

TIPOLOGY AND USE OF MEDIEVAL HEBREW LITURGICAL FRAGMENTS
FROM THE 'BOOKS WITHIN BOOKS' DATABASE

This article is a survey of the continuously growing contents of medieval Hebrew liturgical manuscript fragments found on the *Books Within Books: Hebrew Manuscript Fragments in European Libraries* research database (hereafter *BWB*).¹ The goal of this unprecedented type of study is an attempt to create a typology from the variety of liturgical surviving witnesses retrieved from libraries and archives in cities north and south of the Alps, according to the following specific criteria: a) quantity, b) location, c) conservation, d) use in binding, format and size, e) liturgical content, f) dating and geo-cultural origin, and g) virtual volumes. This series of observations will be followed by a second,

complementary section, which will address the primary role of the fragments, once part of liturgical codices for private or synagogal use. A hypothesis on the original purpose of these fragments will be determined by their size, as well as their textual and scriptural layouts.

As of the end of February 2018, the *BWB* database presently contains the descriptions of 6'775 fragments of various literary genres, mainly consisting of biblical, Talmudic, halakhic, liturgical, philosophical, ethical, philological, mystical and medical texts,² found in the following 17 countries: Armenia, Austria,³ Czech Republic, France, Germany, Hungary, Israel,⁴ Italy, Luxembourg, Netherlands, Po-

¹ Based at the École Pratique des Hautes Études (Paris) and directed by Prof. Judith Olszowy-Schlanger (EPHE-CNRS, Paris), the international project *Books within Books: Hebrew Manuscript Fragments in European Libraries (BWB)* was founded in 2007. It is a network of various academic scholars and institutions, archives and libraries, spread across European countries, as well as Israel. The goal of the project has been the identification, inventory, conservation, research and public awareness of the recycled medieval Hebrew manuscript fragments. With the support of various institutions and foundations, the project has not only published several books and articles, it has more importantly created a database, containing the descriptions and digital images of 6'775 fragments (www.hebrewmanuscript.com) (accessed February 2018). The present article was written within the framework of a two-year research project on the *BWB* database (2016-2018), entitled 'Books Within Books: Hebrew Fragments in Italian and French Libraries and Archives', funded by the Gerda Henkel Foundation. A preliminary general bibliography on Hebrew manuscript fragments, including those in Italy, can be found in A. LEHNARDT (ed.), *Genizat Germania. Hebrew and Aramaic Binding Fragments from Germany in Context*, Leiden, Boston 2010, pp. 335-364. For Italy, see also M. PERANI, *Codicum Hebraicorum Fragmenta. I mano-*

scritti ebraici riusati nelle legature in Italia, in M. PERANI and C. RUINI (eds.), *'Fragmenta ne pereant'. Recupero e studio dei frammenti di manoscritti medievali e rinascimentali riutilizzati in legature*, Ravenna 2002, pp. 51-74 (part. pp. 64-74).

² There are also 5 calendrical fragments on *BWB*, scattered between Paris, BnF (2 frags.: Ms. Heb. 1403: E1-E2); Modena, Archivio di Stato (1 frag.: Busta 10, fr. 150); Pavia, Archivio di Stato (1 frag.: Scatola 1 cart. 29E 1498-fr.2) and The Hague, Meermannno-Westreenianum Museum (1 frag.: 10A.10.nr 28c). There are 6 fragments of astronomical/astrological type (Rome, Biblioteca Casanatense (3 frags.: no shelfmarks), 3 of which are not within the corpus of 11 countries with liturgical fragments: Russia, Russian State Library (frags. 71-1920.32 and 71-1920.41) and Jerusalem, National University Library (frag. Ms. Heb. 1800.322 = 8).

³ The Hebrew manuscript fragments found in Austria have been described on a different website, accessible on the *BWB* website itself at the following link, under 'Hebrew fragments databases': *Hebräische Handschriften und Fragmente in österreichischen Bibliotheken*, or at <http://hebraica.at> (accessed February 2018).

⁴ There are 109 Hebrew manuscript fragments, housed in the Jewish National and University Library in Jerusalem which have been described on *BWB*,

land, Russia, Slovak Republic, Spain,⁵ Switzerland, United Kingdom and Vatican City State. Out of the countries housing Hebrew manuscript fragments on *BWB*, only 11 countries preserve Hebrew liturgical manuscript fragments. This survey has divided the fragments in two geographical groups, resulting in a distribution of European countries north of the Alps and Italy, on its own, south of the Alps. The reason for isolating Italy from the other countries, is to demonstrate the differences in quantity, conservation, binding use, geo-cultural origin and place of liturgy among the preserved fragments in northern and central Italy versus those in northern Europe.

1. *Typology of Hebrew Liturgical Manuscript Fragments on BWB*

1a) *Quantity:*

Here below is the list of the 11 countries preserving Hebrew liturgical fragments displayed in bold and in increasing quantitative order:

1. Luxembourg **2**/4
2. Netherlands **4**/68
3. Czech Republic **14**/92
4. Switzerland **17**/124
5. Hungary **20**/373
6. Slovak Republic **30**/135
7. Poland **42**/542
8. France **126**/627
9. Austria **135**/481
10. Germany **153**/730
11. Italy **265**/ 3'240

20 of which are liturgical fragments (13 Ashkenazi, 4 Sephardi, 2 Oriental and 1 Byzantine, identified according to script). However, since there is no information on the provenance of these fragments, they have not been included into this study. For information on fragments from book bindings in Israel, see A. DAVID, *Genizat Yerushalayim: The National Library of Israel in Jerusalem*, in A. LEHNARDT and J. OLSZOWY-SCHLANGER (eds.), *Books within Books. New Discoveries in Old Book Bindings, 'European Genizah': Texts and Studies, Studies in Jewish History and Culture*, 3, Leiden 2013, pp. 299-309.

⁵ The Hebrew fragments in Spain mainly come from three Girona archives. The fragments from the

As of February 2018, the total number of Hebrew liturgical fragments on *BWB* presently comes to 808. There are 543 liturgical fragments out of 3'176 total fragments in 10 countries north of the Alps and 265 liturgical fragments out of 3'240 total fragments in 11 cities in Italy. It is presently clear that the number of Italian liturgical and non-liturgical fragments exceeds the quantities per European country north of the Alps.

1b) *Location:*

The location of liturgical fragments deals with the type of institution (library, archive, museum, abbey) in which they are preserved.⁶ After verification on *BWB*, it has been observed that state, university and municipal libraries house most of the fragments in countries north of the Alps (Hungary, France, Luxembourg, Poland, Slovak Republic, Switzerland), with the exception of the Czech Republic and Germany (archives), Austria (Cistercian and Benedictine abbeys) and the Netherlands (museums). On the contrary, in northern and central Italy, most liturgical fragments are found in state, city, municipal and parochial archives (Bologna, Correggio, Faenza, Forlì, Modena, Pavia, Pesaro, Viterbo, Urbino) and only two libraries (Rome and Alessandria).

The place of liturgy among other fragments occupies various positions depending on the region and a difference can be detected between the fragments found north and south of the Alps. Here below is a sample listing of 8 out of 10 countries north of the Alps (Austria, Czech Republic, France, Germany, Hungary, Poland, Slovak Republic, Switzerland) with the

Arxiu Historic have been listed and briefly described on the following database, also accessible through *BWB* or at <http://manuscritshebreus.cultura.gencat.cat> (accessed February 2018). Even though many liturgical fragments have been discovered in Girona, they have not yet been described on the database, which is the reason why they have not been included in this present study. For a description of these fragments, see E. VALLS-PUJOL, *Edició paleogràfica dels manuscrits hebreus de l'Arxiu Històric de Girona* (Palaeographic Edition of the Hebrew Manuscripts of Historical Archive of Girona) (PhD, University of Girona, 2015).

⁶ The scope of this survey did not allow any in-

most liturgical fragments.⁷ Firstly, 4 listings will display the place of liturgy by country and latterly, 4 listings will present the place of liturgy by city, both of them organized in decreasing chronological order. The place of liturgy among other literary genres and quantity of liturgical fragments will be indicated in bold. A subsequent listing will enumerate the 8 cities in Italy which contain the most liturgical fragments,⁸ listed within the other literary genres also with the place of liturgy highlighted in bold script.

Place of liturgy by country north of the Alps

Germany (153/730): Bible, Targum, biblical commentaries, **liturgy**, Talmud, *halakhah*, *midraš*.

Austria (135/481): Bible, Targum, biblical commentaries, Talmud, **liturgy**, *halakhah*, philosophy, ethics, *midraš*, philology, *Qabbalah*.

Hungary (20/373): Bible, biblical commentaries, **liturgy**, *halakhah*, Talmud.

Switzerland (17/124): Bible, Targum, **liturgy**, Talmud, *halakhah*, philology

Place of liturgy by city north of the Alps

France, Colmar, Bibliothèque municipale (104/370):

Bible, *haftarot*, **liturgy**, biblical commentaries, Targum, *halakhah*, philology

Poland, Cracow, Jagellonian Library (19/421):

investigation on the original provenance of the fragments, which in most cases, cannot be located.

⁷ The Bibliothèque nationale of Luxembourg preserves only 2 liturgical fragments and 2 Talmudic fragments and The Netherlands preserves 4 liturgical fragments out of 68 total fragments, spread between the Meermannno-Westreenianum Museum in The Hague (1), Amsterdam University Library, Rosenthaliana Collection (2), Utrecht University Library (1). The liturgical fragments from Luxembourg and the Netherlands have therefore not been included in this sample list, since the

Bible, biblical commentaries, Targum, Talmud, *halakhah*, **liturgy**, *Qabbalah*, philology

Slovak Republic, Martin, University Library (17/95):

Bible, **liturgy**, *halakhah*

Czech Republic, Olomouc, Vedecka Knihovna (Research library) (7/23): *Halakhah*, Talmud, **liturgy**, Bible

Observing the contents of fragments in countries and cities north of the Alps, it is possible to discern that a majority of countries and cities (Germany, Hungary, Switzerland, Colmar, Martin) situate liturgy right after the Bible and biblical related texts, followed by Talmud and/or *halakhah*, with the exception of Austria, where liturgy is placed in between Talmud and *halakhah*. Only Cracow and Olomouc display liturgy after halakhic and Talmudic fragments. This sampling of countries and cities north of the Alps clearly shows the importance of liturgy in medieval *Aškenaz* (including northern France and Bohemia), where the cultural and intellectual orientation of these communities was primarily focused toward *Torah*, *Tefilah* and *Talmud*,⁹ that is the study of the Bible and the Talmud (and *halakhah*) as well as prayer, punctuating the other two on a daily basis. Regarding the other literary genres of fragments preserved in these countries and cities after the aforementioned three, philology is present in Austria, Switzerland and Colmar, *midraš* is found in Germany and Austria, as well as *Qabbalah*, which can also be found in Cracow and Austria; the latter country containing the most fragments of different literary genres north of the Alps.

number of liturgical and non-liturgical fragments is very small and not comparatively worthwhile to include here.

⁸ The Archivio di Stato in Faenza and the Biblioteca Angelica in Rome each preserve 1 liturgical fragment out of a total of only 13 fragments in both locations and have therefore not been included in this sample list for the same reason as above. Therefore 263/265 liturgical fragments are taken into consideration in the listing.

⁹ See E. KANARFOGEL, *Jewish Society and Education in the Middle Ages*, Detroit 1992, pp. 63, 69.

Place of liturgy by city in Italy

Modena, Archivio di Stato, Archivio Storico Comunale, Archivio della Curia Archivescove, Archivio Capitolare, Biblioteca Estense (103/1'570):

Bible, Targum, biblical commentaries, *halakhah*, Talmud, **liturgy**, philology, medical texts

Pesaro: Archivio di Stato (53/105):
Philology, Bible, **liturgy**

Alessandria, Biblioteca Civica (32/32):
Liturgical commentaries

Pavia, Archivio di Stato (31/153): *Halakhah*, Bible, biblical commentaries, **liturgy and liturgical commentaries**,¹⁰ philology

Viterbo, Archivio di Stato (17/80):
Bible, *halakhah*, **liturgy**, philology

Bologna, Archivio di Stato (11/249):
Talmud, Bible, biblical commentaries, *halakhah*, medical texts, *midraš*, **liturgy**

Correggio, Archivio Storico Comunale (10/150):
Halakhah, Bible, Targum, biblical commentaries, medical texts, *Qabbalah*, **liturgy**, *Mišnah*

Forlì, Archivio di Forlì (5/42):
Bible, Targum, Talmud, *halakhah*, **liturgy**

Urbino, Archivio di Stato (1/66):
Biblical commentaries, Bible, Targum, Philology, *halakhah*, **liturgy**

With the exceptions of Viterbo, Pavia, Modena or Alessandria, where liturgy is alone or situated after the Bible, *halakhah* and the Talmud, but before philology and medical texts,

one can discern that the place of liturgy preserved among other literary genres in the following 5 other Italian cities of Bologna, Correggio, Forlì, Urbino and Rome, is of much less importance than north of the Alps, where liturgy is relegated to the last or next to last place. This minority of medieval Hebrew liturgical fragments compared to those of other literary genres in Italy, is possibly due to a general shortage in available liturgical manuscripts being expurgated, abandoned, sold or confiscated, to then be recycled into book bindings. Indeed, a majority of liturgical manuscripts may have stayed in Jewish hands or recovered after being censored. Alternatively, the lack of liturgical fragments may also have been due to a difference in attitude toward liturgy compared to *Aškenaz*, where it took on a secondary place in relation to the innovative literary corpus of lexicography/philology, medicine, science and mysticism, created by the intellectual elite of medieval Jewish northern and central Italy.

1c) Conservation:

Here below are the quantities of fragments in countries north and south of the Alps presented in bold, in increasing quantitative order of preservation in their bindings and in parentheses, the number of fragments detached from their bindings:

1. Luxembourg: **2/2** (all detached)
2. The Netherlands: **4/4** (all detached)
3. Italy: **5/265** (261 detached)
4. Germany: **58/153** (95 detached)
5. Austria: **71/135** (46 detached)
6. France: **105/126** (19 detached)
7. Hungary: **9/20** (11 detached)
8. Switzerland: **12/17** (5 detached)
9. Czech Republic: **10/14** (4 detached)
10. Poland: **40/42** (2 detached)
11. Slovak Republic: **0/30** (0 detached)

¹⁰ Archivio di Stato in Pavia and the Biblioteca Civica in Alessandria are the only locations in Italy (on *BWB*) which preserve commentaries on liturgical poetry, without the poems themselves, in a full-page layout. In Pavia, there are 4 cut bifolios

containing commentaries on *Selihot* in an Italian bookhand script of the 14th c. (shelfmark: Pacco 34 cart.4 1838, fr. 1-2 and Pacco blu 4 cart. 1973, fr. 2-3. Those of Alessandria will be discussed later under the chapter on virtual volumes.

Notwithstanding Luxembourg and The Netherlands with the least fragments altogether, Germany not only preserves the largest number of liturgical fragments north of the Alps (153), but also has the most detached from host volumes for restoration and conservation purposes (95). However, some countries like Poland, have very few detached fragments (2) or none at all as in the Slovak Republic. In contrast to the north of the Alps, the majority of liturgical fragments in Italy have been isolated from their bindings also for better preservation. Only 5 liturgical fragments have remained as binding covers: 4 covering registers and 1 covering an old printed book. There are 3 preserved in Pesaro,¹¹ 1 in Urbino¹² and 1 in Modena.¹³

Id) Use in binding, format¹⁴ and size:

Coming to the use of liturgical fragments in the bindings of their host volumes, their formats and size, in Italy, as mentioned previously, liturgical fragments were mainly found in State Archives (except for Rome, where 1 fragment is housed in the Biblioteca Angelica). These medieval parchment fragments were reused as binding covers on registers or protocols of notaries, predominantly between the 16th and 18th centuries. The recycling of parchment for secondary use during this period corresponds to three important phenomena which contributed to the dis-

memberment of medieval Hebrew manuscripts in Italy. Firstly, the spread of printing all over Europe since the last quarter of the 15th century, compelled books to become cheaper and more readily available, heavily compromising the manuscript market. Hence parchment became more valuable for its weight than its content. Secondly, there was an abandoning or selling of Hebrew manuscripts by persecuted Jews, due to expulsions from the Papal States and other Italian states from the mid-16th century onwards into the 17th century.¹⁵ Lastly, the confiscation and expurgation of Hebrew manuscripts by the Inquisition in Italy took place, beginning by order of a papal decree in 1553 (Julius III) and ending well into the 18th century. While this decree specified that the Talmud and rabbinic blasphemous works were to be burnt, other Jewish works, and particularly liturgy, were submitted to censorship.¹⁶ This destructive wave forcing Jews to abandon or sell their manuscripts, spread through all the Papal States¹⁷ justifying the practice of reusing parchment – already in effect since the start of printing – but drastically climaxed during the mid-16th century to the end of the 17th century. Contrastingly, due to a slower compliance with the Inquisition, Modena only reached its recycling peak between the 1630s and 1650s.¹⁸ It is noteworthy to add that dismembered Hebrew manuscripts of all literary genres, were sold *en masse* by *cartularii* (parchment and paper merchants) to the notaries and

¹¹ Pesaro, Archivio di Stato, Notarile Antonio Venanzi (1575-92), Notarile Liber Informationum 1611 and Notarile Liber Informationum 1611-1612.

¹² Urbino, Archivio di Stato, Cancelleria del Luogotenente, Reg. RST 1655.

¹³ Modena, Biblioteca Estense di Modena, title of old printed book: *Hugonis Cardinalis Comment. In Bibl. Postilla in Davidicum Psalterium, Tomo III*, (shelfmark: 14. L. 30).

¹⁴ Height x width in millimeters for a folio: Atlantean format: >/ = 350-400 x 250-350 mm // large format: >/= 250-300 x 180-200 mm // medium format: >/= 180-230 x 130-150 mm.

¹⁵ See F. CASSEN, *Marking of the Jews in Renaissance Italy. Politics, Religion and the Power of Symbols*, Cambridge 2017, pp. 12, 86.

¹⁶ There are 4 expurgated liturgical fragments on *BWB*, found in the archives of Modena (2) and

Pavia (2). Modena: Archivio della Curia Archievescovile, fr.98,1a, *Šaḥarit le-Roš ha-Šanah* (day 1), liturgical poem entitled *‘Aderet Mamlakhah* by ‘ELE’AZAR HA-QALLIR (Fig. 3), whole paragraph blotted out with black ink; Modena, Archivio di Stato, Partimenti dello stato Part. II 1654, 217.1, *‘Amidah Šaḥarit le-Yom Kippur*, several lines blotted out with black ink; Pavia, Archivio di Stato, Pacco 13 cart. 5, 1433, fr.1, *‘Alenu le-Šabeaḥ le-Yom Kippur*, several scratched out lines; Pavia, Archivio di Stato, Pacco 13 cart. 5, 1663, fr.1, *‘Amidah Šaḥarit le-Roš ha-Šanah* (day 2), several barred out lines.

¹⁷ The cities with liturgical fragments under Papal rule were Rome and its province Viterbo, Bologna (1506), Forlì and Faenza (1504), Pesaro and Urbino (1631).

¹⁸ See M. PERANI, *385 Printed Books of the Fifteenth to Eighteenth Centuries, Bound with medieval*

archivists of the region for binding purposes, divulging why we have discovered fragments from one manuscript in two or more cities, as will be demonstrated later under the chapter on virtual volumes. It is also reasonable to assume that these *cartularii* sold ready-made registers bound with the Hebrew fragments.¹⁹ Moreover, the cities of Modena and one of its provinces like Correggio, preserve a particularity with their registers, which is the deliberate erasure of the outer-side of the fragment used as the binding cover, making the register or notary's protocol look new.²⁰ Nevertheless, this custom of treatment was not replicated in Bologna, Pavia, Urbino, Viterbo, Rome and Pesaro, where both sides of the detached fragments are legible.

Hebrew manuscript fragments of various geo-cultural origin in Italy are composed of a majority of larger formats chiefly comprised of bifolios, cut bifolios and vertically cut folios into a half or a quarter, originating from the same manuscript (bifolios cut horizontally into strips are also present but in fewer number) and used as binding covers. In spite of some Atlantean sized folios being used for covering whole registers, the recurring format found in archives in Italy is one bifolio,²¹ glued to a half or quarter of a vertically cut folio from the same manuscript, which are used to complete the binding of a register. This process of sticking two portions of parchment together was done in order for the parchment to reach the inside covers of the register on either side. The parchment is also cut in triangles in the corners, enabling it to be folded and glued onto the inside of the cover.

Hebrew Manuscripts in the Estense Library in Modena, in A. LEHNARDT (ed.), *'Genizat Germania'*, pp. 217-275 (part. pp. 222, 224).

¹⁹ This hypothesis is supported by a number of cases in the Archivio di Stato di Bologna, where introductory notes on the first page of the registers contain the title of the register and a brief material identification of the Hebrew fragment covering it, thus attesting that the binding of Hebrew fragments onto the registers took place before their compilation. See PERANI, *Codicum Hebraicorum Fragmenta*, cit., pp. 56-57.

²⁰ See PERANI, *385 Printed Books*, cit., pp. 219, 224.

²¹ The largest 5 bifolios of liturgical fragments found in Italy are all of Ashkenazi origin. The big-

gest measures 321 x 494 mm and is preserved in Modena, Archivio di Stato, Partimenti dello Stato, Part. III, 1641-42, fr. 1, 185.1 (*Seliḥot*). As a comparison, although somewhat smaller than the Ashkenazi formats, the largest Atlantean sized bifolio of Italian origin measures 353 x 363 mm (Modena, Archivio di Stato, Busta 10, fr. 152; *maḥzor Pessah*). The largest one of Sephardic origin measures 340 x 240 mm (Modena, Archivio della Curia Archivescivile, fr. 19.1; *maḥzor Šavu'ot*).

Out of all the formats of the 265 liturgical fragments in Italy, there are only 11 whole folios, 4 of which are of Atlantean size, all of Ashkenazi origin and large enough to cover one whole item. The largest of these folios measures 450 x 323 mm (Fig. 1). Among the large and medium sized whole or cut folios and bifolios, there are also a minority of small cut fragments in various shapes, previously used to reinforce bindings or cover holes. A noteworthy example can be found in a poorly preserved small rectangular strip of bifolio with diagonally cut corners (80-85 x 155-182 mm). Detached from a *maḥzor* according to the Roman rite, this fragment contains an unidentified section of a liturgical poem for the feast of *Šavu'ot*, written in a square Italian script (shelfmark: F. leg. D 152). The format of the fragment helps to identify its use in a binding which, in this case, was acting as an internal reinforcement for the cover of a 4th edition copy of Giovanni Boccaccio's *Decameron* printed in Florence in 1587.²²

Regarding the use of liturgical fragments in bindings, their formats and sizes in countries north of the Alps, information on the modes of acquisition of Hebrew manuscripts for secondary use by binding workshops is less precise than in Italy. This data is also variable depending on the countries and cities housing Hebrew fragments in general, but one can indeed assert that the propagation of printing in Europe from the second half of the 15th century, as well as the abandonment or confiscation of personal belongings, coupled with successive expulsions of Jews from Franco-Germany²³ between the beginning

²² See E. ABATE, *Bindings and Covers: Fragments of Books and Notebooks from The Angelica Library (Biblioteca Angelica, Rome)*, in *Books within Books*, pp. 237-254 (esp. pp. 245-246).

²³ For information on Jewish expulsions from Franco-Germany, see A. MAIMON and Y. GUGGENHEIM,

of the 14th century, throughout the 15th century and up until the mid-16th century,²⁴ fundamentally contributed to the availability and accumulation of medieval Hebrew manuscripts in the hands of universities and religious institutions. Subsequently, the fragments were sold or given to printer's and binder's workshops, where they were dismembered and recycled in multiple ways, thus integrating bindings or used as new binding covers of manuscripts, freshly printed incunables, post-1501 printed books and registers.

In comparison to the uniformity of the majority of bindings using Hebrew manuscript fragments in Italy, the variety in the formats and sizes of Hebrew fragments in bindings in countries north of the Alps is much more diverse. Among others, there are whole binding covers, half and quarter binding covers, full folios/ bifolios or half folios/bifolios cut vertically or horizontally, used as pastedowns or flyleaves at the beginning and end of volumes. Additionally, a whole selection of small strips of fragments of different sizes and formats have been used to reinforce the quires in bindings. Regarding the largest sizes of fragments in countries north of the Alps, Germany holds the largest amount of Atlantean sized (>/ = 350-400 x 250-350 mm) folio fragments, with 52 versus only 20 others, divided between six countries: Switzerland (5), Hungary (4), France (4), Czech Republic (3), Slovak republic (2) and Austria (2). Like in Italy, the 4 biggest Atlantean sized fragments north of the Alps are of Ashkenazi origin and are preserved in the following countries: Hungary, University Library, folio (*maḥzor Yom Kippur*) measuring 504 x 272 mm, used as a binding cover to a Latin Bible incunable (Basel, 1486, shelfmark: Inc. 224/ fr.); Switzerland, Chur, Staatsarchiv,

folio (*maḥzor Roš ha-Šanah*) measuring 480 x 320 mm (Fig. 4), employed as a binding cover to a notary's register (1571, shelfmark: B174 a); Hungary, Zirc, Cistercian Library, folio (*maḥzor Roš ha-Šanah*) measuring 470 x 354 mm (Kezirattar fol. Hebr.17), detached from an unknown binding cover and Germany, Frankfurt-am-Main, Institut für Stadtgeschichte, folio (*maḥzor Pessaḥ-Šabbat ha-Gadol*), measuring 460 x 250 mm, also detached from an unknown binding cover.

1e) Liturgical content:

The liturgical content of the fragments includes daily (e.g. sections of *Šaḥarit: Birkat ha-Šaḥar, Taḥanun, Pesuqe de Zimrah, Šem'a Yisra'el, 'Amidah*), Sabbath and new month (*Roš Ḥodeš*) prayers,²⁵ all festivals (*Roš ha-Šanah, Pessaḥ* – including the *Haggadah – Šavu'ot, Sukkot, Šemini 'Ašeret, Simḥat Torah, Ḥanukkah, Purim*) and fasts (*Yom Kippur, Tišah be-Av, Ta'anit 'Ester, Šom Gedalia*) of the Jewish liturgical year, as well as the special Sabbaths during the year (*Šabbat Parah, Šabbat Zakhor, Šabbat Šegalim, Šabbat Naḥamu, Šabbat Tešuvah, Šabbat ha-Gadol, Šabbat ha-Ḥodeš, Šabbat Ḥatanu, Šabbat Berešit*). Portions on the reading of the Torah (*Qiriat ha-Torah*) and *Haftarah*²⁶ for Sabbath and festivals are also present in the fragments as well as prayers for special occasions (*Birkat ha-Mazon* (blessings after meals), circumcisions, weddings) which comprise mostly blessings and liturgical poetry (hereafter *piyyuṭim*). There are also *piyyuṭim* related to the various festivals (e.g. *Hošanot*,²⁷ *'Azharot*,²⁸ *piyyuṭim* on *'Asseret ha-Dibberot*²⁹)

Germania Judaica, 1350-1519, vol. 3-3, Tübingen 2003, pp. 2298-2327 and S. EINBINDER, *No Place to Rest. Jewish Literature, Expulsion and the Memory of Medieval France*, Philadelphia 2009.

²⁴ The expulsion of the Jews of Regensburg took place in 1519.

²⁵ It is possible that prayers for daily and sabbath liturgy, as well as some blessings for particular occasions, (e.g. the new month, the new moon, circumcisions, (e.g. the new month, the new moon, circumcisions, weddings, funerals, etc) the new month, the new moon, circumcisions, weddings, funerals, etc.) were originally part of *siddurim* rather than

maḥzorim. However, *maḥzorim* also include the aforementioned liturgy, including feasts and fasts as well. Therefore, it is difficult to establish a clear distinction when fragments contain these texts, accompanied by a certain format and layout.

²⁶ Texts from the Hagiographs read publicly at the synagogue on Sabbaths and festivals.

²⁷ Read during *Sukkot*.

²⁸ Read during the *Mussaf* (additional) prayer of *Šavu'ot*.

²⁹ Read during *Šavu'ot*, before the Torah reading enunciating the Ten Commandments. They of-

and fasts (e.g. *Qinot*,³⁰ *Selihot*³¹) of the Jewish liturgical year. There are also commentaries, either accompanying the *piyyuṭim* in the margins or alone on the page. Furthermore, halakhic commentaries relative to liturgy (e.g. laws on the reading of the Torah or on the recitation of blessings) were included here, since they are an inherent part of a type of *maḥzorim*, not only including the prayers and *piyyuṭim* of the whole Jewish year in the ‘traditional *maḥzor*’,³² but also laws and customs on annual liturgy and daily Jewish life (e.g. marriage, circumcision, death, *kašrut*, etc.). This type of *maḥzor* has been defined as a ‘liturgical - halakhic compendium’ (i.e. *Maḥzor Vitry* manuscripts³³ and others with similar content, e.g. Parma, Biblioteca Palatina, Ms Parma 1902, c.1470). Some texts recited on particular occasions are also present among the fragments, such as the *Yizqor* (prayer for the dead), *Qiduš* (blessing on wine), *Havdalah* (end of Sabbath ceremony), *Birkat ha-Tal* and *Birkat ha-Gešem* (blessings on dew and rain), as well as a section of the *Šir ha-Yiḥud*,³⁴ a fragmentary commentary on the *piyyuṭim* of the Ten Commandments (*‘Asseret ha-Dibberot*)³⁵ and portions of the *Mišnah* tractate of the *Pirqei ‘Avot*, read from *Pessaḥ* to *Šavu‘ot*.³⁶ Finally, a fragmentary treatise on the Jewish calendar has been appended to this chapter on liturgical content because it is etymologically inherent to the term *maḥzor* (i.e. cycle) and often found among its pages, as a tool for understanding the

ten are accompanied by a commentary and incorporated into the liturgical customs of Franco-Germany.

³⁰ Supplicative poems recited on the fast of the 9th of Av (*Tišah be-Av*).

³¹ Penitential poems recited between one month to three days before *Roš ha-Šanah* depending on the custom and recited for the ten days between *Roš ha-Šanah* and *Yom Kippur* (called the *‘Asseret Yemei ha-Tešuvah*) as well as during the liturgy on the day of *Yom Kippur*.

³² See G. SED-RAJNA, *Le Maḥzor enluminé, les voies de formation d’un programme iconographique*, Leiden 1983.

³³ For a list of manuscripts, See S. STERN and J. ISSERLES, *The Astrological and Calendar Section of the Earliest Maḥzor Vitry Manuscript (MS ex-Sassoon 535)*, in «Aleph: Historical Studies in Science and Judaism» 15.2 (2015), pp. 199-318 (part. p. 201, n. 2).

technicities of the luni-solar Jewish liturgical year.³⁷ Moreover, the particular fragment in question³⁸ is part of a virtual volume which contains laws on the reading of the Torah and a *piyyuṭ* for *Pessaḥ*.

Here below are listed the liturgical content of the fragments from the 10 countries north of the Alps, followed by the content of fragments in the 11 cities in Italy. Subsequently, a synthesis of all contents north and south of the Alps will be made. The enumeration of liturgical content in countries north of the Alps and cities in Italy follows an increasing order of liturgical fragments by country, in a decreasing order of liturgical content:

1. Luxembourg (2/4): Luxembourg City:
Prayer: *Selihot*: 2

2. The Netherlands (4/68): The Hague, Amsterdam, Utrecht:
Prayer: *Yom Kippur*: 2; *Roš ha-Šanah*: 1; *Piyyuṭ*: 1

3. Czech Republic (14/92): Brno, Mohelnice, Olomouc:
Prayer: *Yom Kippur*: 8; *Selihot*: 1; *Šavu‘ot*: 1; *Hošanot*: 1; *Parašat Parah*: 1; Daily liturgy (*Amidah*): 1; *Piyyuṭ*: 1.

4. Switzerland (17/124):³⁹ Chur, Engelberg, Fribourg, Geneva, Porrentruy, St Gallen,

³⁴ Theological hymn of the end of the 12th century, attributed to Samuel ben Qalonymos *he-Ḥasid*. See J. DAN *The Book of Divine Glory by Rabbi Judah The Pious of Regensburg*, in *Studies in Jewish Manuscripts*, Tübingen 1999, p. 7, n. 19.

³⁵ See I. TA-SHMA, ‘*Al ha-peruš le-piyyuṭim ha-‘aramiyim še be-Maḥzor Vitry*, in «Qiriat Sefer» 57 (1982), pp. 701-708.

³⁶ It is customary to study the “Chapters of the Fathers” on the Sabbaths between the holidays of *Pessaḥ* and *Šavu‘ot*, during the seven weeks of the ‘Omer counting.

³⁷ See S. STERN and J. ISSERLES, *The Astrological and Calendar Section*, pp. 199-318.

³⁸ Modena, Archivio di Stato, Busta 10, fragment 150.

³⁹ Some of the fragments in Switzerland are published in J. ISSERLES, *Medieval Hebrew Manuscript Fragments in Switzerland: Some Highlights of the*

Liturgical manuscript fragments in Books within Books

Winterthur, Zurich:

Prayer: *Roš ha-Šanah*: 5; *Pessaḥ* (including 1 on *Tefilat ha-Tal*): 3; *Piyyuṭim*: 3; *Seliḥot*: 2; *Šavu'ot*: 2; *Yom Kippur*: 1; *Birkat ha-Tal*: 1.

5. Hungary (20/173): Budapest, Esztergom, Kalocsa, Sopron, Zirc:

Prayer: *Yom Kippur*: 7; *Roš ha-Šanah*: 7; *Pessaḥ*: 2; *Piyyuṭ*: 1; Daily Liturgy (*Šaḥarit*): 1; *Šemini 'Ašeret*: 1.

Commentaries: *Piyyuṭ* commentary: 1.

6. Slovak Republic (30/135): Bratislava, Martin:

Prayer: *Seliḥot*: 10; *Roš ha-Šanah*: 6; *Šavu'ot*: 4; *Purim*: 4; Sabbath Liturgy (*Šaḥarit*): 3; *Šemini 'Ašeret*: 1; *Simḥat Torah*: 1, *Piyyuṭim* on the *'Asseret ha-Dibberot*: 1.

7. Poland (42/542): Cracow, Warsaw, Worclaw:

Prayer: *Seliḥot*: 9; *Roš ha-Šanah*: 8; *Piyyuṭim*: 6; *Purim*: 4; *Yom Kippur*: 3; *Šavu'ot*: 2; *Haggadah*: 2; *Šabbat Šeqalim*: 2; *Pessaḥ*: 1; *Yom Kippur*: 1; *Roš Ḥodeš*: 1; Sabbath liturgy (*piyyuṭim* and reading of the Torah): 2; unidentified: 1.

8. France (126/627): Colmar, Paris, Troyes:

Prayer: *Pessaḥ*: 26; *Šavu'ot*: 24; *Purim*: 14; *Yom Kippur*: 11; *Roš ha-Šanah*: 10; *Sukkot*: 8; *Seliḥot*: 6; *Šabbat Zakhōr*: 4; Daily liturgy (*'Amidah*): 4; unidentified fragments: 4; Daily liturgy (*Pesuke de Zimrah*): 3; *Haftarah*: 3; *Šabbat Parah*: 2; Sabbath liturgy: 2; *Šabbat Šeqalim*: 1; *Šabbat Berešit*: 1; *Tišah be-Av*: 1.

Commentaries: *Piyyuṭ* commentary: 1.

Mishna: *Pirqei 'Avot*: 3.

9. Austria (135/481): Admont, Göttweig, Graz, Herzogenburg, Innsbruck, Klagenfurt, Klosterneuburg, Krems, Lambach, Lilienfeld, Melk, Pörschach, Salzburg, Sankt Paul, Seitenstetten, Voralpe, Vienna, Zwettl:

Prayer: *Roš ha-Šanah*: 25; *Yom Kippur*:

20; *Sukkot*: 14; *Seliḥot*: 10; *Piyyuṭ* commentary: 10; Daily liturgy (*Pesuke de Zimrah*, *Takhanun*, morning blessings, *Šem'a Yisra'el*): 10; *Pessaḥ*: 8; *Piyyuṭim*: 8; *Šavu'ot*: 7; *Šabbat Zakhōr*: 3; *Havdalah*: 3; *Haggadah*: 2; *Purim*: 1; *Šabbat ha-Ḥodeš*: 1; *Roš Ḥodeš*: 1; Sabbath liturgy: 1; *Šabbat Tešuvah*: 1; *Šabbat Naḥamu*: 1; *Šabbat ha-Gadol*: 1; Sabbath liturgy (*'Amidah*): 1; *Qidush*: 1.

Commentaries: *Seliḥot* commentary: 5.

Appended text to the daily liturgy: *Šir ha-Yihud*: 1.

10. Germany (153/730): Amberg, Darmstadt, Düsseldorf, Erfurt, Frankfurt, Friedberg, Gelnhausen, Laubach, Wertheim:

Prayer: *Yom Kippur*: 36; *Seliḥot*: 22; *Pessaḥ*: 19; *Roš ha-Šanah*: 16; *Šavu'ot*: 16; unidentified: 6; *Qinot*: 6; *Sukkot*: 5; *Šabbat Parah*: 3; *Purim*: 2; *Tefilat ha-Gešem*: 2; *Šom Gedaliah*: 2; *Roš Ḥodeš*: 2; *Hošanot*: 2; *Šemini 'Ašeret*: 2; *Simḥat Torah*: 1; *Haggadah*: 1; *Ta'anit 'Ester*: 1; *Šabbat Zakhōr*: 1; *Šabbat Šeqalim*: 1; *Šabbat ha-Gadol*: 1; *Šabbat ha-Ḥodeš*: 1; *Yizkor*: 1; unidentified *piyyuṭ*: 1.

Commentaries: Commentary to *Seliḥot*: 1; Commentary to *Purim*: 1; Commentary on the *piyyuṭim* of the *'Asseret ha-Dibberot*: 1.

11. Italy (265/3'240): Alessandria, Bologna, Correggio, Faenza, Forlì, Modena, Pavia, Pesaro, Roma, Urbino, Viterbo:

Prayer: *Roš ha-Šanah*: 52; *Yom Kippur*: 40; *Seliḥot*: 33; *Pessaḥ*: 32; *Sukkot*: 10; *Šavu'ot*: 8; *Tišah be-Av*: 7; *Qinot*: 5; *Haggadah*: 5; *Šemini 'Ašeret*: 4; unidentified: 3; *Simḥat Torah*: 2; *'Azharot*: 2; *Ḥanukah*: 2; Daily liturgy (*Šem'a Yisra'el*, *Pesuke de Zimrah*): 2; Blessings before and after *Qiriat ha-Torah*: 2; *Roš Ḥodeš*: 2; *Purim*: 1; *Ta'anit*: 1; *Tišah be-Av*: 1; Sabbath liturgy: 1; *Šabbat Tešuvah*: 1; *Šabbat Naḥamu*: 1; *Šabbat Ḥatunah*: 1; *Šabbat Šeqalim*: 1; *Berakhot Nissuin ve-'Evelim*: 1; *Piyyuṭ* read during the *Birkat ha-mazon* for a Circumcision: 1.⁴⁰

Commentaries: Commentaries on *'Azhar-*

Discoveries, in *Books within Books*, pp. 255-269 (part. pp. 256-261).

⁴⁰ Modena, Archivio della Curia Archivescovile, fr.2.1a, 1st half 13th c. Many thanks to Gabriel Waserman, Jonah Fraenkel fellow, Hebrew University

of Jerusalem, for helping me with the identification of this *piyyuṭ*, which is attributed to Ephraim of Bonn (1132-1196) and was to be recited after the fourth blessing of the *Birkat ha-Mazon* during a circumcision ceremony. This *piyyuṭ* is no longer recited

ot: 30; marginal commentaries to the liturgy: 5; commentaries on various *piyyuṭim*: 5.

Laws: *Dinei Qiriat ha-Torah*: 2; *Dinei Berakhot*: 1.

Mishna: *Pirquei 'Avot*: 2.

Treatise on the Jewish Calendar: *Moladot*: 1.

Observing the first item of liturgical content per country, all 11 countries have a majority of prayers for festivals and in particular, for the High Holidays of *Roš ha-Šanah*: 81 (Switzerland/5, Austria/25, Italy/51); *Yom Kippur*: 53 (Netherlands/2, Hungary/7, Czech Republic/8, Germany/36) and a large quantity of *Seliḥot*: 21 (Luxembourg/2, Poland/9, Slovak Republic/10). However, France is the only country which displays an exception to this rule, beginning with a great number of fragments relative to *Pesah* (26) and followed by those on *Šavu'ot* (24). The reason for this superior number of prayers for festivals, found in *maḥzorim*, is due to the complex structure and rich content of prayers interspersed with liturgical poetry, requiring a need for written support, as opposed to the daily and Sabbath prayers which were known mostly by heart and found in *siddurim*. Regarding commentaries on *piyyuṭim*, they are present in 5 countries, Italy preserving the most with 40 versus 1 in Hungary and France, followed by 3 in Germany and 5 Austria. Lastly, as demonstrated above, it seems that the fragments preserved in Italy are not only the most numerous (265) but also the wealthiest in different liturgical subjects, including laws on liturgy and a treatise on the Jewish calendar, hence reflecting the intellectual interests of Italian Jewish society.

today and not found in Israel Davidson's *Thesaurus of Mediaeval Hebrew Poetry (Ošar ha-Piyyuṭim)*, 4 vols., New York 1924-1933. See A.M. HABERMAN, *Liturgical Poems for Ephrayim bar Yaaqob of Bonn*, in *Yedi'ot ha-Makhon le-Ḥeḡer ha-Širah ha-'Ivrit bi-Yerušalayim (Studies of the Research Institute for Hebrew Poetry in Jerusalem)*, vol. 7, Jerusalem

1f) Dating and geo-cultural origin:

The majority of liturgical fragments on *BWB*, whether from the north or south of the Alps can be dated around the 14th century, followed by a relatively smaller number of fragments from the 13th and 15th centuries and very few dating to the 12th century. The criteria for dating these fragments are the presence of hardpoint or pencil ruling, only outer pricking or inner and outer pricking, as well as the palaeographic analysis of the script. Although pencil ruling only appeared in Hebrew manuscripts from the mid-13th century onwards, inspired by Latin manuscript production, hardpoint ruling continued to be used, but to a lesser degree, well into the 15th century.⁴¹ Moreover, there are just a handful of old fragments which can be dated between the late-12th century and first half of the 13th century. The 6 liturgical fragments come from Austria (Seitenstetten), France (Colmar), Italy (Bologna, Modena, Pavia) and Luxembourg (Luxembourg City). All include a square Italian, Italo-Ashkenazi or Ashkenazi square pre-gothic type script (absence or very few minimal serifs), with hardpoint ruling and outer pricking, when traces have been preserved on the fragments. Furthermore, 2 Ashkenazi fragments from Cracow have been added at the end of the list to demonstrate that pre-gothic looking square script was still in use in Poland between the late 13th to 15th centuries,⁴² when other parts of Franco-Germany and Bohemia, had transitioned to a square or bookhand gothic-like script. Moreover, there is pencil ruling used in these two Polish fragments, betraying their later production. Here below is the list of the oldest liturgical fragments on *BWB*, followed by two later fragments with pre-gothic writing from Cracow, given in chronological order:

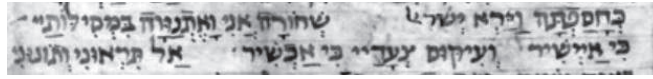
and Tel-Aviv 1958, p. 236.

⁴¹ Many thanks to Judith Olszowy-Schlanger, Professor of medieval Jewish studies at the EPHE (Paris) and researcher at the IRHT-CNRS (Paris) for this comment.

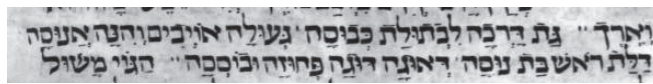
⁴² Many thanks to Judith Kogel, researcher at the IRHT-CNRS (Paris), for this comment.

Liturgical manuscript fragments in Books within Books

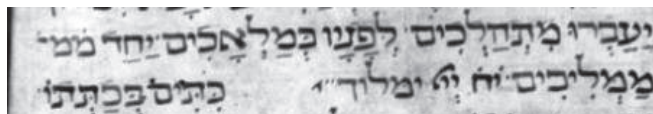
- Bologna, Archivio di Stato, B.12 n.425-P.I.1, end-12th c.,
Italian square vocalized script, *Mahzor Pessah, piyyut Tefilat ha-Tal*:



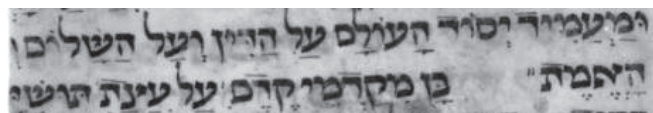
- Luxembourg, Luxembourg City, Bibliothèque nationale, Ms 370,
fr.1-fr.2, end-12th c., Ashkenazi square vocalized script, *Selihot*:



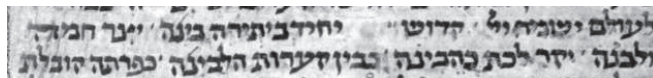
- Austria, Seitenstetten, Benediktinerstift, Ink. 429, 1st quarter 13th c.,
Italo-Ashkenazi square vocalized script, *Mahzor Roš ha-Šanah*:⁴³



- Pavia, Archivio di Stato, Pacco 1, cart. 28 2190, 1st quarter 13th c.,
Italo-Ashkenazi square vocalized script, liturgy *Šabbat* and *Roš Hodeš*:



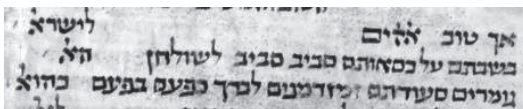
- Austria, Seitenstetten, Benediktinerstift, Cod. 186, fol. 1, 1st half 13th c.,
Ashkenazi square partially vocalized script, *Šabbat Nahamu*:



⁴³ Another similar fragment not shown here is Frankfurt University Library, Ff. 10056, 1st half 13th century, Italo-Ashkenazi square vocalized script, *Selihot Yom Kippur*. See A. LEHNARDT, *He-*

braische Einbandfragmente in Frankfurt am Main. Mittelalterliche jüdische Handschriftenreste in ihrem geschichtlichen Kontext, Frankfurt-am-Main, 2011, p. 104.

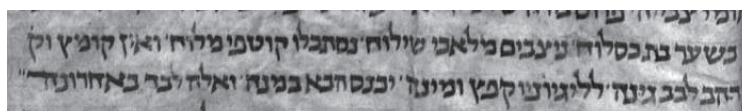
- Modena, Archivio della Curia Archivescovile, fr.2.1a, 1st half 13th c., Ashkenazi square script, *Pirquei 'Avot* (ch.3) and *piyyut* for the *Birkat ha-Mazon* for a circumcision ceremony by Ephraim of Bonn (1132-1196):⁴⁴



- Cracow, Jagellonian University Library, Ms 2309, fr.1-fr.2, late-13th to mid-14th c., Ashkenazi square script, pencil ruling, *Mussaf Parašat Šekalim*:



- Cracow, Jagellonian University Library, Ms 1508, fr.1,2-19, 20; Ms 1566, fr.1-fr.2; Ms 1627, fr.1, late-13th to mid-14th c., Ashkenazi square script, pencil ruling, *Maḥzor Roš ha-Šanah* and *Šavu'ot*:



Regarding the variety of geo-cultural origins of the liturgical fragments on *BWB*, which are identifiable by their scripts, one can find several square and bookhand scripts, such as Ashkenazi, Italian, Italo-Ashkenazi, north French, Sephardi and Italo-Sephardi. However, in the countries north of the Alps, which house a total of 543 liturgical fragments, they are of Ashkenazi and northern French origin and can be considered as stemming from manuscripts produced locally,⁴⁵ whereas in Italy, less than half

of the preserved fragments were written there.⁴⁶ The majority of fragments located in Italy are composed of Ashkenazi, Italo-Ashkenazi, North French, Sephardi and Italo-Sephardi fragments. This rich diversity is rooted in the presence of many Jewish communities of various geo-cultural origins, who were in Italy during the late Middle-Ages and early Renaissance. Aside from the fragments with Italian or Italo-Ashkenazi and Italo-Sephardi subtype scripts, which we can assume, were written in Italy; the Ashke-

⁴⁴ *Supra op. cit.* note 40.

⁴⁵ Although, they are not yet on *BWB*, it is relevant to add that 113 liturgical fragments from 5 *maḥzorim*, following the north French rite, preserved at the Stadtbibliothek in Trier were not only written locally, but also attest to the different geo-cultural medieval boundaries, at a time when the Jews of Trier followed the regional and religious practices of north French customs (*Minhag Šarfāt*), along with Jewish communities of the Upper Moselle Valley. See E. HOLLENDER, *Reconstructing Manuscripts: The Liturgical Fragments from Trier*, in *Genizat Germania*, pp. 61-90. Additionally, there

are 4 Sephardi liturgical fragments preserved north of the Alps. There are 3 housed in the Bibliothèque nationale de France in Paris (Ms 1403 fr. F1, F2, F3, *Selihot*, 15th c.) and 1 in the Jagellonian University Library in Cracow (Pr. 253), which in actual fact is a fragment of a printed *maḥzor* of Sephardic rite from the 16th century, used as a binding cover to a printed volume dated 1536.

⁴⁶ See B. RICHLER, *The Dispersion of Medieval Hebrew Manuscripts and its Significance for Understanding the Phenomenon of Hebrew Membra Disiecta*, in 'Fragmenta ne pereant', pp. 75-81 (part. p. 80).

nazi, north French and Sephardi fragments may have come from manuscripts written either by emigrant scribes for their community or brought by persecuted Jews migrating to Italy with their most precious possessions. Important Jewish migrations to Italy started in 1306 with the major expulsion of French Jews from Philip the Fair's Kingdom (finally expelled in 1394 after expulsions during the 14th century), followed by numerous expulsions of Ashkenazi Jews from Germany and Austria during the 14th and 15th centuries, who were also fleeing the Black Death. Additionally, after the Spanish persecutions of 1391 and the ensuing expulsion in 1492, many Sephardi Jews came to Italy as settlers or as transients on their way to the Ottoman Empire. In consequence, the influx of books combined with the already flourishing scribal activity in Italy increased the number of Hebrew manuscripts, thus making Italy home to the biggest collections of Jewish manuscripts in Europe.⁴⁷ Additionally, it is the only country which preserves the most variety of scripts of different origins among its 265 liturgical fragments; amounting in a total of 175 fragments of Ashkenazi (73), north French (86) and Sephardi (16) origin versus a mere 90 of Italian (78) and Italian subtype [Italo-Ashkenazi (3) and Italo-Sephardi (9)].

Ig) Virtual volumes:

There is a total of 121 virtual volumes of liturgical fragments found on *BWB*, composed of more than 1 fragment dismembered from the same Hebrew manuscript, still within or isolated from one or several host volumes. North of the Alps, there are 91 virtual volumes, approximately made up of 2 to 6 fragments each, in the 8 fol-

lowing countries: Netherlands (1), Luxembourg (1), Switzerland (4), Poland (5), Slovak Republic (9), Austria (21), France (41) and Germany (9). The Slovak Republic and Germany have unusual virtual volumes of Hebrew liturgical fragments, which help reveal the manner in which printed books may have been bound in their respective workshops. One such case is found in the Slovak National Library in Martin, which preserves among its rich collections, two old printed books dated 1606; one from London and the other from Prague. Hebrew fragments from the same 13th century *mahzor* with portions of the liturgy for the feast of *Šavu'ot*, were used in the bindings of these two books (the fragments are presently detached from their host volumes, but were previously used as pastedowns),⁴⁸ which must have been sent unbound to the same workshop for binding, in order that fragments of this same Hebrew manuscript be used in both volumes. Unfortunately, nothing is known on the provenance of these two books, which could have been bound locally in Martin or in some other location in *Aškenaz*, sometime in the early 17th century and ending up the Martin University Library at a particular moment during the last 400 years. Another case was uncovered in the Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek in Düsseldorf, where three incunabula preserve Hebrew fragments with identical measurements (280 x 370 mm) from one 14th century *mahzor*, including portions of the feast of *Pessah*, as well as sections for the special sabbaths of *Zachor*, *Parah* and *Šegalim*, all used as pastedowns till this day.⁴⁹ The first two, dated 1476 and 1477, were bound in Basel in the famous printer's and binder's workshop of Michael Wenssler (1445-1512?)⁵⁰ and the third incunable, dated 1470, was bound in Strasbourg, in the workshop of

⁴⁷ See B. RICHLER, *ibid.*, pp. 80-81 and M. BEIT-ARIÉ, *The Contribution of Medieval Hebrew Manuscript Fragments to Hebrew Codicology*, in *Fragmenta ne pereant*, pp. 83-88 (part. p. 87).

⁴⁸ Vol. 1 (Prague, 1606): shelfmark: Ba. B. 12343-J 3547-16 sch.152, Hebrew fragment (folio, 268 x 234 mm) and vol. 2 (London, 1606): shelfmark: Fr. Sk. 15762-J3547-23a sch.153 and 23b, Hebrew fragments 1 and 2 (cut folios, 95 x 200 mm).

⁴⁹ Incunable 1 (Basel, 1476): shelfmark: M.th.U.Sch.211, Hebrew fragments 1 and 2 (cut

bifolios, 280 x 370 mm); incunable 2 (Basel, 1477): shelfmark: M.th.U.Sch.97, Hebrew fragment (cut bifolio, 280 x 370 mm); incunable 3 (Strasbourg, 1470): shelfmark: K.R.114, Hebrew fragment (cut bifolio, 280 x 370 mm).

⁵⁰ The techniques of typography arrived in Basel shortly after the foundation of the university in 1460; see V. SCHOLDERER, *Michael Wenssler and his Press at Basel*, in «The Library» 3 (1912), III, pp. 283-321 and K. STEHLIN, *Regestern zur Geschichte des Buchdrucks bis zum Jahre 1500 aus den Büchern des*

the earliest printer of that city, named Heinrich Eggestein (1415-1488).⁵¹ Due to the geographical proximity of Basel and Strasbourg, it would be tempting to suggest that pieces of a locally produced dismembered Hebrew manuscript were bought by both workshops, from the same parchment merchant. These two occurrences bring to light relevant details on the dismembering of Hebrew fragments from one manuscript in same or nearby bookbinding workshops.

Moving on to virtual volumes in Italy, there are 30 of them present on the *BWB* database, each containing between 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 8, 9, and 18 fragments: 4 in Pavia, 22 from Modena and 1 from Correggio. As mentioned above, it is possible to find fragments from one manuscript divided between two cities, but in this particular instance, they are preserved in three institutions (1 in Correggio and 2 in Modena). The 18 fragments all originate from one same *mahzor* according to the Italian rite, dating to the 14th century and were all retrieved from the State Archives of Correggio (10 fragments with portions of liturgy for *Ḥanukkah*, *Pessah*, *Šavu'ot*, and laws on *Berakhot*),⁵² the State Archives of Modena (2 tiny unidentifiable fragments) and the Capitular Archives in Modena (6 fragments with a section of treatise on the Jewish calendar, *Qinot*, daily liturgy and for the feast of *Šavu'ot*).⁵³ This virtual volume is composed mostly of bifolios, cut bifolios and tiny pieces and exhibits a small bookhand Italian script, crowned by rubricated scrolls and zig-zag lines. However, 4 of them preserved in Correggio are

all bifolios with cropped margins and measure 250 x 320 mm. These fragments interestingly match in identical script with rubricated linear decoration and height, by 2 to 3 centimeters, with the 2 largest full bifolio fragments of this virtual volume, housed in the Archivio Stato of Modena, measuring respectively 252 x 368 mm and 253 x 364 mm (1 folio = 250-253 x 160-184), proportionate to a large format size.

Furthermore, there are also 3 exceptional cases of virtual volumes comprised of detached fragments from their host volumes, identified in the following three cities: 1 virtual volume of 15 fragments in the Archivio di Stato of Viterbo, another virtual volume of 32 fragments in the Biblioteca Civica of Alessandria and a last important virtual volume of 50 fragments in the Archivio di Stato of Pesaro. The newly discovered 15 recto/verso bifolios and folios in Viterbo, make up a *mahzor* of the 14th century, follow the Roman rite and measure a rare small format of 145 x 220 mm (1 folio = 145 x 110 mm) (Fig. 2).⁵⁴ Among a few unidentifiable ones due to bad preservation, these fragments written in a small bookhand Italian script, contain portions of daily and sabbath prayers, as well as those for *Šabbat Roš Ḥodeš*, *Hallel*, *Purim*, *Pessah*, *Šavu'ot*, *Tišah be-Av*, *Seliḥot* and *Ḥanukkah*. Next are the 32 fragments (31 full folios and 1 incomplete folio, most of which are recto/verso) in Alessandria,⁵⁵ reused to bind 8 tomes of the commentaries of the *Corpus juris civilis* by Giasone del Maino (1435-1519), published in Turin in 1592.⁵⁶ Each volume was bound with 4

Basler Gerichtsarchivs, in *Archiv für Geschichte des deutschen Buchhandels*, vols. XI and XII, 1888-1889.

⁵¹ See L. HELLINGA, *Incunabula in Transit: People and Trade*, Brill, Leiden 2018, pp. 24-25 and P. NEEDHAM, *A Gutenberg Bible used a printer's copy by Heinrich Eggestein in Strasburg ca.1469*, in «Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society» 9 (1986), pp. 36-75.

⁵² Correggio, Archivio di Stato, fr. 9.1, 9.2, 9.3, 9.4, 30.1, 30.2, 30.3, 30.4, 30.5, 30.6, see M. PERANI, and S. CAMPANINI, *Inventari dei manoscritti delle biblioteche d'Italia. I frammenti ebraici di Modena e di Correggio*, vol. CXI, Florence, 1999, pp. 124-126 (P.VII.1-10).

⁵³ Modena, Archivio capitolare, fr. 35.3-35.4 (tiny unidentified fragments), see PERANI, and CAMPANINI, *Inventari dei manoscritti*, cit., p. 126

(P.VII.11-12) and Modena, Archivio di Stato, Busta 10, fr. 24, 150, 151.1, 151.2, 151.3, 152, see M. PERANI and L. BARALDI, *I frammenti ebraici dell'Archivio di Stato di Modena. Inventari dei manoscritti delle biblioteche d'Italia*, tome I, vol. CXV, Florence 2012, p. 62 (P. IX. 150, 152). Fragments in Busta 24, fr. 24, 151.1-151.3 are not in the catalogue but have been described by Emma Abate on *BWB*.

⁵⁴ The ruling and pricking are not always visible on the fragments which are not in a very good state of preservation.

⁵⁵ M. PERANI, *Frammenti di manoscritti ebraici membranacei recuperati da ligature*, in F. QUAGLIA (ed.), *I libri ebraici nei fondi storici della Biblioteca Civica di Alessandria*, Edizioni dell'Orso, Alessandria, 2004, pp. 56-59, 65.

⁵⁶ The first mention of these fragments was ma-

folios from one same *mahzor* following the north French rite and dating to the 13th century. Out of the 32 detached folios, 31 measure 220 x 150 mm (there is one torn apart folio whose measurements are not available), corresponding to a medium format. There are 30 folios belonging to a commentary by Eliahu ben Menahem *ha-Zaqen* of Le Mans (early-11th c.)⁵⁷ on liturgical poems called *'Azharot*, destined to be read on the feast of *Shavuot* and 2 other folios refer to commentaries on liturgical poems for *Roš ha-Šanah*. The last and most important occurrence of a virtual volume in Italy is found in Pesaro. It encompasses 50 fragments or 70% of one *mahzor*, only 2 of which are still bound in their host volumes.⁵⁸ The fragments are all bifolios, most of them recto/verso, all cropped or cut in their margins and measuring between 210-235 x 230-250 mm, corresponding to a medium size format (1 folio would measure approximately 210-235 x 115-125 mm). The hardpoint ruling, external pricking, square and bookhand gothic north French script, as well as a scribal note relative to a *piyyuṭ*, containing an eulogy on its author,⁵⁹ help to pinpoint the dating of this *mahzor* to the last quarter of the 13th century. This *mahzor* follows the north French rite and preserves a number of liturgical subjects, given here in decreasing quantity: *Yom Kippur* (15), *Roš ha-Šanah* (14), *Sukkot* (including *Šemini 'Ašeret* and *Šimḥat Torah*) (9), *Pessaḥ* (8) and *Šavu'ot* (4).⁶⁰

de in PERANI, *Codicum Hebraicorum Fragmenta*, cit., p. 61. All the information on these fragments was found in S. CAMPANINI, *Commentaries on the Azharot and Other Liturgical Poems Found in the Biblioteca Civica of Alessandria*, in A. LEHNARDT (ed.), *Genizat Germania*, pp. 277-295. Moreover, it is the author's opinion that the geo-cultural origin of the fragments is from northern France rather than *Aškenaz* (the presence of an initial word in large module square north French type gothic script on fragment 5.3 betrays the fragments' north French origin).

⁵⁷ See E. KUPFER, *Peruš 'azharot de-rabbana Eliyyahu ha-zaqen bar Menahem mi-Mans me'et ḥakam eḥad me-ḥug banav šel rabbenu Ḥayyim bar Hanan'el ha-Kohen*, in «Koveš 'al yad» 11/2 (1989), pp. 109-207.

⁵⁸ Registers Notarile Liber Informationum 1611 and Notarile Liber Informationum 1611-1612, *supra op. cit.* n.11.

These few examples of virtual volumes from Italy testify to the fortunate preservation of Hebrew liturgical fragments from one manuscript ending up in one or more nearby locations or to the remarkable safeguard of multiple folios from one same manuscript. The last part of this study will address the primary use of these liturgical fragments, when they were once each bound in their respective manuscript form and owned by their patrons.

2. Private or synagogal use of liturgical fragments from BWB

Presently an attempt in detecting the original use of some Hebrew liturgical fragments from *BWB* will be made, in order to determine if they were employed for private or synagogal purposes, simultaneously observed through the size of the fragments, as well as their textual and scriptural layouts. A textual layout or *mise en page* refers to the way the text is laid out on a page, such as in full page layout or in columns, sometimes accompanied by marginal glosses. On the other hand, scriptural layout or *mise en texte* specifies the type of script (square or bookhand) and its modules, the techniques for respecting the ends of lines (such as elongations or compressions of letters, abbreviations of words or graphic fillers), as well as rubricated

⁵⁹ The following scribal interlinear note is found in fragment P.II.8, fol. 1v, located just before a *piyyuṭ* recited on the 8th day of *Pessaḥ* and attributed to Yehiel ben Joseph of Paris, an important French Talmudist and tossafist who died c. 1268 in Acco: *Which comes to light is this addition which is from our Master the wise, our Rabbi, Yosef ben Yehiel of Paris, may his soul rest in Eden.* (הייצא לאור תוספת זו) שהיא מן מורי' החר' יוסף בן יחיאל מפריש נע') The scribe confused the author's name as Joseph ben Yehiel, but nonetheless added the abbreviation of 'נע' at the end of it (standing for *Nišmato 'eden*), thus indicating that R. Yehiel had already passed when the *mahzor* was written.

⁶⁰ The 50 Pesaro fragments have been published in the following catalogue with commentary by H.M. SERMONETA and P.F. FUMAGALLI, *Manoscritti ebraici nell'Archivio di Stato di Pesaro. Catalogo con riproduzione del Mahazor francese di Pesaro*, Rome 2002.

and ornamented words, phrases, initial words, paragraphs or margins. These devices function as a visual tracking system for a reader's eye, as well as an esthetic enhancement of the written page. As confirmed earlier, where the majority of fragments contain liturgy for the High Holidays, therefore belonging to *mahzorim*, further analysis of the corpus of fragments reveals that these *mahzorim* were predominantly for public rather than for private use. To briefly demonstrate this method of differentiation, 4 examples will be described below.⁶¹

To begin with a rare case of a liturgical fragment of small format seen previously, the Viterbo State Archives virtual volume of 15 fragments makes up part of a 14th century *mahzor* following the Roman rite (Fig. 2). The dense full page textual layout and the small bookhand script, containing portions for the feasts of *Roš ha-Šanah* (right) and *Šavu'ot* (left), convey a personal use of the original manuscript through the fragment. Conversely, the two cut folios, used as flyleaves in a 15th century Latin manuscript held at the Médiathèque de Troyes, Champagne Métropole (Fig. 5), come from a late 13th or early 14th century north French rite *mahzor* containing the liturgy of the *hazan's* repetition of the 'Amidah of *Mussaf* for *Roš ha-Šanah* (day 1), written in monumental north French square script and with a pencil ruling of the page. The text of both cut folios, each measuring 150 x 255 mm,⁶² is not continuous.⁶³ A probable reason for this rare example of monumental sized script in this section of the *Roš ha-Šanah* liturgy which precedes the 'Alenu le-Šabeaḥ prayer, is because of the obligatory prostration of the *hazan* and congregation during this 'Alenu prayer. Since the *hazan* is forbidden to move during the recitation of the 'Amidah, the scribe resourcefully wrote the text in very large letters for him, in order that he be able to read the text farther away than usual from the pulpit and to prostrate himself from a standing position at the appropriate time.

After these two significant examples of *mahzorim* respectively for private and public

use, identified thanks to their size, textual and scriptural layouts, there are nevertheless circumstances when it is uncertain how to assign a fragment. Indeed, while most Ashkenazi *mahzorim* for synagogal use are of large or Atlantean format, such as a 14th-15th century cut folio from the Archives de la Bourgeoisie in Porrentruy, measuring 400 x 220 mm (Fig. 4), another 14th century bifolio from the Archivio della Curia Archivescovile in Modena measures only a medium format of 180 x 250 mm (1 folio = 180 x 125 mm) (Fig. 3). Both the Porrentruy and Modena fragments enclose the rare occurrence of an identical text, albeit in a different layout. The content of this text is a *piyyut* by Eleazar ha-Qallir, entitled 'Aderet *Mamlakhah*, recited during the repetition of the 'Amidah during *Šaharit* on the first day of *Roš ha-Šanah*. Compared to the large three-columned textual layout of an Ashkenazi vocalized script in 3 different modules and separated by graphic fillers, all functioning as trackers for a clear and slow reading of the text by the *Šaliakh Šibbur* in the Porrentruy fragment, the full page dense textual layout and medium sized script of this *piyyut*, found on the left side of the smaller Modena fragment, presupposes a reading of this text as a whispered devotional prayer for private use. However, the presence of the marginal commentaries surrounding it, justifies its adjusted space on the page with a dense textual layout. Therefore, in this instance, although the Modena Ashkenazi fragment is only of medium format, with a full page compact layout of the 'Aderet *Mamlakhah* liturgical poem, the presence of large and medium writing modules for the initial words/letters and main text in Ashkenazi square script, the inclusion of small module square script for instructions regarding the liturgy, some rubricated words, some use of techniques for respecting the end of lines, as well as marginal commentaries on the *piyyut* in small bookhand script, all serve as functional markers and esthetic devices to ensure the *Šaliakh Šibbur* a distinct and understandable chanting of the liturgy for the community present in the synagogue.

⁶¹ Due to the limitation of accompanying images to this article, only five were included.

⁶² The possible size of one full folio could have been the double, measuring 355 x 255 mm, corre-

sponding to an Atlantean sized *mahzor*.

⁶³ Cut folio 1: end of ותתן and cut folio 2: end of ומפני חטאינו.

As concluding remarks to this typology and use of Medieval Hebrew liturgical fragments from northern Europe and Italy from the *BWB* database, several observations have been established. With a total of 808 liturgical fragments out of 6'775 total fragments on the *BWB* database, as of February 2018, it seems that liturgy was only sparingly preserved in bindings north and south of the Alps, compared to other literary genres. Binding fragments to registers kept in Archives in Italy rather than in libraries is more recurrent than north of the Alps, where there are more fragments binding books in libraries. However, it is possible to observe a larger quantity of liturgical fragments north of the Alps, rather than in Italy, due possibly to a more religious orientation of Jews in Franco-Germany and Bohemia.⁶⁴ Conservation wise, numerous fragments are still in their bindings north of the Alps, excluding Germany, which has the most detached fragments (95 / 153). Italy, on the contrary, has a vast majority of its fragments detached from host volumes (261 / 265). The use of these fragments in bindings north and south of the Alps is also different. Whilst the largest formats are all of Ashkenazi origin, whether from north or south of the Alps, Italy uses the fragments mostly as binding covers, whereas north of the Alps, there is a great diversity in formats, sizes and use, where fragments are recycled as covers, pastedowns, flyleaves and quire reinforcements.

Continuing with liturgical content and dating, the majority of fragments, whether from north or south of the Alps, contain portions of the liturgies for the High Holidays and date approximately to the 14th century; the oldest liturgical fragments being datable to the end-12th century in both regions. Whereas almost all liturgical fragments north of the Alps were locally produced, diversely, the fragments from Italy

exhibit an heterogeneity of liturgical rites practiced there during the Middle Ages. Italy is the only country in Europe with more fragments of foreign geo-cultural origin than of its own type. Aside from the fact that the oldest liturgical fragment in Italy is of Italian origin⁶⁵ and that most liturgical fragments of Italian origin are found in Italy, there are a total of 175 fragments of foreign origin, versus a mere 90 fragments of Italian (78) and Italian subtype (12). Moreover, Italy versus countries north of the Alps, preserves the most Hebrew fragments of all literary genres on *BWB* (3'240 / 3'176). Ending with cases of particular virtual volumes north and south of the Alps, which gave insight into the way bookbinders and *cartularii* used dismembered Hebrew manuscripts, the last chapter demonstrated that most of the liturgical fragments on *BWB* belonged to *mahzorim* for synagogal use, determined thanks to the observation of their size, textual and scriptural layouts.

As final words, it is important to stress that the results of this typology regarding the quantitative state and the geo-cultural origin of the fragments are obviously bound to grow and vary, since this survey was done only to give a general idea of a work in progress. The main objective here was all above all, to determine the place of liturgy among the Hebrew manuscript fragments on *BWB* and seek a better understanding of their use, not only by bookbinders, but also by their original owners, as surviving witnesses of Hebrew liturgical manuscripts, which once belonged to flourishing Jewish communities in medieval northern and southern Europe.

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⁶⁴ In spite of this, scholarship suggests a paucity of prayer books in medieval *Ashkenaz*, see E. KANARFOGEL, *Prayer, Literacy and Literary Memory in the Jewish Communities of Medieval Europe*, in *Jewish Studies at the Crossroads of Anthropology and History: Authority, Diaspora, Tradition*, R.S. BOUSTAN (ed.), Philadelphia 2011, pp. 250-270, 397-404, (part. p. 256-257).

⁶⁵ Bologna, Archivio di Stato, B.12 n.425-P.I.1, end-12th century. See above, chapter (1f.) on dating and geo-cultural origin of fragments. Many thanks to Andreas Lehnertz (Postdoctoral associate researcher, Arye-Maimon Institute, University of Trier) for reading and giving his input on this article before its publication.

Justine Isserles

SUMMARY

This study of medieval Hebrew liturgical manuscript fragments from the Books within Books database is articulated as a typology, where the fragments are separated into two geo-cultural groups. They are investigated according to specific criteria, revealing their similarities and discrepancies between both regions. The main objective of this survey is to determine the place of liturgy among other Hebrew fragments of different literary genres on the database, as well as seek a better understanding of their use, not only by bookbinders, but also by their original Jewish owners, as surviving witnesses of a once flourishing Jewish religious life in medieval Europe.

KEYWORDS: Liturgical fragments; Hebrew manuscripts; Books Within Books.



Fig. 1 - Italy, Bologna, Archivio di Stato - B.14 n. 503.1, verso. Folio containing a portion of the liturgy read during the ḥazan's repetition of the Amidah for Šaharit on Parašat Šeqalim, which is read in honour of Roš Ḥodeš Adar.

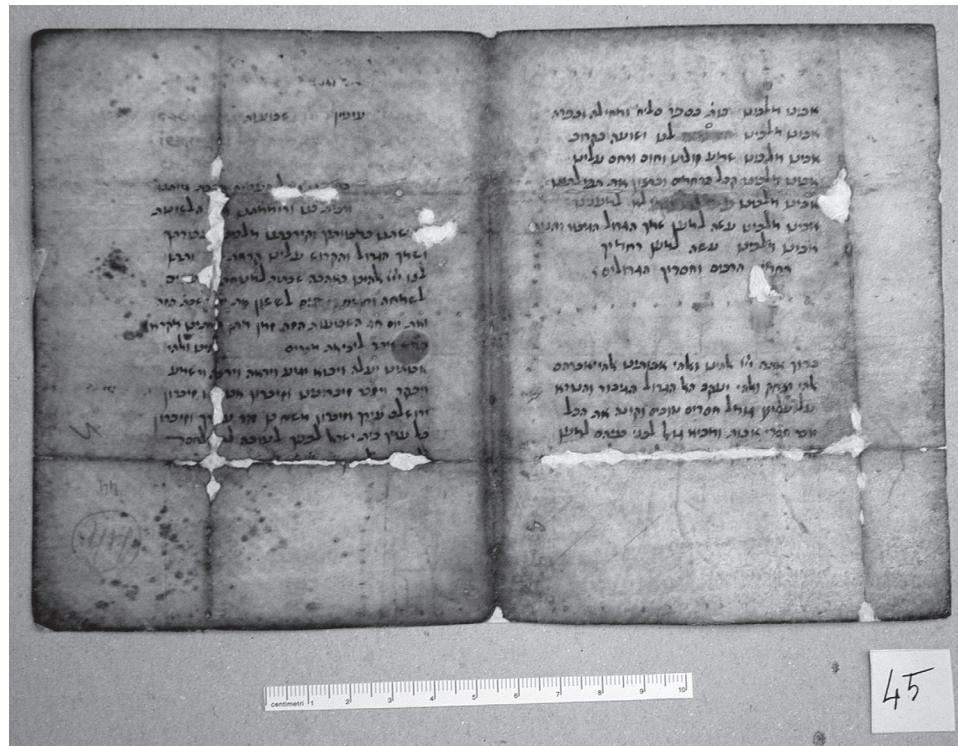


Fig. 2 - Italy, Viterbo, Archivio di Stato, busta 3 Pergamena 32-60, fr. 45.2a. Bifolij containing the end of the 'Avinu Malkenu verses read before the reading of the Torah for Šaharit of Roš ha-Šanah (day 1), followed by the beginning of the 'Amidah for Mussaf of Roš ha-Šanah (right) and beginning of the liturgy for Šavu'ot (left).

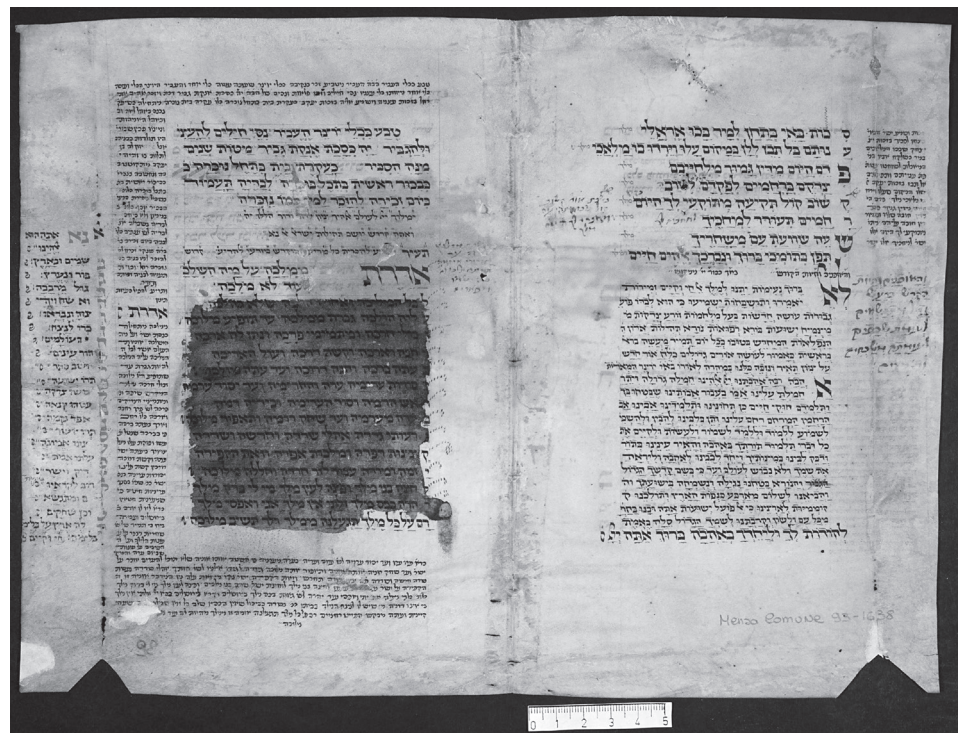


Fig. 3 - Italy, Modena, Archivio della Curia Archivescovile, fr. 98,1a, Mensa Comune 1631. Bifolij containing part of the Šem'a and its blessings read for Šaharit of Roš ha-Šanah (right), followed by the piyyuṭ by Eleazar ha-Qallir 'Aderet Mamlakhah, recited during the repetition of the 'Amidah by the ḥazan on Roš ha-Šanah (day 1) (left). This liturgical poem has been censured.

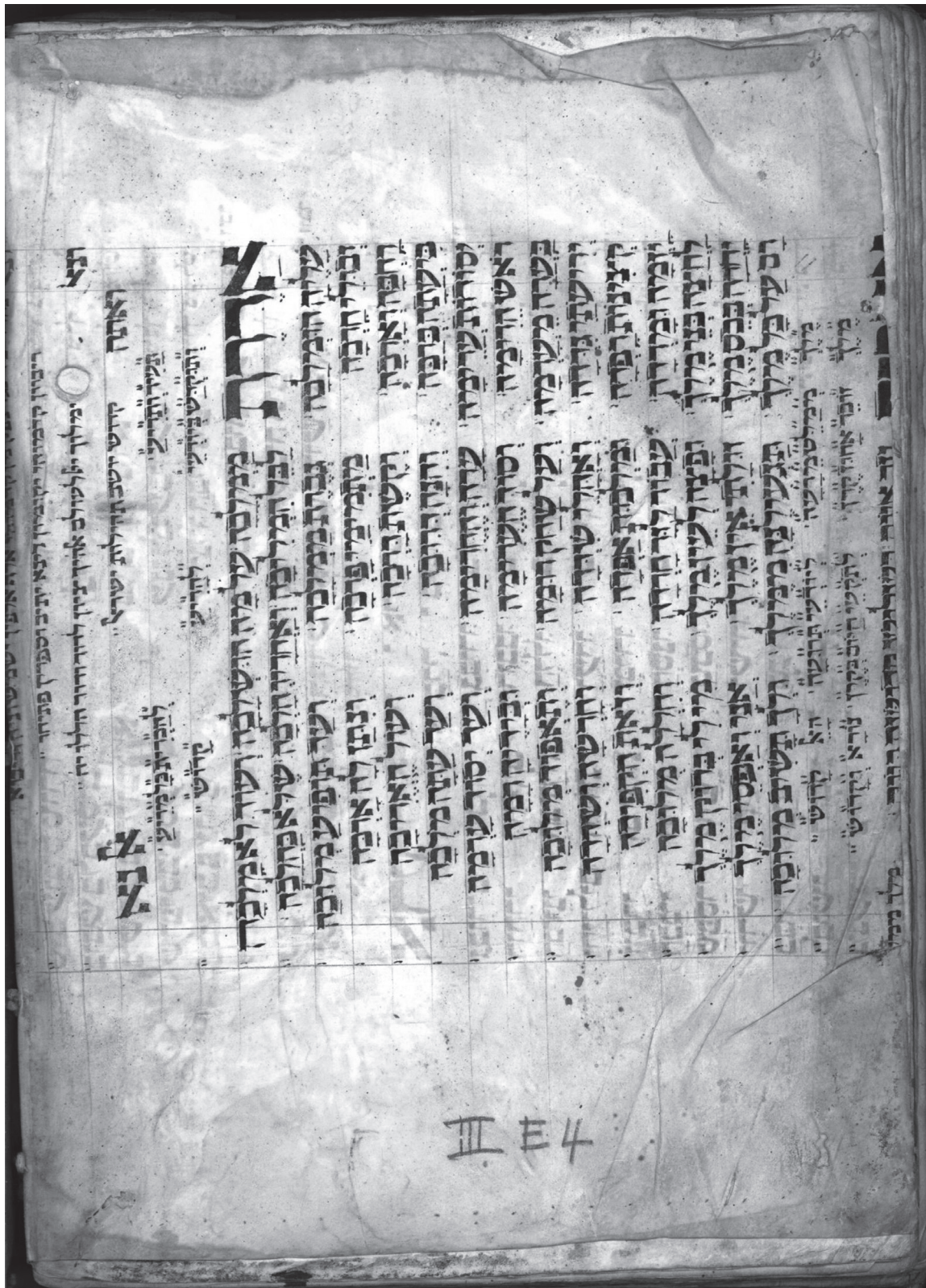


Fig. 4 - Swiss Jura, Porrentruy, Arch. Bourg. III E 4. Cut folio, flyleaf at the beginning of a register, portion of the piyyut by Eleazar ha-Qallir 'Aderet Mamlakhah', recited during the repetition of the Amidah by the hazan on Roš ha-Sanah (day 1).

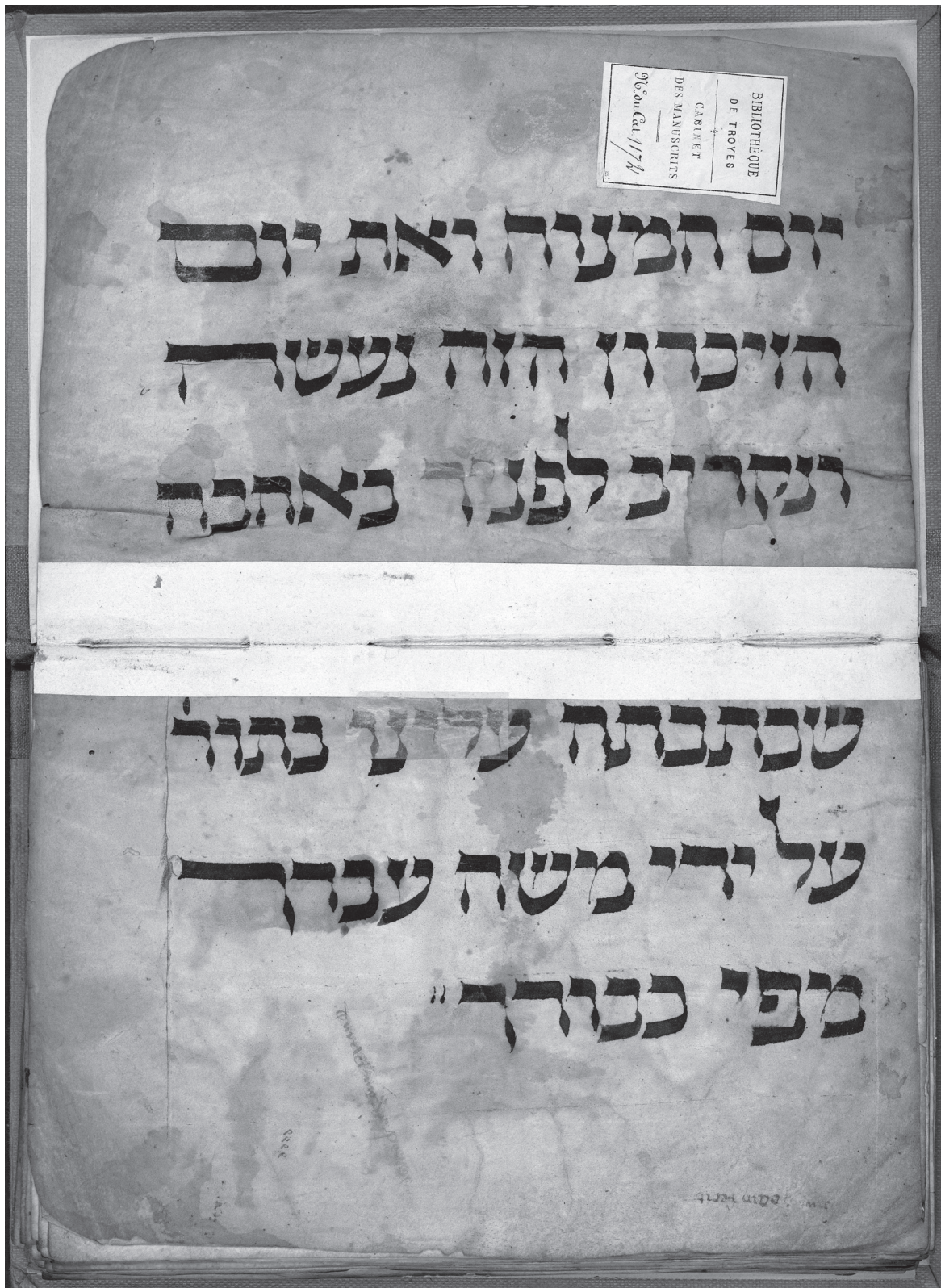


Fig. 5 - France, Troyes, Médiathèque de Troyes Champagne Métropole, Ms 1172. Two cut folios used as flyleaves at the beginning of a 15th century manuscript entitled *Libellus de electionibus faciendis et earum processibus ordinadis* by Guillaume de Mandagot. The Hebrew manuscript fragments contain part of the ḥazan's repetition of the 'Amidah read during Mussaf of Roš ha-Šanah (day 1).