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# Climbing Benjacob's Ladder: An Evaluation of Vinograd's Thesaurus of the Hebrew Book

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# **APPROBATIONS**

Climbing Benjacob's Ladder: An Evaluation of Vinograd's Thesaurus of the Hebrew Book\*

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[Vinograd, Yeshayahu. Otsar ha-sefer ha`lvri: reshimat ha-sefarim shenidpesu be-ot `lvrit mereshit ha-defus ha-`lvri bi-shenat 229 (1469) `ad shenat 623 (1863). Yerushalayim: ha-Makhon le-bibliyografyah memuhshevet, 754-5, c1993-1995].

Vinograd, Yeshayahu. Thesaurus of the Hebrew Book: Listing of Books printed in Hebrew Letters since the Beginning of Hebrew Printing circa 1469 through 1863.

Part I. Indexes: Books and Authors, Bible, Prayers and Talmud, Subjects and Printers, Chronology and Languages, Honorees and Institutes. Jerusalem: The Institute for Computerized Bibliography, 1995. xviii, 507, [64] p.

Part II. Places of Print, sorted by Hebrew names of places where printed including author, subject, place and year printed, name of printer, number of pages and format, with annotations and bibliographical references. Jerusalem: The Institute for Computerized Bibliography, 1993. xvi, 702 p.

\*The original manuscript, submitted March 28, 1995, reviewed only Part 2 of the Thesaurus. A shorter version of this paper was presented at the Association of Jewish Libraries Convention held in Chicago, June 19, 1995. A revised manuscript reflecting the publication of Part 1 of the Thesaurus was submitted July 10, 1995.

וינוגרד, ישעיחו. אוצר חספר חעברי: רשימת חספרים שנדפסו באות עברית מראשית חדפוס חעברי בשנת רכ"ט (1469) עד שנת תרכ"ג (1863). ירושלים: חמכון לביבליוגרפיח ממוחשבת, תשנ"ד-תשנ"ה.

Abstract: The Thesaurus of the Hebrew Book, by Yeshayahu Vinograd, is reviewed in the context of both general bibliography and of general Hebraica bibliography. Significant contributions in Hebrew bibliography preceding the Thesaurus are discussed. After reviewing a previous work of Y. Vinograd, the author evaluates the Thesaurus from a bibliographer's perspective, using the criteria established by Louise-Noëlle Malclès. The article concludes with a biographical note on Yeshayahu Vinograd.

## **Bibliography and Bibliographic Lists**

At a meeting of the Bibliographical Society of London held before World War I, Walter W. Greg (1875–1959), then the leading bibliographer in Great Britain, remarked that "bibliography has grown from being an art into . . . a science" (Greg, 1913, p. 39). For bibliographers and historians of the Hebrew book, the publication of Yeshayahu Vinograd's *Thesaurus of the Hebrew Book* is an occasion to celebrate, because the work is grounded in two concurrent traditions of "bibliographic science": General Bibliography and General Hebraica Bibliography.

Hebrew bibliography stems from the more general field of *systematic bibliography*, an academic discipline rooted in the humanistic tradition of the Renaissance.

The foremost French bibliographer of the previous generation, Louise-Noëlle Malclès (1899–1977), defines the term bibliography thus:

Bibliography seeks out, transcribes, and classifies printed documents in order to construct tools for intellectual work which are called bibliographic lists, or bibliographies. (Malclès, 1961, p. 8)

### She continues:

Just as the demographer inventories populations, and studies their movements without knowing each citizen of the country in question, the bibliographer, without having read all books, follows their creation, their purport, and distribution. (Malclès, 1961, p. 8)

Malclès also established that the term "bibliography" in its modern sense was not used before the early 17th century. What we now call bibliography was then called [in Latin] bibliotheca, catalogus, repertorium, inventarium, or index (Malclès, 1985, p.12).

The English term bibliography is not as precise as its French equivalent ("répertoire bibliographique"), because French library science has two distinct terms— "bibliologie" or "science du livre" (science of the book) and "bibliographie" (Malclès, 1985, p. 15)—while English has only one term for both concepts.

Refining Malclès' classification, British bibliographers insisted on the importance of the word *systematic* in the term *systematic* bibliography, contrasting it with other bibliographic genres. As Greg defined it,

Descriptive, or to use a wider term, systematic bibliography, [is] the classification of individual books according to some guiding principles. (Greg, 1913, p. 45)

Systematic bibliography has been distinguished from analytical and historical bibliography. Analytical bibliography studies the structure of the book and describes it; historical bibliography emphasizes the study of the various methods of book production. Both are often combined in critical bibliography, in-depth study of the book as a material object or physical entity.

In this classification scheme, Vinograd's *Otsar* is considered a systematic bibliography.

# Periodization in the History of Bibliography

A comprehensive history of bibliography as a scientific discipline has yet to be written, but in her magistral work, *Manuel de bibliographie*, Louise-Noëlle Malclès (1985) established three major periods for the development of bibliography:

- a) The humanistic period (16th-end 18th c.);
- b) The bibliophilic period (end 18th c.-beginning 19th c.); and
- c) The technical and professional period (since 1810).

Although most former Hebrew bibliographers were not, and some contemporary ones are probably still not, aware of this periodization, the accomplishments of non-Hebraica bibliographers had an indirect influence on Hebraica bibliography. To fully evaluate Vinograd's *Otsar*, we need to place Hebraica bibliography in this broader scheme.

a) The first period, the humanistic period, is marked by the work of Konrad Gesner (1516–1565), generally considered the father of modern universal bibliography. Gesner, a Swiss Humanist, a physician and a naturalist, best known for his Historiae animalium (1551–1587), is also the author of Bibliotheca universalis (1545), which describes some 15,000 works, manuscript or printed, in Latin, Greek, or Hebrew, of approximately 3,000 authors.

Following Gesner, a multiplicity of scholars produced many specialized bibliographies.

- b) A shorter period, the bibliophilic period, was a very active period of transition, in which bibliography was practiced by a wide number of social groups (book dealers, private owners, etc.). These bibliographers developed a full-fledged theory of bibliography, structuring the field and defining the term "bibliography." "General bibliography" (defined as the subfield interested in the generation of bibliographic lists in many languages and on many topics) emerged as the leading branch, both in its international and national components.
- c) The third period is split by World War I. The first part (1810–1914), called *pre-technical* ("artisanale"), is followed by the *technical and professional period* (1920–1960; 1960–). With great scientific progress and the emergence of modern nations in Western Europe, many bibliographic lists were published.

Hebrew bibliography stems from the more general field of systematic bibliography, an academic discipline rooted in the humanistic tradition of the Renaissance.

The art of national bibliography, both retrospective and current, flourished in modern Germany, Great Britain, and France before 1914. In contrast, what Malclès categorizes as "General International Bibliography"-i.e., the production of bibliographic lists in many languages on many topicsculminated in the mid-19th century with the Frenchman Jacques-Charles Brunet (1780-1867), who authored the monumental Manuel du libraire et de l'amateur de livres (1e ed., 1810; 5e ed., Paris, 1860-1865), and his German disciple, Theodor Graesse (1814-1885), who published his Trésor de livres rares et précieux in Dresden (1859-1869). No bibliographer after Brunet and Graesse would attempt to list all the books in every (western European and classical) language in a single work.

After World War I, bibliographic expansion continued in a new form: teams of researchers combined their efforts in long-term projects undertaken under international scientific aegis. Automation after 1960 radically changed the field, but these developments are outside the scope of this article.

The preceding overview allows us to state clearly: the *Otsar* belongs, as do all the other Hebraica bibliographic lists discussed below, in what Malclès defined as the pre-technical period, because the bibliographic lists are the work of one individual, not of a team. There is no derogatory implication in defining Hebraica bibliographers as artisans, as they are in the good company of Brunet and Graesse.

# General Hebraica Bibliographies: A Brief Survey

To fully understand the innovative character of Vinograd's work, we need to place it in a more narrowly defined context, that of its predecessor Hebraica bibliographies, and to review the major steps in the development of Hebrew bibliography prior to Vinograd. It took the combined efforts of Jewish and Christian scholars for over three centuries to establish Hebrew bibliography as a genre of its own. Only during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries were major works of Hebrew bibliography written only by Jewish scholars.

The best introduction in English to this field is the first chapter of Shimeon Brisman's *A history and guide to Judaic bibliography* (Brisman, 1977, pp. 2–36). The author states in his *incipit* to that chapter, entitled "General Hebraica Bibliography," that

Bibliographies not devoted to any specific form or topic in literature are designated as "general." In the Jewish field, all major bibliographies published up to the second half of the nineteenth century fall into this category. (Brisman, 1977, p. 2)

Later, Brisman contrasts General Hebraica Bibliographies with "Subject Bibliographies of Hebraica Literature" and "Judaica Bibliographies," which are presented in chapters Four and Five of his book. I readily assume that Brisman studied Malclès' typology, thus establishing for us that all existing Hebraica bibliographies are "General" and not "National."

As Brisman (1977, p. 4) says, the first name we encounter in the history of General Jewish Bibliographies is that of Johannes Buxtorf (1564–1629). Buxtorf, of the generation following Gesner, was a professor of Hebrew in Basel who studied Jewish religious customs, Hebrew grammar, and the biblical Masoretic text. He published his *Bibliotheca rabbinica* in 1613; it lists 324 Hebrew works—both printed and handwritten—by title, in alphabetical order, giving place and date of publication for printed works. A modest beginning, Buxtorf's arrangement by title remained the standard until Vinograd.

The first to follow Buxtorf was Giulio Bartolocci (1613–1687), a professor of Hebrew and Rabbinics at the *Collegium Neophytorum* in Rome and the *scriptor hebraicus* (Hebraica librarian), at the Bibliotheca Vaticana. In 1675, he published in Rome the first volumes of his *Bibliotheca magna rabbinica*, also known by its Hebrew title, *Kiryat Sefer*. This work adds to its predecessor by "registering 1,960 entries, with Hebrew and Latin indexes of titles, cross-references, subjects, and names of authors and places"; thus it represents the first comprehensive Hebrew bibliography (Brisman, 1977, p. 8).

The first Jew to compile a Hebraica bibliography was Shabbethai Bass [spelling according to Brisman] (1641–1718), a Hebrew proofreader in Amsterdam, and later a publisher in his own right in Dyhernfurth (near Breslau). In 1680, Bass published his *Sifte Yeshenim*, listing "more than 1,900 individual titles. . . . [O]f these 1,100 were printed editions and about 825 were manuscripts or works not directly known to Bass" (Brisman, 1977, p. 8). *Sifte Yeshenim* includes a subject and an author index, as well as a list of Judaica by non-Jewish writers.

The eighteenth century saw the publication of two Hebraica bibliographies: a major one by the last of the traditional Christian Hebraists, Johann Christoph Wolf, and the other, more modest, by an East European Jewish scholar named Jehiel Heilprin.

Wolf (1683–1739) published the first volume of his *Bibliotheca hebraea* in Hamburg in 1715; it recorded 2,231 alphabetically registered author entries.

The publication of the *Bibliotheca* hebraea marked the beginning of a new era in Jewish bibliography. In preparing his work, Wolf . . . investigated every fact and detail in the works of his predeces-

sors, submitted them to a critical reexamination in light of new sources, and incorporated the results in his entries. (Brisman, 1977, p. 14)

The "only work on Jewish bibliography of such magnitude to be begun and completed by a single author . . . [,] it dominated the field of Jewish bibliography for about 150 years" (Brisman, 1977, p. 15). Seder ha-dorot, by Jehiel Heilprin (1660–1746), is a copy, often verbatim, of Bass's Sifte Yeshenim; according to Brisman (1977, p. 16), "the science of Jewish bibliography did not gain from Heilprin's efforts."

As Brisman states,

[T]he nineteenth century . . . was the most fruitful century for Jewish bibliography. Catalogs of handwritten and printed Hebraica collections at the most important European libraries . . . became available; scholarly periodicals . . . began to appear; and bibliographical consciousness began to penetrate Jewish literature and life. (Brisman, 1977, p. 19)

The nineteenth century saw the production of two works: the *Bibliotheca Judaica* of Julius Fürst, and the *Otsar ha-sefarim* of Isaac Benjacob, the latter quite important for the evaluation of Vinograd's contribution.

Julius Fürst (1805–1873), a professor of Semitic languages at the University of Leipzig, compiled the only complete Jewish bibliography, covering both Hebraica and Judaica. His three-volume bibliography, *Bibliotheca Judaica*, published between 1849 and 1863, is a "massive bibliography," yet it has many lacunae (Brisman, 1977, p. 18).

The author of Otsar ha-sefarim, Isaac Benjacob (1801-1863), never saw his work published. His son, Jacob (1858-1926), assisted by Moritz Steinschneider (1816-1907), prepared the work for printing in 1880. Benjacob's Otsar lists Hebrew works in alphabetical order by title, as was done by Buxtorf in the sixteenth century, but instead of a few hundred titles, Benjacob claimed to list "up to 17,000" titles published until the year 1863-printed volumes as well as manuscripts. It surpasses its predecessor, Bass's Sifte Yeshenim, by "the wealth of information and . . . the critical examination of the sources" (Brisman, 1977, p. 22).

Between Benjacob's *Otsar* and Vinograd's, one more work must be mentioned: the *Bet 'Eked Sefarim* of Bernhard Friedberg (1876–1961), published in Antwerp in 1928. *Bet 'Eked Sefarim* contains "about 26,000 works in Hebrew, in Yiddish, and in various Jewish dialects, printed up to the year 1900" (Brisman, 1977, p. 26). Brisman compares *Bet 'Eked* to Benjacob's *Otsar* in the following terms:

Following Benjacob, with his complete mastery of the entire field of Jewish literature and masterful utilization of all available sources, Friedberg could not expect to receive many favorable comments. Compared to the *Otsar*, the *Bet 'Eked* seemed pale and dry, and it was a great disappointment to many scholars. But in the absence of anything better, it soon became a useful practical tool for bookdealers and bibliographers alike. (Brisman, 1977, p. 26)

Friedberg survived the Shoah and emigrated to Palestine under the British Mandate in 1946, at the age of seventy. He revised his work, and the second edition was published in the 1950s in Israel. Brisman is critical of the revised edition, just as he was of the first one, but he notes that

[T]he new *Bet 'Eked* became a standard work of Jewish bibliography, and soon was out of print. It is now the only all-inclusive Hebraica bibliography listing works printed from the beginning of printing through the first half of the twentieth century. (Brisman, 1977, p. 26)

Table I lists published Hebraica bibliographies prior to Vinograd's *Otsar*.

## A Preview to the Otsar: Rare Hebrew Books

A previous work by Vinograd, with a different emphasis, included several features to be found later in his *Otsar*.

In 1987, Vinograd edited, together with Valia Trionfo, the spouse of an Italian-born book dealer from Jerusalem, a work entitled Rare Hebrew Books: A listing of books that were auctioned publicly between 1976–1987, including estimates and prices (Jerusalem: The Society of Judaica Collectors).

The preface, in Hebrew and English (in English, it is called a "foreword" and is signed by Vinograd alone), emphasizes the practical aspect of the Hebrew book trade. More than the *Otsar, Rare Hebrew* 

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|  |  |  |  |  |
| Chronological List of Hebraica Bibliographies Preceding Vinograd's Otsar |  |  |  |  |

| Date      | Author     | Title                       | Number o  | f works |
|-----------|------------|-----------------------------|-----------|---------|
| 1613      | Buxtorf    | Bibliotheca rabbinica       | 324       | entries |
| 1675-1693 | Bartolocci | Bibliotheca magna rabbinica | 1,960     | entries |
| 1680      | Bass       | Sifte Yeshenim              | 2,220     | titles  |
| 1715-1733 | Wolf       | Bibliotheca hebraea         | 2,231     | entries |
| 1769      | Heilprin   | Seder ha-dorot              | n.a.      |         |
| 1849-1863 | Fürst      | Bibliotheca Judaica         | c. 40,000 | titles  |
| 1877-1880 | Benjacob   | Otsar                       | c. 15,000 | titles  |
| 1928-1931 | Friedberg  | Bet 'Eked                   | 26,000    | titles  |
| 1951–1956 | Friedberg  | Bet 'Eked [II]              | c. 50,000 | titles  |

(Based on Brisman, 1977, pp. 29–35: "Chronological List of General Hebraica Bibliographies.")

Books is aimed directly at collectors engaged in the Hebrew book trade, by providing them with the prices reached at some forty-three recent auctions. This practical emphasis is constant: Vinograd even provides the contemporary rates of exchange to US Dollars for various European auctions held in the United Kingdom or in the Netherlands. By sorting his data, Vinograd generated two charts: one of the books sold most often at auction (5,387), and the other contrasting estimated and final prices.

Most revealing is Vinograd's ambivalent attitude toward his source of information, auction catalogs:

"The description of the books cannot be meticulous . . . , We have not attempted to validate the price of any book, but rather to present the value of a book in the various public auctions. Those wanting to make use of the information provided, for selling or purchasing rare books, would do best to examine the relevant catalogs, since they provide the detailed descriptions of the books and their conditions." (unpaginated English foreword)

The auction catalog is the final authority for the Hebraica collector on the criteria which set the price reached by a given copy at a given auction. Later, Vinograd qualifies his endorsement of auction catalogs:

"Responsibility of the bibliographic information resides, of course, with the editors of the catalogs. But in many instances we made the necessary modifications where such were obvious." (unpaginated English foreword)

[See the discussion of Judaica auction catalogs in Elissa Shay's article in Judaica Librarianship, vol. 8 (1994), pp. 145–150—Ed.]

Although we are given no example of "obvious" necessary modifications, this statement is important to evaluate the amount of editing done by the bibliographic compiler. We should keep in mind the editor's ambivalence when we approach his *Otsar:* what would happen if we replaced [auction] "catalogs" with "bibliographic references" in the preceding quote?

In fact, Vinograd carefully edited the information he collected. He unified the spelling of Hebrew titles "to prepare the materials for the computer" and added Hebrew script, which was "lacking in all the catalogs originating overseas." He also established five levels to indicate the condition of books, ranging from "fine condition" to "book not intact, pages are missing." He arranged Passover Haggadot by date of publication, regardless of their actual title. To locate a Haggadah by title, the reader is referred to the index. He "did not, however, include titles of books put on sale in one package together with other books" or books sold for "excessive sums" because they had "luxuriant bindings . . . or notable signatures."

In all these cases, there is no explanation for the decision made by the editor; we are left to surmise, for example, that the books sold in a lot did not have enough bibliographic appeal to be registered individually. On the other hand, it is obvious, but not made explicit, that the value of an autographed copy or a luxurious binding is deemed to skew the price of a printed book.

On the last page of the "foreword" is the following notice:

Thesaurus of the Hebrew Book

The Institute for Computerized Bibliography will soon publish the "Thesaurus of the Hebrew Book." This thesaurus will list all the books printed in Hebrew since the beginning of the printing press and up until 1863.

The bibliographic details regarding each of the books will include, as follows: the title of the book, author, place of publication, year of publication. Where obtainable, we will also provide the following: a concise description of the book's content, number of pages and size, various bibliographic notes, including: typographical changes, bibliographic indexing [read, according to the Hebrew original: references], and other information

The thesaurus will appear in three or four volumes. Each volume will be categorized [read, according to the Hebrew original: indexed] separately, as follows:

- a. Titles
- b. Authors
- c. Place of publication
- d. Year of publication.

As we now know, the *Otsar* was published in two and not three or four volumes, but in all other practical aspects, the *Otsar* follows this announcement closely. The foreword and this notice reveal several characteristics that are evident in the final work:

- The author's modesty (Vinograd hides behind The Institute for Computerized Bibliography);
- 2) Unexplained editorial decisions; and
- 3) Elaborate use of a computer for indexing.

It is also interesting to note that the notice published in 1987 does not allude to the primary arrangement by place of publication in the *Otsar*.

## The OTSAR: THE BIBLIOGRAPHIC DEFINITION

The *Otsar* would be defined, following the terminology of Malclès in her *Manuel de bibliographie* (1985, pp. 9–11) as a *general international bibliography* ("répertoire bibliographique international général").

The Otsar is a general bibliography, because it lists Hebraic works on any subject (Bible, Talmud, sciences, literature, etc.). It is an international bibliography because it lists works written in many languages (Hebrew, Yiddish, etc.), from different countries. (In this context, we should note that the terms used by Malclès reflect the Western European equation of language and nation. This terminology may not do justice to the status of Hebrew as a language spoken by Jews in the Diaspora, or more generally to the Jewish condition, that of a "people scattered and dispersed among the other peoples" (Esther 3:8). On the other hand, the Otsar is not a national bibliography stricto sensu, listing works in a national language(s) or produced/published on the territory of one nation.)

Following Malclès' typology, we would also establish that the Otsar is a derivative bibliography ("répertoire bibliographique secondaire"), i.e., deriving its entries from other established sources and not generally from direct examination of the works described. It is enumerative ("signalétique" as opposed to "analytique," "annoté," "critique" or "descriptif"), i.e., it limits its description to establishing the precise identity of the work described (author, title, imprint, format, pagination). It is comprehensive ("exhaustif" in the original French, but translated by Hines as exhaustive, a true example of faux-amis [false friends, words that have the same root in Latin and French, but different meanings.—Ed.]). In other words, the Otsar attempts to include all the works in the field of Hebrew bibliography without exception. Because its coverage ends in 1863 it is, according to Malclès, a retrospective bibliography ("répertoire bibliographique rétrospectif").

The entries for each title in the *Otsar* are *classified*, i.e., they are arranged according to a system other than chronological or alphabetical by title, in this case, in alphabetical order of the place of printing.

To summarize, the *Otsar* would be defined by Malclès (1985, pp. 9–11), as a "répertoire bibliographique secondaire, signalétique, exhaustif et rétrospectif," which would translate into English with two sets of adjectives: a *general international bibliography* and a *derivative*, *enumerative*, *comprehensive*, and *retrospective classified* bibliographic list.

Thus, Malclès would consider that the Otsar fulfills the two main functions she established for a bibliography—to identify and to inform: to identify a given printed work by making it possible to find a matching entry for it in a bibliography, and to inform by listing all or part of the printed works published in a given period on a given topic.

# The OTSAR: THE BIBLIOGRAPHIC EXPERIENCE

We have used Malclès to categorize the *Otsar*, but a general definition, even following the principles established by renowned experts in the field of General Bibliography, may not be relevant for the Hebrew-speaking user. On the other hand, Hebrew Bibliography can only gain from confronting and incorporating theories and practices from the larger field of General Bibliography. We now explore how well the theory fits the practice, i.e., how well the *Otsar* serves as a Hebrew bibliographic resource.

## The Otsar: the Title

By naming his bibliographic list Otsar, Vinograd made a significant choice. Literally, the Hebrew Otsar translates well into Thesaurus [in the classic Greek sense of treasury, but not in the modern information science sense of controlled vocabulary.-Ed.], but bibliography does not translate as well back into Otsar. Although the word otsar is found in traditional rabbinic literature, it became widely used only in the Haskalah period; it is still used widely for all genres of works. Benjacob's Otsar lists only 35 titles of works published until 1863 and starting with the word otsar, while Friedberg's Bet 'Eked (1951-1956) lists more than one hundred and thirty books beginning with this word. Without claiming the expertise of a linguist, I would assume that the use of otsar for "bibliographic lists" parallels the use of otsar milim for the more recent term milon (dictionary).

By choosing to name his work Otsar hasefer ha-'lvri, Vinograd claims for himself the lineage of the Otsar ha-sefarim of Benjacob, nominally leaving aside the later work of Friedberg in Bet 'Eked. The English subtitle of Vinograd's work is Listing of Books Printed in Hebrew Letters . . . and the more appropriate term bibliography or bibliographic list is omitted. It should be noted that here again. Benjacob is the guide: his Otsar ha-sefarim featured the Latin added title Thesaurus librorum hebraicorum. Unlike Vinograd, however, Benjacob made explicit reference to the modern concept of General Bibliography in supplying a German added title as well: Bücherschatz, Bibliographie der gesammten hebraeischen Literatur. . . . Vinograd was apparently reluctant to name his Otsar for what it is: a bibliographic list. The term is not totally obliterated, however: the word "bibliography" appears in the imprint, as part of the name of the publisher: ha-Makhon le-bibliyografyah memuhshevet-The Institute for Computerized Bibliography.

Despite this "nominal" reserve, the *Otsar* is most definitely a bibliography.

# How *International* a Bibliography is the *Otsar*?

As a Listing of Books Printed in Hebrew Letters, the Otsar records books published in Judeo-languages other than Hebrew—Yiddish, Judezmo, etc.—as long as they are in Hebrew characters. Along with other reviewers (e.g., Preschel), I have discovered that it also contains works in non-Hebrew letters.

To take an example of one place and one language, the earliest publications in Paris (Part II, p. 564): the Otsar lists a Latin text of Obadiah (#6), the Compendium hebraicae grammaticae of Sebastian Münster (#11), and a Latin dictionary of Hebrew (#20)—all published before 1550. For each, Vinograd records the language as "Latin." We should assume that all these works are only in Latin, as the Otsar describes differently—using the phrase "with Latin"—the Mikne Agatyo of Agathium guidacerium (#10, in fact the De literis hebraicis . . . or Peculium Agathii [Liber primusl of Agathius Guidacerius) or Ecclesiastes (#14). A copy of this work is at the University of Michigan in Ann Arbor (see National Union Catalog: Pre-1956 Imprints, vol. 400, p. 362). Kathryn L. Beam, Curator of the Humanities Collections at the University of Michigan (Ann Arbor), examined the book for me and relates that the De literis hebraicis . . . is in Latin, not with Latin, being a Hebrew grammar composed in Latin. The copy kept at Ann Arbor was printed together with the Compendium hebraicae grammaticae of Sebastian Münster (#11); both works were published in Paris in 1537.

Why did Vinograd include books on Jewish themes written by Jews or non-Jews in non-Hebrew characters ("Judaica," as defined by Brisman, 1977, p. ix, and discussed by Weinberg, 1991, p. 157)? Vinograd's explanation is found in the introduction to Part I (p. x):

Books of Hebraica [sic]—i.e., books in other languages but which include Hebrew words—are generally not listed here, unless they were listed previously by either Benjacob or Friedberg. As opposed to this, we had no hesitation including books in other languages whose frontispiece is in Hebrew.

With item #20 of the Paris imprints, we encounter a further problem, not related to language, but to methodology. Entry #20 is Otsar leshon ha-kodesh, published by Robert Estienne in Paris in 1548, and #21 is [Sefer ha-shorashim] Otsar leshon hakodesh, of David Kimhi, published in Paris in (5)308 (=1548). The collation of #20 is "[70], 1495, [56] p.; 23 cm., and that of #21 is 1550 p.: 4°. #20 was seen by Vinograd at the Annenberg Research Institute in Philadelphia, while #21 cites Bet 'Eked. For Vinograd, there are two editions, and for both of these works entitled "Otsar leshon ha-kodesh," the description of the language is different: #20 says "Latin" and #21 "with Latin." The standard works on the Estienne printing presses (Adams, 1967; Schreiber, 1982) attest to only one edition of the Thesaurus linguae sancta published in 1548: the Latin translation by Santi Pagino (1470-1541) of the Otsar leshon ha-kodesh. This edition is dated January 24, 1548, "ann. M. D. XLVIII. XII cal. Feb." Vinograd examined one copy in Philadelphia and a second in Jerusalem. Entries 20 and 21 are duplicates. Vinograd corrected this error in Part I (p. [64]).

Part of the problem may be the definition of *Books Printed in Hebrew Letters*. Seeking to illustrate Hebrew typography, Aron Freimann in his *Gazetteer of Hebrew Printing* listed publishing places of the "first item of Hebrew typography [even if] such items refer to works written in languages other than Hebrew, but in which appear Hebrew characters, sometimes merely a single Hebrew type" (1946, p. 9).

The information provided by Freimann and Vinograd do not always match. For example, for the first printed Hebrew book in the city of Middleburg (Netherlands), Freimann lists in his Gazetteer the 1653 edition of Causa dei. by Alexander Morus. Freimann notes that the Causa dei is listed in the catalog of the Jewish Division in the New York Public Library (Freimann, 1946, p. 9). For the same Dutch city, the Otsar (Part II, p. 456) lists only one book published before 1863; it is not the Causa dei, but another book, not in Hebrew. As noted by another reviewer (Preschel, 1994), the Retrato del Templo de Selomo of Jacob Leon Templo listed by the Otsar was published in Middleburg in 1642 in Spanish, Vinograd quotes Steinschneider as his source, but not that the book is in Spanish. The first Hebrew edition of the book was published in Amsterdam in 1650 (Part II, p. 34, "Amsterdam," #179; Preschel, 02/18/94, p. 75).

# How *Derivative* a Bibliography is the *Otsar?*

For the most part, the *Otsar* is a *derivative* bibliography, taking its entries from other established sources, and not from direct observation of the works described.

Part I contains the list of references (called in Hebrew luah simane ha-mekorot, pp. [48-57]), an alphabetical list of the abbreviations used for each of two hundred and sixty-five sources consulted by Vinograd. including forty-four Judaica references (pp. [55-57]). Among the Hebraica titles, one hundred and eighty-two entries are for articles, and eighty-three for books, of which forty-four are catalogs of collections and other lists of printed books. The corresponding figures for Judaica are twentyfour, twenty, and ten. In itself, this list is a valuable resource, although it is not exhaustive. (Vinograd also provides an oblong plastic card, listing the abbreviations used for 229 titles, with Part II.)

Although the *Otsar* is mainly derivative, there are instances in which Vinograd prepared his entries on the basis of direct observation of books, a fact we can discern from the list of references or from individual entries. The compiler visited several private collections and academic institutions: the Ben Shemuel collection in Zurich (cited in Part II, p. 565, Paris, #24); the collection of the Mehlmann Family in Jerusalem (cited in Part II, p. 457, Minsk, #4); the Library of the Annenberg Research Institute in Philadelphia, and the Jewish Theological Seminary of America in New York City. (These two libraries are

listed as aleph and nun-yud, respectively, in the luah simane ha-mekorot.) For the Seminary's Library, the Hebrew entry in the abbreviations list indicates that the notation is generally according to the old catalog of the library, but some of the books were seen and described by Vinograd himself. (It is not clear to which printed or unprinted catalog of the Seminary's Library Vinograd is referring.)

Quite often, Vinograd used the collections of the Jewish National and University Library (JNUL) in Jerusalem. The code samekh indicates that the book is in the JNUL. If the samekh is in double brackets, the JNUL has only a photocopy; a single left bracket ([) means that the copy held at JNUL is incomplete. It is possible that this symbol denotes an incomplete copy anywhere: in Part II, on p. 564, under "Paris" entry #4, the abbreviation for the Steinschneider catalog of the Bodleian Collection is followed by a bracket to denote an incomplete copy there, too.

Some references are elliptic: *vav* stands for books in Vinograd's private collection or books he has seen. The code *zayin-lamed* represents a manuscript list in Vinograd's hand, and it is not clear who created it or what it signifies. These two sources are too general to be useful. For the only book listed for Arnsberg (Germany), the *Otsar* (Part II, p. 94) gives the code *gimel-peh*. This abbreviation is not in the list of bibliographic references in the second volume, but is in the revised list of the first volume (pp. V–XIII). It is a reference to Aron Freimann's *Gazetteer of Hebrew Printing* (1946).

To build his *Otsar*, Vinograd used not only the standard general Hebraica bibliographies reviewed above, but also the catalogs of Hebraica collections throughout the world, monographic studies on Hebrew books, essays and articles in specialized journals, auction catalogs, and more.

Works of other Hebrew bibliographers are also cited: for example, Moshe Rosenfeld (mem-resh), of Jerusalem, a book dealer and published bibliographer, allowed Vinograd to use his private list. The code tsadiyud refers to a private list of Yiddish books compiled by Sara Zfatman, based on her survey of library holdings around the world. Resh-gimel refers to a catalog of Bomberg imprints in preparation by Isaac Ron.

How did Vinograd derive his entries? Let us take the example of an article by Isaac Yudlov (1992), entitled "Unknown Italian Printed Books from the Sixteenth Century," part of the *Kiryat Sefer* column, "The Library's Collections and News," which reports to the scholarly community on valuable additions to the collections of the Jewish National and University Library, often not listed in any existing bibliography.

In this article, Yudlov lists four previously unknown editions:

- The first edition of the shorter version of the Sefer haye 'olam, by Rabbi Jonah ben Abraham Gerondi, printed in Sabbioneta in (5)312 [1551/52].
- 2) Seder parashiyot, published in Venice in (5)326 [1555/56].
- A slaughtering manual (*Hilkhot shehitah u-vedikah*, printed in Venice in (5)334 [1573/74].
- An order of prayers against the drought (Seder tefilah 'al 'atsirat geshamim), printed in Mantua in (5)350 [1579/ 1580].

Considering the recency of Yudlov's article, it is remarkable that these four items are listed in Part II of Vinograd's *Otsar*, with source codes referring to Yudlov.

- 1) Sefer ḥaye 'olam (p. 481, Sabbioneta, #4)
- 2) Seder parashiyot . . . (p. 254, Venice, #529)
- 3) Hilkhot shehitah u-vedikah (p. 255, Venice, #604a)
- 4) Seder tefilah 'al 'atsirat geshamim (p. 465, Mantua, #174)

(See Figure 1.)

What is of interest here is the way Vinograd interprets the information provided by Yudlov:

- 1) Sefer haye 'olam: the Otsar entry indicates that the JNUL copy is incomplete, yet there is no statement to this effect in Yudlov's article. Yudlov stresses that the text was printed without a title page, that the 10 pages form a complete quire, and that the publisher, Tuvia Foa, was famous for publishing short texts. Furthermore, the 1552 Venice edition of the same version of the Haye 'olam (Part II, p. 252, Venice, #438) also has "[10] pages." The third edition in Cracow (Part II, p. 637, Cracow, #219) has "[8] pages." All this data indicates a small work that Vinograd considered incomplete.
- 2) Seder parashiyot . . . : the Otsar states that this work is "part" (helek) of a prayer book published the same year (Part II, p. 254, Venice, #535). The JNUL copy is

1) Sefer ḥaye 'olam Part II, p. 481, Sabbioneta, #4 ↓ [ספר היראה] חיי עולם יונה בן אברתם גירונדי מוסר סביוניטה, שי"ב 10 דף. 1°11 ס"מ. סן, יג 1

2) Seder parashiyot . . . Part II, p. 254, Venice, #529

529 סדר פרשיות שנוהגין לקרות בכל שני וחמישי ... תנ"ץ. תורה (ליקוטים) ויניציאה, די קבאלי, שכ"ו (1),צ – קכח דף. 14 סיים. חלק מסדר תפילות לכל השנה כמרג האשכנוים. סי, ינ 2 355 סדר תפילות מכל השנה כמנהג האשכנזים תפילות. סידור ויניציאת, זורזי די קבאלי, שכ״ו שוקו. פפ

3) Hilkhot shehitah u-vedikah Part II, p. 255, Venice, #604 aleph

א60 שחיטות ובדיקות הלכות שחיטה ויניציאה, די נארה, של"ד 8 דפים. 10 ס"מ. ס: יג 4

4) Seder tefilah 'al 'atsirat geshamim Part II, p. 465, Mantua, #174

174 **תפילה על עצירת גשמים**תפילות. שונות
מנטובה, ש"ן
[4] דפים "16. בס 127; ס; 15

**Figure I. The** *Otsar* **as derivative bibliography.** Four examples from Vinograd's work are reproduced here, with permission of the author. The text of the review compares these descriptions with those of Isaac Yudlov in an article on unknown Italian printed books from the sixteenth century (1992–1993).

undated, but the *Otsar* gives the date without brackets, based on evidence in the other work. The printer Giorgio Cavalli is listed in the *Otsar* as di Cavalli, while the entry for the prayer book has Giorgio di Cavalli.

Yudlov made a strong case that the Seder parashiyot is a tadpis (offprint). There is no reference to this important element of Yudlov's description in either this entry or the one for the earlier work (listed later because works published in the same year are arranged alphabetically and not chronologically). Because the Seder parashiyot and the prayer book do not belong in the same category, there is no way to retrieve them together by searching the subject index in Part I. The first is listed in "Tanakh. Torah. Selection," while the second is in the category "Tefilot. Sidur." As for the size of this book, Yudlov simply indicated that the "[JNUL] bought a small book of forty pages of small format," which is translated in the Otsar as 14 cm.

- 3) Hilkhot sheḥitah u-vedikah: Yudlov states that the JNUL copy is incomplete, an indication not caried over into the Otsar.
- 4) Seder tefilah 'al 'atsirat geshamim: the publication was previously known only

from a list of confiscated volumes made by Christian censors in Mantua in 1595, but was never recorded in any published catalog. The item described by Yudlov is #174, but there is another entry, #173, for another item also held at the JNUL, with no bibliographic reference. Yudlov described the JNUL copy as a "small booklet of 4 pages," close enough to the in-16° [an indication of small size volume in #174. Entry #173 has also 4 pages, but it is a larger volume, of 15 cm. Are there two copies of this most rare work at the JNUL? Would Yudlov have failed to mention the acquisition of the same work in another format? Is #173 an entry based on an earlier examination of the same work at a different location which should have been deleted? By consulting the Reference staff at JNUL, I was able to establish that #173 is an error.

The *Otsar* is selective in incorporating information derived from other sources. From an examination of these four entries, it may be concluded that the information is open to interpretation at best, and at times contains factual errors. In any case, by disclosing his sources, Vinograd makes it possible for the reader to check the validity of his data.

## The *Otsar* as an *Enumerative* Bibliography

The *Otsar* is an *enumerative* bibliography, formally limiting itself to a succinct description of a work, enough to establish its precise identity.

For each entry we are promised, according to the title page of Part II, "author, subject, place and year printed, name of printer, number of pages and format, with annotations and bibliographical references." To evaluate whether all entries contain all these elements promised, I took a sample of 50 titles (the first 15 titles on pages 56 and 256, and 20 titles from page 556): Amsterdam, Venice, and Prague imprints, respectively. The results are recorded in Table II.

When such descriptive elements as pagination, format, or printer's name are missing, I would assume they were not in the sources consulted by Vinograd.

The subject descriptor is not always distinct from the title. For the 20 entries with a Prague imprint, four (#1147, 1149–1150, and 1159) have no indication of subject beyond the title of the work.

Most interesting are the data for bibliographic references. In 64% of cases, Vinograd gives a reference to JNUL holdings, often indicating also the pagination and format. It is not clear whether Vinograd examined these items personally or trusted the work of a JNUL cataloger. I assume the latter, especially in light of Vinograd's acknowledgments:

The Cataloging Division at the JNUL was for many years my main place of work and many visitors to the JNUL thought of me as one of its employees, turning to me for questions, and even for complaints! (Part I, p. [XI])

In his introduction to Part I, however, Vinograd plays down the role of the JNUL catalog in helping him build his *Otsar:* 

My primary source was the *Otsar hase-farim* and my secondary source, the *Bet 'Eked sefarim* followed by the catalog of the National Library in Jerusalem. (Part I, p. [XI])

Vinograd acknowledges that he lists an author's name "as it appears in the National Library in Jerusalem," and that the subject ("topic") is "given . . . in accordance

# Table II Descriptive Elements in Vinograd's Otsar Entries

| Data Element          | Percentage |
|-----------------------|------------|
| Author                | 92         |
| Subject/Title         | 100        |
| Printer               | 48         |
| Pagination            | 40         |
| Format                | 72         |
| Annotation/Bibl. Ref. | 100        |
|                       | (N = 50)   |
|                       |            |

with the professional classification principles developed by the National Library" (Part I, p. [XI]). He also follows "the standard Hebrew form" to list the titles of books in a "uniform fashion," and uses a "uniform spelling" for the places of print (ibidem) or for the names of printers (Part I, p. [XV]).

One can do a citation analysis of Vinograd's bibliographic references. The JNUL catalog is cited most frequently (64%), more than any other catalog of a large Hebraica collection. The *Otsar ha-sefarim* of Benjacob is cited 52% of the time, Steinschneider's monumental catalog of the Hebrew books in the Bodleian library—although compiled in the mid-19th century—is nevertheless cited in 38% of the entries. A more recent work, Friedberg's *Bet 'Eked*, is mentioned in only 12% of the entries.

The Otsar ha-sefarim of Benjacob gives place of printing and date; Friedberg's Bet 'Eked added pagination but did not provide printer's name, a data element available in Steinschneider's and the JNUL catalog. This explains why pagination is the element most often lacking in Vinograd's Otsar. As we learned from the duplicate entries for the edition of Thesaurus linguae sancta by Santi Pagino printed in Paris in 1548, establishing accurate pagination of a book is the exclusive domain of a descriptive cataloger. As the compiler of a derivative bibliography, Vinograd lacks specialized training in description and hence often errs.

# How *Comprehensive* a Bibliography is the *Otsar*?

To be considered *comprehensive*, the *Otsar* would have to include all the works in the field of Hebrew bibliography without exception, yet, no work of this magnitude

can be truly comprehensive. It is easy for a reviewer to find picavune lacunae in a work such as the Otsar. For example, for Hebrew imprints from London, Vinograd relied on an article by Cecil Roth (1938); this article is referred to in the list of abbreviations as resh-lamed). But Vinograd failed to use a more recent work-the Historical catalogue of printed editions of the English Bible, 1525-1961, a revised and expanded version of a 1903 edition, issued in 1968 by Arthur S. Herbert. By comparing Vinograd's entries with this work, I found that he listed the New Testament published in Hebrew in Nuremberg in 1599 (Part II, p. 480, "Nuremberg," #1), the reissue in London in 1661 (Part II, p. 364, "London," #11), but not the later edition (London, 1798) by the publisher T. Plummer (Herbert, 1968, #1798). Although the publication in Hebrew of the New Testament in London may not be significant to all, for a researcher of Hebrew imprints in London, such a lacuna is important.

There is no doubt, however, that the Otsar is more comprehensive than its predecessors. According to a 1993 issue of 'Alon le-hovev ha-Sefer, an occasional bibliographic publication that Vinograd edits, the Otsar contains some 32,000 entries, or 10,000 more than Benjacob's work and about 5,000 more than the Bet 'Eked for the same period (until 1863). The figure of 32.000 entries is close to the total number of entries that I counted in volume II (32,853, including duplicated entries. Part I, p. [xxiv], gives the figure "32,604" entries). We can corroborate these claims from another source: if we follow the statistics given by S. Brisman (1977), the Otsar contains approximately 17,000 more entries than Benjacob (which listed about 15,000 titles, according to Brisman). The comprehensiveness of Vinograd's Otsar is a significant achievement, and the work is more than an augmented edition of the Otsar ha-sefarim of Benjacob.

# The *Otsar* as a *Retrospective* Bibliography

Because the coverage of the *Otsar* ends in 1863, it is considered a *retrospective* bibliography. Why did Vinograd choose to end his bibliography in 1863? In an interview published in *ha-Tsofeh*, Vinograd was asked this guestion. He answered:

This is the most interesting period in the history of Hebrew printing, especially in Russia. And I am not thinking of the major publishing presses in well known major cities such as Warsaw and Vilna,

where all type of books were printed. . . . I was interested in learning, how in those remote times, it was possible to establish a full printing press for the publication of one book only, and which books were so interesting then that a printing press was established especially to publish them.

These interesting printing presses—I mean the ones which functioned in small remote cities—did not function after 1863.

Without dismissing the explanation offered by Vinograd, I would add another: the original purpose of the work which ended up as the *Otsar* started as an annotation of the work of Benjacob which ended in 1863, and therefore Vinograd collected data only until this date (Part I, p. [xi]).

Actually, a few books printed after 1863 are listed in the *Otsar*. I found three, all published before the end of the 1860s: the *Maskil le-Haiman*, a poem published in London in 1866 (Part II, "London," #654); *Sifte Tsadikim* by Pinehas of Dinowitz, published in Lemberg/Lvov in 5624 [1863/1864] (Part II, "Lemberg," #1978); and the edition of the Babylonian Talmud of which the first volumes were printed in Warsaw in 1863 and the final ones in 1866/67 (Part II, "Warsaw," #941). The inclusion of all these works can be explained: *Bet 'Eked* gives earlier dates for the first two, and the third is a multi-volume edition started in 1863.

Part II. *Places of Print* was first published during the Spring of 1994 (the work says c1993) and contains the listing of dated and undated imprints.

The subtitle to volume two indicates that *Places of Print* is "sorted by Hebrew names of places where printed," and an English Index of Places (Part II, pp. XIV–XVI) lists 309 cities but also "Italy," "No Place," "Portugal," "Russia or Poland," as was mentioned above—for a total of 32,853 entries of titles. One typographical error: "Beyreuth" for Bayreuth (Germany), "also spelled Baireuth," according to the *Columbia Lippincott Gazetteer of the World* (Seltzer, 1962).

Because of the arrangement by cities, it is possible to establish which cities produced the most Hebrew books (see Table III).

Numbers are provided only for perspective; they are based on the last entry for each city in Part II, but there may be some additional entries. Some works are listed twice, especially those that have false imprints.

Table III

Cities in which Most Hebrew Books were Printed

| City           | Total number of titles | Date of first title | Number of undated titles |
|----------------|------------------------|---------------------|--------------------------|
| Amsterdam      | 2860                   | 1666/7              | 44                       |
| Venice         | 2246                   | 1499/1500           | 58                       |
| Lemberg        | 1992                   | 1796/7              | 14                       |
| Prague         | 1584                   | 1512/3              | 37                       |
| Leghorn        | 1283                   | 1649/50             | 18                       |
| Vienna         | 1275                   | 1646/7              | 5                        |
| Vilna          | 1196                   | 1798/9              | 6                        |
| Zolkiev        | 1104                   | 1665/7              | 17                       |
| Fürth          | 990                    | 1681/2              | 16                       |
| Warsaw         | 946                    | 1792                | 5                        |
| Salonica       | 941                    | 1500                | 3                        |
| Berlin         | 784                    | 1690                | 2                        |
| Constantinople | 758                    | 1493/4              | 15                       |
| Sulzbach       | 715                    | 1668/9              | 2                        |
| Frankfurt a.M. | 677                    | [1512]              | 12                       |
| London         | 656                    | 1596                | 2                        |
| Dyhernfurth    | 539                    | 1688/9              | 2                        |
| Cracow         | 539                    | 1509/10             | 25                       |
| Frankfurt A.O. | 536                    | 1551                | 9                        |
| Roedelheim     | 380                    | 1749/50             | 2                        |
| Totals         | 22,001                 |                     | 294                      |

There are 2,860 entries for Amsterdam, while Vinograd is quoted as saying that there are 2,902 books published there (Beer, 1994). In the same article, he mentions 2,274 Hebrew books published in Venice, while there are only 2,246 in the Otsar. It is most likely that the newspaper article reflects an earlier stage of Vinograd's knowledge of Amsterdam and Venice imprints, and that the published book is more authoritative.

Data derived from Vinograd; compiled by the reviewer.

These twenty cities represent 67% of all Hebrew imprints (22,001 out of 32,853). There are 294 undated titles for these twenty cities, Venice (58/2,246), Amsterdam (44/2,860), Prague (44/1,584), and Cracow (18/1,283) having the most. 57 cities (18.45%) are represented by only one title. "Italy" [no city] has 106 entries; "Portugal," 6; "Russia or Poland," 228; and "No Place," 377.

## **Primary Arrangement**

Having reviewed the bibliographic sources of the *Otsar*, can we explain why Vinograd chose the primary arrangement by place of printing for his publication? Alphabetical

arrangement by title of the published work is more frequent in Hebrew bibliography. It was used by Benjacob in *Otsar ha-sefarim* and by Friedberg in *Bet 'Eked:* multiple editions of the same work printed in various cities over the centuries are listed in the same entry. The arrangement by place of printing adopted by Vinograd is not the most common one in the fields of General Bibliography or General Hebrew Bibliography. Vinograd offers this explanation:

In the present work, I decided to classify the books by place in order to illustrate the development of the Hebrew press by place and time. This approach is a new one in Hebrew bibliographies. It is possible that there may be certain difficulties for the user accustomed to conducting searches based on the existing methods, especially if one does not know details about where something was printed or in which year. However, the advantages of this method considerably outweigh its disadvantages. In order to make it easier for the user to overcome these difficulties, a comprehensive system of indexes was prepared. (Part I, p. XIII)

The arrangement by place of printing does not limit access if one is trying to identify a single edition of a book. For two years, until the publication of Part I of Vinograd's Otsar, I used Benjacob's Otsar ha-sefarim and Bet 'Eked to locate various editions of a work, and Vinograd's Otsar Part II to expand my search to additional bibliographic references cited only there.

Vinograd may have chosen his arrangement to distinguish his work from the other Hebrew bibliographies most commonly used and available in print. He was describing a somewhat stable and limited corpus of Hebrew editions, from the origins of Hebrew printing until 1863. The arrangement may also have been inspired by the shelving practices of large private and public collections. Vinograd (Otsar, vol. I, p. [xii]) acknowledges the Schocken Library in Jerusalem, which allowed him to use the card catalog that was prepared from photocopies of the Bodleian Catalog of Steinschneider. This card catalog is arranged by place of printing and printers and helped him greatly in listing the names of printers.

The arrangement by place of publication is especially useful to underscore false imprints. For example, in the years 1830-1845, several books were published in Lemberg and Zolkiew with false title pages attributing the publications to the widow Yehudit Rosanes, a prolific printer at the end of the eighteenth century, who died around 1805. Following Abraham Yaari's two articles in Kirvat Sefer (1940, 1945), Vinograd lists these books twice: once according to the place indicated by the title page, and a second time in the proper chronological sequence at the correct place of printing. The first entry is crossreferenced to the second one.

Another reviewer of the *Otsar*, Dr. Elchanan Reiner of Tel Aviv University, found the arrangement innovative and hoped that it would help develop Hebrew bibliography beyond its current narrow limits and allow the field to address the broader intellectual revolution brought about by the invention and diffusion of the printed text (Reiner, 1994).

## The Index Volume

Part I. *Indexes* was published in late Spring 1995. It contains a preface with acknowledgments in Hebrew, an introduction in both English and Hebrew, a list of addenda and corrigenda to Part II, and two statistical charts giving the number of books printed by place and year.

The bulk of Part I consists of fourteen indexes (not thirteen, as the English table of contents indicates: the index of languages is not listed there). The 14 indexes are:

books [i.e., titles];
authors;
Bible (arranged by part of the Bible);
Bible (arranged by title);
Prayers (arranged by genre, e.g., sidur, teḥinot);
Prayers (arranged by title);
Talmudic literature (arranged by name of the midrash or the Talmudic tractate);
Talmud Babli (chronologically arranged);

chronological; languages; honorees (including individuals eulogized); institutions (as publishers).

subjects;

printers:

The various indexes should be able to address many potential needs. One may be surprised to see so many indexes to a bibliography, but we should note that the Otsar ha-sefarim of Benjacob had no index. When Mendel Slatkine (1965) published his companion volume to the Otsar ha-sefarim, he gave the first and most prominent place to addenda and corrigenda. Slatkine's index, arranged by family names, is hard to use, as the typography does not distinguish well between main entry and secondary entries. The second edition of Friedberg's Bet 'Eked Sefarim has two indexes: one listing books by genre (over a hundred and fifty categories, such as "Italy and Italian," "America (USA)," and "etrogim"), and the second one by author, arranged by family names.

Because Vinograd chose to arrange his second volume by place of publication, an index of titles was crucial to allow comparison with other bibliographies. For each entry in the title index, Vinograd provides the name of the author as well as the place and date of publication. In his index of authors, Vinograd lists authors by their family names; each author's works are arranged alphabetically.

Neither the author nor the title index provides romanization; the subject index does not follow the structure of Library of Congress Subject Headings. For these reasons, Vinograd's indexes are of limited value for a cataloger working in a North American institution.

Lacking the skills of a professional indexer, Vinograd created two entries (with one item each!) for "etrogim" (p. 395). He was able to record the number of books published on each of his subjects, thanks to his computer's reporting capabilities. It seems that the indexing capabilities of the computer were irresistible: all the entries in "tefilah—holim ve-metim" [Prayer—for the sick and the dead] in the subject index (Part I, p. 436) are repeated in another index (Part I, p. 352, "Index of Prayers"). The total number of books published in this category (399) is given only in the first place.

Beside indexes, Part One provides a cursory overview of the history of Hebrew printing. Chapter III of the introduction sketches very briefly the "landmarks in the development of the Hebrew press," from incunabula down to the nineteenth century, listing the major printing families (Soncino, Proops, Shapira, Katz, Bak, and Phoebus) with the total number of the books they published (except for the Bak family; reason unknown).

## **Conclusions**

In evaluating the quality of the *Otsar*, we may compare it to a precious stone: like a diamond, it is precious but not flawless, and like any precious stone, it is not big enough.

With the assistance of the computer, Vinograd has compiled a very valuable bibliography, but he did not derive all the relevant elements that he could have gleaned from the literature. With so many technological resources available, it is hard to accept that a contemporary bibliography could not advance past 1863. And yet, the world of Hebrew bibliography is much enriched by the *Otsar*.

The late Alexander Scheiber devoted a short article to the colophon often provided by copyists of Hebrew medieval manuscripts, in which they called for many blessings to be showered on themselves and their families until the end of all generations, or "until the day the donkey climbs the ladder about which Jacob dreamt," as is written in some manuscripts (Scheiber, 1985).

There is a Hungarian expression, "donkey-ladder," for an examination for promotion in the civil service which requires no mental ability, so that even a donkey can make the grade. It should be evident that I am not comparing the compiler of the *Otsar* to a donkey, nor Hebrew bibliography to civil service. Vinograd's *Otsar* is one rung

above Benjacob on the ladder leading to the dream of every Hebraica bibliographer: a comprehensive, error-free, user-friendly Hebrew bibliography.

## **Epilogue: Meet the Author**

Behind the work, there is a person, whom I met several times in Jerusalem. One could not find a better introduction to Vinograd than the following description by an Israeli journalist:

It is best to meet Vinograd in his natural environment: in his office, where he has directed The Institute for Computerized Bibliography since 5736 [1976] (Vinograd always insists on using the Hebrew date. Only if you ask will he provide the corresponding secular date). His office is located in an old building in the Geula district of Jerusalem, a building which still retains some of its architectural splendor. Vinograd's office is cluttered with files and important and rare books, and here and there some other objects . . . pictures, even an old scale that his collector's heart could not resist acquiring" (Beer, 1994).

Yeshayahu Vinograd traces his ancestry to Rabbi Hayyim b. Isaac, of Volozhin (1749-1821), the disciple of the Gaon of Vilna and the leader of the Mitnagedim. The author of the Otsar was born in 1933 in Jerusalem to an old Jerusalem family, established in the city since 1886, when his ancestor, Rabbi Hayim Vinograd, also known as "Rabi Hayim matmid," arrived in the city with his three sons. The oldest son, Rabbi Isaac Vinograd, founded with his brother, Rabbi Yosef Eliyahu Vinograd, the famous Yeshiva "Torat Hayim," where several key figures of the old Yishuv studied. The building of this Yeshiva is still located in the Old City in Jerusalem, in the Muslim quarter (it is presently occupied by Yeshiva "Ateret Cohanim"). Rabbi Y. E. Vinograd was his great-grandfather.

Yeshayahu Vinograd studied in several well-known Yeshivot (including "Ets Hayim" and Yeshivat Hebron) and served in the Israel Defense Forces. After his service in the army, he found employment as a systems analyst at the Hebrew University in 1960. Thus he developed the computer skills which were so crucial to the compilation of his *Otsar*.

At the same time, Vinograd became interested in the history of the Hebrew book and founded a publishing house specializing in facsimile reproduction of rare

Hebrew books. Ultimately, his firm merged with the "Kedem" publishing house, which he still manages. He worked at the Hebrew University until his early retirement, which he took so that he could concentrate his energy on bibliographic endeavors.

Yeshayahu Vinograd is an author as well as a publisher. In 5730 [1969 or 1970], he edited a volume of indexes to the *Bet Talmud*, a rabbinic periodical edited by Isaac Hirsch Weiss (1815–1905) and Meir Friedmann (1831–1908) at the end of the 19th century. This volume was published by Vinograd's own publishing house, Karmiel presses. (He is now the director of Kedem presses, owned by the bibliophile David Sofer.)

In 5753 [1992 or 1993], Vinograd published Kabalat ha-Gera by Joseph Avivi. This was the first volume in the series Sidrat sefarim 'al ha-Gera, published by Kerem Eliyahu, ha-Makhon le-hotsa'at sifre ha-Gera, an institute founded by Vinograd to publish works by and about the Gaon of Vilna (Rabbi Elijah ben Solomon, 1720-1797). Kabalat ha-Gera contains two parts: the first, called Gilui Elivahu, is an introduction to the mystical tradition of the Gaon of Vilna; the second is an edition of the Gaon's 'Asarah kelalim, from a manuscript fround in a Jerusalem genizah acquired by Vinograd. (He is not, however, the Yeshayahu Vinograd who authored Aba Hilel Silver: hayav, hazono u-fo'olo= Abba Hillel Silver: life, vision, achievement [Tel Aviv, 1957].)

At the wedding of his first son, Simhah, held in June 1991 in Jerusalem, Vinograd surprised his guests by providing them with a *Seder birkat ha-mazon (birkhon,* booklet containing the grace after the meal) in which was reproduced a short text from Frankfurt a.M. (listed in the *Otsar,* Part II, p. 583, #176), with an introduction by Isaac Yudlov. When his second son, Elhanan, got married in November 1991, the wedding was celebrated with a reproduction of the commentary of Rabbi Nathan Shapira, published in Lemberg in 1575 (Part II, p. 358, #31).

Yeshayahu Vinograd is also a collector and a book dealer. In the past, Vinograd collected Haggadot, aiming to own "all the 2,717 Haggadot listed by Avraham Ya'ari in his *Bibliography of the Passover Haggadah* (1960) and the 1,000 later described and listed by others . . . [as well as] all 400 books and articles written by and about the Gaon" of Vilna. Vinograd owns the first Haggada printed in Bombay and another edition printed by Jewish

refugees in Shanghai in 1943 (Bar-Am, 1986). He plans on publishing a bibliography of the works of the Gaon of Vilna.

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