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JEWISH PRINTERS' MARKS FROM GERMANIC STATES AND THE POLISH-LITHUANIAN COMMONWEALTH (16th-18th CENTURIES)

In the 1440s Johannes Gutenberg invented movable type characters¹. Just thirty years later – in 1475 – the first Jewish book (incunabulum) appeared². The Jews referred to Gutenberg's invention as 'holy', even 'divine', and printing was hailed as the most eminent of all trades³. Printing revolutionized the social and religious life of the Jewish community. With the advent of the mass production of books numbers of customers increased and new institutions engaged in distribution.

¹ S. Dahl, *Dzieje książki*, (1965), pp. 119–123.

² There is no agreement as to which was the first Hebrew book printed, but there is general agreement that it was one of a group printed, without place or date of publication, in Rome between 1469 and 1472. These first Hebrew books are known as the Rome incunabula. See: M. Steinschneider, D. Cassel, Jüdische Typographie und jüdischer Buchhandel, (1851; repr. 1938); A. Berliner, Über den Einfluss des ersten hebräischen Buchdrucks auf den Cultus und die Cultur der Juden, (1896); D.W. Amram, Makers of Hebrew Books in Italy, (1909; repr. 1963); Encyclopaedia Judaica, F. Skolnik, ed. in chief, 9 (2nd ed. 2007), keywords: Incunabula, pp. 757–769. More information is available on the Internet: http://www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/jsource/loc/Adret.html (visited on 24.11.2013).

 $^{^3\,}$ The Bible: Er. 13a, Ex. 36:4. See also: Encyclopaedia Judaica, 16, keywords: Printing, Hebrew, p. 529.

The transition from manuscript culture to print also led to the standardization of the content of the texts reproduced⁴. The appearance of materials and publications changed. Parchment was replaced by paper. Pagination of sections and pages was introduced, fonts were standardized and woodcuts added⁵. Colophons were superseded by title pages containing all the relevant information: the author's name, the place and date of publication and information about its printing house⁶.

There was also a place for printers' marks on title pages. Printers' marks were used as a distinctive graphic symbol by printers, printers' families and publishing houses. As a small-form symbol, they permitted identification of the product, in other words the book, with the publisher and the printer. Signets, shortly after printing was invented, came into use amongst non-Jewish printers⁷, and these were adopted by the Jews⁸. The first known signet appears on the title page of a Jewish book published in 1485⁹. It is not known whether this is the oldest such signet used in Jewish circles, or whether between 1475 and 1485

⁴ Printing raised *halakhic* problems (which type of texts could be printed); E. Reiner, *The Ashkenazi Elite at the Beginning of the Modern Era: Manuscript versus Printed Book*, "Polin", 10 (2007), pp. 85–98.

⁵ A. Yardeni, *The Book of Hebrew Script*, (2002).

⁶ M. Bendowska, J. Doktór, Świat ukryty w księgach. Stare druki hebrajskie ze zbiorów Żydowskiego Instytutu Historycznego, (2011), pp. 9–12. See also: K. Pilarczyk, Drukowana książka hebrajska a religia. Vademecum bibliologiczne, (2012), pp. 19–24, 161–181. See also: M.J. Heller, Studies in the Making of the Early Hebrew Book, (2007).

⁷ The first one used by Johann Fust and Peter Schöffer; H. Szwejkowska, *Książka drukowana XV–XVIII wieku. Zarys historyczny*, (2nd ed. 1975), p. 19. See also: E. Weil, *Die Deutschen Druckzeichen des XV. Jahrhunderts*, (1929), p. 16; H. Grimm, *Deutsche Buchdruckersignete des XVI. Jahrhunderts. Geschichte*, Sinngehalt und Gestaltung kleiner Kulturdokumente, (1965), p. 15; G.A. Glaister, *Encyclopedia of the Book*, (1966), p. 136.

⁸ *The Hebrew Book: a Historical Survey*, ed. by R. Posner, I. Ta-Shma, (1975), passim. See also: http://www.jewishencyclopedia.com/articles/12368-printers-marks (visited on 24.11.2013).

⁹ More information is available on the internet: http://www.jewishencyclopedia.com/articles/12368-printers-marks (visited on 24.11.2013).

printers of Jewish background used signets whose images have not survived.

Printers' signets were used by Jewish printers up to the 19th c. Most of them are presented in Abraham Yaari's book *Hebrew Printers' Marks: From the Beginnings of Hebrew Printing to the End of the 19th c.* ¹⁰ However, not all printers used printers' marks. It is not known why certain publishing houses and their owners decided to either use or not to use printers' signets; and it is not possible to explain it by size of publishing house, location or how long the business lasted. Sometimes source materials provide explanations based on the individual preferences of printers who declared an unwillingness to ornament title pages with signets¹¹. However, these are isolated cases. It is also difficult to establish why certain printers or printers' families used a particular signet for marking their books or why printers who possessed such signets only used them to mark some of the books they published, but not all of them¹².

Printers' signets were placed in the centre of the title page or towards the bottom of the page. All of them were based around the use of two colours: black and white. At first, signets were in the form of a wooden stamp pressed on the page but with time copper plates were used¹³. As they were not signed by the authors they are a source that cannot be ascribed to any specific person. Furthermore, it cannot be said that the designing of Jewish printers' signets was solely the domain of Jews. However, there can be no doubt that all printers' signets reflected the skills of those who made them, the specific tastes of their owners and prevailing artistic trends. For this reason they were characterised by

¹⁰ A. Yaari, Hebrew Printers' Marks: From the Beginnings of Hebrew Printing to the End of the 19th century, (1943) [Hebrew/English]; A. Yaari does not present all printersmarks (especially from 19th c.). They are presented, for example, in: Z. Gries, *The Book in the Jewish World 1700–1900*, (2007), p. 114; http://www.hebrewbooks.org.

¹¹ Yaari, Hebrew Printers' Marks, p. XIII.

¹² For example: Balaban's publishing house (19th c., Lviv).

¹³ Yaari, Hebrew Printers' Marks, p. XIII.

diversity: ranging from simple patterns to those that demonstrated extreme care for detail and manner of presentation in an approved way. Printers' signets were not only used for practical purposes, permitting the printer or the printing house to be identified, but also served as items of decoration, adorning books¹⁴.

By definition – as identification marks – printers' signets should be unique and original in character. The motifs that they displayed provided information about the printer (forenames, surname, origin, and ancestry), profession and place of residence. They also expressed symbols of joy, resourcefulness, and Biblical and Talmudic sayings. The number of graphic elements used in Jewish tradition was limited and covered the following: depictions of scenes from the Bible and religious symbols, signs of the zodiac, human figures, depictions of flora and fauna, geometrical patterns, urban landscapes and individual architectural elements. Lettering was also used as an element of decoration¹⁵ creating the monograms, forenames and surnames of printers arranged in the form of Biblical and Talmudic quotations. Sometimes acrostics were used.

In order to diversify signets, use was made of various shapes (oval, square, rectangular, rhombus)¹⁶ while their size (adapted to the title page as a whole) also differed. The distribution and choice of graphic elements varied however, and similarities could not be avoided. Some of them undoubtedly acquired their appearance by accident. Others

¹⁴ The same situation was with non-Jewish printers' marks. See also: K. Krzak-Weiss, *Typologia sygnetów drukarskich (na przykładzie znaków stosowanych przez polskich impresorów od XV do połowy XVII wieku*), "Biblioteka", 13 (22) (2009), pp. 7–18; eadem, *Polskie sygnety drukarskie od XV do połowy XVII wieku*, (2006).

¹⁵ Both the Hebrew and Latin alphabets were used (the latter was commonly used with Jewish printers' signets in the 18th c.). The letters were placed vertically or horizontally. There were also instances of letters being adjusted to the overall pattern and layout on the signet; Yaari, *Hebrew Printers' Marks*, pp. 28, 29, 48, 52, 53, 76, 93, 95, 101.

¹⁶ Ibidem, passim.

were the outcome of the intentional copying of marks seen on the title pages of books belonging to other publishing houses.

The purpose of this article is to present printers' signets used between the 16th and 18th c. and to trace the similarities and differences between them. However, it will not present all available printers' signets; instead, it will concentrate on discussing the specifics of signets appearing in Germany and Poland¹⁷.

The Jewish printers from Germany and Poland were Ashkenazi Jews from different states, but they cooperated with one another. Some of the printers worked both in Germany and in Poland¹⁸.

Movable type characters were invented by a German, and it was there that the first printing houses arose. The principles under which they operated were defined by regulations dating to 1521–1570 stipulating that printing presses could only operate in imperial cities, university cities or those which constituted a seat of authority. They also placed the burden of censoring books on princes and urban municipalities¹⁹. Furthermore, in Frankfurt am Main, where the largest book fairs in the Reich were held, the Book Commission regulated the book trade. Considering the gradual removal of Jews from Germanic states, the printing activities of Christian guilds and the non-granting of printing privileges to Jews, the number of Jewish printing houses was not large. It was the Christian printers, above all, that occupied themselves with printing materials for the needs of Jewish readers. Jewish printing houses operated in just a handful of towns and cit-

 $^{^{17}\,}$ In this paper the most representative printers' marks, but not all, are presented from these countries.

¹⁸ For example Hayyim Schwarz, a printer from Prague, printed books in Oels (1530), Augsburg (1533–40), Ichenhausen (1543–4) and Heddernheim (1546), and ultimately left Germany for Lublin (Poland); M.J. Heller, *Printing the Talmud: A History of the Earliest Printed Editions of the Talmud*, (1992), p. 328.

¹⁹ S.G. Burnett, *The Regulation of Hebrew Printing in Germany, 1555–1630:* Confessional Politics and the Limits of Jewish Toleration, in: Infinite Boundaries: Order, Disorder, and Reorder in Early Modern German Culture, ed. M. Reinhart, T. Robisheaux, (1998), pp. 329–348.

ies, for example Fürth, Sulzbach, Dyhernfurth [Brzeg Dolny], Hanau, Frankfurt (Oder) and Frankfurt am Main²⁰. However, they were not fully free to choose the materials they wished to print as these were subject to the control of scholars and rabbis²¹. However, Jewish printing houses (together with Christian printing houses) located in the Germanic states²², supplied more than one third of all titles in Hebrew available in the period from the 16th to the 18th c.

The situation of Jewish printing houses was completely different in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth when compared to Germanic states. In the Commonwealth printing activities were based on royal privileges and a monopoly on the import and sale of Jewish books. Rulers and Jewish religious leaders brought in printers from abroad but Jewish printing houses were not subject to state control. In the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth there was only a system of Jewish internal control performed by the *Waad Arba Aracot* (Council of Four Lands) and the rabbinate. The history of Jewish printing in the Commonwealth between the 16th and the mid–18th c. was connected exclusively with three urban centres with Jewish printing houses: Cracow, Lublin and Żółkiew²³. Following the dissolution of the *Waad Arba Aracot* (1764), in other words from the time that the authorities which exercised the control of Jewish printing stopped operating, there was an explosion

²⁰ S.G. Burnett, German Jewish Printing in the Reformation Era, in: Jews, Judaism, and the Reformation in Sixteenth-Century Germany, ed. by D.P. Bell, S.G. Burnet, (2006), pp. 503–527; M. Schmelzer, Hebrew Printing and Publishing in Germany, 1650–1750: On Jewish Book Culture and the Emergence of Early Modern Jewry, "Leo Baeck Institute Yearbook", 33 (1988), pp. 369–383.

²¹ E. Zimmer, Jewish Synods in Germany during the Late Middle Ages (1286–1603), (1978), p. 83.

²² A. Yaari, Complaints of Proofreaders about Printing by Non-Jews on the Sabbath, in: idem, Studies in Hebrew Booklore, (1958), pp. 172–175 [Hebrew].

²³ M. Bałaban, Drukarstwo żydowskie w Polsce XVI w., in: Pamiętnik zjazdu naukowego im. Jana Kochanowskiego w Krakowie, (1931), pp. 102–116; K. Pilarczyk, Hebrew printing houses in Poland against the background of their history in the world, "Studia Judaica", 7 (2004), no 2, s. 201–221.

in printing. Printing houses started appearing in small cities and towns (particularly on private estates) including Krotoszyn, Żytomierz, Piotrków Trybunalski and Berdyczew and others. The same state of affairs continued up to the partitions of Poland²⁴.

Printers from all of the above-mentioned centres from Germany and the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth had in their possession and used printers' signets. In the presentation of printers' marks three methods can be used: chronological, geographical and iconographic. The chronological method is a presentation of signets from different ages; geographical – from different places; and iconographic – with different symbols. In this paper each will be used²⁵.

The elements (symbols) from printers' marks belong to five groups:

- images using elements of the animal world,
- images using religious elements (Biblical scenes, religious symbols, symbols indicating the sanctity of a place, for example the Temple in Jerusalem),
- images of vocation or interest (musical elements, printers' tools etc.),
- emblem of a city, panorama,
- letters (Hebrew or/and Latin).

Some of the printers' marks have more than one symbol²⁶ in which case the classification is presented by the largest element.

Between these five groups the biggest and the most representative was the first (including symbols of deer, falcon and fish). The symbol of

²⁴ More information: Ch. D. Friedberg, *History of Hebrew Typography in Poland* from the beginning of the part of the year 1534, and its development up to our days, (1950), (Hebrew).

²⁵ This method for the non-Jews printers' marks were used by H.W. Davies and W. Roberts: W. Roberts, *Printers' Mark*, (1893); H.W. Davies, *Devices of the early printers* 1457–1560. Their history and development with a chapter on portrait figures of printers, (1935).

²⁶ K. Pilarczyk, Talmud i jego drukarze w pierwszej Rzeczypospolitej. Z dziejów przekazu religijnego w judaizmie, (1998), pp. 232–234.

the deer was used by a number of printers, operating both in German and Polish lands. Naphtali Hirsch ben Menahem, the Cracow printer operating in the second half of the 16th c. placed the image of a deer on his signet. The deer has its head turned to the left while its entire body is presented running with its front legs raised. The deer was placed inside a flowery border. A Talmudic quote appears on both left and right sides of the signet²⁷. The image of a deer also surmounts the signet used by Zevi ben Abraham Kalonymus Jaffe, a 17th c. printer from Lublin. It does not present the full figure of the animal (as in the case of the signet of Naphtali Hirsch ben Menahem), but just a part of its body. The deer was placed on the top of a shield growing out of the crown, under which two fish are placed with their heads turned in opposite directions. The signet also contains six Hebrew letters. The first pair is placed in the upper section of the signet, the next at the same level as the fish, on either side, and the last appear beneath the shield²⁸. A deer symbol was placed on the printers' signet of Zevi Hirsch ben Joseph ha-Levi – a printer from Fürth operating at the end of the 17th c. It depicts an animal drinking water from a spring and is oval in shape²⁹. The deer motif can also be seen on three signets used by the Spitz printing house kept by Zevi Hirsch and his son Abraham in Offenbach at the end of the 18th c. These signets depict a deer in three different positions: walking, lying down and running. A jug is placed next to the animal on two of the three signets while a book is also added to one of them. Furthermore, two signets are provided with an inscription in Hebrew with information on the owners of the signet: the printer Zevi Hirsch and his son, Abraham³⁰.

²⁷ Yaari, Hebrew Printers' Marks, p. 25.

²⁸ Ibidem, p. 32.

²⁹ Ibidem, p. 47.

³⁰ Ibidem, p. 95.

Fish motifs were used by Zevi ben Abraham Kalonymus Jaffe and Isaac ben Aaron Prostitz (d. 1612)³¹. Isaac ben Aaron Prostitz was a printer from Moravia, operating in Cracow from around 1569. His signet was oval in form and in the middle he placed two fish with their heads facing in opposite directions. Beneath them there was an impression for placing ink with the base facing upwards³².

None of the Jewish printers from Poland used printers' marks with motifs of birds as the most important element (on Abraham ha-Cohen Rapa's signets the image of the raven was the biggest symbol alongside two others,)³³ but they were used by printers from Germanic states (18th c.). The brothers Zalman zum Kranisch and Abraham zum Falken, printers from Frankfurt am Main used a printers' signet which depicted a falcon sitting on a branch or with a crane. Above the birds there was an inscription in Hebrew with information on the owner of the signet³⁴.

Images using elements of religion (Biblical scenes, religious symbols, symbol indicating the sanctity of a place, for example the Temple in Jerusalem) were a second group of symbols used by Jewish printers from Poland and Germany.

Isaac ben Aaron Prostitz did not use just one signet (the first is described above in the section dealing with signets bearing the image of fish) but another which depicts a lamb standing next to a bush. A fragment of this image was also used on another signet belonging to this printer. It bears a scene depicting the sacrifice of Isaac (*akedat Yitzhak*). This picture is rich in detail showing Isaac bound and lying down with Abraham leaning over him holding a knife in his hand. A censer is in front of Isaac who is lying next to the lamb. God Himself is observing

³¹ Friedberg, *History of Hebrew Typography*, pp. 5–25; Steinschneider, Cassel, *Jüdische Typographie*, pp. 34–35.

³² Yaari, Hebrew Printers' Marks, p. 26.

³³ Ibidem, p. 28.

³⁴ Ibidem, pp. 52–53.

this scene from the heavens³⁵. To this group belong printers' marks with religious symbols: the Crown of the Torah (Keter Torah) and a pair of hands raised in benediction appear on the signet of Jacob ha-Kohen – an 18th c. printer from Frankfurt (Oder)³⁶. Both elements are surrounded by an entwining plant, and the entire composition is closed in an oval form³⁷. Zevi Kalonymus Jaffe used a signet depicting the Temple in Jerusalem. The same theme was used by Antonino Gustiniani - a Venetian printer (16th c.) and Mordehay ben Gershom ha-Kohen from Prague (16th c.)³⁸. On the printers' marks are religious symbols, and plant and animal elements as well, for example Abraham ha-Kohen Rapa from Cracow (16th c.) placed three elements on an oval signet: a pair of hands raised in benediction with the Crown of the Torah above them. In the lower part of the mark there is an image of a raven³⁹. The brothers Aaron and Gershom ben Chaim David ha-Levi, 18th c. printers from Żółkiew, placed a jug and two crossed fish in the central section of a rectangular shaped signet. The space around these elements was filled with plant elements⁴⁰.

Images of vocation or interest (musical elements, printers' tools etc.) formed the third group. The most representative signets belong to these groups are Shabbetai ben Joseph Bas's signets. Bas, also known as Bassista⁴¹, operating in Dyhernfurth between the 17th and 18th c., used two printers' signets. The first depicted a tympanum, bearing the figure of a person holding a musical score in both hands. Similar symbols are

³⁵ Ibidem, p. 29.

³⁶ More informations about Kohen's family: *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, 12, keywords: *Kohen*, pp. 257–258.

³⁷ Yaari, Hebrew Printers' Marks, p. 60.

³⁸ Ibidem, pp. 11, 25, 50. See also: Pilarczyk, *Talmud i jego drukarze*, p. 137.

³⁹ Ibidem, p. 28.

⁴⁰ Ibidem, p. 63.

⁴¹ Encyclopaedia Judaica, 3, keywords: Bass, Shabbetai ben Joseph, p. 206.

used on the second signet also depicting a person holding a musical score. The entire composition is locked in a rectangle⁴².

The fourth group included city emblems or a panorama. Only printers from Germany used these elements⁴³. Some printers from Germany decided to place panoramas of the cities in which they operated on signets, for example this approach was used by Judah ben Hirc Beer, Aaron Frankel and Aaron ben Isaac Saul, the owners of printing houses operating in Frankfurt (Oder) in the 18th c.⁴⁴

To the last group belong signets with letters. The signets used Hebrew letters in the form of an inscription, or as a decorative element dating back to the 18th c., contained the monograms of printers. They appeared in the form of entwining plants and the Latin alphabet was used instead of Hebrew.

Between the $16^{\rm th}$ and $18^{\rm th}$ c. some motifs became more popular and some were forgotten, but they were used both in Poland and Germany and none is a copy of another. Their graphical form changed though, as well as the meaning.

Some of the symbols indicate the forename or surname of the printers (raven signifies the family name of Rapa while the image of a deer primarily refers to the printer's name – the Hebrew name 'Zevi' and its Yiddish equivalent, Hirsch). Some of the symbols suggest the priestly or Levite descent of the printers while others the original vocation or interests of the printer (for example, Bas's signets – he was a cantor and loved music). But sometimes the meaning can be different and can be changed, for example, the image of a deer may also symbolize the generation of Nephtali (Genesis 49:21). In addition the deer is a symbol in the Torah constituting a reference to Psalms 119:97 and Proverbs 5:19. The other symbol – the fish– which appears a number

⁴² Yaari, Hebrew Printers' Marks, p. 48.

⁴³ In Poland (in the publishing house from Józefów) this element was used in 19th c.; ibidem, p. 114–115.

⁴⁴ Ibidem, p. 76.

of times on signets may be interpreted in a number of ways. First of all, it symbolizes benediction, resourcefulness, life and salvation (reference to Ezekiel 47:9). Secondly, it may be a reference to one of the months in the Jewish calendar – the month of Adar. Thirdly, fish constituted the symbol of the generation of Nephtali (Joshua 19:32–39). Finally, it could be a reference to the contents of the book itself. This is because a comparison of Jews to fish exists. Much the same as a fish out of water dies, so too the Jewish nation deprived of the teachings of the Torah cannot survive. For this reason this symbol is placed on the most important books – the Torah and the Talmud⁴⁵.

To sum up, printers' marks from Germany and Poland ($16^{th}-18^{th}$ c.) are not only elements of decoration in books and the logo of the printer or the printer's family (elements identifying the books), they are also very interesting material for the study of Jewish symbology. They show just how much information this small-form on a title page can include.

ZNAKI ŻYDOWSKICH DRUKARZY Z KRAJÓW NIEMIECKICH ORAZ RZECZPOSPOLITEJ (XVI–XVIII WIEK)

(STRESZCZENIE)

W artykule starano się wyjaśnić, czym jest żydowski sygnet drukarski (historia, symbolika, metody przygotowania i użycie) oraz przedstawić historię żydowskiego drukarstwa w krajach niemieckich i na ziemiach polskich w okresie od XVI do XVIII wieku. Te informacje stanowią podstawę dla zaprezentowania sygnetów drukarskich używanych przez żydowskich drukarzy z tych terenów w omawianym okresie. Analiza dokonana została poprzez użycie trzech metod porównawczych, które pozwalają na pokazanie podobieństw i różnic między sygnetami, modyfikacji symboli oraz zmiany ich znaczeń.

⁴⁵ Pilarczyk, *Talmud i jego drukarze*, pp. 134–136.

ZEICHEN DER JÜDISCHEN DRUCKER AUS DEN DEUTSCHEN STAATEN UND DER POLNISCH-LITAUISCHEN ADELSREPUBLIK (VOM 16. BIS ZUM 18 JAHRHUNDERT)

(ZUSAMMENFASSUNG)

Der Artikel versucht zu definieren, was jüdische Buchdruckerzeichen sind (Geschichte, Symbolik, Methode der Herstellung und Nutzung) sowie die Geschichte des jüdischen Buchdrucks in den deutschen Staaten und der polnisch-litauischen Adelsrepublik in der Zeit vom 16. bis zum 18. Jh. darzustellen. Diese Informationen bilden die Grundlage für die Darstellung der Druckerzeichen, die von den jüdischen Buchdruckern sowohl in Polen als auch in Deutschland im fraglichen Zeitraum verwendet wurden. Die Analyse wurde anhand von drei Vergleichsmethoden durchgeführt, diese zeigen die Ähnlichkeiten und Unterschiede zwischen den Siegeln, ihre Modifikationen und Bedeutungsänderungen.

Übersetzt von Renata Skowrońska

JEWISH PRINTERS' MARKS FROM GERMANIC STATES AND THE POLISH-LITHUANIAN COMMONWEALTH (16th–18th CENTURIES)

(SUMMARY)

The article attempts to present Jewish printers' marks (their history, motifs, production and use) and to explain the history of Jewish printing in Germanic states and the Polish Lithuanian-Commonwealth ($16^{th}-18^{th}$ c.). The information will constitute the basis for the presentation of Jewish printers' marks which were used both in Poland and Germany in the period in question. Three comparative methods (chronological, geographical and iconographic) have been used in the analysis, which allows the author to demonstrate similarities and differences between printer's marks, the modifications of symbols and changes in their meaning.

Słowa kluczowe / Schlagworte / Keywords

- żydowskie sygnety drukarskie; żydowska typografia z ziem polskich i niemieckich (XVI–XVIII w.)
- jüdische Buchdruckersignete; jüdische Typografie aus den polnischen und deutschen Gebieten (16.–18. Jh.)
- Jewish printers' marks; Jewish typography from Poland and Germany (16th–18th c.)

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