lehmann and Dieter Lohmeier (ed.), *Aufklärung und Pietismus*; Ingrid Lohmann and Rainer Wenzel (ed.), *Naphtali Herz Wessely. "Worte des Friedens und der Wahrheit"* (Münster: Waxman, 2014).
- 59 In 1813, the hazan, rabbi, notary and translator Abraham de David Meldola (1754-1826) was constrained to sell his important library due to financial difficulties, see Michael Studemund-Halévy, "Abraham Meldola," in *Hamburgische Biografie*, edited by Franklin Kopitzsch and Dirk Brietzke, vol. 2. Hamburg: Wallstein, 2003, 279-280; Michael Studemund-Halévy, "Abraham Meldola," in *Biographisches Handbuch der Rabbiner*, edited by Michael Brocke and Julius Carlebach, part 1, vol. 2, (Saur: München, 2004), 657; Michael Studemund-Halévy, "Sephardische Bücher und Bibliotheken," 179, note 77; Jutta Braden, "Abraham Meldola, ein jüdischer kaiserlicher Notar am Ende des 18. Jahrhunderts," *Aschkenas* 6 (1996): 507-513.
- 60 Naphtali Hartwig Wessely, *Die Moseide in achtzehn Gesängen. Uebersetzt nach dem hebräischen Originale des verewigten Naphtali Hartwig Wessely von dem Herrn Senior Hufnagel, dem Herrn Professor Spalding und dem Herausgeber Emanuel Wessely* (First edition, Hamburg: s.n., 1806). Wessely, who died in Hamburg in 1805, an admirer of Sefardi culture, was buried in the Portuguese Cemetery Altona, see Michael Studemund-Halévy, *Biographisches Lexikon*, 842-844. See also Wolf Aloys Meisel, *Leben und Wirken Naphtali Hartwig Wessely's, eine biographische Darstellung* (Breslau: M. Friedländer, 1841).
- 61 Friedrich Wilhelm von Schütz [Redner der Loge Ferdinand zum Felsen] (ed.), *Versuch einer vollständigen Sammlung Freimaurer-Lieder zum Gebrauch deutscher Logen* (Hamburg: n.e., c. 1790).
- 62 The rich Jewish collections of the State and University Library Hamburg Carl von Ossietzky, including the collection of Binjamin Mussaphia Fidalgo, H.B. Levy and Library of the Jewish Community, contained several hundred important Hebrew manuscripts, five

manuscripts from the precious Mussaphia Fidalgo collection.<sup>63</sup> Of these manuscripts, four were in Hebrew and nine in Spanish-Portuguese, including in particular anti-Christian polemics:<sup>64</sup>

The Hamburg Municipal Library, which, thanks to the efforts of Wolf, possesses the richest collection of Jewish works in Spanish and Portuguese, has recently acquired a sizeable addition through the purchase of the Fidalgo collection. It has not only been enriched by a number of rare printed works but also includes a treasure trove of manuscripts.<sup>65</sup>

These Hamburg controversialist anti-Christian manuscripts give a perfectly representative sample of the genre. We find here copies of the earliest texts:

Anonym, *Dialogo curioso de dos hermanos diferen/tes en la Profession desuley y arguyen/tes sobre la verdad de cada qual. / Compuesto / Por vn secretº desus Razo/nes A honor del summo Dios / Y prouecho delos deseosos de / su saluacion.*<sup>66</sup>

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editions in parchment and 13 incunabula, apud according to the "Tentative List of Jewish Cultural Treasures in Axis-Occupied Countries," Supplement to *Jewish Social Studies* 8, 1 (1946): 68. The valuable book collection of Binjamin Mussaphia Fidalgo was *lost during World War II, when the books and manuscripts of the State Library were evacuated and stored away in salt mines in Saxony. Important quantities of State Library books were restituted from Russia (1989-1991), Georgia (1996) and Armenia (1998). The Cod.hebr. 333 from the Mussaphia collection has not yet reappeared.*

- 63 The library was acquired in March 1859, three years after the demise of Binjamin Musaphia Fidalgo, Jr (1784-1856); see Moritz M. Kayserling, "Zur spanisch-portugiesischen Literatur," *Hebräische Bibliographie* 3, 17 (1860): 59-96; 4 (1861), 24 and 51. See also Carsten L. Wilke, "Midrashim from Bordeaux: a theological controversy inside the Portuguese Jewish diaspora at the time of Spinoza's excommunication," *European Journal of Jewish Studies* 6, 2 (2012): 230. *Regarding the origins of the collections, see Moritz Steinschneider, Catalog der hebräischen Handschriften in der Stadtbibliothek zu Hamburg und der sich anschliessenden in anderen Sprachen* (Hamburg: Otto Meissner, 1878); unchanged new edition, Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1969 (*foreword, v-xvi*).
- 64 See also Michael Studemund-Halévy, "L'imprimerie séfarade à Hambourg et la censure protestante et rabbinique," *Revue des études juives* 159, 3-4 (2000): 485-500.
- 65 Moritz M. Kayserling, "Zur spanisch-portugiesischen Literatur," *Hebräische Bibliographie* 3, 17 (1860): 95-96; 4, 19 (1861): 24, 51.
- 66 The colophon that stood on the last leaf of the volume was torn out except for the words "*Copiado Por ... em ...*," see Moritz Steinschneider, *Catalog*, 169-170, nos. 349-350; see now Carsten L. Wilke, *Les Dialogues à Marrakech d'Estevao Dias, voyageur d'Anvers (1581): une polémique espagnole [...] critique d'après les manuscrits, mémoire pour le diplôme de*

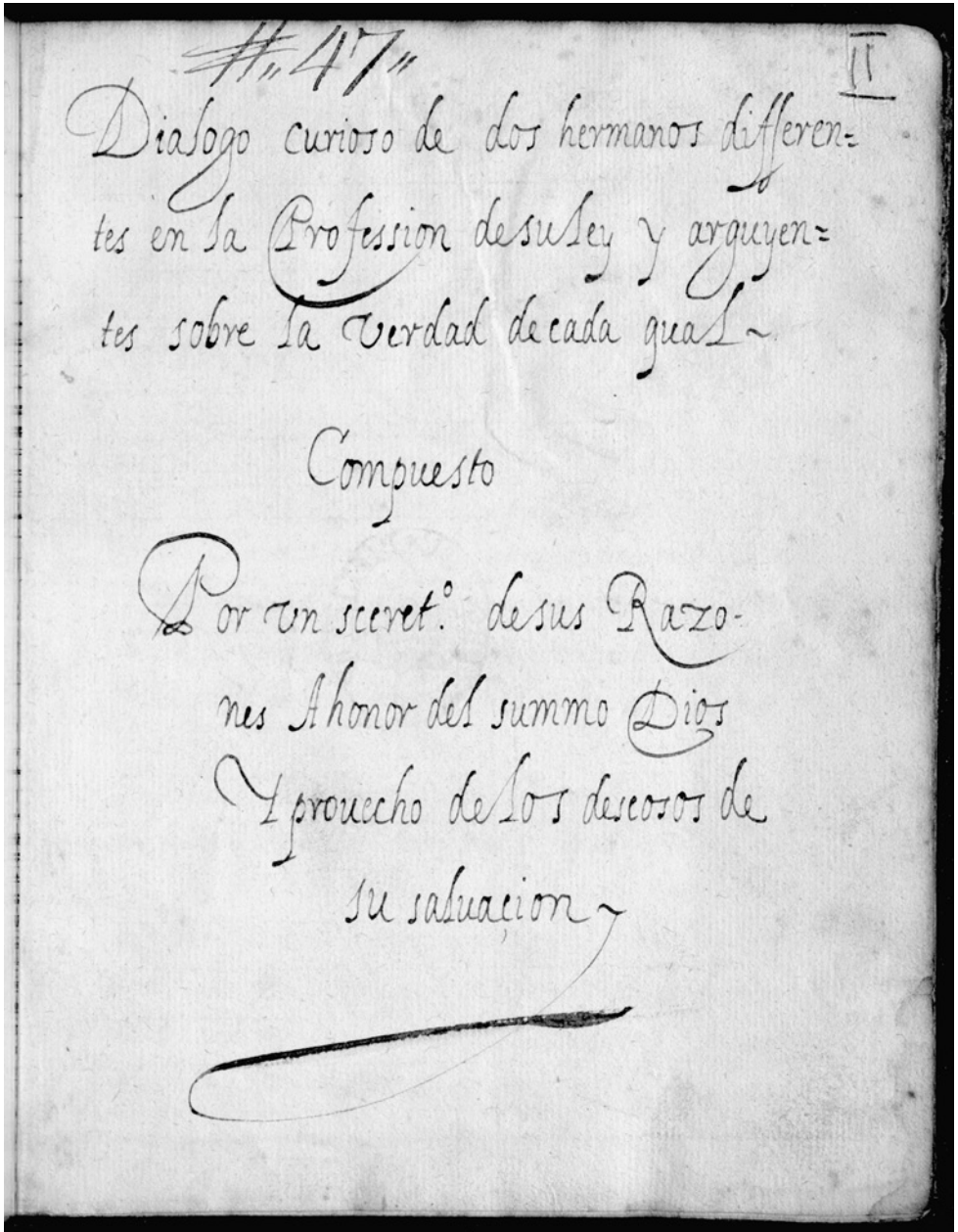


FIGURE 18.5 Dialogo curioso, *Cod. Hebr. 240g* (COURTESY STAATS-UND UNIVERSITÄTS-BIBLIOTHEK CARL VON OSSIETZKY).

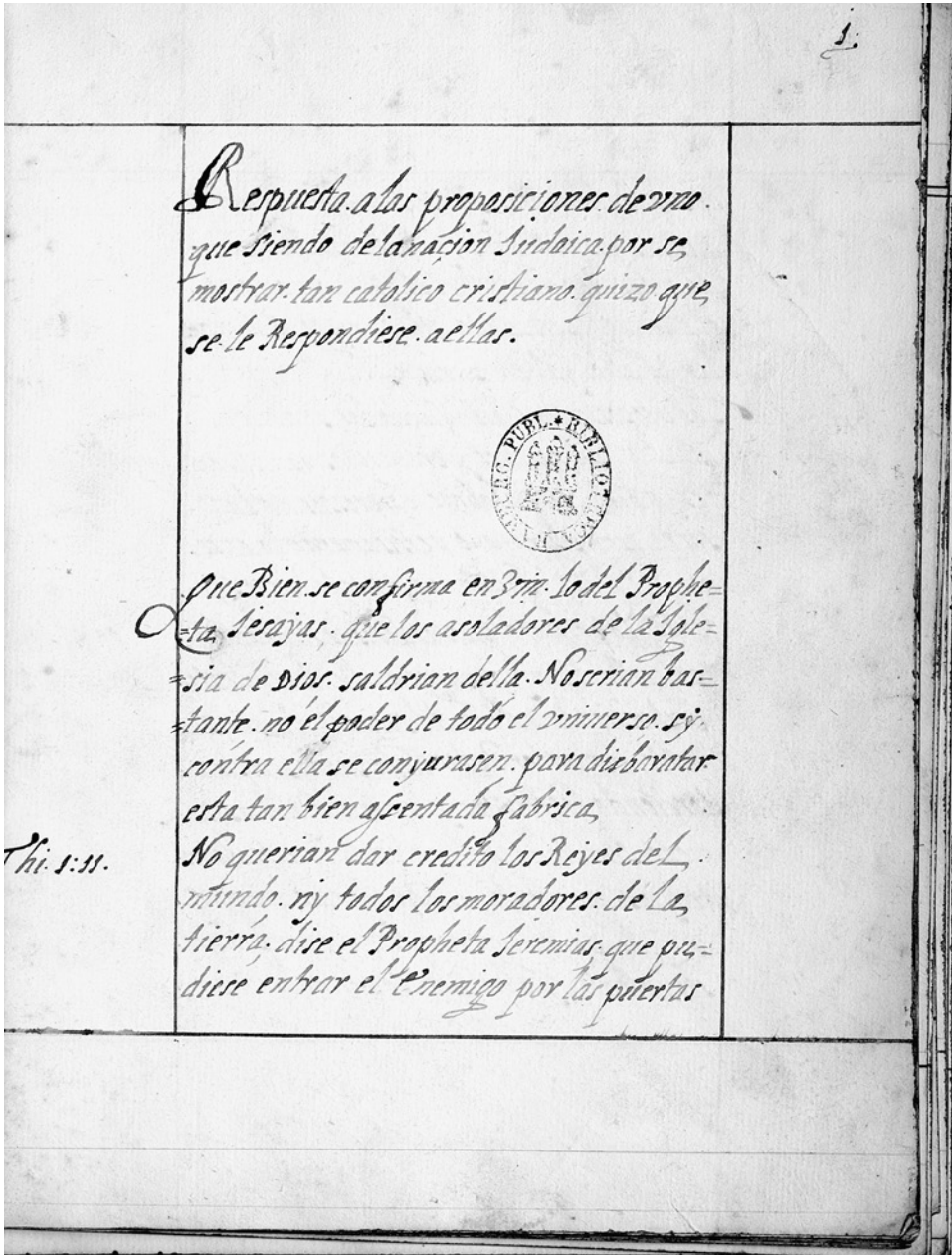


FIGURE 18.6 Respuesta a las proposiciones, *Cod. Hebr. 240b* (COURTESY STAATS-UND UNIVERSITÄTSBIBLIOTHEK CARL VON OSSIETZKY, HAMBURG).

Another notable manuscript is that attributed to Daniel b. Josef Abendana and dedicated to Isaac Levi Ximenes, member of a well-known Portuguese family:

Respuesta a las proposiciones de vno que siendo de la naçion Judaica, por se mostrar tan catolico cristiano, quizo que se le Respondiese a ellas.<sup>67</sup>

***B.H. Levy and H.B. Levy***

The book collector H[aim] b. B[aruch] Levy (1739-1812), bequeathed his large collection of Judaica and Hebraica – which, as a result of “moves to other cities and other factors,” was reduced in size<sup>68</sup> – to his six sons.<sup>69</sup> As the sole male descendant of the family, his grandson, the attorney and Hamburg Parliament deputy, Dr. H.B. Levy Jr.,<sup>70</sup> received a number of the Hebrew books in the collection (“as the sole male descendant I received the remainder of the collection of Hebrew books”).<sup>71</sup> These comprised prayer books and other ritual writings, bibles, Talmud, works of exegesis, philosophy, several books on Kabbalah, and some ritual objects.<sup>72</sup>

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l'École Pratique des Hautes Études, Ve Section, Paris 1993; Carsten L. Wilke, *The Marakesh Dialogues: A Gospel Critique and Jewish Apology from the Spanish Renaissance* (Leiden: Brill, 2014), 154-155. Carsten L. Wilke previously published on five manuscripts from the Hamburger Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek: the *Diálogos en Marruecos*, the letter of a group of immigrants to Jerusalem 1638, the text *Judá Creyente* by Enríquez Gómez and the controversy of 1655 with Naar and (presumably) Mussaphia.

67 Moritz Steinschneider, *Catalog*, 167-168, no. 345/240b; Eliakim Carmoly, *Revue Orientale* 2 (1859): 112, no. 2.

68 H.B. Levy, Foreword; see also Jacob Jacobson, *Die Judenbürger-Bücher der Stadt Berlin* (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1962), 143.

69 Max Grunwald, *Portugiesengräber*, 139.

70 The Hamburg Parliament (*Bürgerschaft*) deputy H.B. Levy, also a member of the budget committee, was active in the authority overseeing secondary education; he was a member of the executive board of the German-Israelitic Community and president of the Talmud Tora school. He was also founder of the Verein für jüdische Geschichte und Literatur (Society for Jewish History and Culture); on H.B. Levy, see also Ernst Hamburger, *Juden im Öffentlichen Leben Deutschlands: Regierungsmitglieder, Beamte und Parlamentarier in der monarchischen Zeit, 1848-1918* (Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr, 1968), 248.

71 Hans-Walter Stork, *Hebraicasammlung*, 19.

72 See, for example, a Hebrew translation of Aristotle's *Nicomachean Ethics* (*Sefer haMid-dot*), based on the Humanistic Latin translations from the Greek carried out in the fifteenth century by Leonardo Bruni and John Argyropoulos, where the name of the translator is not mentioned, preserved in a unique manuscript (Ernst Róth and Hans Striedl, *Hebräische Handschriften, Teil 3: Die Handschriften der Sammlung H.B. Levy an der Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Hamburg* [Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner, 1984], 160-161, no.



H.B. Levy, son of Baruch Heimann and Henriette Levy, substantially increased the size of the collection, as is evident from the ownership notes and occasional catalogue excerpts. Thus, larger portions of his new acquisitions stemmed from a sale offer by the Asher & Co firm in Berlin<sup>73</sup> and from the catalogue of Puttich & Simpson.<sup>74</sup> Several Spanish manuscripts derive from the auction catalogue of the Amsterdam scholar D. Henriques de Castro Mz.<sup>75</sup>

In this way, by 1900 the collection had grown to the magnitude, quite substantial for a private library, of 168 Hebrew and Portuguese-Spanish manuscripts,<sup>76</sup> 753 Hebrew printed works<sup>77</sup> and 240 Judaica in European languages.<sup>78</sup> One of the special features of the Levy collection is that approximately one third of the manuscripts are embellished with book decoration. Along with simple ornamentation of the letters and embellishment of the initial words, there are half-page and full-page miniatures in gold and bright colors as well as noteworthy micrography.<sup>79</sup> The Levy Collection was well known among experts in the field since articles were occasionally published that referred to the manuscripts.<sup>80</sup>

In 1900, H.B. Levy commissioned the learned Hamburg book dealer and active member of the German-Israelitic Community (Deutsch-Israelitische Gesellschaft), Salomon Goldschmidt (1853-1928),<sup>81</sup> to prepare a scientific catalogue of the manuscripts and printed works of the Hebraica and Judaica collection. This catalogue was published in 1900 in Hamburg, containing some errors, with the title

מעט מקדש  
יד וכתבי דפוס ספרי תשימט  
האדון וקבצ אסף אשר

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117; Levy 114). The author of this manuscript is mistakenly identified by Ernst Róth and Hans Striedl as the translator of the *Nicomachean Ethics* by Meir Alguadez.

73 *Verzeichnis hebräischer Hss und seltener Drucke aus dem antiquarischen Lager von A. Asher & Co*, No. 86 (Berlin, 1868).

74 *Catalogue de livres à vendre aux enchères* (London: n.e., 1869).

75 *Catalogue de vente de la succession de feu D. Henriques de Castro Mz* (Amsterdam: n.e., 1899).

76 Ernst Róth and Hans Striedl, *Hebräische Handschriften*, 1-17 and 55.

77 *Ibid.*, 19-55.

78 *Ibid.*, 5-16, back to front.

79 Apud Peter Freimark, *Die Welt des Orients* XII (1986): 184-185.

80 *Mitteilungen der Gesellschaft für jüdische Volkskunde*. Hamburg, 1898, 2, passim.

81 *Catalogue of the Judaica from the Library of Dr. H.B. Levy in Hamburg* (Hamburg: n.e., 1900), printed by Siegmund Nissensohn; see also Hans-Walter Stork, "Hebraicasammlung," 19-20.

Verzeichniss der Judaica aus der Bibliothek  
des Herrn Dr. H.B. Levy in Hamburg, Hamburg 1900,  
Druck von Siegmund Nissensohn

Dr. H.B. Levy gave the Goldschmidt catalogue the title *Miqdaš Me'at*, based on the work of the same title by Mose b. Isaac da Rieti (fourteenth/ fifteenth century), the “Jewish Dante,”<sup>82</sup> which he also had among his printed works in the Jacob Goldenthal edition of 1851.<sup>83</sup> Here Levy probably also wanted to allude to the tendency of a collector to take as many areas of Hebrew literature as possible into consideration in the catalogue. Likewise, from the publication of the catalogue until his death in 1904,<sup>84</sup> Levy sought to complete his collection, adding important manuscripts, such as the *דְרוּשִׁים* by the mystic and messianic agitator Abraham Miguel Cardoso.<sup>85</sup>

In 1906, the famous Hamburg Municipal Library purchased the collection for 18,000 marks after the Frankfurt librarian Aron Freimann (1871-1948) had submitted a positive expert opinion:

Already in November 1904, through the agency of a local antiquarian, the library of the deceased lawyer Dr. H.B. Levy, consisting exclusively of Judaica and Hebraica, was offered to us for sale at the price of M 18,000. An expert opinion provided by one of the best experts on Hebrew literature, Dr. A. Freimann in Frankfurt a. M., provided the required certainty regarding the high value of the collection. Yet it appeared impossible right from the start to acquire it from the current funds available. A generous patron of our Institute, whose name in accordance with his wishes we shall not disclose, provided us with M 9,000; the board of the Averhoff Foundation gave us M 3,000, and the remainder was covered means of an

82 The title *Miqdaš Me'at* (*Little Temple*) derives from the Hebrew poem by the same title by Moses b. Isaac da Rieti, which is a kind of poetic-didactic history of Jewish philosophy and literature, see Alessandro Guetta, “Moses da Rieti and His *Miqdash Me'at*,” *Prooftexts: A Medieval Jewish Literature* 23, 1 (2003): 4-17; regarding the catalog and the collection, see *Henoch* 6-7 (1984): 378; Hans Walter Stork, “Hebraicasammlung,” 19-20.

83 Jacob Goldenthal, *Die neuerworbenen handschriftlichen Werke der k.k. Hofbibliothek zu Wien, beschrieben samt Ergänzungen zum Krafft'schen Katalog* (Vienna: W. Braumüller, 1851).

84 Heymann B. Levy is buried in the Jewish Cemetery Ilandkoppel in Ohlsdorf, see <<http://www.jüdischer-friedhof-altona / Friedhofsdatenbanken>>.

85 Ernst Róth and Hans Striedl, *Hebräische Handschriften*, 132-137, No. 99; Levy 173. On Abraham Miguel Cardoso, see N. Yosha, “The Philosophical Elements in the Theology of Abraham Miguel Cardoso,” MA thesis, Hebrew University, Jerusalem, 1985 (in Hebrew).

exceptional grant by a High Senate and the Citizens' Committee. In this way it proved possible to ... keep in Hamburg, after various negotiations and sundry difficulties, the Levy Library, that was on the brink of being shipped abroad. We wish to acknowledge our gratitude due the various factors whose cooperation served to ensure us the possession of this treasure.<sup>86</sup>

Altruistic as always, the sale price was covered to 50 percent by the Hamburg banker Max M. Warburg.<sup>87</sup> The Society for Jewish Folklore (Gesellschaft für Jüdische Volkskunde), established by Rabbi Dr. Max Grunwald also tried in vain to acquire the Levy library, since Levy's widow had indeed declared her readiness to leave all the silver antiquities, i.e. the liturgical objects, to the Museum of the Gesellschaft für Jüdische Volkskunde. With the Levy collection, the Municipal Library acquired along with the Hebrew manuscripts more than 1,000 Hebrew prints, ranging from incunabula to contemporary books. The 178 Hebrew manuscripts were included in the holdings of the Municipal Library with the shelfmark Codex Levy. In the Second World War, the books of the Levy collection were – together with the working library of the collector and his scientific correspondence – totally destroyed; only the valuable manuscripts, however, were preserved, since they had been evacuated before the wartime destruction began.<sup>88</sup>

In the seventeenth century, Sefardic-Jewish authors composed anti-Christians treatises in order to answer the arguments of those who opposed their return to Judaism. Among the important Sefardic polemicists of the first half of the seventeenth century were Dr. Elijah da Luna Montalto, Isaac Orobio de

86 On the acquisition and significance of the H.B. Levy collection, see Aron Freimann, *Zeitschrift für Hebräische Bibliographie* 4 (1900): 175-176; Robert Münzel, *Jahresberichte der Hamburger Wissenschaftlichen Anstalten für das Jahr 1906* (Hamburg: Lütcke & Wulff, 1907), 113-114; Robert Münzel, *Bericht über die Verwaltung der Stadtbibliothek zu Hamburg im Jahr 1906* (Hamburg: Lütcke & Wulff, 1907), 11-12; Werner von Melle, *Dreißig Jahre Hamburger Wissenschaft 1891-1921. Rückblicke und persönliche Erinnerungen* (Hamburg: Broschek, 1923), vol. 1, 539; Werner Kayser, *500 Jahre wissenschaftliche Bibliothek in Hamburg* (Hamburg: Hauswedell, 1979), 151.

87 *Zentralblatt für Bibliothekswesen* 23 (1906): 151; Peter Freimark, "Jüdische Bibliotheken und Hebraica-Bestände in Hamburg," *Tel Aviver Jahrbuch für deutsche Geschichte* 20 (1991): 464.

88 Following the wartime evacuation in 1943/44, of the approximately 8,100 manuscripts in toto, despite restitutions from East Berlin (1989), Moscow (1990), Tiflis (1996) and Eriwan (1998), to date some 1,700 codices are still missing; see Hans-Walter Stork, "Hebraicasammlung," 21.

Castro and Saul Levi Morteira, men of learning and deep Jewish loyalties. Notable among these manuscripts are the anti-Christian classic *Tratado sobre o principio do Capitulo 53 de Yesaias*,<sup>89</sup> whose extremely polemical refutation of the Christian interpretation of the 53rd chapter of Isaiah Elijahu Montalto wrote probably in Venice (Florence?) in the first years of the seventeenth century.

Regarding the Amsterdam masters of the genre, there are works by Rabbi Saul Levi Mortera (*Declaración del Talmud de Algunos lugares*),<sup>90</sup> and by Isaac Orobio de Castro (*Prevenções divinas contra la vana idolatria de las gentes*),<sup>91</sup> and *Providência de Dios con Ysrael y Verdad, y Eternidad de la Ley de Moseh, ynulidad de las demas Leyes*,<sup>92</sup> whose writings are probably the most interesting for the intellectual history of this period, alongside the anthology of texts compiled by Isaac de Matatias Aboab (*Doutrina pregada a meus Sobrinhos*),<sup>93</sup> and finally two anonymous treatises.

One of the most influential and popular works in the Jewish anti-Christian literature was authored by the Lithuanian Karaite philosopher and exegete, Isaac b. Abraham Troki (c.1533– c.1594). His fame is due to his celebrated polemical work *Ḥizzuq 'Emunah (The Strengthening of Faith)*, influential in both

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- 89 This is a copy of the Amsterdam edition of 1705, see Ernst Róth and Hans Striedl, *Hebräische Handschriften*, 330-331, no. 174; Levy 20. For a brief overview of the works by Montalto, Mortera and Orobio de Castro, see Adam Sutcliffe, *Judaism and Enlightenment* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 107-116; see also Peter T. van Rooden, "A Dutch Translation of Elias Montalto's *Tratado sobre o principio do Capitulo 53 de Jesaias*," *Lias* 16 (1989): 189-238; Bernard Dov Cooperman, "Eliahu Montalto's 'suitable and Incontrovertible Propositions': a 17th-century anti-Christian polemic," in *Jewish Thought in the Seventeenth Century*, edited by Isadore Twersky and Bernard Septimus (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1987), 469-477.
- 90 Ernst Róth and Hans Striedl, *Hebräische Handschriften*, 327-329, no. 172; Levy 75. See also Herman Prins Salomon, "Haham Saul Levi Morteira en de Portugese nieuw-christenen," *Studia Rosenthaliana* 10 (1976): 127-141.
- 91 Moritz Steinschneider, *Catalog*, 166-167, no. 342; Ernst Róth and Hans Striedl, *Hebräische Handschriften*, 329-330, no. 173; Levy 122; see Miriam Silvera, *Isaac Orobio de Castro. Prevenções divinas contra la vana idolatria de las gentes* (Florence: Olschki, 2013), vol. 1.
- 92 Moritz Steinschneider, *Catalog*, 165, no. 339.
- 93 Isaac de Mattatias Aboab, *Doutrina pregada a meus Sobrinhos*, in *Compendio de diferentes materias*, MS (Amsterdam, 1682), 64-68; Ernst Róth and Hans Striedl, *Hebräische Handschriften*, 326-327, no. 171; Levy 154; see also Pedro da Silva Germano, *La Poésie en langue Portugaise des Juifs "Sefardim" d'Amsterdam, xviiie / xviiiie siecles* (PhD Dissertation, Université de Paris 4, 2004); Michael Studemund-Halévy, "Ecos ibéricos na literatura sefardita de Hamburgo," in *Portugal und das Heilige Römische Reich*, edited by Alexandra Curvelo and Madalena Simões (Münster: Aschendorff, 2011), 217-250.

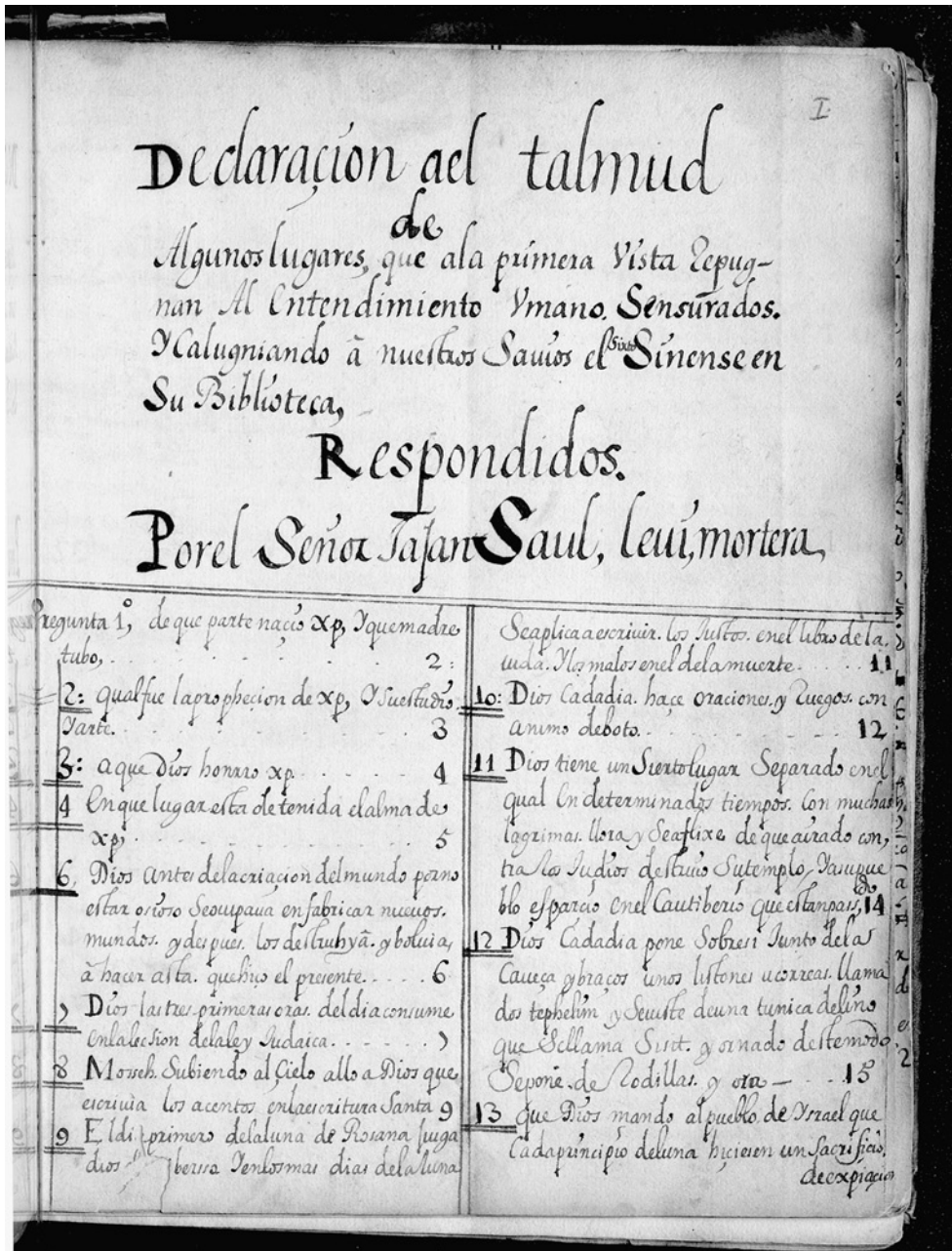


FIGURE 18.7 Declaración del Talmud, *Cod. Levy 75* (COURTESY STAATS-UND UNIVERSITÄTSBIBLIOTHEK CARL VON OSSIETZKY, HAMBURG)

the Jewish and Christians worlds.<sup>94</sup> This book was translated into Spanish by Rabbi Isaac At(t)ias from Hamburg, student of *Ḥakam* Saul Levi Mortera, in Hamburg in 1621 (*Fortificación de la Fee*).<sup>95</sup>

In 1984, Ernst Róth and Hans Striedl studied and described the manuscripts in the Levy collection in exemplary fashion:

Our findings show ... that almost all areas are represented in the collection. The main emphasis is doubtless on the spheres of Bible commentary, liturgical texts, poetic and narrative literature, Kabbalah and natural-scientific literature.<sup>96</sup>

### *Sefardic Private Libraries in Hamburg*<sup>97</sup>

The *Ma'amad* (Community executive board) and the rabbis were on their guard and mistrustful regarding book imports and the activities of secret book printers. Thus, the Hamburg resident David Benveniste had to inform the *Ma'amad* about how many books he had received from Holland and through whose agency he had distributed them. In 1656 and again in 1669, the Amsterdam

94 The book was translated into Portuguese by Shelomoh Benvenisti in the early eighteenth century, into Dutch by Daniel de la Pania in 1729; into French, in Rotterdam in 1730, etc.; see Ernst Róth and Hans Striedl, *Hebräische Handschriften*, 172-173, no. 124; Levy 140; see also Rosemarie Sievert, *Isaak ben Abraham aus Troki im christlich-jüdischen Gespräch der Reformationszeit* (Münster: LIT, 2005); Michael Studemund-Halévy, "L'imprimerie," 485.

95 See Joh. Bern. de Rossi, *Historisches Wörterbuch der jüdischen Schriftsteller und ihre Werke* (Leipzig: L. Fort, 1839), 50, see also Michael Studemund-Halévy, "L'imprimerie," 485ff.

96 Ernst Róth and Hans Striedl, *Hebräische Handschriften*, xviii f.

97 Peter Freimark, "Jüdische Bibliotheken," 465; see also Max Grunwald, "Hamburger, Wandsbeker und Altonaer Drucke aus dem Gebiet der jüdischen Geschichte und Literatur," in *Hamburgs deutsche Juden bis zur Auflösung der Dreigemeinden 1811* (Hamburg: Janssen, 1904), 152-179; Bernhard Brillling, "Zur Geschichte der Hebräischen Buchdruckereien in Altona," *Studies in Bibliography and Booklore* xi (1986): 41-56; xiii, 1-2 (1980-1981): 26-35; Michael Studemund-Halévy, "Sephardische Bücher und Bibliotheken in Hamburg," *Menora. Jahrbuch für deutsch-jüdische Geschichte* (1997): 166-168; Michael Studemund-Halévy, "Sephardischer Buchdruck in Hamburg," *Lusorama* 32 (1997): 85-101; 33 (1997): 41-72; Michael Studemund-Halévy, "Zwischen Amsterdam und Hamburg: Sephardische Bücherschicksale im 17. Jahrhundert," in *Spanien und die Sepharden*, edited by Norbert Rehrmann (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1999), 69-92; Michael Studemund-Halévy, *Portugal in Hamburg*, 152-159; Michael Studemund-Halévy, "Ecos ibéricos na literatura sefardita de Hamburgo," 217-250; Michael Studemund-Halévy, "Wer kann alle Scharteken erzählen die aus Holland zu uns kommen," *Das iberische Erbe der Hamburger und Amsterdamer "Portugiesen"*, in *Hamburg. Eine Metropolregion zwischen Früher Neuzeit und Aufklärung*, edited by Johan A. Steiger and Sandra Richter (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2013), 135-142.

*Ma'amad*, simultaneously with the Hamburg Community executive board, issued an order forbidding the book *Chanzas del ingenio* by Manuel de Pina. Any person buying this offensive and very scandalous (“muy escandaloso”) book or who was in possession of such a copy was ordered to hand it over to the treasurer, under penalty of a *hérem* (banishment from the Community) for non-compliance. Members of the Community placed under a ban could expect that their books would be confiscated. Censorship of printed books and manuscripts was probably the most powerful weapon that the *Ma'amad* and the rabbis had at their disposal. In especially serious cases, it punished authors and printers by issuing a *hérem*. The books on the index were immediately seized. We can only speculate to what extent censorship resulted in the destruction of a book or its non-publication. Yet the mere fact that only one copy of the now lost *Tratado de Herem* and *Tratado de Halissa* could be proven to have existed in the libraries,<sup>98</sup> while only a single copy of *Exame das Tradições Fariseas* (in the Royal Library of Copenhagen) and only two copies of *Fin de los Días* are known (Bibliotheca Rosenthaliana / Amsterdam and Uppsala University Library / Carolinabiblioteket), clearly points up just how effective the “rabbinical” censorship and censorship by the *Ma'amad* must have been. Naturally, the Sefardic catalogues do not list these titles.<sup>99</sup>

Extensive private Sephardic libraries existed in the seventeenth century not only in Amsterdam but also in Hamburg. While the Amsterdam libraries of Isaac Aboab da Fonseca,<sup>100</sup> Abraham da Fonseca, Rephael Aboab de Aguilar,

98 Alfonso Cassuto, *Zur Bibliographie und Geschichte der portugiesischen Juden in Hamburg. Teil 2: Ein anonymer Pseudo-Amsterdamer Druck* [MS]; See also Michael Studemund-Halévy, “Sephardische Bücher und Bibliotheken,” 168-169; Uriel da Costa, *Examination of Pharisaic Traditions*. Translation, notes and introduction by Herman Prins Salomon and Isaac Sasoon (Leiden: Brill, 1993), 10, note 22.

99 Michael Studemund-Halévy, “Sephardische Bücher und Bibliotheken”; Michael Studemund-Halévy, “Codices Gentium: Semuel de Isaac, coleccionista de libros hamburgués,” in *Familia, religión y negocio: el sefardismo en las relaciones entre el mundo ibérico y los Países Bajos en la Edad Moderna*, edited by Jaime Contreras et al. (Madrid: Fundación Carlos Amberes, 2002).

100 *Catalogus variorum* (Amsterdam: Van den Dalen, 1693).

David Nunes Torres,<sup>101</sup> Baruch Spinoza,<sup>102</sup> Jean Cardozo and Joseph Jenes, differentiated more in their number of books than in the content, have enjoyed an at least incipient modicum of interest among researchers, this is not yet the case for the Hamburg libraries. The fact that Hamburg Sephardim certainly must have possessed more or less substantial library treasures is occasionally also evidenced by small notes and comments in the protocol books:

- In 1656, the rabbi, philologist, lexicographer and part time bookseller David Cohen de Lara,<sup>103</sup> esteemed both in the Jewish and Christian world, requested the Community for an extra grant to supplement his maintenance allowance, since otherwise he would have to put his library in pawn.<sup>104</sup> We do not know if he ultimately was constrained to do that or not. We also have no information regarding who later acquired his library.
- On July 28, 1669, David Aboab Pais, then aged 80, protested to the Senate against the decree of a *hérem* against him and the confiscation of his books.
- In 1669, the Lutheran Johannes Müller, very well-informed about Jewish matters, who followed the activities of the Portuguese with suspicion, noted that the “rich Jew” Manoel Teixeira “was carrying about seductive books in Hamburg.” And the well-read Gregorio Leti, known in Hamburg and Amsterdam, described Teixeira in his time in Amsterdam as an educated, distinguished gentleman, a man of many languages: “parla molte lingue con gran franchezza e tra le altre cose ama molto la compagnia de’ letterati

101 *Catalogus librorum* (Den Haag: n.e., 1728). See Yosef Kaplan, “El perfil cultural de tres rabinos sefardíes a través del análisis de sus bibliotecas,” in *Familia, religión y negocio: el sefardismo en las relaciones entre el mundo ibérico y los Países Bajos en la Edad Moderna*, edited by Jaime Contreras et al. (Madrid: Fundación Carlos Amberes), 269-286; Yosef Kaplan, “Spinoza in the Library of an Early Modern Dutch Sefardic Rabbi,” in *La centralità del dubbio. Un progetto di Antonio Rotondò*, edited by Camilla Hermanin and Luisa Simonutti (Florence: Olschki, 2011), vol. 2, 639-662; Yosef Kaplan, “The Libraries of Three Sephardi Rabbis in Early Modern Western Europe,” in *Libraries and Book Collections*, eds. Yosef Kaplan and Moshe Sluhovsky (Jerusalem: Zalman Shazar, 2006), 225-260 (in Hebrew).

102 Adri K. Offenber, “Spinoza’s Library. The Story of a Reconstruction,” *Quaerendo* 3 (1973): 309-321.

103 David Cohen de Lara corresponded with Jean Tileman Stella in Paris when the latter sought Jewish books for Cardinal Richelieu’s library in 1641-1642, see Moïse Schwab, “Trois Lettres de David Cohen de Lara,” *Revue des études juives* 40 (1900): 95-98; see also the corrections supplied by Israel Lévy, “Additions et Rectifications,” *Revue des études juives* 41 (1900): 160.

104 *Livro da Nação*, 6. Tišri 5416 / October 7, 1655; see Michael Studemund-Halévy, “Sephardische Bücher und Bibliotheken,” 179, note 74.



che accoglie in sua casa con grand' affetto."<sup>105</sup> His oldest son, Diogo Teixeira de Mattos, later on repeatedly encouraged his father to support the writers ("nel favorire e accarezzare i letterati").<sup>106</sup> An entry in the protocol book dated 9 *Hešvan* 5421 / October 11, 1660 shows us that books were being sold or "raffled off" in the Community, when it is reported that Abraham Hizkiau Ferro requested permission for a book raffle, which was denied him.<sup>107</sup>

Only very few of the numerous libraries and book collections of the Hamburg and Altona Portuguese have been preserved.<sup>108</sup> Worth mentioning here in particular are three important private collections, whose treasures were presumably acquired in the Netherlands due to the close family relations there.<sup>109</sup>

### *Collection Samuel Abas*

We have no knowledge about the purchasers of the probably most important Sefardic rabbinical library of the seventeenth century, which the heirs of the Hamburg rabbi, scholar and teacher Samuel Abas (d. 1691 in Hamburg) sold at

105 Jonathan I. Israel, "Gregorio Letti (1631-1670) and the Dutch Sefardi Elite at the Close of the Seventeenth Century," in *Jewish History: Essays in Honour of Chimen Abramsky*, edited by Ada Rapoport-Albert and S. Zipperstein (London: P. Halban, 1988), 267-284.

106 See Michael Studemund-Halévy, "Teixeira," *Neue Deutsche Biographie* 26 (2016): 9-11.

107 Michael Studemund-Halévy, *Sephardische Bücher und Bibliotheken*.

108 Hamburg was the home of several of the largest and most important collections of Hebrew manuscripts. Early in the eighteenth century, Hamburg Municipal Library came into the possession of a notable collection of several hundred Hebrew manuscripts acquired from the Christian Hebraist J.C. Wolf. His collection included 140 manuscripts belonging to Z.C. Uffenbach. One of the largest collections of Hebrew books and manuscripts belonged to the Jewish merchant, bibliographer and born bibliophile Heimann Joseph Michael (Hamburg, 1792-1846), whose collection of 5,471 printed books and 862 manuscripts bound in 629 volumes was purchased by the British Museum (books) and the Bodleian Library (manuscripts). See also his books (1) *Ozrot Chajim: Katalog der Michael'schen Bibliothek, hrsg. von den Michael'schen Erben. Nebst einem, vielfache Berichtigungen und Excerpte enthaltenden Register zum Verzeichnis der Handschriften* [...] (Hamburg: Halberstadt, 1848); (2) *Or ha-Chajim. Umfassendes bibliographisches und literar-historisches Wörterbuch des rabbinischen Schriftthums aus dem literarischen Nachlasse Heimann Joseph Michael's s. A., zum Drucke befördert von dessen Söhnen* (Frankfurt: J. Kauffmann, 1891).

109 See also Michael Studemund-Halévy, "Zwischen Amsterdam und Hamburg: Sephardische Bücherschicksale im 17. Jahrhundert," in *Spanien und die Sepharden*, 69-92; Michael Studemund-Halévy, "Sephardischer Buchdruck in Hamburg," *Lusorama* 32 (1997): 85-101; 33 (1997): 41-72; Michael Studemund-Halévy, *Sephardische Bücher*; Michael Studemund-Halévy, *Portugal in Hamburg*, 152-159.

auction in Amsterdam in 1693. We know from the only preserved sale catalogue, today in the holdings of the Herzog August Library in Wolfenbüttel, that Abas had collected not only a large number of Amsterdam Sefardica, but also a number of Hamburg Sefardica as well.<sup>110</sup>

### *Collection Cassuto*

In 1974, Alfonso Cassuto (1910-1990), who stemmed from Hamburg and emigrated in 1933 to Portugal, sold his invaluable library with precious Sefardica and Judaica to the Bibliotheca Rosenthaliana in Amsterdam.<sup>111</sup> In the 1950s, the Hamburg State and University Library was able to acquire a few volumes from the Cassuto family, including the extremely rare book *Trinta Discursos Ou Darazes Apropriados Para Dias Solenes* (Hamburg 1629) by the Hamburg and Glückstadt merchant and Community leader Samuel Jachia (alias Alvaro Dinis), the *Séfer Zeker Rav* (Altona 1807) by Benjamin Mussaphia, the *Peruš Megil-lat Ester* (Hamburg 1711) by Isaak Hiskia de Cordoba, the *Peruš al Nevi'im Rišonim* (Hamburg 1687) by Bahya ibn Yosef Pakuda, the *Cuzary Libro De Grande Sciencia Y Mucha Doctrina* (Amsterdam 1663) by Yehuda haLevi, the *Gramatica Hebraica* (Hamburg 1633) by Mose de Gideon Abudiente, and the *De Universa Muliebrium Morborum* (Hamburg 1628) by Rodrigo (David) de Castro.

### *Collection Sealtiel*

The book and manuscript collection of the Hamburg merchant Benjamin Sealtiel (1874-1934) was confiscated in 1942 after the deportation of his son

110 Michael Studemund-Halévy, "Codices Gentium," 287-319; Yosef Kaplan, "El perfil cultural," 269-286; Yosef Kaplan, "The Libraries of Three Rabbis," 237-247. The sale catalogue of the Abas collection and numerous books listed in this catalogue were placed on exhibit in 2005 in the Carl von Ossietzky State and University Library in connection with the international Sefardic conference "Coming and Going" in the special exhibition there "Pflichten der Herzen. Semuel Abas: Eine sefardische Rabbinerbibliothek in Hamburg" (Duties of the Heart. Semuel Abas: A Sefardic Rabbi's Library in Hamburg). Curator of the exhibition was Michael Studemund-Halévy.

111 Three book catalogues (MS) exist of the Bibliotheca Cassuto, copies of these catalogues are among the holdings of the library of the Institute for the History of the German Jews (IGDJ) in Hamburg: *Bibliothek Cassuto: drei Bücherverzeichnisse* (Archiv: Cassuto, Cascais). Mirande de Boer, "Die Cassutos und ihre Bibliothek," in *Die Sefarden in Hamburg*, edited by Michael Studemund-Halévy (Hamburg: Buske, 1997), vol. 2, 415-420; Mirande de Boer, "An inventory of undescribed Portuguese and Spanish manuscripts in the Bibliotheca Rosenthaliana," *Studia Rosenthaliana* 20 (1986): 176-190. Most of the MSS in this series belonged to Alfonso Cassuto.

# לוח ספרים

מלשונות וחכמות שונות: ובכללם ספרים רבים מחכמת הרפואה מהרופאים  
 המובהקים אנשי השם אשר היו מקדם · שהניח אחר פטירתו החכם השלם  
 הרי"ן המצויין כה"ר שמואל אבן אשר ימכרו ליום · לחרש השלישי  
 הוא חרש מארסו שנת תנ"ן לפ"ק ·  
 המכירה תהיה בבית דניאל ואנדין דאלין פה אמשטירדאם:

## CATALOGUS Variorum atque Insignium in quavis Facultate & Lingua, LIBRORUM,

Præcipuè Theologicorum & Miscellaneorum, Hebraica,  
 Græcæ, Latina, Hispanica, Italica, & Gallica. *BC*

*Clarissimi Doctissimique viri Sam. R. 13 (4)*

RABBI SAMUEL ABAS.

Quorum auctio habebitur in ædibus,

DANIEL VAN DEN DALEN,

Habitantis op't Rockin ter Sijden de Beurs, die martis, 3 Mart. 1693;  
 Stilo Novo, hora nona matutina, & hora secunda Pomeridiana  
 præcise: Catalogi distribuentur apud eundem Typographum.



AMSTELODAMI,

Apud DANIEL VAN DEN DALEN, 1693.

FIGURE 18.8 Catalogus Variorum, *Amsterdam 1693* (COURTESY HERZOG-AUGUST-BIBLIOTHECK, WOLFENBÜTTEL)

Joseph Sealtiel (1905-1945) to Theresienstadt and preserved by the Hamburg Municipal and University Library. The holdings were presumably destroyed during the bombing raids on Hamburg. Only a single book (*Haggadah šel Pésaḥ*, Venice 1627) and two manuscripts (*Mesilat Bet Israel / Livro dos Minhagim* (Hebrew-Portuguese, Hamburg 1753; *Livro de Hashkava*) were preserved.<sup>112</sup> Writing about his library, of which we have no precise knowledge, the *Gemeindeblatt der Deutsch-Israelitischen Gemeinde* noted on November 15, 1934 in his obituary: “His library contains many rare *seforim*, in particular in the field of liturgy.” The *Livro de Hashkava*, which according to Alfonso Cassuto – who copied it in 1928 based on a copy made by the *ḥazan* Chumaceiro, reportedly in the possession of the Sealtiel family – was, based on information from the late Dr. Jehudit Shaltiel (Jerusalem), in the possession of the widow of the philosopher Gershom Scholem.

With these thirteen manuscripts, as well as eight more from Johann Christian Wolf (1683-1739), the leading German Hebraist in the early eighteenth century and greatest bibliographer of Jewish literature that ever lived (except Steinschneider),<sup>113</sup> and Heimann Baruch Levy (d. 1905),<sup>114</sup> the Hamburg State and University Library, with seventeen manuscripts, the manuscripts department of this library possesses the world’s second largest collection of

112 Michael Studemund-Halévy, “Jacob Cohen Belinfante e o seu livro dos minhagim de Hamburgo: estranha odisseia de um livro,” in *Mémorial I.S. Révah*, edited by Henry Méchoulan and Gérard Nahon (Paris/ Louvain: Peeters, 2001), 445-469; Michael Studemund-Halévy, “Salvação no longínquo distante: o Congresso Sefardita de Amesterdão em 1938, Portugal e os Portugueses de Hamburgo,” *Revista de Estudos Judaicos* 3 (1996): 61-82.

113 *Johann Christoph Wolf* (born at Wernigerode, February 21, 1683, and died in Hamburg, July 25, 1739) was a German Christian Hebraist, polyhistor, bibliographer and a famous collector of Jewish books and manuscripts, author of the path-breaking *Bibliotheca Hebraea*, published in four bulky volumes by Theodor Christoph Felginer in Hamburg. His private library with well over 25,000 volumes commanded high respect from contemporary scholars; the Jewish writer Moses Hagiz [1670 Jerusalem – c. 1750 Beirut] commented that “[Wolf], in his benevolence and geniality, brought me up to his lofts, to that exalted place, adorned with thousands upon thousands of books in every language and from every nation,” apud Friedrich Lorenz Hoffmann, *Serapeum* 21 (1863): 326, see Hans-Walter Stork, “Geschichte der Hebraicasammlung,” in *Manuskriptkulturen / manuscript cultures* vol. 8. Hamburg 2014, 17.

114 Hans-Walter Stork, “Die orientalischen Handschriften der Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Hamburg: Ein Überblick zur Geschichte und Erschliessung der Sammlung am Beispiel der Codices hebraici,” in *Manuskriptkulturen / Manuscript cultures*, edited by Jörg Quenzer, vol. 4 (Hamburg 2011), 8-15; Hans-Walter Stork, “Geschichte der Hebraicasammlung,” in *Manuskriptkulturen / manuscript cultures* vol. 8 (Hamburg 2014), 12-24.

Hispano-Portuguese Jewish controversies,<sup>115</sup> surpassed only by the famous manuscript collection of the Ets Haim Library in Amsterdam.<sup>116</sup>

About one third of the Hebrew and Portuguese-Spanish manuscripts of the H.B. Levy and Mussaphia Fidalgo collections housed in the State and University Library have book decorations. Several illustrations from the illuminated manuscripts have been included in the classic works on Jewish art history<sup>117</sup> or were exhibited at scholarly conferences.<sup>118</sup>

Thanks to the labors of Moritz Steinschneider, the greatest Jewish bibliographer of all times,<sup>119</sup> Kayserling,<sup>120</sup> Hoffmann,<sup>121</sup> Róth and Striedl<sup>122</sup> and of other scholars, the cataloguing of these Portuguese-Spanish *manuscripts* has substantially advanced, although it is not yet complete. With some exceptions, however, these manuscripts from Altona and Hamburg were never studied in a scholarly manner, explicated, compared, and finally published in critical and annotated editions, making them available to a large public of students and scholars.<sup>123</sup>

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- 115 Moritz Steinschneider, *Catalog*, 264-272, nos. 338-352; Michael Studemund-Halévy, "Sephardische Bücher," 150-180; see also Petra Figeac, *Moritz Steinschneider (1816-1907), Begründer der wissenschaftlichen hebräischen Bibliographie* (Berlin: Teetz, 2007).
- 116 L. Fuks and R.G. Fuks-Mansfeld, *Hebrew and Judaic Manuscripts in Amsterdam Public Collections, Part II: Catalogue of the Manuscripts of Ets Haim / Livraria Montezinos*. Leiden: Brill, 1975. See now <<http://www.etsheimmanuscripts.nl/manuscripts/>>.
- 117 See, for example, the excellent study by Iris Fishof, *Jüdische Buchmalerei in Hamburg und Altona* (Hamburg: Christians, 1999).
- 118 Hartmut Walravens (ed.), *Orientalia*. Handschriften und Drucke aus Hamburger Besitz. Eine Ausstellung in der Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Hamburg. 20. August bis 11. Oktober 1986 (*xxxv International Congress of Asian and North African Studies in Hamburg*), (Osnabrück: Biblio Verlag, 1986), 19-30; Irina Wandrey (ed.) *Tora – Talmud – Siddur. Hebräische Handschriften der Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Hamburg*, September–October 2014 (Hamburg: Universität Hamburg, 2015).
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- 122 Peter Kuhn, "Hans Striedl (1907-2002), Bibliothekar und Orientalist," in *Orient als Grenzreich? Rabbinisches und ausserrabbinisches Judentum*, edited by Anneliese Kuyt and Gerold Necker (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2007), 201-216.
- 123 The manuscripts of the Mussaphia Fidalgo collection were digitized during two phases of a project funded generously by the Centre for the Study of *Manuscript* Cultures between 2016 and 2017. Irina Wandrey (Centre for the Study of *Manuscript* Cultures, University of Hamburg) and Michael Studemund-Halévy (Institute for the History of the Jews in Ger-

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