THE GENESIS OF THE VERB hidpis "Print" AND ITS COGNATES

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The root dps "print" is found in Israeli Hebrew in only three conjugations: hiphil, huphal, and niphal, whereas in the Responsa literature of the 16th to the 19th centuries we find it also in the qal. In this article I examine the verb dăpas and its relationship to hidpis.

Since printing does not predate the mid-15th century, it is clear that Hebrew verbs meaning "print" did not come into being before that date. Colophons of Hebrew incunabula show that the verbs kātab and hāqaq were first employed, while the root dps appeared only in the third stage: initially as dăpas and soon afterwards as hidpis. For some decades the niphal (nidpas) exclusively served the passive (of the qal or of the hiphil), since the huphal apparently did not appear before the middle of the 16th century.

This order of development sheds light on the morpho-syntactic arrangement of the "print" field in medieval Hebrew.

a. Background

In Israeli Hebrew the verb "print" is expressed by hidpis, and its passive is filled either by hudpas or by nidpas. This means that the huphal and the niphal function as doublets in expressing the passive of the active hiphil. It seems, likewise, that synchronically hudpas is the main passive and nidpas is secondary to it. Hence, it is instructive to trace formation of the dps verbs to

1. At present, both the huphal and the niphal of dps serve as unrestricted alternatives for the past and present (participle), but for the future the huphal alone is common (niphal is rare). In other words, yiddăpes "will be printed" is rarely used.
their conjugations and thereby throw light upon an aspect of 15th century Hebrew.

A diachronic examination of the dps conjugations enables us to follow the development of the root from its genesis to the present. The root dps, with the connotation relevant to our study, is contemporaneous with printing, i.e., the last decades of the 15th century, when Hebrew books were first published. Consequently, we have to find the occurrences of the dps verbs during the 15th-16th centuries. The Responsa literature is pertinent for such an investigation since this represents a major source of Hebrew usage for that period. We have examined through the medium of the computer all the works which form the data-base of the Bar-Ilan University Responsa Project (hereafter: Responsa Project).

b. The dps Verbs in the Responsa Literature

The immediate finding we made was that the verb dps is not only declined in the three conjugations (hiphil, huphal, and niphal), but it also occurs quite frequently in the qal. I have already mentioned the existence of dps (qal) in my work on the language of the Responsa (Betzer-Bistritzer, 1990, pp. 60-62). Here we list all the occurrences of dps (qal) in the Responsa Project (in the order of their appearance):

2. We have in mind here relief print ("book print") whose invention is credited to Gutenberg. Printing began in 1445 in Germany, from which it spread to the whole of Europe. Hebrew printing began about 1470 (Habermann, 1969, p. 76).

3. On the Responsa Project and the compositions it includes, see for example Betzer-Bistritzer (1990, pp. 482-484).

4. For the benefit of those who are not familiar with dps (qal), we list here all the occurrences found in the Responsa Project, including those post-dating the 15th-16th centuries.

5. Every reference has two parts. The first part contains the name of the work (without the word "Su")", its part (where there are more than one), and the time when the author lived (in square brackets). The second part contains the section, the number of the paragraph in the section, and the number of the sentence in the paragraph. This system of quotation is based upon the Responsa Project and has useful advantages. The names of the works are only mentioned here, since the Responsa Project system of listing references is used here. In order to ease the acquaintance with those works, the names of the authors are listed here: Bêt Yōsēp - Joseph Caro; Binyamin Zē'ēb - Benjamin Ze'ev ben Mattathias; "ën Yishq - Isaac Elhanan Spektor, Hakom Sēbī - Zevi Ashkenazi; Harada'k - David ben Hayyim Hakohen; Haram"a - Moses Isserles; Hātam Sōper - Moses Sofer; Hayyim Bēyād - Hayyim Falaji; Hūt Hammēṣīlīā - Solomon Duran, Solomon Seror, Abraham Tawa; Mahara"m Padova - Meir Katzenehlembogen; Mahara"m - Mordecai Schwadron; Nōdīr Bihūdā - Ezekiel Landau; Rana"h - Elijah ben Hayyim; Sīa 'ēlīzēr - Eliezer Judah Waldenberg; Tābihā - Simeon ben Zemah Duran; Tēṣūbā Me'ahōhā - Elazar Fleckeles; Tona 'ēmet - Aaron Sassoon.
GENESIS OF THE VERB *hidpis*

1. "Another *yentilomer* is absolutely forbidden to print it."^6

2. "Even if they did damage once, they shall not be prevented from printing on account of this."

3. "It is verily written in the printed responsa."

4. "And it is almost completely printed."

5. "which is already explained in my printed responsum."

6. "For the reason mentioned in my printed responsum."

7. "That he will be able to print his signature."

8. "which I have printed in Jewish Community Prague."

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6. The meaning of *yentilomer* is provided by *Haram"a* in that section: *Haram"a* [16], 10-8-5). "And he participated with one of his prominent countrymen, i.e., *yentilomer*: *yentilomer* is apparently a prominent, noteworthy person. On the etymology of this Yiddish noun and its relationship to "gentleman" on the one hand and to *yente* on the other, Prof. J. Bar-El kindly pointed out to me his work (Bar-El, pp. 39-42).

7. In the Responsa *Torat "emet* there are four more instances of *dps* (pass. pt.) as follows: *dępūsōt* (64-5-1; 68-3-2; 125-3-3), *dępūsōt* (74-11-1).

8. At the end of the Responsa *Nōdā' Bīhūdā*, there are three further instances of *lidpos* "to print": however, they are not from the pen of the author (R. Ezekiel Landau) but are the annotations of R. Baruk Frenkel. They are found in part two of his annotations to *Hōsen Miśpāt*, section 24.
The treatise I wrote before I printed my book Nahal Yishāq."

"Which they will print on Shabbat."

"As I have written in a responsum which will be printed presently in part two."

"To print in order to publicize this for ever."

In addition to the instances of the qal cited from the Responsa literature, there should be added yidpēsū "will print," found in the approbation of R. Yishāq Shmelqes to the responsa of Besal‘el Ashkenazi (16th century):

"And they are forbidden to print the like of it until the completion of ten years from the undermentioned date."

9. In addition to the three occurrences of lidpōs "to print" which we quoted from the Hātam Sōper, the work also has yidpēsū הידפוס דפוס. Since there is doubt whether they are qal or hiphil (yidpōs or yadpōs; yidpēsēnū or yadpēsēnū), we have not included them here. Other cases about which there is similar doubt (מפוס and מפוס) have been encountered in Hāfeleph Lēkā Sēlamū and in Seride ‘ē, and we did not include them for the same reason.

10. Apparently there is doubt here as to whether it is qal or hiphil as above, but the neighboring seyyidpōs suggests that we have the qal conjugation, i.e., seyyidpēsū.

11. This qal has the connotation of the niphāl "will be printed." In late Rabbinical Hebrew, one finds now and then the qal used with the connotation of the niphāl, e.g., yaharōq we‘al yā‘ēbūr instead of yeharēq we‘al yā‘ēbūr "One should rather be killed than transgress"; yā‘ēb wēyēmḥōl lō instead of yā‘ēb wēyēmḥōel lō "One shall repent and will be forgiven" (see Avineri 1945, p. 231). It is appropriate to remark here that yā‘ēb wēyēmḥōl lō is found already in the Babylonian Talmud (Sukka 53a). The passive nuance which our case carried does not, of course, have any bearing here.

12. Thus in the Responsa Project (typing error); it should be דפוס.

13. The date at the bottom is from the 20th century (8 Šēbat 5664 = 1904).
These findings indicate that \textit{dps (qal)} was also in constant use alongside the regular conjugations of \textit{dps}. Hence, it is appropriate to speak not just of three conjugations but of four maintaining a single active - passive system. Diachronically, there are two active - passive systems: \textit{qal}-\textit{niphal} and \textit{hiphil}-\textit{huphal}.

The earliest occurrence of \textit{dps (qal)} in the Project's Responsa data-base is found in \textit{Ṣūt Haram\textquoteright a} (see above). The first occurrences of the other conjugations are as follows:

\textit{niphal}:

1. [Harada\textquoteright k] [15-16], 24-5-1.
   "In the first print which was printed."
   \textit{nidpas} (pf. m.s.) "it was printed"

2. [Mahara\textquoteright m Padova] [16], 9-5-1.
   "And in the printed Ra\textquoteleft a responsa in no. 539 there is a responsum on this subject."
   \textit{nidpāsim} (pt. m.pl.) "printed"

\textit{hiphil}:

1. [Binyāmin Zē\textquoteright ēb] [16], 296-1-2.
   "That the Gaon R. Hiyya Me\textquoteleft ir enacted when he printed the books."
   \textit{hidpis} (pf. 3 m.s.) "he printed"

2. [Mahara\textquoteright m Padova] [16], 29-2-5.
   "And I intended to print it."
   \textit{lēhādpīsō} (inf. estr. + sf.) "to print it"

\textit{huphal}:

1. [Tašē\textquoteright s-4-2] [16], 20-3-1) (=Hūt Hammē\textquoteright sullās-2 [16], 20-3-1).^{14}
   "He wrote so in his printed responsa no. 954."
   \textit{mudpāsim} (pt. m.pl.) "printed"

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^{14}. This citation, as we shall see below, is taken from \textit{Hūt Hammē\textquoteright sullās} (R. Solomon Seror). However, because the Responsa Project system was used here, it has been referenced as \textit{Tašē\textquoteright s} (part four).
"It was written in his writings which were printed some years ago." hudpēsū (pf. 3 m.pl.) "they were printed"

c. dps Conjugations - Order of Emergence according to the Responsa Literature

In order to determine the sequence in which the four conjugations of dps appeared in the Responsa literature which we examined, we must know the dates when the four relevant Responsa works were composed: Šū"t Haram"a (in which the first instance of qal occurs), Šū"t Harada"k (the first niphal), Šū"t Binyāmin Ze'ēb (the first hiphil), and Hūt Hammēšullāš (the first huphal). Since three of the four authors were contemporaries in the first half of the 16th century, extreme caution must be exercised in determining their biography and, even more so, the sequence of their works. In the Responsa Project they are listed as follows: Hūt Hammēšullāš (as a part of Tašbē"s), Harada"k, Binyāmin Ze'ēb, Haram"a.

1. Hūt Hammēšullāš

In modern editions, Hūt Hammēšullāš was bound together with the Tašbē"s. Since the Tašbē"s is divided into three parts, the Responsa Project has referred to Hūt Hammēšullāš as Tašbē"s part four. The author of the Tašbē"s, R. Simeon ben Zemah Duran (Rašba"s), lived in the 14th-15th centuries. Hūt Hammēšullāš is a responsa collection of three different authors, descendants of Rašba"s: Solomon Duran, Solomon Seror, and Abraham Tawa. They each contributed an independent section. The relevant material to our investigation is contained in section two (see the reference above for mudpāsim), which is the responsa of R. Solomon Seror from the second half of the 16th century, the sixth generation after Rašba"s (Hirschberg, 1965, p. 44). The responsa of R. Solomon Seror were only printed in 1738.

15. It must be emphasized that we refer to the responsa of R. Joseph Caro, not to his well-known commentary to the Tūr. The first collection of responsa, written by Joseph Caro (on "eben Hārēzer), was published in Salonika in 1598. This collection was called, "Responsa of R. Joseph Caro." The edition of this work, which was published in Jerusalem in 1960, was entitled, "Responsa Bēt Yōsēp." This edition was the source for the Responsa Project.
2 šū't Harada"k

The author, Rabbi David ben Hayyim Hakkohen, was the father-in-law of R. Binyâmin Zê'eb (see below). The year of Harada"k’s birth is uncertain. Benayahu (1988, p. 7) is of the opinion that his birth predates 1465 and that he died before 1528. His Responsa were printed in 1537, about ten years after his death.

3 šū’t Binyâmin Zê'eb

The most detailed biographical information concerning the author, R. Benjamin Ze'ev ben Mattathias of Arta, is to be found in Benayahu (1988), who holds that R. Benjamin was born circa 1475 and died close to the year 1545. The book was edited and prepared for printing by the author himself in 1538¹⁶ and the printing completed in 1539.

4 šū’t Haram "a

The author, R. Moses Isserles, lived from 1530 to 1572 (Ziv, 1971, p. 13). His Responsa which refer to the ḥārah Hayyim were printed in his lifetime in 1571. The responsum which is listed as number 10 in his Responsa, from which our quotation above is taken, is known as his earliest responsum, written in 1550.

From this biblio-biographical examination, and on the basis of terminus a quo and ad quem considerations linked to it, it becomes clear that the chronological order of the compositions is different from that obtaining in the Responsa Project. The sequence is as follows: Harada"k, Binyâmin Zê'eb, Haram "a, Ḥūṭ Hammēšullāš. The Responsa Project placed the Ḥūṭ Hammēšullāš (together with the Tašbê"s) first, basing itself on the period when the Rašba"s, the author of the Tašbê"s, lived, while we assign it to the time of R. Solomon Seror whose Responsa are relevant for our study. As a result of this clarification, the huphal of dps from the Bêt Yōsēp Responsa (see above) predates the one from the Ḥūṭ Hammēšullāš, but one cannot say this with any certainty.¹⁷

The dps conjugations evolved accordingly in this sequence: niphal (Harada"k), hiphil (Binyâmin Zê'eb), huphal (Bêt Yōsēp/Ḥūṭ Hammēšullāš), qal (Haram "a). The initial active-passive system, according to the material we have noted, was hiphil-niphal. Even though there exists in Hebrew a morpho-

¹⁶. Not the year 5294 (as is written on the verso of the title-leaf, printed in Venice). See Benayahu (1989, p. 159).
¹⁷. The author of the Responsa Bêt Yōsēp, R. Joseph Caro, lived from 1488 until 1575.
syntactic polarization between the *hiphil* and *niphal* (e.g., *hikhid-nikhad*), it is not plausible to assume that the active-passive relationship of verbs moulded at the beginning of the 16th century (or the end of the 15th) came to expression in the irregular way (*hiphil-niphal*) and not in the regular (*qal-niphal* or *hiphil-huphal*).

d. dps **Verbs in Extra-Responsa Sources**

Ben-Yehuda (1908, vol. II, pp. 978-979) already cites examples of forms taken from the four conjugations, and some of them are even earlier than those cited above. The oldest example, antedating each one of the four conjugations, is as follows (the reference, enclosed in brackets, is reproduced as given in Ben-Yehuda's dictionary):

*qal:*  

"He printed it in Pisaro in 510 [=1510]."

*diipas* (pf. 3 m.s.) "he printed"

*niphal:*  

"It was printed by the youngest engraver."  

*nidpas* (pf. 3 m.s.) "it was printed"

*hiphil:*  

"And we agreed to print the book in two columns."

*lēhadpis* (inf.) "to print"

*huphal:*  

"In their books which are printed with an iron and lead pen, many times they elide letters which should really be included."

*mudpāsim* (pt. m.pl.) "which are printed"

18. According to the bibliographical details noted by Steinschneider (1931, p. 579), it seems that ת"ל = 1510, and the time is suitable also for Ben-Yehuda's placing it as 1510.

19. For the book *Māḥō 'el Ḥāṭṭiyyōt Ḥāṭṭ ḳīyyōt*, whose author is unknown, see Steinschneider (1931, p. 579).

20. Before this, Ben-Yehuda quotes the preface of "Eliyyahû Bähûr to *Maḥōret Hammīṣōret*, but it seems that he does not antedate him.

21. This is taken from the composition *Śittē Ḥaggībōrīm* printed by the author, Abraham Gabison from Sa'ar 'Aryé (= Port Leone), in the year 1612.
Ben-Yehuda's witnesses for the qal, niphal, and hiphil predate the Responsa ones, but the huphal example he cites is later than those in the Responsa literature. Two salient facts emerge from Ben-Yehuda's study presented here: a) dps (huphal) is relatively late; b) dps (hiphil) is found in an incunabula of Rada'q's "osar Haššorāšim of the year 1491.

The chronological order niphal-hiphil-qal-huphal, determined upon the basis of the Responsa material, does not, therefore, reflect the true development. The stages according to the sources quoted here are instead hiphil (1491) - qal (1510) - niphal (1516) - huphal (Bēt Yōsēp/Hūti Hammēšullān).22

e. dps Verbs in Incunabula

Since Ben-Yehuda has utilized an incunabulam, a product of the cradle-printing era, we turned to Habermann's book (1968) devoted to this subject of early printing to see whether he includes examples of incunabula containing dps verbs. Indeed, Habermann (1968, p. 91) states that in a colophon of a "Siddur according to Separdi rite," printed in 1490 in Naples, the copyist has appended: "Bar yōshu'at ṭemām lām pārāh "Master Josua printed them for Ben Porat" (dēpāsām qal pf. 3 m.s. + sf.; "he printed them"). This occurrence of the qal predates by one year the hiphil.23

What we had learned from Ben-Yehuda and Habermann gave us the impetus to examine colophons of Hebrew incunabula conveniently collected by Freimann (1924-1931). In this material we found two instances of dps verbs (and other verbs connected to printing activity, for which see further below):24

1) "All other books printed concerning this matter are flat, unsalted, and lentil broth."
The second example cited is the very one found in Ben-Yehuda quoted before. The addition of *nidpāsim* to the material above leads us to the following sequence for the *dps* conjugations: *qal* (1490) - *niphal* (1491) - *hiphil* (1491) - *huphal* (before 1575).

**f. Why Both *dāpas* and *hidpis*?**

The difference of a single year between the appearance of the *qal* and the *hiphil* cannot be regarded as indisputable proof of the priority of the *qal*. It is more precise to say that the *qal* and the *hiphil* emerged simultaneously, side by side. Such an emergence as twins from birth is rare and requires an explanation. It is pertinent to point out that even if *dāpas* predates *hidpis*, there is still need for clarification. What caused the birth of this pair?

The noun *dēpūs* "printing" is found for the first time in 1477: הָדִיפָסָו מַמְאֹר מְדִיפָס "the youngest printing craftsman" (Abraham ben Chajjim27 Pisaurensis, 1477, Fr. 20). This noun had been easily absorbed since it was not a new creation, being a Mishnaic Hebrew noun whose meaning had been extended.28 This was not the case with the verbal conjugations of *dps* and the action nouns derived from them. Here a new word was needed, or at least a new stem (of *dps* or a different root). The earliest printers were in the greatest need of an action noun expressing "printing," and in incunabula texts the groping for a suitable term is palpable. In 1475, when the printing of the four Turīm of Jacob ben Ašer was completed, the printer, Meschullam Cusi, wrote: *ותְכַלְכֵּלַת בְּרֵיחַת הָדִיפָס "The work of the service of the sanctuary was finished" (Fr. 12).* The phrase *תְכַלְכֵּלַת בְּרֵיחַת הָדִיפָס*, and especially the noun *תְכַלְכֵּלַת*, serves here not only in its idiomatic meaning but also expresses the printing action which had no appropriate term. Similarly, Abraham ben Chajjim Pisaurensis in 1477 uses הָדִיפָסָו מַמְאֹר מְדִיפָס "And all the work was

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26. See already Steinschneider and Cassel (1851, p. 23). They were correct as regards *dēpūs* but erred with regard to the *dps* verbs.

27. Freimann transcribed thus: Chajjim, Chiskijja, Mardochai, Meschullam, etc. (and see above note 24).

28. The noun *dēpūs* (with the dalet having shewa, although Jastrow in his dictionary has it with qames, *dēpūs*) appears already in the Mishnah (e.g., Demay 5:3) with the meaning "form and shape." It is etymologically derived from the Greek *tupos* (see e.g., Kohut in his dictionary), and cf. *topes* "frame."
The use of "melachat kashrut" (with all its nuances) to express "printing" is most marked in all of the following examples:

1. "And the work for the service of the sanctuary ("printing") of the first seven books was finished." (Salomo ben Juhuda et Obadia b. Moses, ante 1480, Fr. 39).

2. "And the work for the service of the sanctuary ("printing") of Tora with Onqelos and Rashi in one volume was completed." (Abraham ben Chajjim Pisaurensis, 1482, Fr. 38).

3. "And with this was completed the work of the sanctuary ("printing") of the private prayer as is the custom of our people." (Josua Salomo b. Israel Natan Soncino, 1486, Fr. 75).

4. "The work for the service of the sanctuary ("printing") of the twenty four [books of the Bible] was completed." (id., 1488, Fr. 98).

Other nouns which conveyed the meaning of "printing" also serve as evidence in the search for an appropriate action noun:

5. "In the year 237 (=1477) our work ("printing") was completed." (Meister Josef et Neria, Chajjim Mardochai et Chiskijja de Venturo, 1477, Fr. 32).

6. "But the beginning of the building of this book was carried out by us, the sons of Soncino." (Filii Soncino, 1485-1486, Fr. 81).

A specific term for "printing" is first found only in 1485\(^{29}\) where it is not derived from the root \textit{dps} but from \textit{hqq} "engrave." The action noun is \textit{haggigah} "engraving" and is found in the following:

\(^{29}\) The contemporaneous existence of the above terms with \textit{haggigah} "engraving" should not surprise us, since this was a period when people were still searching for the proper word to designate this new technological achievement.
And herewith was completed the engraving ("printing") of this important treatise.

"And their engraving ("printing") was completed here in Soncino."

The action noun hadpāsā was apparently born many years later. The earliest occurrence of it I could find was in the Responsa of Haram"a: אלָלֶה יִצְרֵי אֲמִיתָם אֲזֶה וְאָז אֲזֶה יִצְרֵי אֲמִיתָם בְּשַׁעַת הָדָפָסָה (Haram"a, 132-9-4).

"And I do not know whether it was the Lord's doing or if I corrected the matter during the printing." We know that this responsum numbered 132 is the latest of his Responsa and dates from 1571 (Ziv, 1967, p. 39). Hence our earliest witness for hadpāsā is from 1571.

The action noun, as is well-known, derived from the verb (Berman, 1975, p. 101), and the existence in 1486 of hāqīqā "printing" therefore indicates that, prior to 1486, the verb hāqaq with the meaning "print" existed. Did hāqaq indeed serve this purpose before the introduction of dāpas/hidpis?

We find witnesses for the use of verbs connoting "printing" from the year 1476, but dps does not number among the earliest ones. During the twenty years from the beginning of Hebrew printing circa 1470 until the first use in 1490 of verbs derived from dps (according to Habermann's example), the derivatives for "printing" were taken from other roots. At the outset, kātab was used to signify "print" as the following demonstrate:

1 לֵכָּבֶת הַדָּפֶר (Abraham Conat, 1476, Fr. 18).
   "to write ("print") this book."

2 לָמְתַּבְּךָ וְשָׂלָמָה הַדָּפֶר (id.).
   "to write ("print") the completion of the book."

3 אַשְׁרַה נְמַבֵּת עַלַּ יֵדֶּחַ צְעַרָי מָארְמָי מַדְפָּס (Abraham b. Chajjim Pisaurensis, 1477, Fr. 20).
   "which was written ("printed") by the youngest craftsman of printing."

4 לִבְּרַה לָמְתַּבְּךָ הַדָּפֶר (Abraham Conat, 1480, Fr. 23).
   "I saw it appropriate to write ("print") this book."

5 בָּא שְׁעַרְיָה מַבְדֶּה לֵזֶה וְשָׂלָמָה בְּדָפָס (Josua Salomo b. Israel Natan Soncino, 1484, Fr. 59).
   "Enter his gates with thanksgiving to God, my banner, and write ("print") it in my press."
GENESIS OF THE VERB *hidpis*

In the second stage, prior to 1480, the verb *ḥaqeq* was used\(^\text{30}\) and we list a few examples:

1. "by the engravers ("printers")."
   - (Salomo b. Jehuda et Obadia b. Moses, ante 1480, Fr. 39).

2. "And may He who favoured me to complete this book favour me in His mercies to engrave ("print") other tractates of the Talmud."
   - (Josua Salomo b. Israel Natan Soncino, 1483, Fr. 57).

3. "And they engraved ("printed") them in a book produced by print."
   - (id., 1484, Fr. 62).

4. "Says the engraver ("printer")."
   - (id., 1486, Fr. 69).

5. "We deemed it appropriate to engrave ("print") it completely, revised and well done."
   - (Josua Salomo b. Israel Natan Soncino, 1488, Fr. 98).

6. "engraved ("printed") in Soncino."

Other instances of the use of the verb *ḥaqeq*\(^\text{31}\) are found until 1494. The craftsman who is engaged in printing is identified during this period, and even a few years afterwards, by the participle, *mēqeqeq* "engraver." Thus, for example, the young printer Gešon b. Moses Soncino from time to time

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30. Y. Kenaani was apparently not aware that *ḥaqeq* predated *dāqeq/hidpis* and therefore pronounced in his dictionary that *ḥaqeq* serves as "print" through borrowing. See Kenaani (1964, p. 1454).

31. I do not know why Ben-Yehuda decided that לְהָקֵק lēhagēqām "to engrave them" is a *pret* here. See Ben-Yehuda 1908, vol. III, p. 1725. It seems to me that all the relevant verb forms of *ḥaqeq* (with its inflections), are from the *qal*.

32. Incidentally, here is the source of the well-known verse adopted by the Soncino family of printers: מִצְרִיאָנִי מצרי והיה רָבִר יְהוָהּ מְשָׁמֵרִי "For out of Zion shall go forth the law and God's word from Soncino."

33. The printer Moše ben Šealtiel indicated in 1491 the "print" through the medium of ḥasob (as a substitute for *ḥaqeq*: They incised me with an iron and lead stylus"; Fr. 307), and cf. Job 19:23-24.
identifies himself by the pseudonym "the youngest of the engravers" (see Freimann, 1924-1931, p. 195).

The development of the "print" verbs was, therefore, in this sequence: kätab - hâqaq - dâpas. Accordingly, there is no room for hidpis, since dâpas filled the need of the writers. The printers of the incunabula were, apparently, influenced from two directions when they used dps: on the one hand morphologically, through kätab and hâqaq, in the direction of the qal; on the other hand semantically, through the causal component contained in "printing," in the direction of the hiphil. The qal implies that the dôpêš (qal pt.) is the one who prints the words on the page, whereas in reality it is the machine which prints and the human is the cause of the action. The person is one who "causes to print," madpis (hiphil pt.). It is possible to discern in the following citation the awareness of causation felt by the writers:

Josua Salomo b. Israel Natan, 1492, Fr. 175
"Because he made the effort for it to be printed in order to benefit the public by it." The twofold influences caused the creation of the pair, hidpis alongside dâpas. It follows that the two passives, niphal and huphal, would result from the two active conjugations.

1. Conclusions

Based on the data we have presented, the morpho-semantic arrangement of the "print" verbs, with the action nouns derived from them, follows naturally. In the accompanying chart that illustrates this (except for the passive of kätab and hâqaq), the following symbols are used:

\[
\begin{array}{c|c|c|c|c|c|c|c}
& 1476 & 1480 & 1485 & 1490 & 1491 & 1550 & 1571 \\
\hline
\text{active} & kätab & hâqaq & dâpas & hidpis & nîdpás & hupdās & \text{hadpāsā} \\
\text{passive} & & & & & & & \\
\text{action noun} & hâqaq & dâpas & & & & & \\
\end{array}
\]

34. The context does not permit one to regard hîpêš as a niphal but as a hiphil.
The active verb initially was kātab, a few years later it was hāqaq, and then finally dāpas35 accompanied by - perhaps shortly afterwards - hidpis. The occurrences of dps (qal) found in the late Responsa compilations (until the 19th century) do not reflect a late creation but, on the contrary, constitute the original form which was prevalent among writers since its inception in 1490, even though its ascendancy waned since the hiphil had been well absorbed. The niphal served as the passive for both the qal and the hiphil, and only toward the middle of the 16th century did the huphal also spread to serve as the passive. The arrangement at which we have arrived is markedly different from the possibility we raised at the beginning of our study.

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35. The noun דִּפְּסָה (dēpūs) mentioned by Berliner was misunderstood by Kutscher (1982, p. 170) as the verb dēpūs and therefore he incorrectly stated that dps (qal) had appeared already in 1477.


