Summary Preface

The following paper is an excerpt from the final section (Section III) of my PhD dissertation, titled: 'Material Witnesses: Examining the Migration of Hebrew Manuscripts in Relation to Jewish Displacement 1290-1550.' The dissertation studies the movement of Hebrew manuscripts from their origins in France, Germany, and Spain to Italy between 1290 and 1550, a period that saw mass emigrations of Jewish communities due to persecution and expulsion. It specifically examines the way these manuscripts changed over time in response to their movement - the addition of new decorations, prayers, censor signatures, bills of sale etc. - and resituates them within their new contexts. In doing so, the dissertation aims to shed light on the wider lives of these manuscripts, which have hitherto been studied primarily in relation to their origins, as well as to provide insight into the impact of displacement on emigrant Jewish communities and the communities to which they moved.

The dissertation is divided into three sections, each centred around a specific case study. Section I is devoted to the Rothschild Pentateuch (J.Paul Getty MS 116); Section II focuses on the Duke of Sussex German Pentateuch (British Library Add MS 15282); and Section III examines the Barcelona Haggadah (British Library Add MS 14761, here Haggadah 14761). Where Section I and Section II chart the lives of Ashkenazic Hebrew Bibles, Section III presents a shift. It focuses on a Sephardic haggadah. Where the Hebrew Bibles were likely used for individual study, Haggadah 14761 was intended for ritual performance at the seder table. Section III thus explores: 1. The additions made to Haggadah 14761 between 1360 and 1459 (when it moved to Bologna) and 2. How it can be re-situated in relation to the socio-political, cultural, and artistic landscape surrounding Jewish communities in fifteenth-century northern Italy. In this, Section III builds on themes presented in Sections I and II regarding the book trade and manuscript production practices in fifteenth-century Italy, and applies them specifically to the production and use of haggadot in this period.

In addition to re-situating Haggadah 14761 in its new context, I am interested in exploring the ways it might have been engaged with and interpreted by its new owner. I am wary of over analysing and am aware of the limitations of going down this particular avenue. In what follows, I have demonstrated the ways that I have begun to think about its engagement and interpretation, but I would be happy for feedback and ideas regarding how this might best be approached (or possibly avoided!).

<u>Mapping Migration:</u>

<u>The Barcelona Haggadah (Haggadah 14761) as a Material Witness to Sephardi Migration 1391-1459</u>

'I, Shalom Latif, man of Jerusalem, acknowledge that I have sold the haggadah to rabbi Moses son of our teacher rabbi Abraham for 50 broad gold ducats, and I undertake to insure him against any contested claims of ownership this day, on the second day of the week in the year five thousand and two hundred and nineteen from the Creation of the World which we reckon here in Bologna; and in order that he may have good title and proof, I have signed and accomplished that which I have written' – bill of sale, Haggadah 14761, f. 161v

On a Monday in 1459 (5219), Haggadah 14761 was sold in Bologna by Shalom Latif for 50 gold ducats to Moses ben Abraham. The exchange is documented by a bill of sale written in Hebrew on the last folio of the present codex. This bill of sale is significant because it indicates when, where, and who owned and used Haggadah 14761 at this moment. As the bill of sale references Haggadah 14761 as a whole, it additionally provides a *terminus ante quem* for the creation of the current codex which is actually composed of two separate manuscripts. The first is a richly decorated haggadah created around 1360 in Catalonia, most likely Barcelona.[1] Bound to the beginning and end of the Catalonian Haggadah are leaves from a mahzor, created in southern France in the late-fourteenth century, whose undecorated folios contain *piyyutim* for Passover and Shavuot according to the Provençal rite.[2] The divergent liturgical rites and distinctive regional pricking styles of the Catalonian Haggadah and Provençal Mahzor indicate that they were written in separate locations—Catalonia and southern France—as individual codices in the fourteenth century and bound together in or before 1459 to become Haggadah 14761.[3] The integration and movement of these two manuscripts is

[1] David Goldstein and Jeremy Schonfield ed., *The Barcelona Haggadah An Illuminated Passover Compendium from 14th-century Catalonia in facsimile* (London, 1992) pp. 1-5.
[2] In this paper, these two manuscripts are referred to respectively as the Catalonian Haggadah and Provençal Mahzor. When discussing them as a unified volume, they are called Haggadah 14761. For a discussion of the codicological differences between the Catalonian Haggadah and Provençal Mahzor see, Malachi Beit-Arié, 'The Making of the Book a Codicological Study', David Goldstein and Jeremy Schonfield eds., *The Barcelona Haggadah An Illuminated Passover Compendium from 14th-century Catalonia in facsimile* (London, 1992) pp. 15-25.
[3] Scholarly consensus regarding the provenances of these divergent manuscripts rests on the analysis of Malachi Beit-Arié. For the full codicological analysis see Malachi Beit-Arié, 'The Making of the Book', pp. 15-25; For a discussion of

paramount because they mirror the emigration of Jewish communities following their expulsion from France in 1394 and anti-Jewish attacks in Catalonia in 1391. Given this, an examination of Haggadah 14761 in relation to the moment it was sold could provide new insight into Jewish life in mid-fifteenth-century Bologna as well as how displacement impacted Catalonian and Provençal Jewish thought, ritual, and identity in this period.

Previous scholarship on Haggadah 14761 has focused mainly on the Catalonian Haggadah. This is reflected in Haggadah 14761's more commonly known title: the Barcelona Haggadah, a manuscript famous for its illuminations, marginal decoration, and Catalonian origin irrespective of the Provençal *piyyutim*. Art historians have explored the unique position the Catalonian Haggadah holds as one of two surviving fourteenth-century Spanish haggadot that integrate miniatures of seder rituals and the Exodus into the main text.[4] It is further distinguished by the ornate nature of its marginal images (marginalia). (Figure 1) The Catalonian Haggadah has accordingly appeared in surveys on illuminated Hebrew manuscripts and Jewish ritual as well as part of studies on marginalia in Hebrew manuscripts.[5] These discussions productively contextualise the Catalonian Haggadah's creation and use in fourteenth-century Spain, analysing its miniatures and ritual function in relation to contemporaneous Sephardic haggadot. While these studies mention the addition of the Provençal *piyyutim* and the Catalonian Haggadah's migration to Italy, they do not discuss them in-depth. The companion to the facsimile edition does examine the Provençal *piyyutim* from a codicological perspective, but it does not address the manuscripts' new life in Bologna or how Haggadah 14761 would have been read as a whole (Catalonian Haggadah alongside Provençal *piyyutim*).[6] The reluctance to discuss the Catalonian Haggadah beyond the moment it was made highlights a lacuna in

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codicological methodology in dating medieval Hebrew manuscripts see Malachi Beit-Arié, *Hebrew Codicology: Tentative Typology of Technical Practices in Hebrew Dated Medieval Manuscripts* (Jerusalem, 1981).

[4] Evelyn Cohen, 'The Decoration' in *The Barcelona Haggadah,* pp. 20-45; Evelyn Cohen, 'The Artist of the Barcelona Haggadah', in *The Late Medieval Hebrew Book in the Western Mediterranean: Hebrew Manuscripts and Incunabula in Context*, ed. Javier del Barco (Leiden and Boston, 2015) pp. 249-265; Katrin Kogman-Appel, *Illuminated Haggadot from Medieval Spain: Biblical Imagery and the Passover Holiday* (Pennsylvania, 2006) pp. 31, 36-38, 41; Marc Michael Epstein, *The Medieval Haggadah,* pp. 7, 251.

[5] Bezalel Narkiss, *Hebrew Illuminated Manuscripts in the British Isles: A Catalogue Raisonné: The Spanish and Portuguese Manuscripts* vol. I-II (Oxford, 1982); Bezalel Narkiss, *Hebrew Manuscripts* (Jerusalem, 1969); George Margoliouth, *Catalogue of the Hebrew and Samaritan Manuscripts in the British Museum* vol. 4 (London, 1899-1935); Illana Tahan, *Hebrew Manuscripts: The Power of Script and Image* (London, 2007); Marc Michael Epstein, *Dreams of Subversion in Medieval Jewish Art and Literature* (Pennsylvania, 1997); Abby Kornfeld, "Meaning in the Margins: Between Text and Image in the Barcelona Haggadah," PhD dissertation (New York University, 2013).

[6] Beit-Arié, 'The Making of the Book', pp. 15-25.

scholarship on this codex and, more broadly, the position of migrating Hebrew manuscripts in quattrocento Italy.[7] This paper, therefore, discusses the Catalonian Haggadah in relation to the Provençal Mahzor. It examines the manuscripts' integration and movement to Italy in order to highlight a neglected dimension of the codex's history as well as to provide new insight into the impact of emigration on Jewish life and Hebrew manuscript production in fifteenth-century Italy. In doing so, this paper will discuss the way Haggadah 14761 acts as an agent in and material witness to different periods of Jewish history and, thereby, transcends the moment it was made.

Several studies point to the movement of Sephardic manuscripts to Italy during the quattrocento and cinquecento.[8] Robert Bonfil has discussed how Jewish literary forms and genres in Italy changed due to the influx of Jews from France and Spain following expulsion.[9] Adreina Contessa has discussed the collecting practices of wealthy Italian Jews, mentioning that they were likely good customers for codices brought to Italy by Sephardi refugees and states that some of the manuscripts received new decorations in 'the most fashionable Italian style of the period.'[10] Katrin Kogman-Appel and has explored the possible influence of Sephardic haggadot on haggadot produced by the German scribe-artist Joel ben Simeon in fifteenth-century Italy.[11] The emphasis Kogman-Appel and Contessa place on style is paralleled in the scholarship of Malachi Beit-Arié and Edna Engel who have conducted palaeographic studies on the impact of Ashkenazi and Sephardi scripts on Italian scribal practice.[12] Beit-Arié observes that indigenous Italian Hebrew script almost entirely disappeared due to

[7] One notable exception might be the various object biographies of the Sarajevo Haggadah, many of which note its movement to Italy and its life in Bosnia Herzegovina. In the first instance, see: Shalom Sabar, *The Sarajevo Haggadah: History & Art* vol. II (Bosnia and Herzegovina, 2018).
[8] Sephardic manuscripts, here, refers to manuscripts written in Sephardic script. That would mean manuscripts made in Spain as well as those created in south France and Provence. For a discussion on the similarities between manuscript production across Spain and Provence see: Kogman-Appel, *Illuminated Haggadot,* pp. 26-27; Beit-Arié, *Hebrew Codicology,* p. 60.
[9] Robert Bonfil, *Cultural Change Among the Jews of Early Modern Italy* (Surrey, 2010)
[10] Adreina Contessa, 'Jewish Book Collection and Patronage in Renaissance Italy' in *The Italia Judaica Conference* vol. 48, Shlomo Simonsohn and Joseph Shatzmiller, eds. (Leiden, 2013).
[11] Katrin Kogman-Appel, 'Creating a Visual Repertoire for the Late Medieval Haggadah' in *Sephardim and Ashkenazim: Jewish-Jewish Encounters in History and Literature,* Sina Rauschenbach, ed. (Berlin and Boston, 2020) pp. 47-72; see also Sharon Mintz, Lucia Raspe, Sandra Hindman, *I am the Scribe, Joel Ben Simeon* (New York, 2020). For a discussion of the impact of displacement on specifically Ashkenazic manuscript production and communities see Lucia Raspe, 'Portable Homeland: The German-Jewish Diaspora in Italy and Its impact on Ashkenazic Book Culture, 1400-1600' in *Early Modern Ethnic and Religious Communities in Exile,* Yosef Kaplan, ed. (Cambridge, 2017) pp. 26-43; Sivan Gottlieb, 'Go and Learn: the Ashkenazi and Italian Roots of the Sereni Haggadah,' *Ars Judaica The Bar Ilan Journal of Jewish Art* vol. 14 (2018) pp. 63-78.
[12] Beit-Arié, 'The Making of the Book', pp. 15-25; Beit-Arié, *Hebrew Codicology,* pp. 10-15; Edna Engel, 'Immigrant Scribes' Handwriting in Northern Italy from the Late-Thirteenth to the Mid-Sixteenth Century: Sephardi and Ashkenazi Attitudes toward the Italian Script' in *The Late Medieval Hebrew Book in the Western Mediterranean: Hebrew Manuscripts and Incunabula in Context,* ed. Javier del Barco (Leiden, 2015) pp. 28-45.

the immigration of scribes from Ashkenaz and Sepharad who continued to use their own style. This research is expanded by Nurit Pasternak, who has explored the role professional and non-professional Jewish scribes played in Hebrew manuscript production in Italy. [13] These studies provide valuable insight into the influence of Sephardi immigration on Hebrew manuscript production in Italy. Yet, there is a noticeable gap in the discussion regarding the resituating of migrating Hebrew manuscripts in their new cultural, socio-political, and ritual contexts. The general lack of engagement with the new lives of manuscripts such as the Catalonian Haggadah and Provençal Mahzor seems to imply that they fail to maintain their significance after the moment they were made when, in fact, they continue to participate in Jewish ritual for centuries. To not examine them in relation to their new contexts seems to enact a type of erasure on the full lives of these manuscripts and, in effect, the communities they represent.

While the new lives of migrating Hebrew manuscripts have received little in-depth attention, three significant interventions include studies by Evelyn Cohen, Eva Frojmovic, and Javier del Barco. Cohen has analysed an illumination added to the Rothschild Pentateuch (Getty MS 116) by Joel ben Simeon in late-fifteenth century Italy.[14] Frojmovic has contextualised the acquisition of a Hebrew Bible (written in Wurzburg between 1232 and 1233) by a Catholic merchant in Venice in 1549 within the Counter-Reformation in Italy.[15] Del Barco highlights the movement of Sephardic Hebrew manuscripts, namely from Tudela, to Italy. Del Barco's article of 2014 is particularly relevant to this study because he examines the movement of a Hebrew Bible (BnF MS Heb. 20) to Bologna in or before 1399, and the textual additions made to the manuscript by its new owners.[16] The ways that these scholars examine the changes made to these Hebrew manuscripts - the new owner inscriptions,

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[13] Nurit Pasternak, 'Who were the Hebrew scribes in Renaissance Italy? A short review of their manifold roles' in *Manuscritsh hébreux et arabes: Mélanges en l'honneur de Colette Sirat* (Brepols, 2014) pp. 29-37.

[14] The Rothschild Pentateuch was made in 1296 in northern France, possibly Germany, and moved to Venice in or before the mid-fourteenth century. Evelyn Cohen, 'A Fifteenth-Century Illustration in the Rothschild Pentateuch of 1296,' paper given at the conference 'Hebrew Illuminated Manuscripts: Transcultural Interpretation and Transmission,' 4 April 2022 at the University of California Los Angeles.

[15] Eva Frojmovic, 'Disorienting Hebrew Book Collecting' in Catherine E. Karkov, Anna Klosowska, Vincent W.J. van Gerven Oei, eds. *Disturbing Times: Medieval Pasts, Reimagined Futures* (New York, 2020) pp. 107-150.

[16] Javier del Barco, 'Joshua ibn Gaon's Hebrew Bibles and the Circulation of Books in the Late Medieval and Early Modern Periods,' in Esperanza Alfonso and Jonathan Decter eds., *Patronage, Production, and Transmission of Texts in Medieval and Early Modern Jewish Cultures* (Brepols, 2014) pp. 267-297.

illuminations, and prayers - and connect them to the wider historical moment in Italy serve as models for how migrating Hebrew manuscripts can be resituated within their new contexts.

This paper builds off the work of these scholars to foreground the integration and migration of the Catalonian Haggadah and Provençal Mahzor, examining the life of each manuscript and their journey together as part of the same codex. The first half of the paper explores where and why the Catalonian Haggadah and Provençal Mahzor were bound together to become Haggadah 14761. The second half focuses on the moment Haggadah 14761 was sold to Moses in 1459, situating it in relation to the cross-cultural and socio-political dynamics surrounding the Jewish community in fifteenth-century Bologna. In doing so, this paper aims to open up a discussion about the ways we as scholars can begin to think through and understand the position of migrating Hebrew manuscripts - like Haggadah 14761 - in Italy and the new lives they take on.

The Two Components of Haggadah 14761

Haggadah 14761, as it has come down to us today, measures 255 x 190 millimetres. It is composed of 161 folios grouped into twenty quires and held together by a modern in-house binding created by the British Library. As mentioned previously, the codex is made up of two different manuscripts.

The Catalonian Haggadah (folios 9-151)

The Catalonian Haggadah was created around 1360 in Catalonia. There is some debate about the precise location in which it was created. Bezalel Narkiss argues the manuscript was made in Barcelona due to the coat of arms on folio 64v and the style of the illuminations.[17] Evelyn Cohen, conversely, maintains that heraldic devices were often employed as decoration in the fourteenth century and, therefore, the manuscript could originate from any city in the Crown of Aragon.[18] She narrows this down to Catalonia based on stylistic observations. Beit-Arié has identified the script as Sephardic and maintains this was the style employed across both south France and Catalonia.[19] From this, Kogman-Appel has linked the manuscript to Catalonia and suggests an area bordering France.[20]

[17] Narkiss, *Hebrew Illuminated Manuscripts*, p. 85.
[18] Cohen, 'The Decoration', pp. 24-43.
[19] Beit-Arié, 'The Making of the Book', pp. 15-25; Beit-Arié, *Hebrew Codicology,* p. 60.
[20] Kogman-Appel, *Illuminated Haggadot,* pp. 36-38.

In the present context, the Catalonian Haggadah extends from quires two to eighteen (fols. 9 to 151) and consists of three major textual and codicological sections. The first is the haggadah, a narrative that guides the ritual oration of the Passover seder. This is preceded by the *piyyutim* for Passover eve and is followed by the '*amidah*. The first section is written in large, square Sephardic script with eight lines to a page. The second section includes the Biblical readings for Passover, written in a large semi-cursive Sephardic script with 15 lines to a page. The third is devoted to *piyyutim* for Passover, written in smaller semi-cursive Sephardic script with 27 lines to the page and spread over wider and taller writing panels than the others. The text is punctuated throughout. Each of these sections displays identical codicological features – such as the style of pricking and ruling – and also share scribal graphic practices demonstrating that they were written at the same time and place by a single hand.[21]

The prayers and *piyyutim* in the Catalonian Haggadah are interspersed with ornate miniatures and word panels depicting seder rituals, some of which remain unfinished. (Figure 1) Where other fourteenth-century Spanish haggadot traditionally supplement these texts with illustrated cycles of biblical scenes, the Catalonian Haggadah does not. [22] Rather, it remains as one of two surviving Spanish haggadot that integrate images of seder rituals and the Exodus into the text itself. The other is the Sassoon Haggadah (Israel Museum of Jerusalem MS 180/041), created between 1300 and 1350 in north Spain.[23] (Figure 2) In both manuscripts, the integration of illustrations into the central text renders the miniatures' impact more immediate and enables them to function as visual cues for the recitation and enactment of seder rituals. While the illustrations in the Catalonian Haggadah and Sassoon Haggadah are similar in style, the marginal decoration in the former is more ornate. Across every folio the text and miniatures are framed by animal, human, and hybrid creatures whose actions simultaneously interrupt, mimic, and engage with the central composition. Though most of the

[21] This assessment is based on my own in-person examinations of the manuscript, which also build off the examination conducted by Beit-Arié: Beit-Arié, 'The Making of the Book', p. 20.
[22] Kogman-Appel, *Illuminated Haggadot,* pp. 1-20.
[23] The Sassoon Haggadah's illuminations of seder rituals and marginal embellishments are less detailed and more emblematic than those in the Catalonian Haggadah. The Graziano Haggadah (Jewish Theological Seminary MS 9300), created in Spain around 1300, also does not include prefatory cycles. However, it also does not include detailed illustrations of seder rituals. Rather, it includes painted word panels, a depiction of Rabbi Gamliel, and illustrations of the matzah and maror.

marginalia mask the pricking in the inner and outer margins of the Catalonian Haggadah, some of them remain unpainted and it is here one can see the intentionality with which the scribe's ruled lines left space for decoration. This indicates that the marginalia were created alongside the miniatures and text as part of the manuscript, not added by a later owner; a point reinforced by the fact that the decoration programme is contained to the Catalonian Haggadah and does not extend onto the quires of Provençal *piyyutim*. The marginalia must, therefore, be understood as an inherent part of the Catalonian Haggadah's original composition, integral to its oration.

The Provençal Mahzor and Its *Piyyutim* (folios 1-8 and 152-161)

The *piyyutim* from the Provençal Mahzor make up the first and last quires of the present codex (ff. 1-8 and 152-161). The first quire contains the Laws for Passover ('*azharoth*) by the Provençal scholar Kalonymos Nasi of Beaucaire (d. 13th century, ff. 2r-6v) intended to be read on the Sabbath before Passover. This quire also includes poems by an anonymous poet and the Spanish philosopher Abraham Ibn Ezra (d. 1167, ff. 7v-8r), such as the prayer for dew to be read on the first night of Passover. The final quire is composed of *piyyutim* for Passover and two poems for Shavu'ot written according to the Provençal rite. These two quires are similar to each other in layout and script style; both are undecorated and written in small, partially punctuated Sephardic square and semi-cursive script.

The inner margins of these two quires contain a row of tiny pricking along the folding. While the pricking runs along the inner height of the leaves, it does not match up with the written lines. It is, therefore, unlikely that this pricking was intended to guide the scribe's ruling. Rather, they seem to be evidence of an earlier binding where the folios were stabbed from the side to be joined together. This contrasts with the technique found in the Catalonian Haggadah, which appears to have originally been bound by sewing along the folding. The discrepancy in binding styles suggests that the first and last quires originally belonged to a separate Provençal codex, likely a mahzor. Beit-Arié argues that the handwriting of the Provençal prayers indicates they were created in the late-fourteenth century while the identity of their authors indicates the *piyyutim* originated in south France, most likely Provence or

Bas-Languedoc.[24] The provenance of the *piyyutim* is furthered by their inclusion of Jerusalem Targum (Aramaic translations of biblical readings) as well as Aramaic poems for the Seventh Day of Passover and first day of Shavu'ot. The use of the Targum and Aramaic *piyyutim*, while common in Provençal manuscripts, are not found in those made in Spain.[25] This prompts crucial questions regarding where and why the Provençal *piyyutim* were bound to the Catalonian Haggadah.

Migration and Integration of the Catalonian Haggadah and Provençal *Piyyutim*

There are three possible regions where the Provençal *piyyutim* could have been bound to the Catalonian Haggadah: Provence, Catalonia, or northern Italy. Examining the circumstances surrounding each location could provide insight into why these two manuscripts were joined together. Such a discussion should begin with a brief outline of the historical moment in which the Catalonian Haggadah was made.

Historical Context

The vivid illuminations supplementing the prayers in the Catalonian Haggadah were, in the mid-fourteenth century, still relatively new additions to the composition of Spanish haggadot.[26] Prior to the fourteenth century, the haggadah was part of the general prayer book, adorned with aniconic designs reflecting the influence of living within a predominantly Islamic culture.[27] It was not until Spain became a collection of Christian kingdoms in the thirteenth century that Spanish haggadot began to feature decorations similar in style to those found in Latin manuscripts.[28] This political shift coincided with an increase in personal piety and lay Hebrew literacy fostered by the establishment of bate midrash and yeshivot (Hebrew study halls) as well as the development of secular workshops that,

[24] Beit-Arié, 'The Making of the Book', pp. 21-23.
[25] Leopold Zunz, *Literaturgeschichte der synagogalen Poesie* (Berlin, 1865), p. 512.
[26] Katrin Kogman-Appel, 'Hebrew Manuscript Painting in Late Medieval Spain: Signs of a Culture in Transition', *The Art Bulletin* 84, No. 2 (2002), pp. 246-272; Epstein, *The Medieval Haggadah,* pp. 12-24.
[27] Katrin Kogman-Appel, *Jewish Book Art Between Islam and Christianity: The Decoration of the Hebrew Bibles in Medieval Spain* (Leiden and Boston, 2004), pp. 10-45. It might be assumed that the aniconic attitude in Jewish art was guided by the observation of the Second Commandment (Ex. 20:4) However, Kogman-Appel has convincingly demonstrated that the avoidance of figural motifs made while Spain was predominantly Muslim stemmed from the dominant aniconic attitude in Islam rather than an interpretation of this commandment.
[28] For a discussion of the evolution of the figural style in fourteenth-century Hebrew manuscript illumination in Catalonia see, Katrin Kogman-Appel, 'Jewish Art and Cultural Exchange: Theoretical Perspectives', in *Confronting the Borders of Medieval Art,* ed. Jill Caskey, Adam S. Cohen, and Linda Safran (Leiden and Boston, 2011), pp. 1-26; Kogman-Appel, 'Hebrew Manuscript Painting', pp. 246-272; Marc Epstein, *Skies of Parchment Seas of Ink: Jewish Illuminated Manuscripts* (Princeton and Oxford, 2015), pp. 30-32.

unlike the monastic *scriptoria,* were open to prosperous Jewish patrons.[29] The confluence of these social and political factors enabled the haggadah to become an independent volume. Lurking in the shadows of this efflorescence were long-standing tensions between Jews and Christians.[30]

Barcelona was the capital of Catalonia, the region in which the Catalonian Haggadah was made. Jews had lived in the city since at least the ninth century.[31] They were seen as property of the King and enjoyed a degree of official protection from popular antipathy.[32] The famine of 1331, compounded with the Black Death in 1348, incited an escalation in attacks against the Jews in Catalonia.[33] Such violence broke again in 1391, when anti-Jewish riots that began in Seville were carried north by ship-borne and land-based mobs who instigated an attack against the Jews in Barcelona and nearby cities.[34] Hasdai Crescas, the leader of the Jewish community in Barcelona, chronicled the attacks. His diaries describe a week-long massacre between 5 and 9 August during which the Jewish quarter was set on fire, Jewish homes looted, and Jewish people slaughtered or forced to convert. Jews who refused to be baptised were killed 'in the quarter and in the street.'[35] The Jews that managed to survive fled to Provence, overseas, or to other cities in Spain. Created in the

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[29] Judah D. Galinsky, 'On Popular Halakhic Literature and the Jewish Reading Audience in Fourteenth-Century Spain', *The Jewish Quarterly Review* 98, No. 3 (2008), pp. 306-310; Ephraim Kanarfogel, *Jewish Education and Society in the High Middle Ages* (Detroit, 1992), pp. 20-25; Sarit Shalev-Eyni, 'Humour and Criticism: Christian-Secular and Jewish Art of the Fourteenth Century', *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 71 (2008), pp. 188-206.

[30] Outbursts of anti-Jewish violence were common in the twelfth, thirteenth, and fourteenth centuries, the most remembered of which are the massacres of 1391 and expulsion of 1492. David Nirenberg, *Communities of Violence: Persecution of Minorities in the Middle Ages* (Princeton and Oxford, 1996), pp. 7-20; Kenneth R. Stow, *Alienating Minority: The Jews in Medieval Latin Europe* (Cambridge, MA., 1992) pp. 43-46; Sílvia Planas and Manuel Forcano, *A History of Jewish Catalonia: The Life and Death of Jewish Communities in Catalonia* (Ambit, 2009), pp. 90-95.

[31] Goldstein and Schonfield eds., *The Barcelona Haggadah*, pp. 2-6.

[32] *El Fuero de Teruel,* ed. Max Gorosch (Stockholm, 1950), pp. 225-226 The *Fueros de Teruel* is a collection of city ordinances from medieval Spain and Portugal which describes the rites granted by the king to Jewish, Muslim, and Christian communities; For a further discussion of Jews as 'property' of the king in Spain see, Nirenberg, *Communities of Violence,* pp. 5-30; Planas and Forcano, *A History of Jewish Catalonia,* pp. 25-40.

[33] This escalation in anti-Jewish violence was not just the result of famine or plague but was part of a pattern of deep-seeded interreligious conflict. Emilio Mitre Fernández, *Los judíos de Castilla en tiempo de Enrique III. El pogrom de 1391.* Estudios de Historia Medieval. Valladolid: Universidad de Valladolid, 1994; Planas and Forcano, *A History of Jewish Catalonia,* pp. 94-99; Haim Beinart, *Moreshet Sepharad: The Sephardic Legacy* (Jerusalem, 1992), pp. 150-53 The plague spread to northern Catalonia from southern France, reaching Barcelona early in May 1348, at a time when the Crown of Aragon was in the midst of a civil war. Riots broke out in numerous Catalan towns only a few days after the plague manifested itself and continued until the summer of 1349.

[34] The attacks were chronicled by Juan de Vallesca, a jurist, and Hasdai Crescas, the leader of the Jewish community. Vallesca reported that more than 400 Jews were stripped of their possessions, robbed, and killed (some by their own hand). The report of Juan de Vallseca is published in Fidel Fita y Colomé, 'Historia hebrea. Documentos y monumentos. Estrago de las juderías catalanas en 1391. Relación contemporánea,' *Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia* 16 (1890) pp. 433-435 and in Spanish translation on pp. 435-440.

[35] Reg. 2039, fol. 89v published by Baer, *Die Juden im christlichen Spanien,* vol. I (Berlin, 1929) p. 669 no. 418. See also: Benjamin R. Gampel, *Anti-Jewish Riots in the Crown of Aragon and Royal Responses 1391-1392* (Cambridge: 2016) pp. 98-109; Franz Kobler, 'Rabbi Hasdai Crescas Gives and Account of the Spanish Massacres of 1391,' in *Letters of Jews through the Ages. From Biblical Times to the Middle of the Eighteenth Century,* vol. I (New York, 1952) pp. 272-275.

midst of this changing landscape, the Catalonian Haggadah seems to stand as a material witness to Jewish life in Catalonia around 1360 and traces the Jews' emigration following the 1391 attacks through the addition of the Provençal *piyyutim*.

Provence

Provence remained friendly to its Jewish population throughout the fourteenth century.[36] Jews enjoyed certain tax exemptions, the freedom to practice trades, and a ban on forced conversion.[37] For this reason, it became a type of haven for those escaping anti-Jewish violence in Catalonia and those expelled from France in 1306 and 1394.[38] The movement of Catalonian communities could be reflected in the integration of the Catalonian Haggadah with the Provençal Mahzor, specifically the addition of a poem about the laws for Passover ('*azaroth*) by Kalonymos Nasi of Beaucaire. Beit-Arié argues that, because Kalonymos Nasi was a scholar local to Provence, it is unlikely he would have been sufficiently well known outside this region to have his work adopted in Spain.[39] The Catalonian Haggadah must, therefore, have moved to Provence where the Provençal *piyyutim* were added. The gravity of this integration is best expressed through an explanation of the haggadah's role in Jewish tradition.

The haggadah supports the performance of the Passover narrative at the seder table. It is intended for use by a family in the home and is often written in large, vocalised Hebrew letters to be accessible to all levels of Hebrew literacy. Where the main text of the haggadah is fairly stable, *piyyutim* and decoration can be added according to the owner's taste and liturgical rite.[40] It is, thus, the latter that makes a haggadah the product of the community in which it was used.[41] In this, the addition of the Provençal *piyyutim* could indicate the process of acculturation its owners underwent when they emigrated to Provence. Alternatively, if the Catalonian Haggadah was sold to a new owner in

[36] This ended in 1498 when Provence expelled its Jews soon after Spain (1492) and Portugal (1496).
[37] Diana Rowland-Smith, 'The Owners' in *The Barcelona Haggadah,* pp. 61-62. Provence's rulers had exempted the Jews from some taxes in compensation for the losses they suffered during the riots accompanying the Black Death in the 1340s.
[38] Anna Foa, *The Jews of Europe After the Black Death* (London, 2000) pp. 90-95.
[39] Beit-Arié, 'The Making of the Book', p. 25.
[40] Kogman-Appel, *Illuminated Haggadot,* pp. 26-27.
[41] David Stern 'Jewish Art and the Making of the Medieval Jewish Prayerbook,' *Ars Judaica: A Journal of Jewish Art* no. 6 (2010) pp. 23-44. Stern notes that, in the Middle Ages, *piyyutim* could serve as both a medium for worship and for expressing the communal life of the worshippers. Historical events that had befallen a community, such as a death or wedding, could be celebrated through composing *piyyutim*.

Provence, the *piyyutim* could evidence the manuscript's adaptation to the owner's native rite.[42] Both scenarios are supported by the fact that the Provençal *piyyutim* are duplicates of the prayers already included in the Catalonian Haggadah. For instance, the laws for Passover according to the Spanish use (including poems by Abraham Sebi ben Isaac Halevi of Tamakh and Zerahyah Halevi) can be found on folios 99v-104a while the Provençal equivalent is on folios 2r-6v. A similar phenomenon can be seen again in the Sassoon Haggadah, which includes the same Provençal *piyyutim* for Passover appended to the original Catalonian manuscript.[43] The parallels between these two codices document the addition of specifically Provençal liturgical pieces to Catalonian haggadot and could support the migration of Jews from Catalonia to Provence in this period due to the increase in anti-Jewish violence. That being said, in thinking about what prompted the Catalonian Haggadah's movement, it would be prudent to consider the historic ties between scholars and Jewish aristocratic families in Provence and Catalonia that fostered exchange and facilitated voluntary migrations between these regions despite the natural border of the Pyrenees mountains.

Catalonia

In Spain and France, Talmudic learning flourished at least from the twelfth century onwards with yeshivot in Barcelona, Gerona, and Zaragoza as well as Paris, Evreux, and Provence.[44] The proximity of Catalonia to Provence brought the influence of French and German rabbis into Spanish yeshivot and vice versa.[45] These exchanges were furthered by dialogues between aristocratic Jewish leaders, titled *nasi* (Prince). [46] The *nesi'im* were necessarily linked to the yeshivot because they were

[42] The adaptation of a manuscript to a new rite or the integration of multiple rites does not appear to have been uncommon in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Where the Catalonian Haggadah and Sassoon Haggadah exemplify the adaptation of Sephardic haggadot at the end of the fourteenth century, manuscripts such as the Worms Mahzor and Leipzig Mahzor demonstrate a similar process occurring earlier in the Rhine region. See: Katrin Kogman-Appel, *A Mahzor from Worms: Art and Religion in a Medieval Jewish Community* (London and Massachusetts, 2012); Sarit Shalev-Eyni, *Jews Among Christians: Hebrew Book Illumination from Lake Constance* (Belgium, 2010); Leipzig Mahzor. MS Vollers 1102. Uniersitätsbibliothek Leipzig, Leipzig; Worms Mahzor. Heb. 4 781. National Library of Israel, Jerusalem.

[43] David Solomon Sassoon*, Ohel David; Descriptive Catalogue for the Hebrew and Samaritan Manuscripts in the Sassoon Library* (London 1932) pp. 303-4.

[44] Norman Roth, *The Daily Life of Jews in the Middle Ages* (Connecticut and London, 2005) pp. 36-37.

[45] Roth, *The Daily Life of Jews,* p. 36 Students often came from Germany to study in France.

[46] Shlomo H. Pick 'Jewish Aristocracy in Southern France' in *Revue des Études juives* no. 161 (January-June, 2002) pp. 97-121. The *nesi'im* had originally been the community leaders in Muslim Spain, and were now performing the same tasks under the Christian kings. Thus the term nasi may have originally reflected a judicial-civil office, but eventually became a title of aristocracy. While the political power of the Catalonian nesi'im started to wane in the 1220s, there were still aristocratic and wealthy Jews that formed a type of courtier class. The title of nasi continued in Provence until the Jews were expelled from France in 1306.

not only the heads of communities, but they were also scholars and rabbis. One such figure was Kalonymos Nasi (d.1227?), a 'wise son, Rabbi and judge' who is thought to have originally authored the *'azaroth* for Passover found in the Catalonian Haggadah and Sassoon Haggadah.[47] The presence of Kalonymos's poem in two Catalonian haggadot might suggest that, contrary to Beit-Arié's assertion, his work may have been known to Jews in Catalonia.[48] This raises the possibility that the Provençal *piyyutim* could have been added to the Catalonian Haggadah in Catalonia rather than Provence.[49] Perhaps the Catalonian Haggadah was commissioned by one such *nasi* or aristocrat.

Kogman-Appel notes that the Golden Haggadah, another luxurious haggadah made in Catalonia (possibly Barcelona) between 1320 and 1330, might have belonged to a scholar of the upper-class.[50] (Figure 3) This assertion is based on her analysis of the function of the biblical cycles in the Golden Haggadah, namely their connection to the traditional values of Halakha. The Catalonian Haggadah does not have biblical cycles like those in the Golden Haggadah, but the two manuscripts are similar in terms of the vivid quality of their respective pictorial programmes. The cost of such lavish manuscripts might suggest that their patrons belonged to a similar social class. If the patron of the Catalonian Haggadah was a scholar or courtier, he could have participated in the century-old dialogues between scholars and aristocrats in Catalonia and Provence. These exchanges could have provided an avenue for the transmission of Kalonymos's writing and even a path for the migration of the Provençal Mahzor. Such transmission might also have been made possible by the mobility of

[47] In the *Sefer ha-Qabbalah,* Kalonymos is noted as the reigning Nasi when the chronicle was written and is lauded as a 'wise son, Rabbi and judge.' The *nesi'im* were leaders who based their power on noble lineage and land ownership. Their authority was conferred through rightful succession. Kalonymos's father, Kalonymos ben Todros was the Nasi of Narbonne. We know that Kalonymos's father retired in Beaucaire due to the writing of Judah Al-Harizi who says: 'And from there I came to Beaucaire and there was the great Nasi R. Kalonymous, the glory of kings and the crown of princes...' Judah Al-Harizi, *Tahkemoni*, I. Toporovsky ed. (Jerusalem, 1952) p. 347; Abraham ibn David, *Sefer ha-Qabbalah* (*The Book of Tradition),* Gerson D. Cohen ed. (New York, 2010) pp. 10-11.
[48] The Catalonian Haggadah and Sassoon Haggadah are not the only Spanish haggadot to be rebound with other manuscripts. Another example is the Bologna-Modena Haggadah. The Bologna-Modena Haggadah was created in Catalonia around 1320 and later separated. The first half was appended to a Sephardic mahzor, made in Catalonia around 1340, and the second half was left on its own but with its full-page illuminations rearranged. Though the Bologna-Modena Haggadah is not appended to a Provençal Mahzor and we do not know the date it was separated, it does seemingly participate in a trend of Sephardic haggadot that are taken apart and rebound with prayers from mahzorim. This practice could hark back to before the thirteenth century when the haggadah was part of the mahzor.
[49] The '*azharoth* by Kalonymos can be found in extant Provençal manuscripts, such as a fourteenth-century mahzor made in Avignon (Jewish Theological Seminary MS 4844), indicating it had become part of the liturgy in Provence. Jewish Theological Seminary, *A Guide to the Hebrew Manuscript Collection of the Library of the Jewish Theological Seminary of America* vol. 4 (New York, 1991) pp. 288, 324.
[50] Kogman-Appel, *Illuminated Haggadot,* pp. 215-220.

scribes who worked across both regions and who facilitated a uniform manuscript culture.[51] The movement of these individuals would not only have furthered the sharing of ideas, but would also have enabled the movement of manuscripts. A patron in Catalonia might commission a manuscript somewhere in south France and vice versa. [52] An individual might carry a manuscript for personal devotion (such as a mahzor) with him when he moved from one region to the other. The Provençal Mahzor could have been brought to Catalonia where it was rebound with the Catalonian Haggadah, or the Catalonian Haggadah could have been brought to Provence. Perhaps a patron in Provence commissioned the manuscript in Catalonia and then desired to customise it to his native rite by adding the Provençal *piyyutim*. This could mean that Beit-Arié is correct after all and the Provençal *piyyutim* were added in Provence. While it seems logical that the Catalonian Haggadah would have moved to Provence, this timeline is complicated by two names written on the last folio of the Catalonian Haggadah (f. 151v): Mordechai Ottolenghi and Raphael Hayyim Ottolenghi.

Italy

The Ottolenghi family was a prominent Jewish family in north-central Italy whose members included imerchants, scholars, and rabbis.[53] The location of their names on the last folio of the Catalonian Haggadah suggests that the manuscript might have been owned by the Ottolenghi family before the Provençal *piyyutim* were added. In this scenario, the Provençal Mahzor and Catalonian Haggadah would have migrated to Italy as individual codices before they were joined together.

Italy became a magnet for emigration following the 1391 attacks in Catalonia, expulsions from France in 1394, and ensuing conversionist pressure. This is evidenced by the number of medieval Sephardic manuscripts preserved intact in Italian libraries and those in other libraries that contain Italian censor inscriptions and bills of sale similar to those in Haggadah 14761. Additional evidence is provided by Sephardic manuscript fragments that were reused in Italian bookbinding and

[51] Beit-Arié, *Hebrew Codicology,* Beit-Arié notes that Jewish manuscript production in south France mostly followed the Catalan usage, employing Sephardic script of all types and employing similar parchment preparation, quire arrangements, and ruling techniques. These parallels make it difficult to distinguish Catalonian manuscripts from south French ones and, in fact, early studies of the Catalonian Haggadah contend it was made in south France.

[52] Kogman-Appel, *Illuminated Haggadot,* p. 36.

[53] Rowland-Smith, 'The Owners', pp. 61-62.

that have become the focus of several recent studies, such as those by Mauro Perani.[54] From these manuscripts, and other records, we learn that emigrating Jews usually settled in trade centres such as Bologna.[55] The influx of Jewish émigrés sparked an interest in Sephardic liturgy among Jews of the Italian rite.[56] Rabbi Jacob Israel Finzi of Recanati wrote: 'I have seen that Sephardic prayer texts are better than those of other traditions…to me they seemed the most authentic.' [57] Given this, the addition of the Provençal *piyyutim* could reflect the desire of an Italian owner, perhaps Mordechai or Raphael, to engage with the liturgy of émigré Jews.[58] Notwithstanding the Italians' growing interest in Sephardic tradition, it seems that most Sephardim did not come to Italy directly from Spain, but via a first stop in northern Africa or the regions within the extent of the Mamluk Sultanate.[59] Popular cities for settlement included Jerusalem and Gaza as well as Damascus, Alexandria, and Cairo.[60] The path to Jerusalem is reflected in the roots of Shalom Latif's name and, according to Diana Rowland-Smith, the palaeography of the bill of sale.

The bill of sale on folio 161v is written in an Italian semi-cursive script. Rowland-Smith, however, has argued that the word 'Bologna' demonstrates the influence of a Spanish semi-cursive style.[61] From this, one might conclude that Shalom Latif spent a significant amount of time in Italy, but could have originally been from Spain. That being said, he describes himself as '*ish yerushalayim*' (man of Jerusalem) signifying that he was either born in Jerusalem or lived there for a long time.

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[54] Mauro Perani, 'Manuscripts Brought to Italy by the Jews Exiled in 1492: The Evidence of the 'Italian Genizah'' in *Between Edom and Kedar: Studies in Memory of Yom Tov Assis,* Aldina Quintana, Raquel Ibánez-Sperber and Ram Ben-Shalom eds. (Israel, 2014) pp. 287-310; Mauro Perani and Giocomo Corazzol, *Nuovo Catalogo del Manoscritti Ebraici della Biblioteca Universitaria di Bologna* (Bologna, 2013); Mauro Perani ed., *Medieval Hebrew Manuscripts Reused as Book-bindings in Italy* (Leiden, 2022); see also Andreas Lehnardt and Judith Olszowy-Schlanger, *Books Within Books: New Discoveries in Old Book Bindings in the European Genizah* vol. 2 (Leiden and Boston, 2014)

[55] Melachi Beit-Ariè, 'The Codicological Data-Base of the Hebrew Palaeography Project: A Tool for Localising and Dating Hebrew Medieval Manuscripts,' *Hebrew Studies: Papers presented at a Colloquium on Resources for Hebraica in Europe, Held at the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, 11-13 September 1989* (London: The British Library, 1991) p. 172.

[56] Bonfil, *Cultural Change,* p. 11.

[57] Jacob Israel Finzi. Commentary to the Prayer Book. Cambridge MS. Add. 512. Cambridge University Library, Cambridge. fol. 3r.

[58] One wonders what happened to the rest of the Provençal Mahzor once the *piyyutim* were added to the Catalonian Haggadah. Perhaps it continued to function as a mahzor without the Passover *piyyutim,* in a similar way to the Bologna-Modena Haggadah (see footnote 48). Given the number of Hebrew manuscripts reused as bookbinding as highlighted by Mauro Perani, it is possible that the remaining folios have been lost or used to make new manuscripts.

[59] Sephardic communities also moved to Istanbul and Edirne as well as to urban centres in Anatolia such as Izmir, Bursa, Amasya and in the Balkans such as Sarajevo, Travnik, Mostar, Banja Luka, and Salonika. Joseph Hacker, 'Links Between Spanish Jewry and Palestine' in *Vision and Conflict in the Holy Land, 1391-1492,* Richard I. Cohen, ed. (New York, 1985) pp. 111-39; Jonathan Ray, 'Iberian Jewry Between West and East: Jewish Settlement in the Sixteenth-Century Mediterranean,' *Mediterranean Studies* vol. 18 (2009) pp. 44-65.

[60] Mehrdad Kia, *Daily Life in the Ottoman Empire* (Santa Barbara, 2011) pp. 124-125.

[61] Rowland-Smith, 'The Owners', p. 69.

Rowland-Smith has traced the surname 'Latif' to Jewish families in Spain and those who emigrated to Jerusalem from this region in the late fourteenth century. [62] Conditions were difficult in Jerusalem, due to heavy taxes imposed by the Mamluk rulers, and many Jews appear to have travelled to and from Italy in search of livelihoods. [63] It is possible that Shalom Latif, or a family member, brought the Catalonian Haggadah from Spain to Jerusalem where after it was carried to Bologna and sold. As we have no evidence for the manuscript's journey to Jerusalem beyond Shalom Latif's name, it is more likely that Shalom Latif acquired the manuscript in south France or Italy. It is also possible that he bought it from the Ottolenghi family, though there is no bill of sale.

Most ownership inscriptions seem to be written on the last folio of a manuscript. Given this, if we return to the position of Mordechai and Raphael Hayim Ottolenghi's names on folio 151v, it seems the Catalonian Haggadah would have travelled to Italy independent of the Provençal Mahzor. That being said, some manuscripts do demonstrate a practice of writing names towards the centre of the codex. For instance, the name Raphael Hayim Ottolenghi appears again in the middle of Neviim (BL Add 11657), a manuscript composed of the books of the prophets, made between 1350 and 1449 in Italy.[64] Though we cannot know for certain if it is the same Raphael Hayim Ottolenghi, the fact that his name appears towards the centre of both codices supports the possibility that the Catalonian Haggadah and Provençal *piyyutim* were actually already joined when Mordechai's and Raphael's names were written. It is, therefore, still possible that the Provençal *piyyutim* were bound to the Catalonian Haggadah in Provence. Though both Provence and Italy were receptive to Jewish emigrants, Provence's historic links and proximity to Catalonia suggest it might have been the more convenient location for emigration from Spain. Convenient, here, is a relative term as Jews migrating north on foot from Catalonia would have had to climb along the coast over the Pyrenees as well as traverse the areas of southern France that had been incorporated into the French kingdom since the Albigensian Crusades of the early thirteenth century. This was nevertheless a possible route and, in fact, many of those who escaped occupied France during World War II took similar routes over the

[62] Rowland-Smith, 'The Owners', pp. 70-72.
[63] Rowland-Smith, 'The Owners,' p. 72.
[64] Neviim (Book of former and later prophets). Add 11657. British Library, London. fol. 110v. In Neviim, Raphael's name appears in a word panel alongside other members of the Ottolenghi family.

Pyrenees.[65] There were also strong trade connections with Italy, especially Pisa, and when the Jews were expelled in 1492, many travelled to Italy by boat.[66]

Ultimately, we will never know for certain if the Catalonian Haggadah and Provençal *piyyutim* were bound together in Provence, Catalonia, or Italy. What we do know is that the two manuscripts were in Bologna and integrated to create Haggadah 14761 by 1459. Haggadah 14761 was owned first by Shalom Latif and then by Moses ben Abraham. As we know where and when Moses bought Haggadah 14761, situating it within its new context in Bologna in 1459 could provide clues regarding how the Catalonian Haggadah and Provençal *piyyutim* might have functioned together as part of the same codex.

Haggadah 14761 in 1459 Bologna

The bill of sale states: '*I, Shalom Latif, man of Jerusalem, acknowledge that I have sold the Haggadah to Rabbi Moses son of our teacher Rabbi Abraham for 50 broad gold ducats.*' While the bill of sale does not tell us very much about the personal life of Haggadah 14761's new owner, a few details can be extrapolated, namely that Moses was both an educated and wealthy man. The former is suggested by the words 'moreinu v-rabbeinu', 'our teacher and rabbi' preceding the name of his father Abraham. This language is often employed as a term of great honour, and can be used to highlight a particularly great scholar. If Abraham was indeed a scholar, one could postulate that his son Moses was also well educated. While one might at first think that the title 'rabbi' or 'rav' preceding Moses's name would confirm this, such a title was often used as an honorific, a term of respect, and would not necessarily have designated Moses as either a scholar or ordained rabbi. Moses's ability to buy Haggadah 14761 for 50 gold ducats indicates that he was wealthy as that sum was worth more than

[65] A possible sea route between Barcelona and Montpellier is another avenue for travel and migration that I will explore in my research to come, and which is worth mentioning here. Jessica Shaw, 'Recreating a Family's Lost Holocaust History, Step by Step', *New York Times,* 1 March 2022. The route along the coast, from say Perpignan to Portbau would have taken about 22 hours or two days on foot.

[66] The question of proximity is important because it highlights the practicalities that would have been involved in leaving Catalonia such as cost and distance. If we look forward to the expulsion of Jews from Spain in 1492, the price of leaving for Italy by boat could be between three ducats or 37 sueldos per person depending on the vessel's size. This embarkation fee may have been affordable for the wealthy, but could have been insurmountable for those of more modest means. While the expulsion from Spain occurred 101 years after the attacks in Catalonia, the cost of leaving for Provence or Italy would have been just as relevant. These sums are garnered from contracts between representatives of the Jewish communities of the Kingdom of Valencia and the captains of ships for conveying the exiles found among the notarial deeds of the Kingdom of Valencia, see José Hinojosa Montalvo, 'Solidaridad judía ante la expulsion: contratos de embarque (Valencia, 1492)' *Saitabi* 30 (1983) 105-24.

the annual income of a skilled workman.[67] Given this, he could have been part of the increasingly wealthy Jewish bankers, merchants, and doctors in Italy who commissioned and bought illuminated Hebrew manuscripts such as haggadot and mahzorim.[68]

During the quattrocento, Bologna was a major centre for Jewish banking, commerce, and manuscript production. It had a thriving business of copying and decorating Jewish religious, literary, and scientific texts as well as an apparent economy for the buying and selling of Sephardic manuscripts brought to Italy.[69] The sale of Sephardic manuscripts is not only indicated by the purchase of Haggadah 14761, but by the earlier purchase of manuscripts such as a Hebrew Bible made around 1300 in Tudela (BnF Heb. 20). A bill of sale in this Hebrew Bible (fol. 466v) states it was sold in Bologna in 1399 by Menahem ben Moses to Solomon ben Hasdai, the latter of which added additional texts.[70] Menahem may also have created a copy of the *Astronomical Tablets* of Jacob ben David Bonjorn, as a scribe by the same name is mentioned in the colophon of a manuscript (BP MS Parm. 2275) containing this text and dated Bologna 1394-95.[71] Del Barco has found other manuscripts owned and even written by Solomon ben Hasdai and Menahem ben Moses, as well as their contemporaries, showing that in Bologna and surrounding cities, such as Ferrara, there was not

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[67] It is difficult to pinpoint a specific average for the annual income of a skilled workman. The appendices in Richard Goldthwaite's book provide a useful starting point or indication, with skilled workers such as stone masons earning around 20 florins per year in the mid-fifteenth century. See: Richard Goldthwaite, *The Building of Renaissance Florence* (Baltimore and London, 1980) pp. 136, 233, 321, 332-335, 343-349, 435. Though expensive, 50 ducats seems to have been a fair price for an illuminated manuscript in the mid-fifteenth century. A copy of Maimonides's Guide of the Perplexed (Harley 7586A), written 1283 in Rome, has bills of sale stating it was sold in 1378 for 50 gold florins and again in 1461 for 100 florins. The difference in currency between these bills of sale and that in Haggadah 14761 (ducat vs. florin) could reflect the divergence in local coinage. In Bologna, the local coin, known today as the Bolognino, was described as 'ducats' or 'ducats of Bologna' and were similar in weight to Venetian ducats. That being said, in Haggadah 14761, the bill of sale describes the ducats as 'broad'. This is the same term used to describe the florins in the bills of sale in Harley 7586A. It is possible that the '50 broad gold ducats' described in Haggadah 14761 refers to florins rather than the Bolognino. This is supported by Philip Grierson's observation that the term 'florin' fell into disrepute in the fifteenth century due to the bad quality of counterfeit florins and, for this reason, the term ducat came to be applied to the real florins. The reference to its 'broad' diameter could specify the *fiorino largo,* a gold florin of slightly larger size that began to be issued in the 1420s. For studies on the currency of fifteenth-century Italy, see: C.M. Cipolla, *Studi di storia della moneta I: I movimenti dei cambi in Italia dal secolo XIII al XV* (Pavia, 1948); Peter Spufford, *Handbook of Medieval Exchange* (London, 1986) pp. 71-78; Herbert Eugene Ives with Philip Grierson, *The Venetian Gold Ducat and Its Imitations* (United States, 1954) p. 4; Philip Grierson, *The Coins of Medieval Europe* (London, 1991) p. 184.

[68] David Stern and Katrin Kogman-Appel, *Washington Haggadah* (New Haven, 2011) p. 24

[69] Insight into Jewish money lending and banking can be seen through a rare, surviving register that includes thirty two folios from Bologna dated 1426-30. The register has been discussed in-depth by Chiara Marucchi, "I registri di prestatori ebrei come fonte storica" in *Materia Judaica* no. 9 (2004) pp. 65-73; for banking in Bologna see also: M.G. Muzzarelli, *Banchi ebraici a Bologna nel XV secolo* (Bologna 1994); Antonio I. Pini, 'Famiglie, insediamenti e banchi ebraici a Bologna e nel bolognese nella seconda metà del Trecento,' in *Quaderni storici* no. 54 (1983) pp. 783-814. For manuscript production and collection see Franco Bonilauri, Maugeri Bonilauri, Vincenza Bonilauri eds. *Museo Ebraico Di Bologna* (Rome, 2002) pp. 86-87; Contessa, 'Jewish Book Collection and Patronage,' p. 55.

[70] For a further discussion of this manuscript see Del Barco, 'Joshua ibn Gaon's Hebrew Bibles and the Circulation of Books' pp. 267-297.

[71] Del Barco, 'Joshua ibn Gaon's Hebrew Bibles and the Circulation of Books,' pp. 278-280.

only a type of trade for second-hand Hebrew manuscripts, but also a practice for professional and self-produced Hebrew manuscripts. Surrounding this book trade and production was an ever shifting socio-political landscape.

While conversionist pressure was not as strong in north Italy as in Spain, hostility was not absent. The widespread preaching of mendicant orders in the fifteenth century led to the spread of anti-Jewish sentiment throughout all segments of Italian society and resulted in economic restrictions on Jewish moneylending. The physical separation of Jews became more widely promoted as public policy.[72] As a resident of Bologna, Moses would have been impacted by these increasing restrictions. Specifically, he would likely have had to abide by the 1417 mandate requiring Jews to wear a circular badge and he would have witnessed the ramifications on the Jewish community when their loan banking activities were restricted in 1458.[73] He would further have had his own experience of expulsion and persecution, whether as one who was personally displaced or who knew people that were. This shifting socio-political and artistic landscape would have formed the backdrop to Moses's life, influencing his decision to purchase Haggadah 14761 and his engagement with it. As such, his purchase of Haggadah 14761 prompts intriguing questions about the book trade and collecting practices among wealthy Jews in fifteenth-century northern Italy as well as encounters between Sephardic and Italian Jews in this period.

A New Aesthetic Landscape

Northern Italian Jewish society in the fifteenth century was made up of three central groups: native Italian Jews; Ashkenazic Jews from Germany and France; and Sephardic Jews from Spain, Portugal, and Provence.[74] Among the Ashkenazi and Sephardi emigrants were scribes who continued to produce manuscripts in their new context. Beit-Arié has observed that many emigrant scribes

[72] Separation of Jews dates back to legislation passed at the Fourth Lateran Council in 1215, but such separation was rarely enforced in Italy until the sixteenth century. Samuel D. Gruber, 'Selective Inclusion: Integration and Isolation of Jews in Medieval Italy' in Simon J. Bronner, ed. *Framing Jewish Culture: Boundaries and Representations* vol. 4 (Oxford, 2014), pp. 97-124.
[73] A depiction of a Jew wearing the badge can be seen in a Hebrew manuscript made around 1477 in Italy: Cod. Scrin. 132. Staats Universitätsbibliothek, Hamburg. fol. 75v. For a discussion of the badge see: Flora Cassen, *Marking the Jews in Renaissance Italy: Politics, Religion, and the Power of Symbols* (Cambridge, 2017) pp. 45, 51, 218; Gruber, 'Selective Inclusion', pp. 97-100.
[74] Edna Engel, 'Immigrant Scribes' Handwriting in Northern Italy from the Late Thirteenth to the Mid-Sixteenth Century: Sephardi and Ashkenazi Attitudes toward the Italian Script,' in Javier del Barco ed., *The Late Medieval Hebrew Book in the Western Mediterranean: Hebrew Manuscripts and Incunabula in Context* (Leiden and Boston, 2015) pp. 28-29.

retained the handwriting style learned in their homeland and, thus, a manuscript produced in Italy by a Sephardic or Ashkenazic scribe would have been written in Sephardic or Ashkenazic script.[75] Beit-Arié has quantified this through the Hebrew Palaeography Project, begun in 1965, which aimed to catalogue all extant, dated Hebrew manuscripts in order to formulate a criteria for localising and dating them. The project found 540 surviving manuscripts produced in Italy between 1396 and 1500, among them 177 were written in a Sephardic hand and 77 in an Ashkenazic hand.[76] Building off the observations made in the Hebrew Palaeography Project, Engel has demonstrated that, as emigrant Sephardic and Ashkenazic scribes assimilated to their new environment in Italy, their script adopted some features of the local Italian script in order to suit the requirements of their Italian clients.[77] Engel further argues that, overall, emigrant scribes had a larger impact on Hebrew script in Italy than Italian script had on their practices. This is reflected in the hybrid script styles prevalent in northern Italy in the late fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, which eclipsed the use of pure Italian script even by Italian scribes.[78] The cross-cultural nature of Hebrew manuscript production in fifteenth-century northern Italy would, I believe, have helped to facilitate the sale, exchange, and even appetite for migrating Hebrew manuscripts. The migration of Haggadah 14761 to Italy and its purchase by Moses could, therefore, be situated as part of a wider exchange occurring between Sephardim, Ashkenazim, and native Italian Jewish communities. Such an exchange can not only be observed in the style of script, but also in the decoration of haggadot.

Yael Zirlin notes that Italian Jews did not have a tradition of creating illustrated haggadot as a separate volume from the mahzor until Jewish émigrés from Germany and Spain settled in Italy.[79] In fact, mahzorim that included the haggadah continued to be created in Italy alongside haggadot that were produced as their own volume. Three examples of this include the Maraviglia Prayerbook (BL Add MS 26957), the Harley Mahzor (BL Add MS 5686), and the Rothschild Mahzor (Jewish

[75] Malachi Beit-Arié, *Hebrew Codicology: Historical and Comparative Typology of Hebrew Medieval Codices,* pp. 46-48.
[76] Melachi Beit-Ariè, 'The Codicological Data-Base of the Hebrew Palaeography Project: A Tool for Localising and Dating Hebrew Medieval Manuscripts,' *Hebrew Studies: Papers presented at a Colloquium on Resources for Hebraica in Europe, Held at the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, 11-13 September 1989* (London: The British Library, 1991) p. 172.
[77] Engel, 'Immigrant Scribes' Handwriting in Northern Italy,' pp. 33-35.
[78] Engel, 'Immigrant Scribes' Handwriting in Northern Italy,' p. 43.
[79] Yael Zirlin, 'Haggadah of Passover' in Raphael Patai ed., *Encyclopaedia of Jewish Folklore and Tradition,* p. 220; see also Daniel Goldschmidt, *The Passover Haggadah: Its Sources and History* (Jerusalem, 1977)

Theological Seminary 8892). The Maraviglia Prayerbook was created in Italy around 1469 by Joel ben Simeon, a prolific scribe-artist from Germany who moved to Italy in the mid-fifteenth century. Here, the Passover prayers are surrounded by detailed pen drawings of seder rituals, often carried out by a woman who is thought to be the daughter for whom the manuscript was commissioned according to the colophon.[80] (Figure 4) The Harley Mahzor was created in Reggio Emilia near Bologna between 1464-66.[81] The text is accompanied by painted scenes, including one of the Passover seder, attributed to the Italian workshop of Duke Borso d'Este and possibly the artist Giorgio d'Alemagna.[82] (Figure 5) The Rothschild Mahzor was written in Italy in 1492 by Abraham Judah ben Yehiel of Camerino and likely also decorated in an Italian workshop. Throughout the manuscript, the prayers are framed by floral embellishments in which frolic winged putti, a style characteristic of illuminated manuscripts produced in Florence. (Figure 6) Each of these manuscripts is written according to the Italian rite of Judaism, indicating they were made for use by Italian patrons.[83] The stylistic differences between them point to the rich cross-cultural and interreligious landscape of Hebrew manuscript production in northern Italy during the quattrocento and cinquecento; a period in which, Contessa contends, 'Italian manuscript illumination reached the zenith of its artform.' [84] This artistic environment would have been further enriched by the circulation of migrating illuminated Hebrew manuscripts.

Many of the Sephardic manuscripts that moved to Italy in this period received new decorations and prayers, which reflect the priorities of their new owners. Haggadot such as the Wolf Haggadah (National Library of Israel cod. 8 7246), Prato Haggadah (Jewish Theological Seminary

[80] The colophon on folio 112r tells us that the prayerbook was commissioned by Menaḥem ben Shemu'el for his daughter Maraviglia bat Menaḥem ben Shemu'el.
[81] Supplemental texts are included at the end of the manuscript (ff. 385-418v). These supplemental texts were created earlier, around 1427 in Bologna. See: Bezalel Narkiss, "Three Jewish Art Patrons in Mediaeval Italy," *Festschrift Reuben R. Hecht* (Jerusalem, 1984), pp. 296-307; Mortara Luisa Ottolenghi, 'Manoscritti Emiliano-Romagnoli del XIV-XV secolo. Un punto d'Incontro tra miniatori cristiani ed ebrei?' in *Atti del terzo convegno tenuto a Idice, Bologna, nei giorni 9-11 novembre 1982 Associazione italiana per lo studio del giudaismo. Convegno* (Rome, 1985), pp. 103-13
[82] Giorgio d'Alemagna's toponym implies he was of German descent though he appears to have worked primarily in Italy. He is documented as part of the Este court in Ferrara from 1441 to 1462, working first under Lionello d'Este, Marchese of Ferrara, and then Borso d'Este. See: Julius Hermann, 'Zur Geschichte der Miniaturnalerei am Hofe der Este in Ferrara' *Jahrbuch der Kunst-historischen Sammlungen des allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses* 21 (1900) pp. 117-271; Federica Toniolo ed., *La Miniatura Estense* (Modena, 1994).
[83] For further examples of fifteenth-century mahzorim according to the Italian rite see: BL Add MS 16577, made in Italy between 1450-74 (haggadah begins on f. 51r); BL Add MS 19944 vol. I and BL Add MS 19945 vol. II, made around 1441 in Florence (haggadah begins on f. 71v, vol. I); see also Jewish Theological Seminary MS 8224, made around 1487 in Florence (haggadah begins on 128r); BL Add MS 26968, first section created in 1383 in central Italy (Romagna, Forli) while the second section, including an illustration of the seder on folio 110v, was added later in the fifteenth century in the Veneto.
[84] Contessa, "Jewish Book Collecting and Patronage in Renaissance Italy," pp. 37-38.

MS 9478), and Golden Haggadah are good examples. The Wolf Haggadah was written in the second half of the fourteenth century in southern France, but was likely decorated slightly later in Italy.[85] (Figure 7) The Prato Haggadah was created around 1300 in northern Spain and remains unfinished. It received a new conclusion in the fifteenth, possibly sixteenth, century in Italy. The new conclusion followed the traditional Ashkenazi ending to the haggadah and included *Nishmat,* the *Hallel,* and relevant *piyyutim.* The Golden Haggadah moved to northern Italy in or before the sixteenth century where it was given by Rabbi Yo'av Gallico of Asti to his 'learned son in law Eliyahu (Rava)' as a wedding present in 1602.[86] The armorial devices of the Gallico and Rava families were added to the manuscript on folio 16r alongside a new title page on folio 1r. (Figure 8) The additions made to these three haggadot highlight the ways migrating Sephardic manuscripts participated in the processes of manuscript production in fifteenth-century Italy. They therefore not only sit in dialogue with newly created illuminated manuscripts, but also earlier Italian Hebrew manuscripts that received new decorations and texts in the fifteenth century such as the Forli Siddur (BL MS Add 26968).

The Forli Siddur was created in 1383 in Forli for the patron Daniel ben Samuel ha-Rofe and purchased in 1433 in Bologna by Abraham ben Solomon. The manuscript received twelve new textual illustrations in the mid-fifteenth century, including scenes of the Passover seder on folios 110v and 119v.[87] The additions made to these Sephardic and Italian manuscripts highlight a point del Barco raises regarding the active role owners and readers took in the transformation of manuscripts over time.[88] Such transformation is not confined to Hebrew manuscripts, but can also be seen in Latin manuscripts such as the Shah Abbas Bible (Morgan Library MS M. 638).[89] Created around 1244-54 in France, the Shah Abbas Bible later moved to southern Italy where it received textual captions in Latin

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[85] Wolf Haggadah. Cod. 8 7246. National Library of Israel, Jerusalem; Michel Garel, 'The Rediscovery of the Wolf Haggadah,' *Journal of Jewish Art* no. 2 (1975) pp. 22-27; Kogman-Appel, 'Creating a Visual Repertoir', pp. 49-50.
[86] See inscription on folio 2r.
[87] Mortara Luisa Ottolenghi, 'Manoscritti Emiliagno-Romagnoli del XIV-XV secolo. Un punto d'Incontro tra miniatori cristiani ed ebrei?' in *Atti del terzo convegno tenuto a Idice, Bologna, nei giorni 9-11 novembre 1982 Associazione italiana per lo studio del giudaismo* (Roma: Carucci, 1985) pp. 103-13; Mendel Metzger, 'Two Centuries (13th-14th) of Hebrew Manuscript Ilumination in Italy', in Alfred Ebenbauer and Klaus Zatloukal eds., *Die Juden in ihrer Mittelalterlichen Umwelt* (Vienna, 1991), pp. 131-50.
[88] Del Barco, 'Joshua ibn Gaon's Hebrew Bibles and the Circulation of Books,' p. 279.
[89] This manuscript is also known as the Morgan Picture Bible.

around 1300.[90] It was presented to the Persian ruler, Shah Abbas, in the early 1600s and eventually received additional captions in Persian and Judeo-Persian, the latter written in Hebrew script.[91] The layers of language in the Shah Abbas Bible index the different communities that the manuscript came into contact with in a very particular way that dramatically underscores how manuscripts were repurposed and adapted by subsequent readers. While this paper is focusing on the adaptation of Sephardic Hebrew manuscripts by Jewish owners, the Shah Abbas Bible highlights the fact that manuscripts originally made for one religious group sometimes fell into the hands of another. Eva Frojmovic interrogates this point in her article on a thirteenth-century Hebrew Bible from Wurzburg that was owned by a Catholic merchant in Venice during the Counter-Reformation.[92] A thorough exploration of these points is beyond the scope of this paper, but it is important to acknowledge here that the movement of Haggadah 14761, and other Sephardic manuscripts, fits into a broader network and history of manuscript migration and transformation in the Mediterranean and beyond.

Returning to our central discussion, the addition of new illuminations and prayers to Sephardic haggadot highlight how valuable these manuscripts continued to be in Italy. The additions demonstrate the ways new owners and readers were adapting them to suit their own needs in a specifically Italian context. While Moses's purchase of Haggadah 14761 in Bologna can be understood in dialogue with the adaptations made to Sephardic haggadot, as well as the wider history highlighted by the Shah Abbas Bible mentioned above, it does not necessarily have any additional Italian decorations or prayers itself. The maror on folio 62v does stand apart stylistically from the rest of the illustrations, executed in fine green lines with floral embellishes and flanked by a collared dog and a crowned bird.[93] (Figure 9) These pen drawings were likely added by a later hand and could even be said to parallel those found in Italian manuscripts such as the Maraviglia Prayerbook. (Figure 10) This comparison, however, is cursory and bears no true stylistic similarities apart from the fact that it is also a pen drawing. Given this, one might suggest that Moses did not add any further decoration

[90] William Voelkle, 'Provenance and Place: The Morgan Picture Bible,' in Colum Hourihane, ed. *Between the Picture and the Word: Manuscript Studies from the Index of Christian Art* (Philadelphia, 2005) pp. 12-23; Alicia Taylor, *Book Arts of Isfahan Diversity and Identity in Seventeenth-Century Persia* (Malibu, 1995).
[91] Kenneth J. Thomas and Ali Asghar Aghbar, *A Restless Search: A History of Persian Translations of the Bible* (Atlanta, 2015) p. 541.
[92] Frojmovic, 'Disorienting Hebrew Book Collecting' pp. 107-150.
[93] The maror is the bitter herb, one of the ceremonial foods eaten on Passover.

when he acquired Haggadah 14761. Additionally, as the Provençal *piyyutim* were already attached when Moses purchased Haggadah 14761, we can establish that he did not add any further prayers. Would this mean that Moses himself followed in the Sephardic or Provençal traditions? Not necessarily. While, as previously mentioned, the bill of sale was written in a Sephardic hand, this would not mean that Moses was also of Sephardic origin or followed the Sephardic tradition. Indeed, there are inherent limitations to speculating about the use of Haggadah 14761 in Italy in that we can never truly know or have evidence to support how it was specifically employed by Moses. That being said, an examination of its illuminations of Passover ritual in comparison to those found in fifteenth-century Italian haggadot might be a useful exercise for thinking about how new owners of migrating Sephardic haggadot - like Moses - would have reconciled their intended function for use by a fourteenth-century Sephardic audience with Jewish life in fifteenth-century Italy.

Ritual Use in 1459 Bologna

The core text of the haggadah became standardised according to the Babylonian rite from the time of the early Middle Ages.[94] This means that, while there were still small differences between Ashkenazic, Sephardic, and Italian communities, the fundamental prayers and rituals would be relatively consistent. That being said, there remains almost 100 years between the moment the Catalonian Haggadah was made and the date it was purchased alongside the Provençal *piyyutim* by Moses. These two dates concern owners and possibly seders taking place in different countries and circumstances. Given this, would Moses have seen himself reflected in the father who leads the seder on folio 28v, the wise son studying on folio 34r, or the teacher speaking to his students on folio 51v? Would his family identify with the miniatures of the family at the seder table in the same way as the patron for whom the manuscript was made? In exploring these questions, it is important to remember that the use of haggadot was not always confined to the home, they could also be brought to the synagogue during Passover to be read aloud or used by an individual to follow along during the service.

In the Synagogue

[94] Stern and Kogman-Appel, *Washington Haggadah,* p. 33.

On folio 65v of Haggadah 14761, the beginning of the Hallel is illustrated by a miniature depicting the recitation of the prayer in the synagogue.[95] (Figure 11) The miniature alludes to the synagogue service held prior to the Passover seder, when it was customary to pray Hallel. On the left, stands the rabbi or cantor who holds the Torah scroll aloft as he leads the service from a platform (bimah) crowned with a cupola. The tradition of raising the Torah scroll in the synagogue service reinforces the central message of the Hallel, namely that there is a special bond between Israel and God. This tie is augmented in the miniature by the word 'Hallelujah' written in gold letters next to the Torah. Below the bimah stands the congregation. The boy in the front row holds out his hand to present a small codex, presumably a prayerbook or even haggadah containing the text of the Hallel. In this, the illustration brings into discussion the use of the Catalonian Haggadah in the synagogue.

In Spain, there was a tradition of reading the haggadah aloud in the synagogue. In 1340, Rabbi David ben Joseph Abudarham of Seville described that 'it was customary to recite the haggadah…in the synagogue in order to enable those who do not know it to fulfil their obligation to recite it.' [96] The practice is illustrated in the Sister Haggadah (BL Or 2884), a manuscript created in Barcelona between 1325 and 1374, where a rabbi reads aloud from a haggadah or prayer book to the congregation.[97] (Figure 12) The listeners seem to crowd around a bearded man and young boy, each of whom hold a prayerbook, and appear to follow along as the text is read aloud. Ephraim Kanarfogel contends that the tradition of reciting the haggadah in Spain could be attributed to the lower rates of literacy in Hebrew than those found in Ashkenaz. He points to the words of a German halakhist who describes Sephardi literacy in the thirteenth century, 'I have seen responsa that indicate that even today, the custom in Spain and Babylonia is that the cantor conducts the Passover seder in the synagogue on behalf of the ignorant people who are not well versed enough in Hebrew to recite it.'[98] Perhaps this is why many Sephardic haggadot, like the Catalonian Haggadah, contain additional texts

[95] The Hallel is the prayer of praise consisting of a recitation of Psalm 113-118.
[96] David ben Joseph Abudarham, *Sefer Abudarham* (New York, 1986), written in 1340 in Seville and first printed in Lisbon in 1489.
[97] Sister Haggadah. Or 2884. British Library, London. A similar scene can also be found in another Sephardic manuscript: Haggadah. MS Opp. Add 8 14, Bodleian Library, Oxford. fol. 242v.
[98] Ephraim 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,* Ra'anan S. Boustan ed. (Philadelphia, 2011) pp. 250-270, 397-404.

of the pericopes and *piyyutim* relevant for cantors and community officials involved in the synagogue services during the Passover week.[99] This could suggest that the Catalonia Haggadah was intended to be read aloud by a rabbi or cantor during synagogue services as well as at the family seder. Is it possible it retained this function in Bologna?

Cohen observes that Italian mahzorim included the haggadah, and were often made in small sizes so as to be brought to and from the synagogue.[100] She observes that the Rothschild Mahzor was intended to be read aloud by a community or congregation due to its large size: 290 x 220 mm (11.4 x 8.6 inches). The Maraviglia Prayerbook, on the other hand, measures 140 x 95 mm (5.5 x 3.7 inches). Its small size suggests that, while it could have been brought to the synagogue, it was primarily intended for individual use. If these two manuscripts were to be taken as hallmarks, then the size of Haggadah 14761 (250 x 190 mm, 9.8 x 7.4 inches) might suggest that it was brought to the synagogue in Italy and read aloud as well as employed in the home at the seder. This function would be predicated on the idea that the community in the synagogue belonged to either the Sephardic or Provençal rite. It is possible that Haggadah 14761 was used to accommodate a congregation made up of a mix of Provençal and Catalonian Jews in a similar way to the Leipzig mahzor (MS Vollers 1102), which was commissioned to include a diversity of *piyyutim* to accommodate the different liturgical rites represented in the community following the emigration of Jews to Worms due to the Rindfleisch attacks.[101] Perhaps Moses used Haggadah 14761 to follow along as a cantor led the service, in a similar way to the people in the Sister Haggadah and the boy on folio 65v. (Figure 11 and 12) In thinking about the use of Haggadah 14761 in the synagogue, it's important to highlight that, in fifteenth-century Italy, these spaces could overlap.

Samuel Gruber observes that synagogues in central and north Italy, outside Rome, were mostly established in private houses that either continued to serve as residences or were converted entirely to worship and community spaces.[102] The synagogues were often located in the house of the

[99] Kogman-Appel, *Illuminated Haggadot,* pp. 190-200.
[100] Evelyn Cohen, 'The Rothschild Mahzor: Its Background and Its Art,' in Evelyn M. Cohen and Menahem Schmelzer, eds., *The Rothschild Mahzor: Florence 1492* (New York, 1983) pp. 41–57.
[101] Leipzig Mahzor. MS Vollers 1102. Uniersitätsbibliothek Leipzig, Leipzig; Kogman-Appel, *A Mahzor from Worms,* pp. 1-30.
[102] Gruber, 'Selective Inclusion', pp. 97-124.

community's wealthiest Jew or in another house purchased by an individual Jew and established for community use.[103] The synagogue was the most important building of the Jewish quarter, and there might have been several when the population was large.[104] Given that we know Moses was wealthy, as he was able to spend 50 ducats to purchase Haggadah 14761, it is possible that he could have utilised his house as a synagogue or even had a private synagogue in his home.[105] In this scenario, Haggadah 14761 would have naturally been utilised in both the synagogue and the home because his house would have been the synagogue. An illustration of Shabbat services in the Harley Mahzor gives us an idea of the synagogue space in which Haggadah 14761 may have been used.[106] (Figure 13) Here, the synagogue is depicted as an elegant room with a tiled floor and coffered ceiling painted with gold stars. A tall wooden ark is set against one wall with a lower reader's table before it. On either side of the room are a series of desks at which worshippers sit, facing the ark, with prayer books before them. One could imagine that during Passover, and particularly Shabbat ha-Gadol, these prayer books might be mahzorim like the Harley Mahzor or haggadot like Haggadah 14761. (Figure 5) Afterall, the composition of Haggadah 14761 does lend itself to being read aloud. The large, vocalised letters render it easily legible for readers of all levels while the vivid illuminations illustrate the text and capture the attention of all present.[107] Though the Provençal *piyyutim* are not decorated, their neat script and partially vocalised words would have been similarly accessible. In this, the script and colourful illustrations in Haggadah 14761 could have been used together as visual aids to help narrate the Exodus in the synagogue and would have served the same purpose later at the seder table.

At the Seder Table

Opening Haggadah 14761 to the first fully illuminated folios (17v-18r), a family sits around a seder table holding golden goblets. (Figure 1) This scene highlights the gilded text above, 'gather

[103] Ariel Toaff, *The Jews in Medieval Assisi 1305-1487* (Florence, 1979) p.81; Ariel Toaff, *Love, Work and Death: Jewish Life in Medieval Umbria* (London, 1998) pp. 91-93; F. Tetro, 'Gli ebrei a Sermoneta XIII-XIV sec.' in *Economia Pontina* vol. 4, pp. 9-26.
[104] Metzger and Metzger, *Jewish Life in the Middle Ages,* p. 75.
[105] Metzger and Metzger, *Jewish Life in the Middle Ages,* p. 75 and 86; Gruber, 'Selective Inclusion' pp. 116-117; Toaff, *The Jews in Medieval Assisi,* pp. 91-93; Tetro, 'Gli ebrei a Sermoneta' pp. 9-26.
[106] This manuscript is composed of three sections bound together. One, including folio 28r and the depiction of the synagogue, in 1466 in Reggio Emilia. The second made around 1427 in Bologna. The third was made in the second half of the fifteenth century.
[107] Katrin Kogman-Appel, 'The Audiences of the Late Medieval Haggadah' in Esperanza Alfonso and Jonathan Decter, eds. *Patronage, Production and Transmission of Texts in Medieval and Early Modern Jewish Culture* (Belgium, 2014) pp. 99-146.

around the seder table', and instructs the reader to recite the prayer over the wine or *kiddush*.[108] The dragons in the margins reinforce these instructions, their open mouths turned towards the text while their claws grip full goblets. This scene of a family at the seder table is common across haggadot. Similar depictions can be seen in other fourteenth-century Sephardic haggadot; in earlier Ashkenazic haggadot, such as the Birds' Head Haggadah; and haggadot written according to the Italian rite, such as the Rothschild Weil Mahzor (NLI MS Heb.8 4450). (Figure 14) The latter was made around 1470 in northern Italy and illuminated by Joel ben Simeon. [109] Across these haggadot, one notices clear differences in the style of painting and clothing the figures wear. Yet the orientation of a family at the seder remains. One could argue that such similar compositions are due to long-standing cross-cultural encounters between Jewish scribes and artisans established prior to the fifteenth century.[110] However, I would contend that these parallels are grounded in the tradition of the seder and the stability of the central liturgical text.[111]

At its core, Passover is a holiday intended to teach the next generation about the Israelites' liberation. The Bible instructs, 'on this day you shall tell your son: it is because of what the Lord did for me when I came forth from Egypt.'[112] In conveying this lesson, the actual text of the haggadah becomes a guide prompting the oration and performance of the Exodus narrative at the seder. The vision of a family around the seder table in Haggadah 14761 would, thus, transcend time and place to remain relevant for both fourteenth and fifteenth-century readers. This also extends to the depiction of certain rituals such as the instruction to drink while leaning to one's left. Indeed, almost all haggadot instruct one to lean to the left, though the accompanying explanation might be slightly different. For instance, Italian haggadot provide more detailed instructions regarding who should lean and how to lean than that found in Sephardic or Ashkenazic manuscripts.[113] Yet, the ritual remains consistent. On

[108] Barcelona Haggadah, fol. 17v.
[109] Rothschild Weil mahzor. MS Heb. 8 4450. National Library of Israel, Jerusalem.
[110] Kogman-Appel and Zirlin have discussed that the influence between Ashkenazic, Sephardic, and Italian manuscripts can be seen as early as the end of the fourteenth century. For example, the decoration of the Schocken Haggadah, written in Lombardy between 1380 and 1400, demonstrates intriguing parallels to Sephardic manuscripts. The Lombard Haggadah, conversely, made in Milan in the fourteenth century, suggests a more Ashkenazic influence. These instances demonstrate a certain awareness of Ashkenazic and Sephardic book culture among Italian scribes before Haggadah 14761 was sold in Bologna.
[111] Stern and Kogman-Appel, *Washington Haggadah,* p. 33.
[112] Haggadah 14761, fol. 36r.
[113] Cohen, "Seder Foods and Customs," pp. 38-40.

folio 19v of Haggadah 14761, a family sits at the seder, holding their wine goblets in one hand and resting their heads in the other as they lean to the left.[114] (Figure 15) A similar scene is found in the Rothschild Haggadah (National Library of Israel, MS Heb. 4 6130), written according to the Ashkenazic rite around 1450 in northern Italy and decorated by Joel ben Simeon. (Figure 16) Here, a man drinks wine in the margin while leaning his elbow on a cushion. In both instances, the illustrations demonstrate the command in the text 'drink while leaning to the left.' The illustration of this ritual across both manuscripts points to a larger emphasis on the depiction of seder ritual shared between Haggadah 14761 and some haggadot produced in Italy in this period, particularly those by Joel ben Simeon.

Kogman-Appel has noted the acute attention that Joel ben Simeon places on Passover ritual in his manuscripts.[115] It is not just that he illustrates seder ritual through detailed drawings, but that these drawings sit next to the text in order to act as visual cues for the reader. The instructional impulse that this intertwinement of text and image conveys can be seen in earlier Ashkenazic haggadot and could suggest that Simeon's focus on seder ritual derives from the fact that he began his career in Germany. That being said, certain haggadot, such as the Lombard Haggadah made around 1400 in Milan, also incorporate illustrations of the seder into the margins and thereby demonstrate a particular focus on ritual instruction. (Figure 17) Such emphasis finds resonance in Haggadah 14761, which remains notable among fourteenth-century Spanish haggadot because of the way it intertwines prayers with illuminations of seder ritual and the Exodus. This organisation stands apart from other Spanish haggadot that include prefatory cycles of biblical scenes as exemplified by the Golden Haggadah and even Prato Haggadah.[116] (Figure 3) These prefatory cycles are specific to Sephardic haggadot and do not appear in Ashkenazic or Italian haggadot. Kogman-Appel argues this is because the cycles represented a particularly Sephardic approach to biblical history.[117] The cycles often conclude with a depiction of Passover preparations such as the roasting of the paschal lamb, cleaning leaven from the

[114] Some of the figures do lean to the right, but I think this is an effort on behalf of the artist to arrange the figures around the table rather than a demonstration of a ritual alteration.
[115] Kogman-Appel, 'Creating a Visual Repertoire,' pp. 50-65.
[116] The illuminations in the Prato Haggadah remain incomplete. However, there are three folios that contain pen drawings of biblical cycles and which indicate that the manuscript was intended to have prefatory cycles.
[117] Kogman-Appel, 'Creating a Visual Repertoire,' pp. 58-60.

house, and, of course, the seder table. However, these illustrations of seder ritual are usually divorced from the texts they illustrate. As a result, they do not function as prompts for the oration of the Passover seder in the same way as the illuminations in Haggadah 14761 and many haggadot made in Ashkenaz and Italy. In this, the composition of Haggadah 14761 aligns with an aspect of Hebrew manuscript production in Italy in a way that other migrating Sephardic haggadot do not. These parallels can also be seen through rituals such as the lifting of the basket of ceremonial foods.

In the Rothschild Weill Mahzor, the family stands around the table with goblets of wine before them while a basket containing the ceremonial seder foods is hoisted in the air. (Figure 14) A similar scene can be seen in the Harley Mahzor and Maraviglia Prayerbook. (Figure 5 and Figure 18) In Haggadah 14761, the basket is also raised, but rests atop the head of a young boy. (Figure 19) Above him are the words '*ha lachma 'anya*' (this is the bread of affliction). The practice of raising the basket has been mentioned by Thérèse Metzger and Mendel Metzger as a tradition that was shared by both Spanish and Italian communities.[118] The practice of placing the basket on the head is, according to Cohen, specifically Sephardic and involved placing the basket on the head of each participant.[119] This slight divergence between Sephardic and Italian customs can also be seen in the language used to describe the Passover basket. In Haggadah 14761, the text specifies that the ceremonial foods should be placed within a basket or *sal.* Conversely, Italian manuscripts such as the Rothschild Mahzor suggest either a basket or plate can be used. Cohen has argued that this option, 'basket or plate', is a reflection of the influx of migrants from Sepharad and Ashkenaz to Italy. Where Sepharad indicated a basket, Ashkenaz preferred a plate and, thus, in Italy, the influence from both of these communities resulted in the suggestion of a plate or basket.[120] That being said, when the container is illustrated in haggadot made for Italian patrons, as in the Rothschild Weill Mahzor, Maraviglia Prayerbook, and Harley Mahzor, it is often depicted as a basket. (Figures 5, 14 and 18) Given this, the use of a basket in Haggadah 14761 would seemingly remain relevant in 1459 Bologna whether or not the family also placed the basket on participants' heads.

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[118] Metzger and Metzger, *Jewish Life in the Middle Ages,* p. 265.
[119] Evelyn Cohen, "Seder Foods and Customs in Illuminated Haggadot," in Debra Reed Blank, ed. *The Experience of Liturgy: Studies Dedicated to Menahem Schmelzer* (Leiden, 2011) p. 33.
[120] Cohen, "Seder Foods and Customs," p. 38.

It is important to note that the parallels discussed here, between the rituals and miniatures across Sephardic and Italian haggadot, should be considered with caution. There is only so much we can learn from comparing ritual scenes because every haggadah, even two produced in the same region, are slightly different in their decoration and their explanations of ritual instructions. Take, for example, the representation of the matzah. The matzah is one of the central ritual foods in the Passover seder. In the Catalonian Haggadah, as in other Sephardic haggadot, the matzah is elaborately decorated. (Figure 20) On folio 61r, it is depicted as two concentric circles decorated with coats of arms and adorned with gold. The word matzah is gilded with gold and beside it a little man sits holding two matzot in his hands. In the lower register musicians play a tune, their song projected at the matzah by the trumpet players who angle their instruments towards the centre of the folio. This extravagant design is not found in Italian manuscripts, which depict someone holding the matzah, as in the Maraviglia Prayerbook, or do not depict the matzah at all as in the Rothschild Mahzor. (Figure 4) This discrepancy does not diminish the ritual importance of the matzah to the seder, but rather shows how we cannot garner an overly accurate sense of Jewish ritual through a comparison of miniatures depicting seder ritual. Nevertheless, underscoring the broad parallels between Haggadah 14761 and fifteenth-century Italian haggadot can be a useful exercise for considering its possible use at a seder in Bologna. The sustained relevance of certain miniatures and rituals speaks to the trans-historical nature of the Passover seder, a tradition that began centuries before haggadot became their own volume and one that continues generations after 1459.

While some Passover rituals find resonance across 1360 Catalonia and 1459 Bologna, the interpretation of certain scenes and motifs would necessarily be particular to the time and place they were read. The most obvious examples of this may be the scene of the Israelites leaving Egypt on folio 66v or the Israelites enslaved on folio 30v of Haggadah 14761. (Figures 21 and 22) If we examine the Passover narrative in relation to the moment the Catalonian Haggadah was made in 1360, the plight of the Israelites in Egypt might have resonated with the readers' own experience of anti-Jewish violence. The illuminations of the Israelites being hit by Pharaoh's soldiers might recall attacks perpetrated in 1367, when Jews were accused of desecrating the Host in Barcelona and several were

killed in mob attacks.[121] These events would have enlivened the notion presented in the text: ‘it is not just a single man (Pharaoh) that has risen up against us to destroy us, but in every generation men rise up against us to destroy us.’[122] The words ‘in every generation’ bring a visceral immediacy to the Passover narrative, which speaks to the continued relevance and use of Haggadah 14761 between 1360 and 1459, and beyond.

Where the above attacks may have vivified one aspect of the Passover narrative for the Catalonian reader, I would argue that the entire arc of the Passover narrative may have felt very real for readers of the haggadah in 1459 Bologna. The violence the Israelite’s suffered at the hands of the Egyptians, their escape across the Red Sea, and subsequent diaspora in the desert could have echoed the lived experiences of the primarily emigrant population of Bologna in 1459. [123] For these Jewish émigrés, the Passover narrative could have resonated as a commemoration of ancient history as well as an active memory of their own journeys. This resonance might have been furthered by the fact that the Passover story must be orated in the first person. Many scholars of haggadot have discussed how poignant the narrative of Passover would have been for Jewish communities who had suffered persecution, both in the Middle Ages and later periods.[124] It is hard to imagine that Jews who had been forced to flee their native country could celebrate Passover or look at the illustrations of the Israelites leaving Egypt without recalling their own experience of emigration and displacement. Moses may not have been a refugee or emigrant to Italy, but he certainly would have been aware of the influx of Jews from France, Spain and even Germany who left their native countries to escape persecution and find a better life. Given this, whether Moses had personally experienced displacement or only heard of it, the mandate that ‘in each and every generation, a person is obligated to see himself as if he left Egypt’

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[121] Nirenberg, *Communities of Violence,* pp. 281-288.
[122] Haggadah 14761, fol. 39v.
[123] Foa, *The Jews of Europe,* p. 110; Cecil Roth, *The History of the Jews of Italy* (London, 1969) p. 126. Before the fifteenth century Rome had the largest and oldest Jewish population in Italy. As the community grew during the Renaissance, certain families moved to new cities but kept close ties to Rome. The Jewish community in Bologna was thus settled by a banker from Rome in 1353. As Jewish communities began to emigrate from France, Spain and Germany, they settled in trade centres, like Bologna, and formed their own communities that operated mostly independently of Roman Jewish supervision. From the end of the fourteenth to the middle of the fifteenth century, Bologna’s Jewish community grew from 15 families to 650. This spike indicates that the populace of Bologna had a high percentage of Jews originating from outside Italy.
[124] Epstein, *The Medieval Haggadah;* Epstein, *Dreams of Subversion;* Epstein, ‘Illustrating History and Illuminating Identity in the Art of the Passover Haggadah’ in *Judaism in Practice from the Middle Ages through the Early Modern Period,* Lawrence Fine, ed. (Princeton, 2001), pp. 299-305; Kogman-Appel, *Illuminated Haggadot,* pp. 81-82, 111.

may have seemed more real than ever.[125] The notion of 'envisioning' would not be needed because Moses would have either lived through a similar trauma or known of those who had. As real as the Passover story might have felt in 1459, the full narrative would have been revivified again in 1492 when Jews were expelled from Spain.

We don't know if Moses still owned Haggadah 14761 in 1492. However, a censor signature dated 1599 and later ownership inscriptions tell us that the manuscript stayed in and around Bologna until the nineteenth century. In this, the owner of Haggadah 14761 would likely be aware of the Jewish communities who were leaving Spain and moving to Italy, where they either settled or carried on eastward.[126] This movement is documented, in part, by contracts between representatives of the Jewish communities of Valencia and the captains of ships that conveyed expelled Jews.[127] These contracts were found among the notarial deeds of the Kingdom of Valencia and evidence the hundreds of Jews who boarded ships to Italy.[128] Another account of this emigration is by Bartolomeo Senarega, who described the scene of Spanish Jews waiting on docks in Genoa: 'No one could behold the suffering of the Jewish exiles unmoved…They arrived in Genoa in crowds…One might have taken them for spectres, so emaciated were they, so cadaverous in their aspect, and with eyes so sunken; they differed in nothing from the dead, except in the power of motion which they scarce retained…'[129] Senarega's words are a graphic reminder of the hardships emigrants might endure in moving from one place to another. His description brings to mind an illustration of the Israelites leaving Egypt in a

[125] Haggadah 14761, fol. 39v.

[126] In 1517, the Ottomans defeated the Mamluk Sultanate and took control of the regions under their rule including the areas around Egypt, Palestine, and Syria. The Ottomans' conquests in the later sixteenth century led to the extension of their rule over parts of the coast of northern Africa, including the areas around Algiers, Tunis, and Tripolis. Ray, 'Iberian Jewry Between West and East,' pp. 44-65; Kia, *Daily Life in the Ottoman Empire,* pp. 125-126; Bonfil, *Cultural Change,* p. 20; Kenneth Stow, 'Jews of Italy' in Raphael Patai ed., *Encyclopaedia of Jewish Folklore and Tradition* vols. 1-2 (London, 2015) p. 270.

[127] Protocolos no. 2009. Archivo del Reino de Valencia, Valencia. fols. 216v, 221r, 299v-304r, 315r-317r, 328r-332v. For copy of some of the contracts, see those published in José Hinojosa Montalvo, 'Solidaridad judiá ante la expulsion: contratos de embarque (Valencia, 1492)' in *Saitabi* 30 (1983) pp. 105-24.

[128] See the regests appended to Guido Nathan Zazzu, *Sepharad addio – 1492: I profughi ebrei dalla Spagna al 'ghetto' di Genova* (Genova: Marietti, 1992) pp. 123-39. The regests corroborate, at least in part, descriptions of the events written by Jewish authors such as Salomon Ibn Verga who wrote a historical account of Jewish persecution that is part fiction and part non-fiction: Salomon Ibn Verga, *Sefer Shevet Yehudah,* Azriel Shohat ed. (Jerusalem, 1947) p. 123.

[129] 'Bartholomei Senaregae De Rebus Commentaria ab anno 1488 usque ad annum 1514' in ed. Emilio Pandiani and Ludovico Muratori, *Raccolta degli Storici Italiani dal cinquecento al millecinquecento* 24/8 (Bologna, 1932) pp. 24-25; W.H. Prescott, *History of the Reign of Ferdinand and Isabella the Catholic* (Philadelphia, 1881) vol. 2, p. 133. Full quote: 'No one could behold the suffering of the Jewish exiles unmoved…They arrived in Genoa in crowds, but were not suffered to tarry there long, by reason of the ancient law of our country which interdicted the Jewish traveller from a longer residence than three days. They were allowed, however, to refit their vessels, and to recruit themselves for some days from the fatigues of their voyage. One might have taken them for spectres, so emaciated were they, so cadaverous in their aspect, and with eyes so sunken; they differed in nothing from the dead, except in the power of motion which they scarce retained…'

haggadah made in Italy in the sixteenth century.[130] (Figure 23) Here, the Israelites stand near the water with baskets of food and goods on their heads while, on the previous folio, Pharaoh's army pursues them. Very similar compositions can be seen in haggadot decorated by Joel ben Simeon such as the Rothschild Weill Mahzor (f.116r), Rothschild Haggadah (f. 23r), and Ashkenazi Haggadah (BL Add MS 14762, ff. 14v-15r).[131] (Figure 14) Though the figures are not 'emaciated cadavers', the way they wait on the edge of the sea holding their possessions certainly echoes Senarega's picture. It might be overreading to say that these compositions, especially those by Simeon, are being influenced by the lived experience of contemporary emigrations. That being said, it seems important to note that these fifteenth- and sixteenth-century illustrations of the Exodus, while similar to each other, stand apart from earlier haggadot, such as Haggadah 14761, that depict the Exodus in more abstract or less 'realistic' terms. (Figure 21 and Figure 3) One wonders if Haggadah 14761 would, nevertheless, have brought to the reader's mind scenes such as that described by Senarega. It is impossible to know. What is certain is that Haggadah 14761 continued to participate in Jewish life in the midst of the expulsions from Spain in 1492. In this way, its narrative of the Israelites' exodus would have paralleled that of the Sephardic community to which it once belonged.

An Ongoing Life

Following the expulsion of Jews from Spain in 1492, many Jewish refugees moved towards Italy. [132] While some settled there, many continued to move east.[133] This is reflected by the quantitative data published by the Hebrew Palaeography Project, which notes that the proportion of manuscripts written in Italy in a Sephardi hand dropped from 35% in the early fifteenth century to 23% after 1492.[134] The reluctance to settle in Italy may have been due to the increasing restrictions in many cities, such as the establishment of ghettos and limits on Jewish banking.[135] Bologna was not

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[130] Ferrara Haggadah. Mic. 4817. The New York Library of the Jewish Theological Seminary of America, New York.
[131] The last has been attributed to Simeon and was made according to the German rite between 1430 and 1470 in northern Germany. See Michael Footner, 'Joel ben Simeon Illuminator of Hebrew MSS. in the XVth Century', *The Jewish Quarterly Review*, 27 (1937) pp. 217-32; Malachi Beit-Arie, 'Joel ben Simeon's Manuscripts: a Codicologer's View', *Journal of Jewish Art*, 3-4 (1977), pp. 32-34.
[132] Bonfil, *Cultural Change,* p. 20
[133] Bonfil, *Cultural Change,* p. 25; see also Kenneth Stow, *The Jews in Rome* vols. 1-2 (Leiden, 1995 and 1997); Barbara Garvin and Bernard Dov Cooperman eds., *The Jews of Italy: Memory and Identity* (London, 2000).
[134] Beit-Ariè, 'The Codicological Data-Base', p. 172.
[135] Gruber, 'Selective Inclusion', pp. 119-120; Vivian B. Mann ed. *Gardens and Ghettos: The Art of Jewish Life in Italy* (New York, 1989); Alessandro Guetta and Pierre Savy eds., *Non contrarii, ma diversi:* The Question of the Jewish Minority in Early Modern Italy (Rome, 2020)

exempt from such legislation and actually ordered the Jews in the city to leave in 1569.[136] This, however, was not the end of Haggadah 14761's life in Italy.

The censor signature dated 1599, and later inscriptions by owners such as the Foà family, inform us that Haggadah 14761 stayed in north Italy, near Reggio Emilia, until it was acquired by the booksellers Payne and Foss in the nineteenth century and sold to the British Museum in 1844.[137] Haggadah 14761 thus continued to participate in Jewish ritual for almost 300 years before entering the archive. The codex's long residence in Italy underscores one of the key points in this paper that Haggadah 14761 functions as a material witness to Jewish history and thereby transcends the time and place it was created. Where previous scholarship has primarily examined the Catalonian Haggadah in relation to 1360 Catalonia, this paper has engaged with a neglected facet of its life by exploring its new context in Italy and the circumstances surrounding its integration with the Provençal Mahzor to become Haggadah 14761. In doing so, this paper has aimed to open up a broader discussion regarding the continued importance of migrating Hebrew manuscripts across historical periods and how we can best approach a consideration of them in their new contexts.

Indeed, Haggadah 14761 is only the tip of the iceberg. Its movement to Italy and the additions acquired on its journey point to a larger network of Hebrew manuscripts that were made in France, Germany, and Spain in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries and that moved to Italy (and farther afield) in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Their movement helps map the emigrations of Jewish communities between 1290 and 1492, a particularly intense period of persecution and expulsion. Yet most of these migrating Hebrew manuscripts, similar to Haggadah 14761, have only been examined in relation to the period they were created and not yet in regard to their movement. The reluctance to analyse these manuscripts in their new contexts highlights a natural tendency we have as art historians to prioritise the insight a particular artefact can provide into the moment it was made. When we are so intent on an object's origin, it is easy to gloss over the fact that many of the objects we examine have lives beyond the societies that created them. In the case of the migrating manuscripts, the latent

[136] Roth, *The History of the Jews,* pp. 126-127
[137] A member of the Foà family signed the first folio of the Haggadah. Rowland-Smith has traced the Foà family to Reggio Emilia near Bologna. Rowland-Smith, 'The Owners', p. 70.

effects of this are twofold. On the one hand, it has led to a gap in scholarship on the full lives of these manuscripts. On the other hand, there is a crucial voice missing from much of the discourse on Jewish displacement. As ritual objects, the prayers the migrating manuscripts contain make them integral to Jewish devotion while their illustrations render them masterpieces of Jewish visual culture. The manuscripts accumulate evidence over time through their continued use and, thus, are a distinctive medium through which to explore Jewish experience in the Middle Ages and beyond. To paraphrase anthropologist Igor Kopytoff in his article 'The Cultural Biography of Things', and apply his discussion to a new context, studying the full object biographies of these Hebrew manuscripts can 'make salient what might otherwise remain obscure' about the cultures in which they participate.[138] While this paper has focused on an exploration of Haggadah 14761 in relation to 1459 Bologna, additional insight could be garnered by examining its use and the interpretation of its images in relation to a later date. Analyses of it at the seder table in the modern period, for instance, could be fruitful grounds for further research, especially its use in relation to the continued production of hand-written haggadot in the age of printed books. [139]

Ultimately, the way this paper has situated Haggadah 14761 within its new context provides an idea for how other migrating Hebrew manuscripts can be re-situated in relation to their movement and utilisation in later centuries. As intimate witnesses to Jewish life and ritual, they provide a unique vantage from which to explore Jewish experience in the Middle Ages and Renaissance. Investigating migrating Hebrew manuscripts in relation to their movement and new contexts would not only address a neglected facet of their own histories, but also give voice to a minority community often overlooked in historical narratives of these periods.

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[138] Igor Kopytoff, 'The Cultural Biography of Things: Commoditization as Process' in Arjun Appadurai ed., *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective* (Cambridge, 1986) pp. 64-91, here p. 67. Moving forward, scholarship such as that by Kopytoff might provide a useful point of departure for Art Historians looking to study the full lives of art historical objects.

[139] Kogman-Appel notes hand-written haggdot continued to be produced and preferred over printed books for several centuries. Kogman-Appel, 'The Audience of the Late Medieval Haggadah', p. 100. See also: David McKitterick, *Print, Manuscript and the Search for Order 1450-1830* (Cambridge, 2003); David Ruderman, *Early Modern Jewry: A New Cultural History* (Princeton, 2011)

Figures

Figure 1: Beginning of the haggadah including the first prayer over the wine, Haggadah 14761 Add MS 14761, fols. 17v-18r, c. 1330- 1360, Catalonia, ink on vellum, 255 x 190 mm, The British Library, London. (Hereafter, Haggadah 14761)

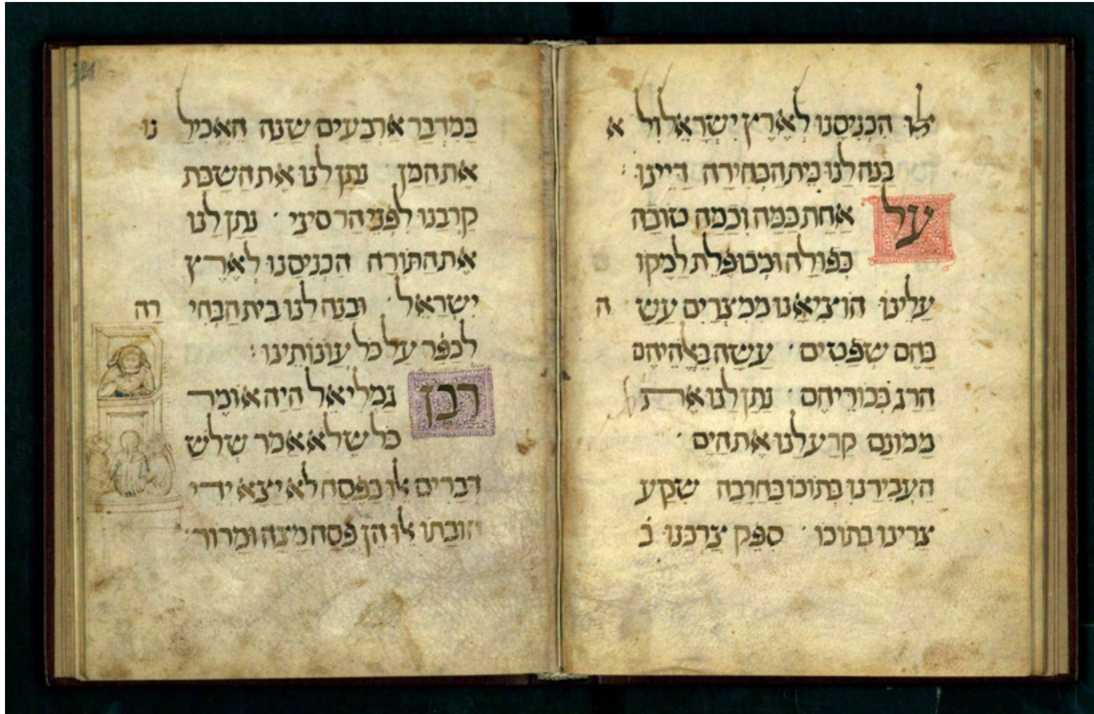
Figure 2: Illustrations integrated into the text in the Sassoon Haggadah MS 180/041, fols. 138r-139v, c. 1300-1350 (1320?), North Spain, ink on vellum, 210 x 165 mm, the Israel Museum, Jerusalem.

Figure 3: Prefatory cycles: Israelites escaping Pharaoh's army across the Red Sea (Right) and preparations for the seder (Left), Golden Haggadah Add MS 27210, fols. 14v-15r, c. 1320- 1330, Catalonia (Barcelona?), ink on vellum, 245 x 190/200 mm, British Library, London. (Hereafter,Golden Haggadah)

Figure 4: Detail illustration of Rabbi Gamliel and a woman holding the matzah in the Maraviglia Prayerbook Add MS 26957 created by Joel ben Simeon, fol. 45v, c. 1469, north Italy, black and brown ink on vellum, 140 x 95 mm, The British Library, London. (Hereafter Maraviglia Prayerbook)

Figure 5: Depiction of the seder beneath which is the 'Yotzer for Shabbat ha-Gadol for Passover' in the Harley Mahzor, Add MS 5686, decoration by a workshop of one of the artists of Duke Borso d'Este, probably Giorgio d'Alemagna, fol. 61v, c. 1427-1499, Reggio Emilia and Bologna, ink on parchment, 265 x 195 mm, British Library, London. (Hereafter, Harley Mahzor)

Figure 6: Beginning of the haggadah in the Rothschild Mahzor and Siddur, MS 8892, fol. 91v, c. 1492, Florence, tempera on parchment, 290 x 220 mm, Jewish Theological Seminary, New York. (Hereafter, Rothschild Mahzor)



ולו הכניסנו לארץ ישראל ולו א
בנה לנו בית הבחירה דיינו:
על אחת כמה וכמה טובה
כפולה ומכופלת למקו
עלינו הוציאנו ממצרים עש
בהם שפטים עשה באלהיהם
הרג בכוריהם נתן לנו את
ממונם קרע לנו את הים
העבירנו בתוכו בחרבה שקע
צרינו בתוכו ספק צרכנו ב

במדבר ארבעים שנה האכי' נו
את המן נתן לנו את השבת
קרבנו לפני הר סיני נתן לנו
את התורה הכניסנו לארץ
ישראל ובנה לנו בית הבחי רה
לכפר על כל עונותינו:
רבן גמליאל היה אומר
כל שלא אמר שלש
דברים אלו בפסח לא יצא ידי
חובתו אלו הן פסח מצה ומרור:

פסח שהיו אבותינו אוכלי ז
על שום בזמן שבית
המקדש קיים על שום מה על
שום שפסח הקב"ה על בתי אבותי ט
במצרים שנ' ואמרתם זבח פסח
הוא לי"י אשר פסח על בתי בני
ישראל במצרים בנגפו את
מצרים ואת בתינו הציל ויקד
העם וישתחוו: זו ש
מצה שאנו אוכלין על

שום מה על שום שלא הספיק
בצקת אבותינו להחמיץ עד שנ
שנגלה עליהם מלך מלכי המלכים
הקב"ה וגאלם שנ' ויאפו את הבצ ק
אשר הוציאו ממצרים עוגות
מצות כי לא חמץ כי גורשו ממצ
ממצרים ולא יכלו להתמהמה
וגם צדה לא עשו להם:
מרור זה שאנו אוכלין על
שום מה על שום

Figure 7: Rabbi Gamliel (top image), Matzah and Maror (bottom image) in the Wolf Haggadah, cod. 8 7246, fol. 20v-22r, c. 1390-1400, written in Avignon or Provence and decorated later in Italy, ink and pen on parchment, 155 x 205 mm, National Library of Israel, Jerusalem. (Hereafter, Wolf Haggadah)

Figure 8: New title page (Right) and coats of arms of the Rava and Gallico families (Left) in the Golden Haggadah, folios 1r (Right) and 16r (Left), added around 1602 in northern Italy.

Figure 9: Maror in Haggadah 14761, fol. 62v.

Figure 10: ‘Maror’ in the Maraviglia Prayerbook, fol. 45v.

Figure 11: Detail of the recitation of Hallel in the synagogue in Haggadah 14761, fol. 65v.

Figure 12: Haggadah read aloud in the synagogue in the Sister Haggadah Or 2884, fol. 17v, c. 1325-1374, Catalonia (Barcelona), ink on vellum, 230 x 190 mm, British Library, London.

Figure 13: Detail: Shabbat in the synagogue in the Harley Mahzor, fol. 28r.

Figure 14: ‘The is the bread of affliction…’ in the Rothschild Weill Mahzor, depiction of the seder (top right) and the escape of the Israelites from Pharaoh's army as Moses parts the Red Sea (*bas de page*), MS Heb. 8 4450 created by Joel ben Simeon, fol. 115v, c. 1470, north Italy, ink on vellum, National Library of Israel, Jerusalem.

Figure 15: Drink while leaning to the left in Haggadah 14761, fol. 19v.

Figure 16: Drink while leaning to the left in the Rothschild Haggadah, MS Heb. 4 6130, created by Joel ben Simeon, fol. 2r(?), north Italy, ink on vellum, National Library of Israel, Jerusalem. (Hereafter Rothschild Haggadah)

Figure 17: ‘This is the bread of affliction’ and the ‘Four Questions’ in the Lombard Haggadah, formerly Sotheby’s now Private Collection (?).

Figure 18: ‘This is the bread of affliction…’ in the Maraviglia Prayerbook, fol. 39r.

Figure 19: ‘This is the bread of affliction’ in Haggadah 14761, fol. 28v.

Figure 20: Matzah in Haggadah 14761, fol. 61r.

Figure 21: The Israelites leaving Egypt in Haggadah 14761, fol. 66v.

Figure 22: Egyptians whipping the enslaved Israelites in Haggadah 14761, fol. 30v.

Figure 23: Moses leading the Israelites out of Egypt in a Haggadah, c. late-sixteenth century, north Italyt, private collection, New York.