

## **RECENSIONI**



MAURO PERANI with the cooperation of EMMA ABATE, *Medieval Hebrew manuscripts reused as book-bindings in Italy*, Brill, Leiden-Boston 2022, ISBN 9789004470989, pp. 415.

The contents of this volume are the culmination of extensive surveys and research endeavours conducted by the authors over several years, spanning from the 1990s to the present day. It compiles the significant findings of Italian, European, and Israeli scholars who have dedicated their efforts to investigating and examining medieval Hebrew parchment manuscripts that were repurposed as bindings for books and registers in Italy. This practice became more widespread during the 16th and 17th centuries due to the rising popularity of printed books and declining interest in manuscripts.

The Gutenberg Bible in 1455 marked the beginning of printed books, but it took about 80 years for this transition to take hold. By 1540, manuscripts had largely disappeared, and printed books became widely accessible. Despite their aesthetic value, ancient parchment codices were dismantled for their durable parchment, used for binding registers and printed books.

The practice of reusing parchment was not exclusive to Hebrew manuscripts but extended to codices in other languages, including Arabic, Latin, Greek, and various European vernaculars like Italian, French, German, and Spanish. While around 16,000 fragments of medieval Hebrew manuscripts have been identified in the 'Italian Genizah', countless non-Hebrew manuscript pages used as bookbindings can be found in Italian state archives, ecclesiastical repositories, and private collections.

This phenomenon occurred under specific historical circumstances, particularly concerning Hebrew manuscripts, during a period of severe persecution by the Catholic Church targeting Jews and their books. This policy commenced with Pope Julius III's 1533 bull, mandating the confiscation and burning of the Talmud in Rome and Christian-governed states. The year 1555 saw the issuance of the bull *Cum nimis absurdum* by Pope Paul IV, which led to the establishment of ghettos and marked the beginning of a period characterized by severe persecution targeting Jews and their cultural heritage. This chapter in the history of Jewish-Catholic relations is regarded as a tragic one, underscoring the enduring presence of anti-Semitism during that particular time.

The practice of reusing handwritten folios as bookbindings has been documented since the 15th century, as noted by scholars such as Konrad Pellicanus and Giovanni Bernardo De Rossi. However, it wasn't until 1981 that a systematic research project was initiated by Professor Giuseppe Baruch Sermoneta, leading to the discovery of numerous medieval Hebrew manuscripts that had been repurposed as bindings.

In 1975, Professor Yaakov Sussmann referred to this collection of hidden Hebrew manuscript fragments as the 'European Genizah' drawing parallels with the famous Cairo Genizah. What sets the Italian fragments apart from those found in other European countries is their antiquity, with manuscripts originating from southern regions in the 11th and 12th centuries and later brought to central and northern Italy for disassembly and reuse.

These fragments showcase the three major Western writing traditions – Italian, Sephardi, and Ashkenazi – as well as Byzantine and Oriental scripts. Notably, Italy served as a hub for manuscripts copied in Sepharad (Spain), brought by expelled Jews from Spain and France during the 15th and 16th centuries. Benjamin Richler referred to Italy as the 'Breadbasket' of Hebrew manuscripts during this period.

The concentration of Hebrew manuscripts in Italy can be attributed to the significant Jewish population in the country, which accounted for half of all European Jews in the 16th century. Immigrating Jews brought their manuscripts with them and utilized them for several decades before they were disassembled and repurposed. Without this recycling practice, many manuscripts would have been lost or destroyed.

The collection of fragments in Italy includes dismembered Talmudic texts, such as *Mishna*, *Tosefta*, *Yerushalmi*, and Babylonian *Talmudim*, along with Alfasi. These fragments, numbering around 370, can be reassembled into nearly 170 Talmudic codices. The reuse of these folios as bookbindings helped preserve them from destruction and burning by the Inquisition.

Sixteen years ago, under the leadership of Judith Olszowy-Schlanger from EPHE, Paris, the international project 'Books within Books: Hebrew Fragments in European Libraries' was established.

The Books within Books research group comprises a global network of scholars dedicated to the discovery, cataloging, and dissemination of knowledge concerning the reuse of medieval Hebrew manuscripts found in book bindings and notarial files within libraries and archives worldwide. This project has established numerous collaborations and partnerships with European and international institutions, gaining support and recognition from prestigious academies and foundations worldwide. It was initiated by scholars with the aim of preserving these manuscripts, which were at risk of being scattered and forgotten. **Emma Abate** and **Judith Olszowy-Schlanger** present their text *Manuscripta manent: Books within Books, an Overview*, in which they describe the significant new project of an online database that encompasses all the fragments discovered in the European Genizah, providing detailed descriptions and manuscript images.

Continuing within the section focused on the general descriptions and history of the research, **Benjamin Richler**, who has been engaged in close collaboration with Mauro Perani since the beginning of the research on the fragments of the Italian Genizah, emphasizes the significant contribution of the Italian fragments in the discovery of previously unknown texts. Among the vast number of fragments that have been discovered thus far, a significant portion belongs to works that have survived in only a limited number of copies. These fragments represent a rare and valuable find, as they provide additional evidence and insights into texts that have otherwise been preserved in only a few extant manuscripts. The discovery of such fragments enhances our understanding of these works by offering glimpses into their content, textual variations, and potential revisions. Each fragment becomes a crucial piece in the puzzle of reconstructing and comprehending the broader literary and intellectual landscape of the past.

**Mauro Perani** meticulously illustrates the extraordinary phenomenon of disassembling and reusing medieval Hebrew manuscripts as bindings for books and registers, providing readers with a comprehensive survey on the Italian Genizah summarizing the most significant new discoveries. In Italy, approximately 15,000 to 16,000 fragments have been discovered, with about 7,000 of them found in Emilia Romagna alone, making up almost half of all the Italian fragments. The Italian fragments not only contain standard Jewish literature from the late Middle Ages but also hold exceptionally significant texts due to their antiquity, rarity, or uniqueness. The Talmudic fragments are particularly valuable given the systematic persecution and burning of the Talmud by the Catholic Church, which accused it of containing blasphemous statements against Christianity. Consequently, only one nearly complete manuscript copy of the Babylonian Talmud has survived, copied in 1342-43 and currently housed at the State Library of Munich. This manuscript formed the basis for the first printed edition of the Talmud, establishing a standardized text. During the manuscript era, various versions of the Talmud existed in different places, displaying textual variations. The importance of the Italian Talmudic fragments lies in two aspects: firstly, they offer documentation for numerous codices that would otherwise be irretrievably lost, and secondly, they preserve essential textual variants that can provide a basis for a critical edition of this work.

In **Simeha Emanuel's** paper, *Ashkenazic Responsa in the Italian Genizah*, he explores the connection between complete versions of Ashkenazic *responsa* preserved in Germany and the defective versions recently found in Italy. Notably, the 'Sinai' collection of *responsa* by Maharam of Rothenburg and the collection of his disciple, Rabbi Hayyim Or Zarua, show significant similarities. These collections exist in complete manuscripts in Germany, but copies reached Italy during the late Middle Ages through Ashkenazic migrants and Christian scholars. The link between the complete German versions and the fragmented Italian ones suggests that the complete text was copied from the Italian version. Unfortunately, the copies in Italy were repurposed as book bindings and archival files from the 15th to 17th centuries, resulting in only a few scattered remaining pages. In another study, *The 'European Genizah': Between Hope and Reality*, Emanuel expresses optimism about uncovering future texts among the hidden treasures of the European Genizah.

In Part II, which is devoted to the Bible and its commentaries, **Chiara Pilocane** examines 11th-12th-century Biblical manuscripts from the Italian Genizah and their vocalization system, including those with the Tiberian extended vocalization system similar to the codex Reuchlin. The presence of eight codices, dating back to the 11th and 12th centuries, exhibiting close textual and palaeographic similarities, suggests that they were produced within the same geographic and cultural context. This context must have been an area with substantial Jewish settlements, a demand for study texts, and access

to other manuscripts for copying. These socio-cultural conditions, known to exist in a specific area of southern Italy during that time, support the localization of these Bibles in Apulia.

**Avraham Grossman** discusses the significance of the Italian Genizah for studying Yosef Kara's biblical commentaries. The presence of the Italian fragments provides evidence for the existence of Yosef Kara's Commentary on the Torah. A manuscript that was dispersed among various Italian archives by merchants who tore out its pages and sold them, contained numerous biblical commentaries by Yosef Kara, possibly encompassing all of his works. So far, only a small number of pages from this significant manuscript have been uncovered. These pages not only include Yosef Kara's commentaries but also additional commentaries by Rashi and other biblical scholars. They represent the surviving remnants of Yosef Kara's commentaries on the Torah, Isaiah, Hosea, Micah, Amos, Job, and likely the Psalms. Many of these remnants still hold Yosef Kara's teachings.

Part III of the study focuses on the recent discoveries of Talmudic and Halakhic texts. **Yaaqov Sussmann**, credited with coining the term 'European Genizah', highlights the significance of the Talmudic fragments from this collection for understanding the Talmud's redaction process. Among the notable findings are the beautifully preserved pages of a rare and valuable *Mishnah* exemplar. These pages were assembled from various collections where they were originally found, including the archives of Nonantola, Modena, and other locations. A similar approach was taken with the pages of the tractate *Bava Metzi'a* of the Babylonian Talmud, which were discovered in the State Archives of Cremona. Furthermore, scattered throughout different Italian collections, several pages of the *Midreshe halakha* have been unearthed. These pages include fragments from the *Sifra* and the *Sifre*.

**Gad Ben-Ammi Sarfatti**, zal, discusses a significant *Mishnah* manuscript from the Italian Genizah copied in southern Italy during the 12th century. Upon initial examination, it became evident that the manuscript found in the Modena area was of exceptional quality, bearing resemblance to manuscripts such as ms. Kaufmann, Parma (De Rossi 138), and Cambridge (Add. 470.1). These manuscripts uphold the ancient textual tradition of the Land of Israel, which has been less affected by the corrections made by scribes and proofreaders compared to the language of the *Mishnah* found in more widely circulated editions. Yechzeqel Kutscher referred to these manuscripts as 'textual prototypes'.

**Mauro Perani** and **Günter Stemberger** study textual reading variants and palaeography of ancient fragments, focusing on the *Tosefta* of Norcia. Mauro Perani investigates eight new pages of an 11th-century Talmud Yerushalmi *Megillah* and *Hagigah* from the State Archives of Bologna. Günter Stemberger focuses on the textual examination of the same fragments and their correspondence to the unique complete manuscript stored in the library of the Netherlands.

**Pinchas Roth** studies ancient fragments of the *She'iltot de-Rav Ahai* from the Italian Genizah found in the Archivio Arcivescovile of Ravenna. Upon conducting a thorough examination of the fragments, it becomes evident that the *She'iltot* text found within them is aligned with the same textual tradition as the *editio princeps* (Venice 1546). The fragments discovered in Ravenna provide evidence of the transmission of *She'iltot de-Rav Ahai* from Geonic Babylonia to medieval Europe.

Mauro Perani presents the travel of the *She'iltot de-Rav Ahai* from Sicily-Maghreb to Ravenna via Ferrara and a significant purchase note. The manuscript was later dismembered and reused in the *Catastri Ferraresi*, which were eventually concentrated in Ravenna. He also reconstructs the story of juridical books bound in 16th-century Bologna with folios from a 12th-century manuscript of *Halakhot Gedolot*, comparing the script with other early Italian scripts.

**Roni Shweka** studies newly discovered folios from 12th-century manuscripts of the *Halakhot Gedolot*, comparing them to existing manuscripts. The Bologna fragment and the Leipzig fragments are undoubtedly part of the same manuscript. Perani has identified the script used in the manuscript as a typical Italian script of the 12th century and provides an intriguing account of how the folios travelled from Bologna to Leipzig. The manuscript's Italian origin and provenance are unquestionable. However, the precise textual tradition of the entire manuscript remains uncertain and can only be determined after conducting a comprehensive study of the Leipzig fragments.

Part IV of the study delves into the early Halakhic *Midrashim* that were unearthed in the Nonantola and Modena Archives. Upon careful examination, it was determined that part of the findings consisted of folia and fragments originating from a manuscript written in Sephardic characters during the 15th century. A total of nineteen parchment pieces from this codex were discovered, primarily located

in Modena's Town Archives. Among them were six pages from the *Sifra*, one from *Sifre Numbers*, and twelve from *Sifre Deuteronomy*. Additionally, Menahem Kahana presents a comprehensive analysis of a newly discovered manuscript of *Sifre* on Numbers and Deuteronomy, which was found within the bindings in the Estense Library.

Part V focuses on Kabbalistic texts reused as bookbindings. Saverio Campanini examines fragments of Kabbalistic works from the Italian Genizah. Kabbalistic findings are mainly in Emilia Romagna, especially Modena, Reggio Emilia, and Bologna. A recent discovery in the State Archive of Urbino revealed 75 fragments, including 44 by Kabbalist Menahem Recanati. In the Modenese archives, three significant items were found: a Sephardic-script commentary on *Qohelet*, a 14th-century Sephardic manuscript with the *Megillat Setarim*, and another fragment from the same manuscript containing portions of the Commentary on Genesis. Another Kabbalistic manuscript is preserved in the Archivio Storico Comunale and Archivio Capitolare in Modena, including sections of Yehoshua' Ibn Shu'aib's supercommentary on Nahmanides' Commentary on the Torah. Additionally, a complete *bifolium* was discovered in the State Archives of Bologna, containing a fragment of Yosef Gikatilla's *Ginnat Egoz* (Walnut Garden).

This captivating volume, enriched with stunning illustrations, presents a comprehensive survey of approximately 16,000 Hebrew manuscript fragments that have been repurposed as book bindings. These fragments are currently housed in diverse libraries and archives across Italy, meticulously safeguarded for future generations. The volume culminates with an updated general bibliography spanning the years 1915 to 2021. Esteemed scholars contribute their expertise, delving into specific collections, genres, and individual fragments, effectively resurrecting the forgotten library of medieval Jewish books. Notably, among these fragments are nearly 160 Talmudic codices, encompassing the *Mishna*, *Tosefta*, Palestinian and Babylonian *Talmudim*, as well as newly discovered texts. The surviving fragments of medieval Hebrew manuscripts offer valuable insights into the Hebrew book culture and literacy of that era revealing unknown texts and illuminate book production techniques. These fragments provide an exceptional resource, enriching our understanding of the rich tapestry of medieval Hebrew book culture and its interplay with the broader society. They contribute significantly to our knowledge of the vibrant Jewish heritage in Italy and its connection to wider cultural and intellectual trends.

Elena Lolli  
e-mail: elena.lolli@orinst.ox.ac.uk

Antonio Spagnuolo  
e-mail: antonio.spagnuolo5@unibo.it

SARAH IFFT DECKER, *Jewish Women in the Medieval World, 500–1500 CE*, Routledge, London-New York 2022, ISBN 9780367612726, pp. 184.

In the medieval period, Jewish individuals held a subordinate legal position under Christian and Muslim rulers, often facing sporadic mistreatment. However, they also assimilated into the surrounding cultures, adopting the cultural norms of their neighbours. Differences among Jewish communities stemmed from their varied responses to local circumstances. Moreover, the experiences of wealthy Jews differed significantly from those living on the fringes of society or in poverty. This book emphasizes the central role of gender in shaping the lives of medieval Jewish women. While they shared in the challenges and successes of their community, they had distinct experiences in matters of faith, family, and community. By considering gender alongside factors like socioeconomic class, geographic location, marital status, and religious affiliation, it is possible to gain a deeper understanding of the complex dynamics that influenced people's lives during the medieval era. Specifically focusing on Jewish women, the author explores their unique experiences in comparison to Jewish men and women from other religious backgrounds.

Gender norms profoundly influenced societal expectations, behaviour, relationships, and employment. Legal disparities based on gender resulted in varying laws regarding finances, sexuality, adultery, and child custody. Although women had agency, they frequently encountered disadvantages compared to men of similar social standing. Women actively made decisions, engaged in legal procedures, pursued work outside the domestic sphere, governed territories, and contributed to literature. However, their experiences in work, marriage, law, and power dynamics diverged from those of men.

The book's focus on Jewish women stems from the belief that enriching our understanding of Jewish history and women's history requires an intersectional approach that incorporates religious identity alongside other forms of difference. Jewish women experienced Jewish life differently from Jewish men, with gender divisions evident in religious and social spheres. Economic opportunities for Jewish men and women were shaped by gender roles, as communal and religious authorities held different expectations. A comprehensive Jewish history necessitates greater attention to the experiences of this overlooked half of the Jewish population. Similarly, women's history benefits from an extensive assessment of how gender shaped the lives of women belonging to subordinated minority groups.

The study of medieval Jewish women benefits from diverse source materials. Rabbinic sources offer insights into communal perspectives on gender and women's experiences, but their prescriptive nature requires careful interpretation. Rabbinic *responsa*, providing legal rulings on specific issues, offer glimpses into challenges faced by women and families, but should be used cautiously as they often represent exceptional cases. *Responsa* shed light on broader gender norms and difficulties encountered by Jewish individuals and communities, but universality should not be assumed.

Scholars focusing on the Middle East have the advantage of the extensive Cairo Genizah as a source base. The *genizah* served as a repository for discarded papers inscribed with Hebrew letters, providing a wide array of materials such as personal and business correspondence, marriage and economic contracts, inventories, as well as literary and philosophical manuscripts. Although many documents are in Judeo-Arabic rather than Hebrew, they offer valuable insights.

Scholars studying Jewish women in Christian Europe face limited personal letters but have ample documentary sources at their disposal. These sources, originating from Christian institutions, include court records and contracts written by Christian officials and scribes. While they may not delve deeply into women's inner lives, they provide valuable insights into their actual experiences. Additionally, Jewish and non-Jewish chronicles, narratives, and visual sources occasionally depict Jewish women, offering glimpses into gender roles and societal expectations. However, a challenge arises from the fact that most available sources were authored by men, requiring careful examination to avoid assuming their perspectives accurately reflect women's lived realities.

Women's exemption from certain positive commandments did not imply exclusion. In Ashkenaz, rabbis commended women who chose to fulfil time-bound commandments and recite blessings. However, in other regions, women were discouraged from such practices, and Sephardic rabbis criticized them for reciting blessings. Medieval rabbis engaged in debates about women's inclusion based on these exemptions. The prayer recited by Jewish men, expressing gratitude for not being a non-Jew, slave, or woman, reinforced and propagated misogynistic ideas within Judaism, Christianity, and Islam. The book of Genesis presented two creation stories, which rabbis interpreted to establish women's roles. Lilith's story portrayed her as a challenging figure, while Eve's creation symbolized women's subordinate status.

Jewish women held a marginalized position in religious and family life, yet were praised for their piety. Christian and Muslim perspectives viewed them as less devout than Jewish men, reinforcing assumptions of obedience, subordination, and intellectual inferiority. While women's employment varied, domestic work and childcare were emphasized. Gender roles differed across regions and faiths. Ashkenazi Jewish men commended women's financial contributions, while attitudes in Sepharad and the Islamic East were mixed. Judaism and Islam lacked formal religious roles for women like Christian nunneries, but rejected celibacy, which could foster misogyny. Men were also affected by gender expectations, as Jewish men were obliged to provide for their families under the risk of censure and divorce.

Family and marriage held immense importance for Jewish women, providing personal, emotional, and crucial economic, legal, and social support. While men experienced little change in status, women underwent significant transformations through marriage, divorce, and widowhood. Sex was an important aspect of Jewish marriage, extending beyond marital relationships. Scholars face challenges in

understanding medieval Jewish women's perspectives on sex due to limited sources and a male-focused lens. However, the available evidence suggests that sex was considered a part of everyday life for most adult Jewish women. While it was intended to take place within the bounds of marriage, illicit forms of sexual activity, such as extramarital relations, encounters with non-Jews, and same-sex relations, likely occurred.

Jewish women in medieval times had diverse work roles, spanning various fields and encompassing tasks of different social status. Some of their work, like weaving and embroidering, was recognized as labour by contemporaries and scholars. However, certain types of work performed by Jewish women, such as money and property management, are often overlooked in discussions on gender and labour. Activities like cooking and childcare, essential for their families, were not always considered as legitimate work. Work options for Jewish women were influenced by factors like socioeconomic status, location, and religious standing. While there were similarities with Christian or Muslim women's work, Jewish women's labour could also be shaped by communal attitudes and restrictions unique to the Jewish minority.

Traditionally, the highest level of religious observance in Jewish tradition was reserved for men, with specific practices commanded specifically for them. Medieval rabbis held differing opinions on whether women could or should fulfil these commandments, such as circumcision, wearing *tefillin*, or hearing the *shofar* on *Rosh Hashanah*. However, Jewish women found ways to express their piety and maintain their Jewish identity. They engaged in special prayers, rituals, observed the laws of *niddah*, fasted, and made charitable donations, all as means to connect with God and their community.

The book highlights the importance of studying Jewish women to gain a comprehensive understanding of both women's history and Jewish history in the medieval period. While Jewish women shared some experiences with Christian and Muslim women, their lives were uniquely shaped by their minority faith, legal restrictions, distinct religious practices, and the influence of *halakhah*. The book also addresses the tendency to focus primarily on Jewish men in discussions of medieval Jews, both in the past and present. It explores how Jewish women had their own observances of rituals, were governed by different laws, and were perceived differently by Christians and Muslims compared to Jewish men. Recognizing the influence of gender and religious identity is crucial to fully grasp the complexities of everyday Jewish life in the medieval world.

Sarah Ifft Decker has skilfully written a concise synthesis that combines clarity and accessibility, accompanied by a useful glossary of terms. Unlike many existing books on the history of Jewish women in the Middle Ages, it does not presume prior knowledge of Jewish history, beliefs, and practices. While not claiming to be exhaustive, it offers an ideal resource for those new to the topic or seeking a comprehensive overview.

Elena Lolli

ALESSIA FONTANELLA, *L'espulsione e il ritorno degli ebrei a Mantova nel 1630. Nuove fonti di storia e poesia*, con la collaborazione di Mauro Perani, Giuntina, Firenze 2023, ISBN 9788880579823, pp. 280.

Frutto di una ricerca svolta in occasione della tesi di laurea magistrale, questo volume di Alessia Fontanella arricchisce significativamente il ventaglio di fonti, materiali e riflessioni relative alla storia degli ebrei d'Italia in epoca moderna. Lo studio si concentra su un passaggio storico cruciale, per quanto relativamente poco indagato con riferimento agli ebrei: la loro espulsione da Mantova del luglio 1630 nell'ambito della Guerra di Successione gonzaghese del 1627-31 e il loro rientro nel ghetto cittadino alla fine dello stesso anno. In particolare, è qui presentata un'edizione della composizione di Abramo Massarani "Libro dell'esilio e del riscatto", stampata a Venezia nel 1634 da uno sconosciuto tipografo ebreo, di cui una copia è conservata presso la biblioteca della Comunità ebraica di Mantova. Individuato come rilevante dal Rabbino Maggiore mantovano (fra 1927 e 1943) Gustavo Calò, di questo testo intitolato da

Massarani *Sefer ha-Galut we-ha-Pedut* (o *Libro dell'esilio e del riscatto*), fece una traduzione italiana, con qualche lacuna, pubblicata nel 1938 in *La Rassegna Mensile di Israel*. Due ristampe anastatiche pubblicate a San Pietroburgo nel 1907 e, nella traduzione di Calò, a Bologna nel 1977, hanno contribuito a preservare e in qualche misura promuovere la ricezione dell'opera, che è stata tuttavia finora poco valorizzata dalla storiografia.

Fontanella riproduce nell'Appendice documentale del volume sia l'edizione veneziana del 1634 sia la traduzione di Rav Calò del 1938, fornendo a sua volta una traduzione che peraltro integra le parti di testo tralasciate da Calò, quali il frontespizio e alcune poesie presenti all'interno dell'opera. L'autrice arricchisce inoltre lo studio con edizioni e immagini di fonti inedite individuate presso la Collezione privata di Giambeppe Fornasa. La pubblicazione avviene sotto la guida di Mauro Perani nella collana di Giuntina *Testi e studi* dell'Associazione italiana per lo studio del Giudaismo.

Dopo aver presentato un sintetico riepilogo delle vicende degli ebrei mantovani nei secoli precedenti e dei presupposti della Guerra di Successione mantovana, il volume approfondisce la rilevante figura di Massarani. Discendente da una linea originaria di Masserano, in provincia di Novara, documentata a partire dal XV secolo, questo letterato e poeta fu figlio di Isacco, suonatore di liuto presso la corte gonzaghesca. Al momento dell'espulsione dei correligionari mantovani Massarani si trovava a Ratisbona, dove fu raggiunto e interpellato dagli esuli nel quadro degli sforzi politici, intellettuali e materiali sostenuti da una estesa – e storicamente interessantissima, nelle modalità di formazione e funzionamento – rete di supporto volta ad ottenere la riammissione degli ebrei di Mantova. Passato a Venezia, Massarani fece stampare, senza indicazione dell'editore, un volumetto in cui, oltre a presentare il testo ebraico del "Libro dell'esilio e del riscatto", forniva una ricostruzione degli avvenimenti politici e militari legati alla guerra di Mantova e Monferrato. Pur basandosi sulle memorie di testimoni oculari tra cui Yehudah ben Mošeh Ḥazaq (Forti), il testo – certo anche in ragione della lingua di pubblicazione – non ottenne adeguata valorizzazione presso gli studiosi di queste vicende nei secoli successivi.

Eppure la cronaca di Massarani consente di seguire puntualmente le vicende del saccheggio del ghetto da parte dei lanzichenecchi – gli effetti abbandonati furono venduti a mercanti milanesi per ventimila ducati – e le successive peripezie dei due gruppi di esuli che si formarono dopo l'espulsione. Il primo troncone che si diresse a San Martino dall'Argine e il secondo che mosse verso Mirandola furono formati rispettivamente da circa seicento e mille persone. Significativo è che in quelle drammatiche contingenze i rappresentanti della comunità fossero supportati dal rabbino veneziano Samuele Melli, concittadino, il quale subito si rivolse a ebrei mantovani stanziati a Bolzano, spingendoli a intercedere presso la corte imperiale. Samuele Da Fano si mosse così alla volta di Innsbruck, coadiuvato da Abramo Levi Horowitz e riuscì, assieme a Gabriele Bibbiena, a incontrare prima l'arciduca Leopoldo e poi il fratello, l'imperatore Ferdinando II, fatto in seguito destinatario di diverse suppliche da parte ebraica.

Il libro presenta infine un'analisi delle dinamiche di espulsione e riammissione degli ebrei da Mantova svolta anche attraverso la pubblicazione dei manoscritti imperiali che concedettero il rientro della comunità, oltre che di alcune fonti contabili che – con la consueta minuziosità dei documenti economici – aiuta ad illustrare il lento e faticoso ritorno del ghetto alla quotidianità. Se da un lato i vecchi gravami fiscali che ricaddero sulle spalle degli ebrei già impoveriti dal Sacco e dall'esilio certo non aiutarono la ripresa, dall'altro le fonti evidenziano la vitalità delle attività assistenziali interne e la pronta solidarietà manifestata delle altre compagnie ebraiche peninsulari. La comunità ferrarese si prodigò fin da subito nel supportare gli sfortunati correligionari mantovani, occupandosi direttamente della gestione delle donazioni volontarie che videro prodigarsi sia singoli (tra cui lo stesso Melli e altri veneziani, tra cui Iacob Sullam e Rav David Basevi) sia comunità internazionali (tra cui Amsterdam, Costantinopoli, Amburgo, Costantina, Praga, Innsbruck) e nazionali come Ferrara, Modena, Venezia, Rovigo, Lugo, Senigallia, Ancona, Roma, Firenze, Livorno e Padova.

Oltre che nella ricostruzione specifica delle vicende mantovane, il volume di Alessia Fontanella è d'aiuto nell'approfondimento di almeno due tematiche storiche generali. Anzitutto quella inherente la formazione e mobilitazione di reti relazionali che assicuravano la circolazione di risorse materiali e immateriali interne al mondo ebraico di epoca moderna, collegando da un lato realtà locali e sovranazionali, dall'altro individui e comunità, grazie a strumenti d'intervento molto flessibili e variati. Inoltre, il volume fornisce nuove indicazioni relative all'inesausta *agency* manifestata dalle comunità stesse, che si dimostrò – fra l'altro – nella rapidità ed efficacia con cui esse riuscivano a mobilitare quelle "relazioni

verticali” con monarchi e governi che la storiografia, da diversi decenni oramai, ha individuato essere fra gli strumenti privilegiati di azione politica degli ebrei nella diaspora.

Germano Maifreda  
e-mail: germano.maifreda@unimi.it

J.H. CHAJES, *The Kabbalistic Tree*, The Pennsylvania State University Press, University Park, Pennsylvania 2022, ISBN 9780271093451, pp. 456.

Browsing through the pages of this hardcover, comprehensive and very accurate book, containing 261 figures on high-quality paper, the first impression is that of holding a prestigious art catalogue, disclosing – also through large-format fine reproductions – an unacknowledged chapter of Jewish art history. The impression is striking, even though the idea of a rigid aniconism characterizing Judaism is now outdated. What is even more amazing is that these peculiar images (here called “iconotexts”, since they invariably include Hebrew letters, and are usually filled with excerpts of kabbalistic literature) appear bizarre and quite obscure even to religious Jews, and have received due consideration by scholars in Judaica only in recent years. The outcome of a decennial work by Yossi Chajes and his collaborators, this volume indeed constitutes the first collection and systematic study of a forgotten genre – the *ilanot*, or kabbalistic “trees” – and can therefore legitimately aspire to become a milestone of research in Jewish studies.

The *ilanot*, “cosmological iconotexts inscribed on parchment”, appear at once similar and extremely variegated. They share the attempt to visualize through a complex drawing – often integrating letters, diagrams, geometrical forms and figurative items – the supernal world as it is perceived in the kabbalistic tradition: with reference to the *ten sefirot*, or further configurations of the divine potencies, as well as to angelic entities and cosmic layers. Chajes’ book reconstructs for the first time the major developments of this genre, and makes intelligible contents and formal features of its major examples. It describes the latter (sometimes in detail, sometimes through synthetic accounts), in many cases referring to the photographic reproduction of the whole artifact, or of a significant detail of it. The reader thus has the opportunity to take some steps in the understanding of this important segment of the visual and material culture produced by medieval and modern Jews.

As always occurs in the Jewish world, we are faced with a largely pluralistic landscape, with reference to material variants, iconic choices, textual selections, ideological visions. It is sufficient to say that the “trees” had extremely different shapes and dimensions (there are diagrams of a few centimeters, but parchment scrolls can be as long as 3 meters or even 10); they could be rolled or folded; they could be also “deconstructed”, miniaturized and inserted into a textual code. In reference to this last point, I observe incidentally that the mutual relationship between the drawings on scrolls and the drawings very often found in Hebrew kabbalistic manuscripts, might deserve further inquiries. Although Chajes acknowledges in the Introduction “the pioneering survey of visual Kabbalah” by G. Busi (*Qabbalah visiva*, Einaudi, Torino 2005), his study rarely refers to it and to the vast treasure of images from Hebrew books discussed therein, for instance the massive graphic transposition of the *Zohar* by David ben Yehudah he-Hasid, which could be usefully compared to the parchments examined here.

In his broader history of *ilanot*, Chajes begins with the “emergence of the kabbalistic tree”, illustrating the basic iconographic repertoire that takes shape from the 13<sup>th</sup>-century and its major textual sources (such as *Sha‘arei orah*, *Ma‘arekhet ha-elohut*, *Meirat ‘einayim*). He suggests that schemata such as trees and circles, associated with natural philosophy and astronomy during the Middle Ages, were congenial to the kabbalists, who understood themselves as engaged in the supreme occult science. The second chapter analyzes the “classical *ilanot*”, with their quite simple and usually austere arboreal diagrams. It focuses then in particular on the great Renaissance *ilanot* – where learned sages exhibited all their inclusive culture and artistic prowess visualizing the kabbalistic theosophical and cosmic orders not only through the classical medallions and channels, but also through splendid architectures and colorful

figures (the Chariot, the cherubs, the zodiac rota, animals, human heroes, etc.), and assembling into the scroll a massive number of texts. A last section concerns the rich visual language developed in Kurdistan and Yemen (Isaac Wanneh). Three long central chapters are then devoted to the rotuli inspired by the Lurianic Kabbalah, via Hayyim Vital's work, "which was particularly well suited to graphic visualization". "Lurianic trees" appear far more complex than the former drawings, since they attempt to depict a theosophical and cosmogonic world that has become more articulated, detailed and dynamic. The latter attribute is crucial in Chajes' account, who argues that those great parchment scrolls sought not only to visualize the structure of the Godhead, but also to represent its emanative diachronic process (somehow imitated by the same act of scrolling the rotulus). In this part of the book, the author offers a brilliant and groundbreaking overview of major personalities in the history of *ilanot* (first and foremost Jacob Zemah and Meir Poppers, but also the Christian kabbalist Knorr von Rosenroth, Moses Zacuto, Moses Luzatto, Isaac Coppio, Sasson Shandukh), shedding light on their fabric and activity, on their ideology and mode of drawing. The last two chapters are dedicated, respectively, to the transformation of the scrolls in amulets, magical objects used to protect the owner from evil, and to the birth of printed "trees". Some final few pages deal with contemporary artists that have recovered the *ilanot* tradition. In the Appendix a catalogue is provided of the very important collection of *ilanot* by William Gross, Tel Aviv.

While reconstructing the main stages, protagonists, environments and channels of this scribal tradition, Chajes strives gradually to shape a new lexicon, providing also heuristic categories that can help study and classify the vast amount of diagrammatic representations, in their innumerable variants. Thus, he discerns in that visual language some major "families", characterized by stable "modules" (especially deriving from Zemah and Poppers), to which scattered "elements" could be added. Those modules were then blended together ("assimilative integration") or juxtaposed ("sequential splicing") in the "Great Trees" circulating in the second half of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, in order to show the complete "enrobing" of the divine from the upper to the lower spheres. It is safe to assume that terms and grids set forth in this work will become major tools in any future research on this subject.

Indeed, it intends explicitly to pave the way to further inquiries. I wish to briefly dwell here on two crucial and interconnected issues that might call for further study. The first issue concerns the possible use of those objects, namely their place and role in the religious and ritual life of the kabbalists. Chajes seems to take a prudent position on this matter, noting that "very different reasons prompted the productions of such eclectic artifacts" (p. 333), and inviting scholars to avoid a reductionist approach and conclusive explanations. In fact, their authors very rarely left "instructions" on practical use, and an array of diverse functions might be surmised (also in consideration of the different kinds of *ilanot*). Most likely, the diagrams had pedagogical functions: they allowed access to the "secret wisdom", by summarizing and illustrating its major contents (in this sense they constituted an important device in cultural memory and knowledge, offering themselves as useful memorials for students in Kabbalah). At the same time, as is duly emphasized in the book, one can plausibly suggest more performative functions. As "ritual objects" providing maps of the theosophical world and signifying the divine order and presence, they could accompany and support the owners in their meditative and mystical experiences – enabling them to visualize the supernal realm along worship, to address the divine name or aspect correspondent to each cultic word or gesture, to ascend the ladder of the ontological chain, to play a pivotal role in the process of unification and restoration of the entire reality. One of the extraordinary Iraqi diagrams by Sasson ben Mordekhai Shanduk is entitled "Image of the tree of life, for the unification of the Holy Blessed One and his Shekhinah", thus explicitly signaling its supreme theurgical aim (see pp. 274-275). In other terms, although it is still not entirely clear in what way, the "sefirotic trees" were an integral part of the contemplative-unitive and theurgical paths of kabbalistically-educated Jewish worshippers. In addition, especially in certain forms and contexts, those diagrams were endowed with a talismanic, magical and apotropaic power, and served as practical amulets against every kind of danger.

All this brings us to a second crucial issue, that of the semiotic connection established by the kabbalistic adept between those material devices of graphical visualization and inscription and the supernal world itself. Chajes has returned in various parts of this work (and also in previous articles) on this most difficult and slippery issue, concerning the ontic and epistemic nature of the images in the kabbalists' perception. Yet, it might still deserve specific investigations. As has become common in humanities, here the general distinction between "icon", "index" and "symbol" is applied, drawn from the semiotics of

Peirce. In short, the graphic visualization of the divine contained in the *ilanot* should not be understood as having a physical resemblance with the divine itself (as the icon in Peircean terms), nor would it merely express an abstract and conventional association (symbol): rather, it would signify some median, conceptual, connection between signifier and signified (index). Discussing a masterpiece from the Renaissance period, named the “Magnificent Parchment” by Chajes, the latter asks whether the drawing was intended to present the image of God, and answers with a sharp “no – the tree is not an iconic signifier of God [...]. God was not presumed to look like a tree [...]. The tree is indexical insofar as it signifies the relations among the divine attributes” (p. 70). Both the multiple and diverse schemas contained in the scroll and the textual sections that crowd the parchment, would confirm the “unequivocal nominalism” of the author. In this perspective, Chajes suggests, one might paradoxically speak of an “aniconic character” of the iconotext. Now, can the issue be considered resolved in this drastic way? Can such a methodological view be seen as fitting for the entire *ilanot* genre?

Things seem in fact to be more complex, nuanced, and elusive, as is always the case when confronting religious discourses, mythical languages, mystical contexts, with all their charge of cognitive and emotional engagement. Chajes himself, in other parts of his work, offers formulations that seem to complicate his position and his adoption of one single sign-function (the index): “to scroll through an *ilan* inscribed on a parchment roll is mimetic: it is to enact the intradivine emanation in its ideal state” (p. 7); “a sefirotic map offered its user an encounter with the Divine” (p. 36); in the *ilanot*, “the image of the Divine delivers its presence” (p. 333). I will recall that, combining Peirce’s and Saussure’s semiotics, M. Silverstein and R. Yelle have proposed to employ the more intricate formula “indexical icon” for understanding ritual (magical) signs, and their way of providing a sense of concreteness and real presence. It is true that many kabbalistic texts, often integrated in the “trees”, rise up against a misreading that would imply materialization and corporealization of the divine, but they are precisely indicative of an inner serious anxiety. Even Cordovero, usually considered the most systematic thinker in the history of Kabbalah, appears to present a rather multifaceted position, not devoid of ambiguities, defending in general the importance of the visual devices, but denouncing the threat of corporealizing God, and claiming ultimately that some diagrams resemble the sefirotic order “in reality”, while others cannot be taken as a legitimate topography of the divine (see also the essay by Chajes, *Spheres, Sefirot and the Imaginal Astronomical Discourse of Classical Kabbalah*). The ongoing broader and vivid debate among the kabbalists on the graphic (or gestural) representation of the divine potencies on the right and on the left side – how would they reflect the right and left sides of God? – should be seen as grafted onto this problematic knot.

The point is that the kabbalists experienced at every stage an irreducible tension between the iconic tendency (or, the “idolatrous impulse” in E.R. Wolfson’s terms) and the prohibition of the image – whence dialectics and oscillations that recur in textual language (cataphatic and apophasic tendencies) as well as in ritual language, and could not but become dramatic in the case of a concrete visual language – especially as diagrammatic materials were to be considered sacred ritual objects (“holy tree”, *ilan ha-qadosh*), apt to be used for visualizing, cleaving to, and interacting with the Godhead.

Nowhere was the issue more sensitive and challenging than in the case of picturing the divine in human form. One of the most fascinating achievement of Chajes’ research is that it implicitly narrates the history of the anthropomorphic visualization of the deity in a longer period and in different areas of the Jewish culture, allowing to appreciate its up-and-down from a new viewpoint, namely looking at visual artifacts directly. Ambivalent and mutable attitudes in this respect seem to cross the *ilanot* tradition, as much as the kabbalistic textual tradition. In a number of diagrams one clearly discerns the body of God – primarily the head and the face (including eyes, nose, ears, hairs and beard), but also other limbs –, since the authors often strive to transfer into graphic language the bold verbal figurations of some Zoharic sections (first and foremost, the imaginal supernal Anthropos of the *Idra Rabba*) and the realistic mythical accounts of Lurianic Kabbalah (especially those concerning the “faces”, *partzufim*, of the Primordial Man, *Adam Qadmon*). In other drawings, the pictorial human-like images of the divine are subtly transformed into more geometrical figures, and made somewhat implicit or occult. Sometimes that kind of representation seems to eclipse, but the return of the repressed takes place somewhere, abruptly giving a new legitimacy to the iconic (and often anthropomorphic) drive.

Maurizio Mottolese  
e-mail: mrzmottolese@gmail.com

TIAGO MORTA, *El libro hebreo iluminado en Portugal en la Edad Media (siglos XIII-XV)*, Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, Colección Historia del Arte, Serie Biblioteca de Historia del Arte, 35, Madrid 2021, ISBN 9788400108397, pp. 233; con molte figure.

Tiago Moita, autore di questo importante libro, è licenziato in Teologia e Storia dell'arte, e ha ottenuto il dottorato all'Università di Lisbona nel 2017. Ha partecipato a due progetti di ricerca internazionali, uno negli anni 2012-2015 nell'Università di Lisbona sul tema *Hebrew Illumination in Portugal during the fifteenth century*, e l'altro nel 2017 per il Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas a Madrid focalizzato su *Jewish Cultures across Mediterranean Europe*. È autore e co-autore di diverse pubblicazioni nel campo dell'arte sefardita medievale, fra cui il libro *Sephardic Book Art of the Fifteenth Century* in collaborazione con Luís Urbano Afonso, pubblicato nel 2019 da Harvey Miller Publishers.

La presenza degli ebrei nel Portogallo verso la fine del secolo XV raggiunse una produzione di manoscritti di grande ricchezza, in particolare per la bellezza dell'arte della miniatura, che abbelliva il moltiplicarsi delle copie di opere importanti e anche di codici con testi nuovi. Questo grande interesse per il libro ebraico fu di stimolo a sviluppare l'arte della illuminazione dei codici, in particolare in Lisbona, dove fu attiva una scuola di miniaturisti negli anni dal 1480 al 1497.

Ma non solo il libro ebraico portoghese raggiunse un livello artistico di eccellenza nella produzione di codici miniati, ma anche si sviluppò nel passaggio verso la rivoluzione epocale dell'inizio della stampa, attivando una delle prime tipografie nel 1487 nella comunità ebraica di Faro.

Il volume è suddiviso in tre parti a loro volta suddivise in aspetti diversi delle miniature che abbelliscono i codici. La Parte I contiene: *Los manuscritos Hebreos medievales portugueses y sus iluminaciones: estado de la cuestión*, e *El libro Sefardí medieval: un objeto cultural y artístico*.

La parte II si focalizza su *Los manuscritos hebreos medievales portuguenses*, e quindi, *Los incunable Hebreos portuguenses* e su *Después de la expulsión: manuscritos e incunables en la diáspora*. Infine nella parte III l'autore illustra *La escuela de iluminación Hebrea de Lisboa*, seguita dalla seconda: *Influencias artísticas y significado cultural*.

Nelle pagine 9-12 l'autore elenca tutti i luoghi sparsi nel mondo in cui – a causa dell'espulsione degli ebrei dal Portogallo, che seguì quella dei re cattolici di pochi anni prima nel 1492 – sono finiti i manoscritti prodotti in Portogallo nelle 35 biblioteche d'Europa e dell'America settentrionale. Per fare qualche esempio, 5 manoscritti sono conservati nella Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 9 sono finiti a Londra; 14 codici portoghesi sono stati acquisiti dal Jewish Theological Seminary of America di New York; 17 in biblioteche di Oxford; alla Bibliothèque Nationale de France ci sono 7 manoscritti; 15, invece, sono stati acquisiti da Giovan Bernardo De Rossi, e poi confluiti nella Biblioteca Palatina di Parma, per dare alcuni esempi.

Il volume è veramente bello, arricchito da moltissime splendide fotografie dei codici miniati. Si parla delle scuole dei miniatori e dei principali centri in cui si copiavano i testi.

Se si può fare una osservazione, l'autore ad ogni argomento rinomina le figure ricominciando da 1, per cui ci sono molte figure con la didascalia del numero 1, e questo rende complicato identificare in quale capitolo o parte quella figura 1 fra tante sia collocata.

La situazione della diaspora del patrimonio ebraico portoghese, causata dall'espulsione è assolutamente identica a quella che noi oggi chiamiamo Spagna. Dei codici ebraici furono bruciati e molti portati dagli esuli in Italia o in oriente, finirono nelle biblioteche dell'Europa, ma anche di altre collezioni.

Questo fece sì che diversi codici sefarditi oggi di nuovo in Spagna o in Portogallo, furono acquistati da biblioteche in anni recenti.

Il libro resta comunque un pilastro importante per il fatto di illustrare meravigliosi codici miniati, poco noti, e di bellezza davvero unica.

Mauro Perani  
e-mail: mauro.perani@unibo.it

ANNA BARBAGALLO TOSCANO, *La voce dell'altro. Ebraismo e psicoanalisi. Postfazione di Davide Assael*, Collana di Studi Ebraici, LII, Salomone Belforte e C., Livorno, ISBN 9788874672103, pp. 257.

Questo volume, trattando dei rapporti fra ebraismo e psicoanalisi, avvisa il lettore dell'importanza del sonno nella psicoanalisi freudiana, mediante la figura della prima di copertina, con una fotografia di un dipinto di Lucian Freud (1979-1981) che rappresenta una *Sleeping Head*. L'autrice, nella scheda personale, si definisce una psicoanalista freudiana profondamente ispirata dalla interpretazione lacaniana del pensiero freudiano e dalla speculazione filosofica di autori antichi e contemporanei. Il suo proficuo incontro con l'ebraismo, avvenuto vent'anni fa, le ha fatto scoprire la sapienza mistica della Qabbalah, che afferma essere stata occultata ma mai negata da Freud. Ella inoltre, con lo pseudonimo di Dliel, ha pubblicato nel 2016 per DreamBook *L'albero di zaffiro*.

Quello che stiamo recensendo non è certo l'unico libro che tratta di Freud e del suo atteggiamento verso l'ebraismo, perché ne sono stati scritti molti altri, alcuni dei quali definiscono Freud un ebreo ateo che critica le religioni e rigetta l'ebraismo. Per dare alcuni esempi su centinaia, nella stessa editrice di Salomone Belforte e C., è apparso nel 2019 il volume di Franca Feliziani Kannheiser, *Sigmund Shlomo Freud. Le radici ebraiche della psicoanalisi*. Ancora, nel 2017 è apparso per Franco Angeli editore il volume a quattro mani di Lucia Fattori e Gabriella Vandi, *Psicoanalisi e fede: un discorso aperto*. Queste due studiose ritengono che “La posizione ufficiale di Freud riguardo alla religione è quella di un netto rifiuto: il fenomeno religioso da un lato costituisce, come insieme di riti e ceremoniali, una patologia che rientra a pieno titolo nell'ambito della nevrosi ossessiva e, dall'altro, come sentimento di fede/fiducia verso un essere onnipotente, rappresenta una sorta di regressione a una dipendenza infantile da un dio/padre che tutela l'uomo”, atteggiamento che le autrici sembrano voler superare e rovesciare, come lascia capire nel titolo: *Un discorso aperto*. Per concludere cito lo studio di Cesare Musatti, *Freud e l'ebraismo*, apparso nella rivista Belfagor, Vol. 35, No. 6 (30 Novembre 1980), pp. 687-696, pubblicato dalla Casa Editrice Leo S. Olschki s.r.l.

Se molti hanno definito Freud un ebreo ateo che disprezza la religione dei suoi padri, vorrei cercare di evidenziare quali sono le novità dell'approccio alla complessa relazione fra ebraismo e psicoanalisi che Anna Barbagallo Toscano intende operare in questo libro che stiamo esaminando. L'autrice ha voluto confrontare e mettere in armonia quelli che le sembrano costituire una fitta trama di riferimenti, di echi lontani, di variazioni e contrappunti fra il pensiero freudiano che apre il Novecento e si confronta con la millenaria cultura dell'ebraismo, che vanta tremila anni di storia. Infatti, la Barbagallo Toscano più che esaminare il rapporto di Freud con la religione ebraica, preferisce mettere a confronto Freud con la mistica qabbalistica ebraica e con il *Talmud* e i grandi filosofi del mondo greco. Tralascia dunque di vedere se Freud rinneghi totalmente la religione e, tuttavia, poi ne salvi alcuni valori che a lui interessano, evitando un approccio molto diffuso e che è stato usato per mostrare che Freud è un positivista ateo per il quale la religione è da considerare una patologia umana che preferisce l'illuminismo che dà il primato assoluto alla ragione. L'approccio nuovo dell'autrice è di provare a mettere a confronto il pensiero freudiano con il *Talmud* e la mistica ebraica, “gettando un ponte fra Illuminismo ebraico e tradizione mistica, ... che estenda campi ancora inesplorati di irradianti interconnessioni fra il cosiddetto pensiero occidentale e la sapienza mistica ebraica, fra Atene e Gerusalemme”. Scorrendo i capitoli di questo libro emerge il tentativo di fare una nuova fusione che l'autrice intende operare fra questi mondi, non considerandoli come nemici senza rapporti, ma in qualche modo dialoganti, come mostra anche una citazione del giovane Freud. La si può vedere a pagina 40 dove si riporta un passo dalla *Vita e opere di Sigmund Freud* di Ernest Jones, nella quale Freud, preparandosi nel 1938 a fuggire a Londra, scrive quanto segue: “*Dopo la distruzione del Tempio di Gerusalemme compiuta da Tito, Rabbi Yochanan Ben Zaqqai chiese il permesso di aprire una scuola a Yabneh per lo studio della Torah. Noi faremo lo stesso. La nostra storia, la tradizione e per alcuni l'esperienza personale, ci hanno ormai abituati alle persecuzioni*”.

Per concludere, il tentativo che l'autrice prova a realizzare in questo volume di fondere l'illuminismo francese e quello ebraico della *Haskalah* con la cultura dell'ebraismo, dal *Talmud* alla Qabbalah e alla filosofia greca, è certamente interessante, da ammirare e sostenere, ma complesso nell'operazione di far dialogare questi mondi.

Mauro Perani

## INDICE

### VOLUME XXVII (2022)

- 3 IN MEMORIAM DI ANGELO VIVIAN NEL TRENTADUESIMO ANNIVERSARIO DELLA MORTE (1942-1991)
- 5 P. CAPELLI, *Ricordo di Angelo Vivian (1942-1991)*
- 9 M. PERANI, *Lo zelante segretario dell'AISG Angelo Vivian e la sua tragica morte prematura*
- 31 P. COLLINI, *Il Giobbe della ribellione a Dio e alla storia in nome di Dio. Angelo Vivian e l'istanza scritturistica tra lettura, esegezi e storia*
- 37 I. ZATELLI, *Angelo Vivian e la linguistica ebraica e aramaica*
- 43 M. DEL BIANCO, *II principali campi di ricerca di Angelo Vivian nella seconda metà del Novecento. I cimiteri ebraici del Nordest*
- 49 *Elenco delle pubblicazioni di Angelo Vivian a cura di PIERO CAPELLI*
- 53 NUOVI STUDI SULL'EBRAISMO
- 55 A. FELDMAN - F. FELDMAN, *New Binding Waste Fragments: A Source of R. Abraham Azulai's Ba'ale Berit Avram?*
- 79 Y. LANDES, *The "Finzi Mishnah" (JTS, Ms. R934) and the Early Generations of the Finzi Family*
- 95 L. BAMBACI, *Manoscritti medievali e antiche versioni della Bibbia Ebraica: saggio preliminare di analisi quantitativa del libro del Qohelet secondo le collazioni del De Rossi*
- 113 G.P. CAMPI, "Re in Yeshurun": tradizioni parallele della regalità divina nel Pentateuco?
- 135 G.F. GRASSI, *Il venerdì ('rwbh) e il sabato (šbh) a Elefantina*
- 147 I. MAURIZIO, *La lingua ebraica in caratteri greci: analisi linguistica e fonetica delle trascrizioni greche di nomi propri ebraici nelle epigrafi palestinesi dei primi secoli dell'era cristiana*
- 165 A. LISSA, *Alcuni cenni sulla questione dell'immortalità dell'anima nel Şafnat pa'neah (1640) di Shemuel ha-Kohen de Pisa Lusitano*
- 179 G. MARIOTTI, *Il mistero e i suoi tempi nell'apocalittica del Secondo Tempio*
- 189 S. CRESTANI, *The Prayer of R. Šim'on b. Yoḥai between text, revelations and prophecies ex eventu*
- 201 M. MASCOLO, *Mise en texte e formulario nelle stele ebraiche apulo-lucane; Con alcune Addenda allo studio "Stele giudaiche irreperibili, edite e inedite di Bari, Venosa e Taranto dal Fondo Fotografico 'Nikolaus Müller' - Humboldt Universität zu Berlin"*
- 227 L. GRAZIANI SECCHIERI, «Per sua spontania volontà di obbedirli»: un caso di resistenza all'imposizione giuridica di sottomettersi ai Rabbi nella Ferrara ebraica estense
- 255 A. SPAGNUOLO, *Prosa e poesia nei cimiteri ebraici italiani. Il frammento di Abravanel e altre iscrizioni funerarie ebraiche a confronto (XVI-XVII secc.)*
- 283 M. PERANI, *Gli epitaffi del cimitero ebraico di Ancona accusati di eresia nel 1625 dall'Inquisizione romana presieduta da Urbano VIII*
- 327 E. SCAVO, *La preghiera in memoria di re Umberto I e l'acculturazione musicale nella Sinagoga ferrarese fra Otto e Novecento*
- 343 F. FRANCESCHINI, *Levi, gli Ostjuden e l'erranza ebraica*
- 371 A. GRAZZINI, *L'ebreo livornese e il giudio rinnegato. Erranze e conversioni nel teatro delle lingue seicentesco*
- 387 S. GRAZZINI, *Il progetto di ricerca L'Ebreo errante e la struttura narrativa del Volksbuch di Ahasverus (1602)*

- 399 F.V. DIANA, *Letteratura ed editoria in giudeo spagnolo contro l'erranza spirituale: uno studio preliminare sul caso di Livorno*
- 413 A.Y. LATTES, *I registri delle più antiche confraternite veneziane: la misericordia e la maritar donne della nazione tedesca*
- 435 M. BENFATTO, *La polemica cristiana antiigudaica italiana: L'Ebreo convinto dei suoi errori dalla Sacra Scrittura (1729) e le tradizioni rituali ebraiche*
- 453 N. BONOMI BRAVERMAN, *Gli insediamenti ebraici minori nel Granducato di Toscana nel XVI sec.*
- 469 S. CAMPANINI, *Ebraisti e filologi. Per una storia della didattica dell'ebraico*
- 493 V. PUTZU, *Ki ṭovim dodeka mi-yayin: A proposito di una peculiare esegezi di Cantico 1,2 nella qabbalah spagnola medievale*
- 501 M. BEVILACQUA KRASNER, *Pietro da Montagnana "homo trilinguis" e i suoi manoscritti ebraici: Padova nel Quattrocento e la comunità ebraica ashkenazita*
- 515 M.V. COMACCHI, *Beyond Marsilio Ficino? Judah Abarbanel, Francesco Cattani da Diacceto, and the Renaissance Convivium*
- 529 S.I.M. PRATELLI, *Elia of Nola's handwriting and other peculiarities of the Hebrew pieces in MS SBB, Or. fol. 13: paleographical, codicological and textual remarks*
- 549 A. VITERBO, *L'archivio personale e la biblioteca di rav Samuele Colombo, Rabbino Maggiore di Livorno dal 1900 al 1923*
- 561 G. TAMANI, *Il più originale libro ebraico stampato a Venezia nell'età pre-moderna: il Ma'ašeḥ Tuvyyah di Tobia Cohn*
- 575 D. HARTMAN, *Codice greco in abito giudaico: il ms. Minuscolo 635 del Nuovo Testamento e i suoi fogli ebraici*
- 593 C. TASCA - M. RAPETTI, *L'insegnamento della Lingua ebraica all'Università di Cagliari attraverso le carte d'archivio (XVII-XIX secolo)*
- 609 R. ESPOSITO, *A stage for the Revolution. Yiddish and Hebrew workers' theatres in the interwar period*
- 625 D. D'AMICO, *Rhetoric and Forms of Deception in the Hebrew Bible: A Communicative-Structural Approach*
- 637 A. SURIANO, *Why Have You Deceived Me? Lot's Daughters in Genesis 19*
- 647 A. CATASTINI, *L'insegnamento di Ebraico e lingue semitiche comparate di Sabatino Moscati. Un ricordo per un doppio anniversario*
- 653 D. SAPONARO - E. GIOVANNETTI - F. SCIOLETTE, *From Religious Sources to Computational Resources: Approach and Case Study on Hebrew Terms and Concepts*
- 675 A.M. PIEMONTESE, *La Bibbia persiana di Giovanni Battista Vecchietti*
- 687 C.C. SCORDARI, «*I have wandered from place to place*»: Joseph Soloveitchik, nuovo Abramo errante e irrequieto?
- 695 I. WARTENBERG, *Preliminary notes on the presence and the influence of the vernacular in an anonymous Hebrew arithmetical treatise from fifteenth-century Cento (Verona, Biblioteca Civica, Ms. 33)*

## 709 RECENSIONI

## LIBRI RECENSITI

MAURO PERANI with the cooperation of EMMA ABATE, *Medieval Hebrew manuscripts reused as book-bindings in Italy* (E. Lolli - A. Spagnuolo); SARAH IFFT DECKER, *Jewish Women in the Medieval World, 500–1500 CE* (E. Lolli); ALESSIA FONTANELLA, *L'espulsione e il ritorno degli ebrei a Mantova nel 1630. Nuove fonti di storia e poesia* (G. Maifreda); J.H. CHAJES, *The Kabbalistic Tree* (M. Mottolese); TIAGO MOITA, *El libro hebreo iluminado en Portugal en la Edad Media (siglos XIII–XV)* (M. Perani); ANNA BARBAGALLO TOSCANO, *La voce dell'altro. Ebraismo e psicoanalisi. Postfazione di Davide Assael* (M. Perani).

### NORME PER I COLLABORATORI

Inviare gli articoli per e-mail alla redazione in un file Doc. (\*.doc) e \*.pdf. I testi devono essere contributi originali, non pubblicati contemporaneamente in altre sedi. Gli articoli sono sottoposti a peer review tramite blind refereeing. L'AISG attribuisce al comitato scientifico della rivista la responsabilità di quanto contenuto nei testi e declina ogni responsabilità sui medesimi. Gli articoli possono essere redatti nelle principali lingue europee – meglio se in inglese – e devono essere corredati da un Summary in inglese di cinque/sei righe e da tre Keywords.

#### Le citazioni bibliografiche vanno uniformate ai seguenti modelli

W.C. VAN UNNIK, *Flavius Josephus and the Mysteries*, in M.J. VERMASEREN (cur.), *Studies in Hellenistic Religions*, Brill, Leiden 1979 (Études Préliminaires aux Religions Orientales dans l'Empire Romain 78), p. 256; GIUSEPPE FLAVIO, *Antichità Giudaiche*, a c. di L. MORALDI, I-II, UTET, Torino 1998; M. MORTARA, *Che cosa è una nazione?*, «Il Vessillo Israelitico» 30 (1882), pp. 101-110; l'indicazione dell'editore è richiesta soltanto per i volumi pubblicati dal 1950 in poi. L'esponente di nota va messo dopo il segno di punteggiatura, se c'è. I nomi delle riviste vanno scritti per esteso; si usino sempre le virgolette «caporali».

#### L'ebraico e la resa dei segni diacritici per la trascrizione

Per l'ebraico si deve utilizzare esclusivamente la font *SBL Hebrew*, e per la translitterazione si segua il sistema sotto indicato. La trascrizione dell'ebraico indica solo la qualità delle vocali e non rende la pronuncia fricativa delle *BeGaDKeFaT* se non nella ב – b/v e nella פ – p/f e l'articolo va prefisso alla parola con un trattino: es. *ha-šamayyim*. Per il greco si usi Greek e per i diacritici dell'ebraico (ה t x s e š) le font *Times New Roman normale* (TNR normale) e *Times New Roman Special* (TNRSp) G1 e G2; per ġ h e ġ si usi *Timlj* per il tondo e *Timljita* per il corsivo. I passaggi per inserire correttamente un diacritico nella trascrizione – pena il mancato inserimento – sono i seguenti: dal documento di testo seleziona nella finestra delle fonti quella per il diacritico > “inserisci simbolo” > nella finestra delle lettere selezionare la font per il diacritico, ad es. *TNRSpG1* o *G2*, *Timlj* o *Timljita* > trovare il diacritico e inserirlo con doppio clic o, per comodità, con un tasto di scelta rapida. Se a video per i diacritici compare una disomogeneità non importa, perché nella stampa scomparirà. Chi non possedesse le fonti richieste, le chieda alla redazione. I testi non composti secondo queste norme, non saranno accettati.

#### Traslitterazione dei caratteri ebraici e segni adottati

א	ב	(non iniziale né finale)	כ	ל	מ
ב	ב	b/v	כ	ל	m
ג	ג	g	ג	ל	n
ד	ד	d	ד	ל	s
ה	ה	h	ה	ל	'
ו	ו	w	ו	ל	p/f
ז	ז	z	ז	ל	š
ח	ח	ħ	ח	ל	q
ט	ט	ṭ	ט	ל	r
י	י	y	י	ל	ś
כ	כ	k	כ	ל	š
ל	ל	l	ל	ל	t

**Finito di stampare nel mese di ottobre 2023  
da Rotomail Italia S.p.A.**



