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# ADVENTURES IN BIBLIOGRAPHY

**Professor Simon Neuberg**

University of Trier

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In the following pages I would like to present a few philological tools applied to Early Yiddish printed books and manuscripts. I will give examples based on a manuscript that was actually analysed during the Seminar, but I will start with printed material that resembles some of that presented by other contributors to this volume. In particular I offer here two ‘discoveries’ relating to texts in the Oppenheim Collection at the Bodleian Library, a vast collection rich in rarities that await any scholar who examines it.

## **A Song of Three Women**

Two Yiddish titles mentioning דרייאַ ווייבן (three women) appear in the catalogues, and the bibliographer M. Steinschneider points out that these relate to different stories told in divergent forms.<sup>1</sup> One is a song about three women happily drinking away their husbands’ money, while the other is a prose work about three women betting on which of them can play the best trick on her husband. The anti-feminist stance is not the only trait shared by the texts, since each is derived from contemporary non-Jewish sources. The novel ultimately goes back to a Spanish text by the Baroque dramatist Tirso de Molina: ‘Los cigarrales de Toledo, cigarral quinto’, through a further translation,<sup>2</sup> while the language of the song shows it to have a German source.

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<sup>1</sup> These are not to be confused with *ain schène historie fun drei leit*, Fürth 1789, in which the heroes are three men.

Many early German texts up to the seventeenth century are available on the internet through German libraries, giving one a better chance of discovering such sources than ever before. More general internet platforms are also of use, but Gothic script still proves stoutly resistant to automatic recognition. In this case, it is possible to identify it as a fairly faithful version of a German song, the first of three appearing in a volume whose title-page reads in full: 'Drey schöne Neue Weltliche Lieder: Das Erste. Von dreyen Weibern/ so zum Weine gewesen/ [et]c. Im Thon: Warum solln wir denn trawren/ [et]c. Das Ander. Von der Weiber Freyheit. Im Thon: Venus du und dein Kind. Das dritte. Von einem armen Bawern/ welcher einem Hund einen halben/ [et]c. Im Thon: Hencke Knecht wat wultu thaun/[et]c. [S.l.], [ca. 1650]'. The German text is available in digital form on the internet (<http://www.gbv.de/vd/vd17/1:687684S>). This identification reveals the title of the song, and also identifies the melody to which it was to be sung, the same as is used for 'Warum solln wir denn trawren', which is to be found in Erk and Böhme's collection, but without the music. The Yiddish text, however, says merely that it was *mit ain schên nigên gémächt gëworen* ('put to a nice tune'). The variants between the versions are few, as a few stanzas will show, and the only 'original' part of this text is a more or less stereotypical advertising text on the title page.

//1  
ach du' got mein herên  
unsêr sind fêr-zei'ên tust  
weil mir izundêrt lebên  
als iș grôßêr ibêr-mit  
als loutêr sind un` schând  
si' gengên in den schwank  
frumkait iș fêr-lorên  
böş-hait nemt ibêr-hânt

[1]  
Ach du mein Gott und HERRE /  
unser Sünd verzeihen thue /  
dieweil wir jetzund leben  
in so groß Übermuth /  
all Laster / Sünd und Schand /  
die gehen jetze im schwang /  
Frömkheit ist gar verlosche[n] /  
Boßheit nimbt überhand.

2 (viz. 'The Ring' by Johann Goldwerth Müller.) The Yiddish prose work has been described in more detail in S. Zfatman's account of early Yiddish narrative prose. It relates an often-told story of which the various versions have been scrutinized in Francis Raas, *Die Wette der drei Frauen: Beiträge zur Motivgeschichte und zur literarischen Interpretation der Schwankdichtung* (Basler Studien zur deutschen Sprache und Literatur 58; Bern 1983), who also discusses variants known to folklorists, adducing a Yiddish variant found in Olsvanger's *Rosinkess mit mandlen* (p. 18, no. 5).

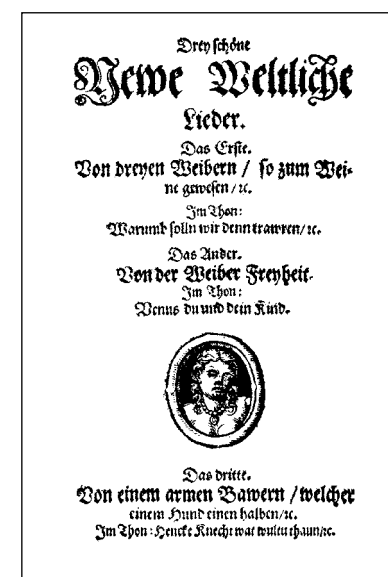
//2  
menchêr man tut fêr-soufên  
sein sin un` wiz un` fêr-stånd  
niks tut er sich bedenken  
fêr-suft gelt un` ach tfand  
wen er sich štelt arouș  
sein weib un` kind mit krouș [1']  
menchên mol woltên si' gern eșên  
un` habên kain brôt in hous

[2]  
Mancher Mann thut versa[u]ffen /  
seinen Witz und Verstand /  
wenig thut er bedencken /  
versäuft auch Geld unnd Pfand /  
wenn er so schlemmet draus /  
sihe Weib und Kind mit grauß /  
sie wolten oft gern essen /  
haben kein Brod im Hauß.

//1 Oh, you my God and my Lord, / do pardon our sins / because we now live in such wanton-ness! / Everywhere is sin and shame; / as they hold sway, / all piety is lost, / evil has its say. //2 Many a man does drink away / his wits and understanding. / Little does he think, / drinks away money and pledge / while he eats and squanders. / Look in horror at his wife and children: / they would often like to eat / but have no bread at home.



'Ain schen lid fun drei' weiber'. (Bodleian Libraries. Opp. 8° 556 (2), fol. 1r.)



Title-page of *Drey schöne Neue Weltliche Lieder*. (Staatsbibliothek Berlin. Ye 1770 = R, fol. 1r.)

The Yiddish version may not show much originality, but it is of historical value because the minor variants are revealing, and because the fact that such a song was borrowed from a non-Jewish repertoire reflects the taste of the Jewish public. (For another identification of the German source of a song, see the contribution of Diana Matut.) Most older Yiddish popular songs of this kind must have been lost without trace, a fate shared by similar works in other European vernaculars. As a result, any Yiddish song evidently derived from a German original might even be the sole testimony to an otherwise lost source.

### A Case of Surreptitious Advertisement

The second example to be looked at here is a text of entirely Jewish origin. It appears in an apparently unspectacular octavo of just eight unnumbered leaves without a title, place or date of printing, or even very promising content. It is presented in the catalogues under the title ‘Hasoges’ (‘criticism’), a word handwritten on the endpaper because it is mainly a list of corrections of errors found in previously printed Yiddish books about Jewish customs. But this seemingly unpromising work offers ample rewards: it testifies to a sort of Yiddish library and even creates a rich Yiddish ‘intertext’ by citing books deemed available to any pious Jew at the time (because, as the author explains, since so many books have appeared in Yiddish no one can be excused for not knowing the law). It appears that its author, who lived in the eighteenth century, when piety was no longer the obvious choice and when those who endeavoured to adhere to Jewish ritual law had to be doubly cautious and strict, was none other than the well-known Elkhonen Henele Kirchhan, the author of the famed ‘Simkhes-hanefesh’. That famous example of ethical literature (*musar*) comprises two volumes, the second of which was republished by Shatzky as a facsimile on its bicentennial. Its fame is based on the printed musical notation for the (pious) songs by the author, interspersed between detailed explanations of customs and one moral tale. This second part had never previously been reprinted, although the first part was reissued dozens of times and soon stood on the shelves of many pious Ashkenazi households. Fragments of various editions can be found in every genizah in Ashkenaz.

This first part of ‘Simkhes-hanefesh’ – with its many moral tales and lengthy moralizations followed by explanations of the finer points of Jewish customs –

was first printed anonymously in Frankfurt am Main in 1707. It shares many traits with the booklet we are considering now, since both are anonymous, present a rigorist view of Jewish practice and criticize more permissive or erroneous earlier Yiddish publications. They also share linguistic peculiarities and, perhaps more strikingly, make use of the same Yiddish library, the above-mentioned ‘intertextuality’ appearing in the first part of ‘Simkhes-hanefesh’ that quotes the same books. Decisively, our booklet repeatedly mentions ‘Simkhes-hanefesh’ as the best authority and, when amending it, instead of protesting ‘this is wrong’ as with other sources, suggests only that a word is missing or that a misprint needs correction. He even knows the intentions of the author, and consistently advertises his work. Reference is made to the same earlier Yiddish books in this thin booklet and in the first part of the bulkier ‘Simkhes-hanefesh’, as is shown below in boldface. Even some of the same linguistic peculiarities appear here and in the work of Elkhonen, such as the following words which are relatively uncommon in Western Yiddish:

- *bis daté* (‘to date, up to now’) on 4v echoes five occurrences in ‘Simkhes-hanefesh’ (plus one in the second part).
- *mestn* (‘measure’ with a [t] as in modern Eastern Yiddish, but contrary to standard German and to most older Yiddish texts appears twice in the infinitive in ‘Hasoges’, and is also the infinitive used in ‘Simkhes-hanefesh’ (where the corresponding strong participle *gëmostén* is also found).
- the verb *zi’én*, *gëzógén* (a [g] appearing usually only in the participle in Yiddish, as in Ger-man) here also exhibits the [g] in the present tense (2<sup>r</sup>: *éermán di’ thefilin zu-zigt*). This is also the (unusual) norm in ‘Simkhes-hanefesh’ (which contains over 50 examples including present and infinitive forms in both volumes).
- the verbal prefix *ein-* appears in ‘Hasoges’ as *in-* (2<sup>r</sup>: *in-hébt*, 3<sup>r</sup> *in-macht*, three times), as also in ‘Simkhes-hanefesh’ over 120 times in the first volume alone, not counting the parallel *arin-* (not attested in ‘Hasoges’).
- occasionally the prefix *fër-* in *fër-richtén* is written together with the verbal stem as one word (with only one [r] and only in the case of this verb); this is found once in ‘Hasoges’ and over 20 times in ‘Simkhes-hanefesh’.

This allows us confidently to ascribe the booklet to the same author as ‘Simkhes-hanefesh’, which is why we should not be surprised to see him

describing points in which he has noticed people going astray (*tsitses*), just as he does in the second part of ‘Simkhes-hanefesh’ (for *tkhum-shabes* and *eyrev*). But it remains unclear where and when this booklet was printed, and even whether it is complete or just the last quire of a now-lost larger work. It seems possible that it predates the second part of ‘Simkhes-hanefesh’, since it is anonymous, like the first volume, and follows a different strategy in enhancing sales of the (probably already very successful) first part.

You will see below on the left passages from our booklet (‘Hasoges’) citing other Yiddish books in their order of appearance, and, on the right, similar quotations from ‘Simkhes-hanefesh’. The similarity of the ‘bookshelf’ is striking (although ‘Simkhes-hanefesh’ cites more, see the quotation from 23<sup>r</sup>).

### Hasogess

1<sup>v</sup>

un` dër-weil hazadik Michél Epštain, ‘olév-haşolem, selbstén gëbetén hot in seinér the-filē, wer ain to’ess gëfind, sol dem ‘ölem modie’ sein, drum wil ich erst schreibén di’ dinim, was nit recht seinén in seinér **Théfile-derech-ješore** un` in sein **Der-ech-hajošer**, was to’ess seinén un` andèrst teitschén kan; :

4<sup>v</sup>

biš datē hab ich gëfundén in Théfile-de-rech-ješore vèš` Derech-hajošer; nun wil ich schreibén di’ to’ess un` um-rechtē dinim, was in dem **š` haHajim** štèt, was bè’Ams-tèrdám iš gëdrúkt gëworén; :

6<sup>r</sup>

nun welén mir schreibén etlichē dinim, di’ in **Leṽ-tōṽ** šténén, di’ nit recht seinén; :

7<sup>r</sup>

‘**ix** in **Minhogim** štèt: „wen mán fèr-gest Athe-ḥananthonu, un` er wer in ain land, wu kain wein wakšt, muš er noch amol Šmòne‘Ešre orèn;“ das iš ain to’ess: [...]

### Šimḥass-hanefēš

i<sup>r</sup>

den in **weibèr-bichèlchē** seinén etlichē to-ess drinén un` ach nit alès gëstelt; das wert ir alès in disém šefèr gëfindén. . ach alè **dinè-bircass-hanhogin** gëstelt fulkumlich; seinén schön gëdrúkt atail in šeforim, seinén filè to’ess drinén, . in disém šefèr recht gëstelt, der-nach zu richtén. .

ii<sup>v</sup>

es seinén wol gëdrúkt atail dinim ouf teitsch, seinén fil to’ess drinén; kenén leit dran nichšèl werén, ubifrāt [Amst. 1703, C.B.7201–1] **š` haHajim**, was bè’Ams-tèrdám iš gëdrúkt gëworén, seinén fil to’ess drinén; mán kan sich nit der-nach richtén.

23<sup>r</sup>

bifrat izund seinén gëdrúkt gëworén grōßè thōre, dinim vèšifre-mušer ouf teitsch: b` ḥelokim Kāv-hajošer, . **š` Derech-hajošer**, . **Théfile-derech-ješore**, . b` ḥelokim Ma‘éše H`, . Abir-Jakoṽ, . Orḥess-zadikim, . **Leṽ-tōṽ**, . Brand-špigel . un` sunstén andèrè šeforim;

7<sup>v</sup>

‘**ix** in **weibèr-bichèlchē** štèt nit recht mit weiš an-lègèn; ach nit recht: wen mán sich sol pòreš sein me’išthò ach nit dèr-nach zu richtén den ší‘er fun cèssomim; :

7<sup>v</sup>

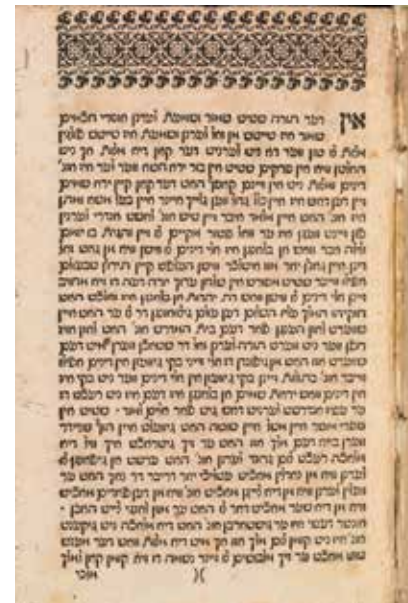
ach seinén wi’ fil mol gëdrúkt gëworén klainè [8<sup>r</sup>] bichlèch, wu **brochess-han-hofglin** drinén štèt, seinén fil [felèr] [drinén]; [...] solchē dinim alè gëfind mán in **š` Šimḥass-hanefēš**, alès dèr-klert.

71<sup>b</sup>

dinè cāšèrn seinén in **Minhogim** gëdrúkt. ach was itlèchèr wol; doch sol mán nišhèr sein an ereṽ-Pešah gar nit zu cāšèrn. .

84<sup>a</sup>

in **weibèr-bichèlchē** štèt gëdrúkt drei’ lin-sèn grōs, ḥaš-vèšolem, ain frau’ selbstén sich dèr-nach zu richtén; . ach nit richtén [84<sup>b</sup>] noch dem **weibèr-bichèl** mit dem weiš-an-lègèn, štèt ach nit recht. .



The first page of *Hasogess*. (Bodleian Libraries. Opp. 8° 210, fol. 1r.)

### Manuscript Can. Or. 12

We will now turn to a famous Yiddish manuscript and draw some conclusions as to its making. The manuscript held in the Bodleian Library identified as Can. or. 12 is famous on many accounts. It has a touching history, having been written in Venice in the last months of 1553, probably as a wedding present for a young

woman. As the most comprehensive early collection of Yiddish writings, it was at the centre of several discussions in the Seminar, several of whose members focused on at least one of the texts it contains. Individual parts of the manuscript are addressed by Claudia Rosenzweig and Ingedore Rüdlin in this volume. We hoped that by concentrating on the manuscript in this way our combined efforts would give us an overview of the entirety and give us a better understanding of the young writer responsible for copying most of the volume: *hana'ar Kalmen bar Šimé'on šalit Péskāról* as he calls himself in the first colophon (90<sup>r</sup>). The manuscript has been thoroughly described and analysed in Yiddish by Nokhem Shtif;<sup>3</sup> a description in English and in Italian is included in the catalogue 'Italia';<sup>4</sup> and several of its texts have been edited in scholarly journals. We have tried to go beyond this, however, as the following discussion will show.

The little that is known about the writer's family has been summarized by Claudia Rosenzweig;<sup>5</sup> and Abraham Pescarol b. Kalonymos (cf. C.B. 7731; corr. Ven. 1544, Cremon. 1565) may be added as a probable member of the same family. The colophon reveals that he was young when he worked on it, and it may have been his first substantial project, since beginners were entrusted with Yiddish manuscripts rather than Hebrew ones, which were higher on the scale of holiness. He nevertheless made many mistakes, perhaps because he understood little of what he was writing. He has generously peppered the manuscript with dated colophons (90<sup>r</sup>, 207<sup>r</sup>, 241<sup>r</sup>), using first the secular variant of his name, *Kalmen*, then the Hebraized *Kalonymos*, and more importantly we can measure his pace of writing. He began the first part (*Minhogim*) on Thursday 2 November 1553 and finished on Sunday 12 November, meaning that he wrote ten leaves a day on nine writing days, resting on Saturdays. He seems to have maintained a regular pace, reaching fol. 207<sup>r</sup> in 'mid-Teveth 31[4]', although he mentions also having written the *renténis*, 'riddles', by then, which appear on fol. 214f., suggesting that the order of quires may have been altered. He started the 'Sayings of the Fathers' on Monday 25th on 216<sup>r</sup>, and finished them on fol. 241<sup>r</sup> on Wednesday 27 December 1553.

<sup>3</sup> A geshribene biblyotek in a yidish hoyz in Venetsye in mitn dem 16tn y"i, *Tsaytshrift*, Minsk 1 (1926), cols 141-50 & 3/4 (1928), cols 525-44.

<sup>4</sup> Erika Timm and Chava Turniansky, *Yiddish in Italia. Manoscritti e libri a stampa in yiddish dei secoli XV-XVII / Yiddish in Italye. Yiddish Manuscripts and Printed Books from the 15th to the 17th century* (Milano 2003) 96f., no. 47.

<sup>5</sup> *Elye Bokher. Due canti Yiddish. Rime di un poeta ashkenazita nella Venezia del Cinquecento*, a cura di Claudia Rosenzweig (Arezzo: Bibliotheca Aretina 2010) = Quaderni di traduzione 4 (2010), here p. 33.

Only one text in the collection might be his own composition rather than a copy: the riddles just mentioned. There are no known parallels in Yiddish for these, although comparable material can sometimes be found in Hebrew, suggesting that he might have written down riddles he learned orally. All of these, except for one,<sup>6</sup> are amusing arithmetical puzzles followed by their solutions, although there is no indication of how to solve them. It is difficult to draw any firm conclusions from five riddles on three pages, but it is worth looking at one example. The first example, which fills the first page, is transcribed here:

[214<sup>r</sup>] dō wil ich schreibēn hipschē  
renténis; un` di thērūzī wil ich ach  
schreibēn vār di lāng weil;  
wi' gēt dās zu: eš gēnēn drei' pou'ērīn  
an plāz; klichē hōt ain kōrb mit air; ainē  
hōt zēhēn air in irēn kōrb un` ainē drei-  
Bik un` ainē vūfzik; . un` mächēn ain  
maškone; wi'-vil di pou'ērīn vūn zēhēn  
air gīb, asō müsēn si alē gebēn; un` ku-  
mēn an plāz, un` iklichē vēr-kāft ir air  
al, un` dēr-nōch zēlēn si ir gelt, dō hōt  
ainē gēlēst gleich aš vil aš di anāndē;  
wi' kumt dās? wer eš kān dēr-rōtēn, dēn  
wil ich di air zālēn; der thērez: an erstēn  
gebēn si sibēn um ain pfenig; vūn zēhēn  
air bleibēn ibēr drei air, un` hōt ain pfe-  
nig gēlēst; di vūn dreiBik, di hōt gēlēst  
vir pfenig, dās sein echt-un` zwainzik,  
un` bleibēn ibēr zwai air; un` di  
pou'ērīn vūn vū[fz]lik, di hōt [vē]r-kāft  
nōun-un` virzik un` hōt gēlēst sibēn  
pfenig- un` ir bleibit ibēr ain ai; dēr-  
nōch vēr-kāft di vūn zēhēn iklichēs ai  
um drei pfenig, un` asō müßēn si al vēr-

[214<sup>r</sup>] Here I shall write nice riddles,  
and the answers I shall write too to whi-  
le away the time.

How can this be: three peasant women  
are on their way to the [market] place;  
each one with an egg basket. one has ten  
eggs in her basket, one has thirty of  
them and one fifty. They agree that  
whatever the women with ten eggs will  
ask for them, the others must do the sa-  
me. They reach the [market] place. and  
they sell all their eggs and in the end  
they count their money: every one of  
them has earned the same amount as the  
others. how come? Who can guess that  
gets the price of the eggs from me!

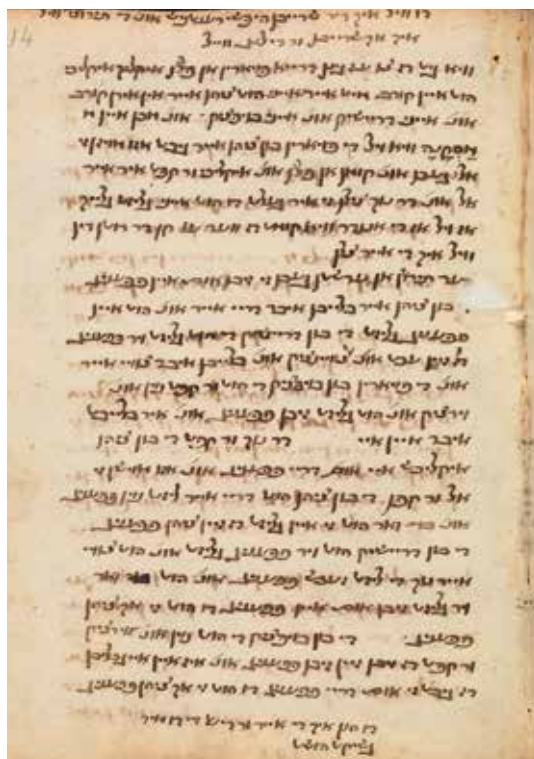
The answer: first they sell seven eggs  
for one penny; of ten eggs, three remain  
and she has earned one penny. the one  
with thirty has earned four pence (that is  
28 [eggs]) and she still has two eggs;  
and the woman with 50 eggs has sold 49  
and earned seven pence and she has one  
egg left; – after that the women with the

<sup>6</sup> The fourth one, still well known, was cunningly slipped in among the others: a peasant and his daughter and a monk and his cook go for a walk and find three apples that they share without cutting. How? They are but three people altogether. This is the only riddle that has so far been edited, see Jerold C. Frakes, *Early Yiddish Texts 1100-1750: With Introduction and Commentary* (Oxford: OUP 2004) 286f., no. 54.



kāfen; . di vūn zēhēn hōt drei air, lēst  
nōun pfenig, un' v̄ vor hōt si ain gēlēst,  
dās sein zēhēn pfenig; di vūn dreißik hōt  
vir pfenig gēlēst un' hōt zwai air nōch;  
di lēst sechs pfenig un' hōt v̄ vor vir  
gēlēst sibēn um ain pfenig, dō hōt si ach  
zēhēn pfenig; . di vūn vūfzik, di hōt  
nōun-un ṽvirzik vēr-kāft, dās sibēn  
sein sibēn pfenig, un' is ain ai gēlibēn;  
dās gibt si um drei pfenig, dō hōt si ach  
zēhēn pfenig;  
dō hōn ich di air vēr-dint, di du mir gē-  
schikt hōst;

10 eggs sells them at three pence an egg  
– and all of them must do as she does.  
the one with ten eggs has three eggs  
[left], she earns nine pence and since  
she had already earned one, she has now  
got ten pence; the one with thirty [eggs]  
has earned four pence and she still has  
two eggs. She earns six more pence to  
her previous four and she also has got  
ten pence. the one with fifty [eggs] has  
already sold 49 for seven pence, and  
one egg is left, she sells it for three  
pence, so that she also has got 10 pence.  
Now I have deserved the eggs that you  
sent me!



The first mathematical puzzle.  
(Bodleian Libraries.  
Manuscript Can. Or. 12, fol. 214r.)

The witty remark at the end seems to be a standard way of concluding the solution to a riddle, since he concludes the second riddle (about apples) in a similar way: 'now I have really deserved my apples!' The egg riddle supposes a contrived situation, and a product that might be sold at six times its initial price, but it is not unique. It can be found in early books of reckoning such as the *Plenaria arithmetica: oder, Rechen buch auff linien vnd ziffern, samp...* by Nicolaus Kauffunger (Cassel 1647) 133, where the initial situation is slightly different: the three daughters of a peasant carry respectively ten, thirty and fifty apples to the market, although the concept, numbers and solution are the same (and the author says he draws this puzzle from an earlier authority). There is an earlier example in a Hebrew mathematical manuscript also kept at the Bodleian Library (MS Mich. 60 = Neubauer 1271) written in Frankfurt am Main in 1537, which ends with 27 puzzles, the last of which (on fol. 174<sup>r</sup>) is identical to ours (three women selling eggs) although told more succinctly.<sup>7</sup> Steinschneider thought the manuscript had a German source,<sup>8</sup> but this has not been proven. The puzzle may have been popular among Jews for some time without leaving other written traces.<sup>9</sup>

In order to gain an overall impression of the manuscript, one would have to present all its texts, but for the sake of brevity I shall only mention some of these.

The second text in the collection presents the ritual commandments affecting women, in rhyming couplets.<sup>10</sup> The numbering of its chapters here differs from that in the printed editions, since it starts with chapter 70 (corresponding to 67 of the printed 'Mitsves-noshim', Venice 1552/3) because, as the scribe says on fol. 90<sup>v</sup>: 'I will not write the rules of *nide*, because you already have them in writing, therefore I won't write it'. Another manuscript must once have been on the shelf of *Sorline bass Mendele Caz*, but this seems not to have survived. The extant text on women's commandments is otherwise akin to 'Mitsves-noshim' Venice 1552/3, but includes occasional lines of verse not found in the printed editions,

<sup>7</sup> For other parallels and variants to this problem, the earliest European one dating from the thirteenth century, cf. David Singmaster's internet publication: 'Sources in recreational mathematics' (eighth preliminary edition) § 7.P.5: Selling different amounts 'at same prices' yielding the same.

<sup>8</sup> M. Steinschneider, *Mathematik bei den Juden* (Berlin/Leipzig 1893/1899 and Frankfurt 1901) 216.

<sup>9</sup> The fifth and last puzzle in our collection also has a parallel in the previous number, 26, in the same Hebrew manuscript, though with changed numbers, even though the Hebrew text offers two variants.

<sup>10</sup> On this genre see Edward Fram, *My Dear Daughter: Rabbi Benjamin Slonik and the Education of Jewish Women in Sixteenth-Century Poland* (Cincinnati 2007), with an appendix describing the different printed and extant manuscript versions and characterizing their main types, pp. 139-49; for our manuscript, see pp. 142f.

perhaps for reasons of (self-) censorship.

Our scribe tried to reproduce his source without improving or altering the text, even to the extent of respecting the spellings of the version he was copying. Spellings therefore vary, as one can see by comparing three distinct segments. The verb *°sagén*, ‘to say’, is usually spelled with ס (a) in the ‘Minhogim’ + ‘Frauen-büchlein’ (1) but without ס (a) in the Five Scrolls (2) and ‘Pirkey-oves’ (3). Here, I list only the most frequent forms of the simplex *°sagen* *°sagt* and *°gesagt*, in numbered columns corresponding to these three sections:<sup>11</sup>

	(1)	(2)	(3)	
gesagt	13	0	0	גזאגט
gesagt	1	0	0	גיזאגט
sagén	24	1	1	זאגן
sagén	87	1	0	זאגין
sagt	354	2	0	זאגט
geságt	12	18	5	גזגט
ságén	14	27	23	זגן
ságén	6	3	0	זגין
ságt	147	105	143	זגט

The writer would have been especially careful accurately to reproduce rare or archaic forms he could not understand, and thus struggled with the ‘Sayings of the Fathers’ (PO = ‘Pirkey-oves’) and with three of the ‘Five Scrolls’ (Lamentations, Esther and Ecclesiastes) which were more archaic in language than the other two (Ruth and the Song of Songs). PO stands out with *den-pfahén*, *den-pfing*, where the other texts use *anpfangén*, *anpfing* (‘receive’). Especially striking while reading 149v (‘Eykhe’ = Lamentations 4.8–4.16) are such spellings as (l. 3) */holin/* for */holz/* and l. 22 */antlein/* for */antliz/*. Here the source text clearly used a final *tsadik* (ץ) that could be easily misread as *yud-nun* (ן). With handwriting such as that of our scribe, this could not have happened since the additional stroke of the *tsadik* is much higher than his *yud*. A final *tsadik* similar

to the ones that misled our writer can be found in the Cambridge manuscript (1382) and in a tractate on bloodletting (1396). Some of the latest known examples are reproduced in the catalogue ‘Italia’: nos 15 (written in 1450) and 77 (a letter written in 1476). A final *tsadik* such as led *Kalonymos* astray seems to have disappeared before 1500.

Nevertheless, the fact that the word */antliz/* went repeatedly unrecognized is also revealing: here is a list of the distribution of the forms */enzlit/* and */antliz/* in our manuscript:

*antliz* & *enzlit* in MS Can. Or. 12

[...]	
Ruth:	[2,10] 118 <sup>v</sup> –14 ouf ir <b>enzlitén</b>
Ct:	[7,9] 140 <sup>r</sup> –6 v̄un seiném <b>enzlit</b>
.....	
*Th:	[4,16] 149 <sup>v</sup> –(–1) <b>antli[z]</b> der    cohanim
	[5,11] 150 <sup>v</sup> –18 <b>antli[z]</b> der sēkenim
*Esther	[1,14] 154 <sup>r</sup> –18 <b>antli[z]</b> des kunigs
	[7,8] 162 <sup>v</sup> –15 un` <b>antli[z]</b> Homen si wordén v̄or-schmet
*Eccl.	[8,1] 176 <sup>r</sup> –16 sein <b>entli[z]</b>
.....	
סליק חמש מגילות : חזק / חזק [...]	
.....	
182 <sup>r</sup>	לך ה הצדקה zu dir gót iṣ di / gērechtikait un` / zu uns vver-schemt <b>enzlit</b> waṣ sōlén mir klāgén un`
187 <sup>r</sup> –(–1)	[Ps 103,8] lāng zōrn <b>enzlét</b>
197 <sup>v</sup> –17	sein hout v̄un sein <b>enzlit</b>
.....	
*219 <sup>v</sup> –8–9	[PO 1,15] <b>antliz</b>
*227 <sup>r</sup> –11	[PO 3,22] ouf sein <b>antli[iz]</b>
*230 <sup>v</sup> –(–1)	[PO 4,29] nit den-pfahung <b>antliz</b>
*236 <sup>r</sup> –1–2	[PO 5,23] ain štārkēs <b>antliz</b> zu den gēhéném / . un` ain schemigēs <b>antliz</b>
.....	
242 <sup>r</sup> –1	[ma‘ēše] <b>enzlit</b> zu den reichén
255 <sup>v</sup> –4	aṣ-báld vil si ouf ir <b>enzlit</b>
267 <sup>v</sup> –(–1)	dō wār / dein <b>anzlit</b> luchtén

<sup>11</sup> I omit less frequent forms, compounds and a few barely legible occurrences, but these would not alter the overall impression. Of course (1) is much longer than the other excerpts together, so that only the relative proportions can be compared.

Our writer has no problem with the word *enzlit*, but does not recognize it as */antliz/*. According to Timm,<sup>12</sup> *antliz* disappeared before 1500, ‘Antlitz’ becoming established in German and *enzlit* in Yiddish, though mostly in biblical translations or elevated style. The written source for the last three Scrolls must therefore have been over fifty years old when Kalmen copied it, as a young man. ‘Pirkey-oves’ must also have been taken from an old source text, although it was probably in another hand since *tsadik* is never mistaken for *yud-nun*. Or perhaps Kalmen had made some progress by then – besides which, the PO part of the manuscript has other linguistic peculiarities. Another difference between the first two and the last three Scrolls is a preference for *däs* and *es* spelled with *sin* (ש, i.e. שׂ and ש׃) in the first two, as opposed to *zayen* (י, i.e. יׂ and י׃) in the other three, confirming the scribe's desire to reproduce his source faithfully.

	116 <sup>v</sup> –142 <sup>v</sup>		143 <sup>r</sup> –181 <sup>v</sup>
	(Ruth & Song of Songs)		(Lamentations, Esther & Ecclesiastes)
däs	200	42	דש
es	43	32	עש
däs	90	352	יׂ
es	16	142	י׃

These glimpses into his working practice help us understand one of the main actors in the production of this manuscript, and often to commiserate with his plight.

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<sup>12</sup> Erika Timm, *Historische jiddische Semantik. Die Bibelübersetzungssprache als Faktor der Auseinanderentwicklung des jiddischen und des deutschen Wortschatzes* (Tübingen 2005) 213f, s.v. ‘enz-lit’.