

The Migration of German Jews into Italy and the Emergence of Local Rites of *Selihot* Recitation*

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Among the many aspects of the crisis that beset European Jewry around 1400, the economic pressure brought to bear upon the communities in the German lands and the onset of the wave of expulsions that was to rid the *regnum teutonicum* of most of its Jews during the following century loom large. One of the consequences was large-scale migration. As a result, new centers of Ashkenazi Judaism were established beyond the borders of the German-speaking lands. While that in Poland and Lithuania is so well known the very term “Ashkenazi” is often taken to signify “eastern European”, the German-Jewish settlement in northern Italy is less familiar even to scholars.¹

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¹ Early studies include Moritz Güdemann, *Geschichte des Erziehungswesens und der Cultur der Juden in Deutschland während des XIV. und XV. Jahrhunderts*, *Geschichte des Erziehungswesens und der Cultur der abendländischen Juden während des Mittelalters und der neueren Zeit*, 3 (Vienna: Hölder, 1888), ch. 7; Moshe Shulvass, ‘Ashkenazic Jewry in Italy’, *YIVO Annual of Jewish Social Science*, 7 (1952), 110–31; Jomtov Ludovico Bato, ‘L’immigrazione degli Ebrei tedeschi in Italia dal Trecento al Cinquecento’, in *Scritti in memoria di Sally Mayer: Saggi sull’ebraismo italiano*, ed. by Umberto Nahon (Jerusalem: Fondazione Sally Mayer, 1956), pp. 19–34; Ariel Toaff, ‘Migrazioni di ebrei tedeschi attraverso i territori triestini e friulani fra XIV e

One reason may lie in the fact that it flourished over a relatively brief period of time. The beginnings of a southward migration of Jews from Germany can be traced to the final decades of the fourteenth century; it continued through much of the fifteenth before it was disrupted by the warfare that ravaged northern Italy in the early 1500s and did not revive once the counterreformation had begun to affect local policies towards the Jews. Possibly as a consequence of these policies, Italo-Ashkenazi Jews, like their Sefardi and their originally Italian neighbors in the ghettos set up across Italy in the course of the sixteenth century, shifted to a variety of Italian written in Latin characters in both external and internal communication by the year 1600.² Thus the Golden Age of this first center of German-Jewish culture beyond the borders of historical Ashkenaz came to a close.

While the basic patterns of the Ashkenazi migration to, and settlement in, northern Italy have become fairly clear over the past decade or two, its cultural ramifications have only recently begun to come into focus. Among scholars of Yiddish, the decisive role of Italy in the emergence of a literary tradition has of course long been noted.³ Taking her cue from Max Weinreich's distinction between "Ashkenaz I", the medieval Jewish settlement in the German-speaking lands, and the later center in eastern Europe, "Ashkenaz II", Erika Timm has added a third element into the picture by making reference to the Ashkenazi presence in Italy as "Ashkenaz III".⁴ I wonder whether it may perhaps be more appropriate to call it

XV secolo', in *Il mondo ebraico: Gli ebrei tra Italia nord-orientale e Impero asburgico dal Medioevo all'Età contemporanea*, ed. by Giacomo Todeschini and Pier Cesare Ioly Zorattini (Pordenone: Studio Tesi, 1991), pp. 3–29; id., 'Gli insediamenti ashkenaziti nell'Italia settentrionale', in *Gli ebrei in Italia: Dall'Alto Medioevo all'età dei ghetti*, ed. by Corrado Vivanti, Storia d'Italia, Annali 11,1 (Turin: Einaudi, 1996), pp. 153–71.

² Chone Shmeruk, *Yiddish Literature: Aspects of its History*, Literature, Meaning, Culture, 5 (Tel Aviv: Porter Institute, 1978), pp. 73–74 (in Hebrew). For the analogous process that replaced Hebrew with Italian among Italian Jews, see Robert Bonfil, 'Changing Mentalities of Italian Jews between the Periods of the Renaissance and the Baroque', *Italia*, 11 (1994), 61–79, and cf. David Malkiel, *Stones Speak: Hebrew Tombstones from Padua, 1529–1862*, Studies in Jewish History and Culture, 53 (Leiden: Brill, 2014), p. 46 n. 60.

³ Chone Shmeruk, 'Gli inizi della prosa narrativa in yiddish e il suo centro in Italia', in *Scritti in memoria di Leone Carpi: Saggi sull'ebraismo italiano*, ed. by Daniel Carpi, Attilio Milano and Alexander Rofé (Jerusalem: Fondazione Sally Mayer, 1967), pp. 119–40 (in Hebrew); id., 'Yiddish Printing in Italy', *Italia*, 3 (1982), 112–75 (in Hebrew), now significantly updated in Chava Turniansky and Erika Timm with the collaboration of Claudia Rosenzweig, *Yiddish in Italia: Yiddish Manuscripts and Printed Books from the 15th to the 17th Century* (Milan: Associazione Italiana Amici dell'Università di Gerusalemme, 2003).

⁴ Erika Timm, 'Das jiddischsprachige literarische Erbe der Italo-Ashkenasen', in *Schöpferische Momente des europäischen Judentums in der frühen Neuzeit*, ed. by Michael Graetz (Heidelberg: Winter, 2000), pp. 161–75, at p. 161. See Max Weinreich, *History of the Yiddish Language*

Ashkenaz-and-a-half. For one thing, the Italian phase of Ashkenazi culture, in terms of the chronology inherent in Weinreich's terminology, would seem to sit somewhere between Germany and Poland. For another, the Ashkenazi diaspora in Italy may perhaps be said, as a German colloquialism would have it, to have been one hundred and fifty percent Ashkenazi in that it cultivated its own Ashkenaziness in a very intense way. As a result, its relatively short duration notwithstanding, the Italian intermezzo would seem to have left a distinctive mark on the shape the legacy of historical Ashkenaz took in early modernity.

Among the narrative sources relating to the history of the Ashkenazi settlement in Germany itself, the preponderance of material recorded or preserved in Italy is striking. This is certainly true for the hagiographic legends relating to the founding fathers of medieval Ashkenaz, extant in Hebrew roughly from the fifteenth century onward, in Yiddish somewhat later. Although many of these legends were intensely local in character, anchored as they were in the physical space of the old urban centers of historical Ashkenaz, they were apparently taken for granted and left unrecorded while Jews were living there. It was only when their narrators had to leave that a need was felt to set these traditions down in writing. And it was German Jews who settled in Italy who seem to have felt that need most strongly.⁵

The so-called Hebrew crusade chronicles are a case in point. Of the three more or less contemporary accounts we have of the unprecedented violence of the year 1096, the longest and most vocal as regards the ideology of active martyrdom, the account put together by one Shlomo ben Shimshon, has been preserved in a unique manuscript whose first part was copied in Treviso in the Venetian *terraferma* in 1453.⁶ Although originally transmitted as part of a communal history of Speyer, the narrative did not survive in its original setting because that community dwindled to insignificance in the fifteenth century and ceased to exist in the 1520s. The

[1973], ed. by Paul Glasser, trans. by Shlomo Noble and Joshua A. Fishman (New Haven: Yale UP, 2008), pp. 3–4.

⁵ Lucia Raspe, *Jüdische Hagiographie im mittelalterlichen Aschkenas*, Texts and Studies in Medieval and Early Modern Judaism, 19 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2006), pp. 329–30. See also ead., 'When King Dagobert Came to Halle: Place and Displacement in Medieval Jewish Legend', *Jewish Studies Quarterly*, 20 (2013), 146–58.

⁶ See Eva Haverkamp's introduction to her *Hebräische Berichte über die Judenverfolgungen während des Ersten Kreuzzugs*, MGH Hebräische Texte aus dem mittelalterlichen Deutschland, 1 (Hannover: Hahnsche Buchhandlung, 2005), pp. 49–63, 85–129 (on this particular narrative); pp. 143–53 (on the manuscript). For the scribe of the second part of the manuscript, an Ashkenazi active in northern Italy in c. 1462–75, see the *SfarData* database of the National Library of Israel, accessible at <sfardata.nli.org.il>, nos. ZC326, ZC293, and ZE103.

manuscript we have was written in Italy by Ashkenazi émigrés who may have felt a need to write down what was threatening to slip away.⁷

Looking at the one of the three crusade narratives that attained a somewhat wider circulation in premodern times, we find a slightly different picture. The account composed by Eli'ezer ben Natan is first documented in *Sefer ha-Zikhronot*, an ambitious compilation of narrative and/or historical pieces put together by one El'azar ha-Levi of Osnabrück in the second quarter of the fourteenth century.⁸ In his preface, the compiler had exhorted his sons to keep the precious anthology, which it had taken him years if not decades to compile, within the family.⁹ However, after El'azar had himself perished in the persecutions of the Black Death,¹⁰ his autograph was indeed sold; it was taken to Italy in the fifteenth century, where it subsequently played a crucial role in making the history of *gezerot tatnu* known to wider Jewish circles.¹¹ What the Jewish historians of Renaissance Italy knew about the saintly heroism of eleventh-century Ashkenaz was ultimately derived from this manuscript; in turn, it was the work of Yosef Ha-Kohen and Gedalya ibn Yaḥya in his footsteps that Ashkenazi Jews depended on for their knowledge of their own history before the Hebrew narratives themselves were published from manuscript towards the end of the nineteenth century.¹²

A similar case can be made for the narrative of Amnon of Mainz—a narrative quintessence of the medieval Ashkenazi experience, as Ivan Marcus has shown.¹³

⁷ Lucia Raspe, 'Die SchUM-Gemeinden in der narrativen Überlieferung aus Mittelalter und früher Neuzeit', in *Die SchUM-Gemeinden Speyer – Worms – Mainz: Auf dem Weg zum Welterbe*, ed. by Pia Heberer and Ursula Reuter (Regensburg: Schnell & Steiner, 2013), pp. 313–26, at pp. 317–18.

⁸ Eli Yassif, ed., *The Book of Memory, that is, The Chronicles of Jerahme'el* (Tel Aviv: Tel Aviv University, 2001); E. Haverkamp, *Hebräische Berichte* (as in n. 6), pp. 163–86.

⁹ Yassif, ed., *The Book of Memory* (as in n. 8), pp. 13–14.

¹⁰ Lucia Raspe, 'Asher Halevi and the Founding of Jewish Worms: Genealogy, Liturgy, and Historiography in Medieval Ashkenaz', in *Iggud: Selected Essays in Jewish Studies*, ed. by Gershon Bacon *et al.*, vol. II (Jerusalem: World Union of Jewish Studies, 2009), pp. 41*–55*, at pp. 45*–46*.

¹¹ E. Haverkamp, *Hebräische Berichte* (as in n. 6), pp. 164, 185–86.

¹² *Hebräische Berichte über die Judenverfolgungen während der Kreuzzüge*, ed. by Adolf Neubauer and Moritz Stern, *Quellen zur Geschichte der Juden in Deutschland*, 2 (Berlin: Simion, 1892). For earlier publications, see E. Haverkamp, *Hebräische Berichte* (as in n. 6), pp. 24–25, for an account of Jewish historiography in sixteenth-century Italy, Yosef Hayim Yerushalmi, *Zakhor: Jewish History and Jewish Memory*, The Samuel and Althea Stroum Lectures in Jewish Studies (Seattle: U of Washington Press, 1982), ch. 3.

¹³ Ivan G. Marcus, 'A Pious Community and Doubt: *Qiddush ha-Shem* in Ashkenaz and the Story of Rabbi Amnon of Mainz', in *Studien zur jüdischen Geschichte und Soziologie: Festschrift*

While the text was first put into writing by Efrayim of Bonn in the twelfth century, then cited by the *Or Zarua'* of Vienna in the thirteenth, not a few of the textual witnesses that have survived to this day again hail from Italy. Indeed, when one Avraham bar Eliya penned a Yiddish version in 1557, he took pains to point out that he had seen the tale written in old books not only in Germany, but also in *velsh land*.¹⁴ One such book, apparently similarly brought into Italy by Jewish émigrés from Germany, must have come into the hands of Italian rabbi Yoḥanan Treves; it was when he cited the tale in his commentary on the liturgy printed alongside the *Mahzor Roma* in Bologna in 1540, where it was then seen by Gedalya ibn Yahya, that the legend of Amnon *mimagenza* became part of a Jewish patrimony at large.¹⁵

In short, then, it would seem that the Ashkenazi diaspora in Renaissance Italy played a major role not only in the preservation of their own heritage among themselves, but also in the transmission of some of its elements to a larger Jewish audience. And finally, Ashkenazi Jews were among the pioneers of Hebrew printing when it began to take off in the Italian peninsula from the mid-1470s onward.¹⁶ What they decided to bring to the press—depending on their own interests, on what was available to them (that is, in many cases had been brought to Italy by Ashkenazi émigrés like themselves) and on what they thought would sell—undoubtedly had an impact on the shape the Ashkenazi patrimony took in the age of print.

Ashkenazi Custom in Northern Italy: The Case of Zalman of Sankt Goar

In what follows, I will attempt to illustrate these observations by examining a sample drawn from the field of liturgy and prayer rite. Indeed, one source that would seem to lend itself to an inquiry into the consequences exile and displacement had on the legacy of medieval Ashkenaz may be found in the so-called *minhagim* literature, a genre peculiar to Ashkenazi Jews. Situated at the intersection of rabbinic and vernacular culture, *minhagim* books record both the prayer rite (*minhag*) and the customs (*minhagim*) observed in synagogue and home over the course of the Jewish year.

Julius Carlebach (Heidelberg: Winter, 1992), pp. 97–113. See also Raspe, *Hagiographie* (as in n. 5), pp. 130–98.

¹⁴ Raspe, *Hagiographie* (as in n. 5), p. 144 n. 22; cf. Turniansky and Timm, *Yiddish in Italia* (as in n. 3), no. 36, pp. 74–75.

¹⁵ Raspe, *Hagiographie* (as in n. 5), pp. 133–34.

¹⁶ Mordechai Glatzer, 'Early Hebrew Printing', in *A Sign and a Witness: 2,000 Years of Hebrew Books and Illuminated Manuscripts*, ed. by Leonard S. Gold (New York and Oxford: Oxford UP, 1988), pp. 80–91.

Compilations of this kind had flourished in Ashkenaz from the thirteenth century onward; they gained in popularity as Jewish life in Germany came under increasing pressure in the wake of the persecutions and expulsions of the later Middle Ages.¹⁷

Two basic types of *minhagim* books have been distinguished in the past: works that record the conduct of exemplary scholars perceived as worthy of emulation, on the one hand, and those that provide instruction in the customs specific to a certain community, especially as regards synagogue liturgy, on the other.¹⁸ Prayer rite, of course, is intensely local in character; indeed it has been said that ‘to speak of a community’s *minhag* is to speak of its identity.’¹⁹ Conversely, it is precisely these matters of local identity expressed in synagogue ritual that had to be affected when the geography of Ashkenaz was upset by the expulsions of the fifteenth century and the establishment of new centers of settlement that occurred in their wake.²⁰

A classic example of the first type of *minhagim* books, although it shares some of the traits of the second, is *Sefer Maharil*, the collection of customs based on the teachings of R. Ya‘aqov b. Moshe Molin ha-Levi of Mainz (d. 1427), the most influential Rhenish sage of the first half of the fifteenth century, which was compiled by his student El‘azar b. Ya‘aqov, also known as Zalman of Sankt Goar, and first printed in Sabbioneta in 1556.²¹ *Sefer Maharil* is often considered the epitome of

¹⁷ Israel Moses Ta-Shma, ‘Minhagim Books: Middle Ages’, in *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, vol. XII (Jerusalem: Keter, 1971), cols. 26–29 = 2nd ed., vol. XIV (2007), pp. 278–79; Mordechai Breuer and Yacov Guggenheim, ‘Die jüdische Gemeinde, Gesellschaft und Kultur’, in *Germania Judaica III: 1350–1519*, ed. by Arye Maimon, Mordechai Breuer and Yacov Guggenheim, 3 vols (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1987–2003), III, pp. 2079–138, at pp. 2118–20; Daniel Sperber, ‘Minhag Books (Books of Custom)’, in *Encyclopedia of Jewish Folklore and Traditions*, ed. by Raphael Patai and Haya Bar-Itzhak (Armonk, N.Y., and London: Sharpe, 2013), pp. 369–70. And see now Rachel Zohn Mincer, ‘Liturgical Minhagim Books: The Increasing Reliance on Written Texts in Late Medieval Ashkenaz’ (Ph.D. thesis, Jewish Theological Seminary, New York 2012).

¹⁸ Eric Zimmer, ‘A Book of Customs of the School of the Maharil’, *Alei Sefer*, 14 (1987), 59–87 (in Hebrew), at pp. 59–62; Mincer, ‘Liturgical Minhagim Books’ (as in n. 17), pp. 2–3, 7–8.

¹⁹ Scott-Martin Kosofsky, *The Book of Customs: A Complete Handbook for the Jewish Year, inspired by the Yiddish Minhogimbukh, Venice, 1593* (San Francisco: Harper, 2004), p. 1.

²⁰ For a pioneering study, see Joseph Davis, ‘The Reception of the *Shulhan Arukh* and the Formation of Ashkenazic Jewish Identity’, *AJS Review*, 26 (2002), 251–76. See also Adam Shear, ‘Jews and Judaism in Early Modern Europe’, in *The Cambridge Guide to Jewish History, Religion, and Culture*, ed. by Judith Baskin and Kenneth Seeskin (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2010), pp. 140–68, esp. pp. 143–49, 151–52, and Ruth Langer’s revision of Ernst Daniel Goldschmidt’s 1971 article, ‘Liturgy’, in *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, 2nd ed., vol. XIII (Jerusalem: Keter, 2007), pp. 131–36, esp. p. 133.

²¹ *The Book of Maharil: Customs by Rabbi Yaacov Mulin*, ed. by Shlomo J. Spitzer (Jerusalem: Mifal torath chachmey Ashkenaz/Machon Yerushalayim, 1989) (in Hebrew). On Maharil himself, see Mordechai Breuer in *Germania Judaica III* (as in n. 17), II, pp. 798–800 no. 19.

the Rhenish traditions central to historical Ashkenaz. Nevertheless, we have learned in recent years that *Sefer Maharil*, too, owes more to the Italian interlude in Ashkenazi Judaism than has previously been thought. Not only did the work see its first editions in Italy, as did all of the compilations of Ashkenazi customs that made it into print²²—*Sefer Maharil* would itself seem to reflect the migration of its compiler. Scholars had long suspected that Zalman of Sankt Goar might have moved to Italy at a later stage in his life.²³ This has been confirmed in a recent dissertation, which has unraveled the complicated history of *Sefer Maharil* and correlated the various redactions Zalman of Sankt Goar produced and circulated over a period of more than forty years after his teacher's demise with the compiler's own biography.²⁴

As Israel Peles has shown, at least eight of the twenty-three manuscripts preserved of *Sefer Maharil* he describes were written south of the Alps; this includes two of the four full autographs penned by Zalman of Sankt Goar himself which Peles was

²² *Sefer Maharil* was reprinted in Cremona in 1558 and 1568. The *minhagim* ascribed to Avraham Klausner saw a unique edition in Riva di Trento in 1559, while the oft-printed collection composed by Ayzik Tirna was first published in Venice in 1566. See *Minhagim (Customs) of Rabbi Abraham Klausner*, ed. by Yonah Y. Dissen (Jerusalem: Mifal torath chachmey Ashkenaz/Machon Yerushalayim, 1978); 2nd ed., ed. by Shlomo J. Spitzer (2006) (in Hebrew); *Sefer Haminhagim (Rulings and Customs) of Rabbi Eisik Tirna*, ed. by Shlomo J. Spitzer (Jerusalem: Mifal torath chachmey Ashkenaz/Machon Yerushalayim, 1979; 2nd ed., 2000). For the possibility that an earlier edition appeared in Krakow in the 1530s, see Magda Teter and Edward Fram, 'Apostasy, Fraud, and the Beginnings of Hebrew Printing in Cracow', *AJS Review*, 30 (2006), 31–66, at p. 53.

²³ Israel Jacob Yuval, *Scholars in their Time: The Religious Leadership of German Jewry in the Late Middle Ages* (Jerusalem: Magnes, 1988), pp. 97–114, esp. p. 108 (in Hebrew); cf. id. in *Germania Judaica III* (as in n. 17), II, pp. 803–4 no. 45.

²⁴ Israel Mordechai Pelles [Peles], 'The Book of "Maharil" (Customs of Maharil) According to its Autograph Manuscripts and its Specialty as a "Multi-Draft Versions" Work' (Ph.D. diss., Bar-Ilan University, Ramat-Gan 2005) (in Hebrew), esp. pp. 5–6, 172–79; cf. Israel M. Peles and Shlomo J. Spitzer, ספר מברא והוספות לספרי מהרי"ל, (Jerusalem: Mifal torath chachmey Ashkenaz/Machon Yerushalayim, 2016), pp. 365–93. It would seem that Zalman of Sankt Goar spent the final years of his life in or near Verona. See his correspondence with R. Liva Landau, published in Yosef Buxbaum, 'שו"ת חכמי אשכנז', *Moriah*, 12.7–9 (1983), 26–38, at pp. 27–28 and n. 1, which according to Peles ('Book of "Maharil"', p. 6 n. 35) must be dated to 1460. And see Malachi Beit-Arié, *The Makings of the Medieval Hebrew Book: Studies in Palaeography and Codicology* (Jerusalem: Magnes, 1993), p. 209 n. 55, who has identified a place mentioned in the colophon of MS Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, hebr. 175 (film no. 1442 at the Institute of Microfilmed Hebrew Manuscripts [= IMHM], Jerusalem), the last autograph of *Sefer Maharil* written in 1469/70, as Castelnovo near Verona.

able to identify.²⁵ These Italian redactions of *Sefer Maharil* are noteworthy in a number of respects. For one thing, they contain a variety of texts that bear no connection to Maharil himself and cannot be found in earlier versions—texts that appear to have been of increasing importance to Zalman of Sankt Goar towards the end of his life. It was only in Italy that Zalman added a full account of the events that had transpired during the Hussite war of 1421 to his text.²⁶ While still in Germany, Zalman had added the testament of R. Yehuda *he-Hasid* as well as both the testament and the tombstone inscription of his own grandfather, *der gut reb Zalman* (d. 1357), whose gravestone must have been lost when the Jews were expelled from Mainz in 1438; in Italy, he added a full genealogy that linked his own immediate family to some of the great scholars of the Ashkenazi past.²⁷ It was likewise only in Italy that Zalman appended the *taqqanot* ascribed to Rabbenu Gershom (d. 1028/40), the compendium on kosher slaughtering by Maharil's student R. Ya'aqov Weil, an abridged version of the thirteenth-century *Sha'are Dura* and what he called 'the customs of R. Me'ir of Rothenburg' (d. 1293) to his earlier text.²⁸

If scholars in the past have tended to believe that these longer versions of *Sefer Maharil* were the earlier ones that were later abridged by copyists²⁹, Peles's work has led us to recognize that in fact they appear in the very latest of the compiler's own autographs. In other words, it was only in Italy that Zalman's work, originally focused on the teachings of Maharil, developed into a portable library of Ashkenazi practical *halakha*, which would seem to have grown bigger and bigger the further its compiler moved away from the heartlands of historical Ashkenaz and into a society of émigrés where these materials were apparently cherished.

²⁵ Peles, 'Book of "Maharil"' (as in n. 24), pp. 33–69; Peles and Spitzer, ספר מברא והוספות (as in n. 24), pp. 294–348.

²⁶ Peles, 'Book of "Maharil"' (as in n. 24), p. 126. See Israel Jacob Yuval, 'Jews, Hussites and Germans According to the Chronicle "Gilgul Bnei Hushim"', *Zion*, 54 (1989), 275–319 (in Hebrew); id., 'Juden, Hussiten und Deutsche: Nach einer hebräischen Chronik', in *Juden in der christlichen Umwelt während des späten Mittelalters*, ed. by Alfred Haverkamp and Franz-Josef Ziwes, *Zeitschrift für historische Forschung*, Beiheft 13 (Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 1992), pp. 59–102.

²⁷ Peles, 'Book of "Maharil"' (as in n. 24), pp. 181–83; Yuval, *Scholars* (as in n. 23), pp. 74–75; Raspe, 'Asher Halevi' (as in n. 10), esp. pp. 47*–48* and the literature cited there.

²⁸ Peles, 'Book of "Maharil"' (as in n. 24), pp. 116–17, 125–26, 182–83.

²⁹ Yuval, 'Jews' (as in n. 26), pp. 277–78, 299; id., 'Juden' (as in n. 26), pp. 61–62, 86. The same assumption would seem to underlie the taxonomy of manuscripts in Spitzer's edition. According to Peles's findings, manuscript family no. 6 actually represents the earliest, no. 1 the latest redaction.

Zalman Yent and the 'Order of Treviso'

Another, no less significant aspect of the impact the migration to Italy had on *Sefer Maharil* may be found in Zalman of Sankt Goar's notes pertaining to the *minhag* of Treviso. These constitute the earliest evidence we have of a specific rite customary among Ashkenazi Jews living in northern Italy at the time, and they can tell us a lot—not only about the tenacity with which these newcomers clung to their own traditions but also, as we shall see, about the way their efforts to ensure their preservation in turn came to leave a distinctive mark on the Ashkenazi canon, especially after print had come into play.

Observations regarding the usage of Treviso first appear in the margins of a manuscript copy of *Sefer Maharil* written in 1450 that was subsequently glossed in Zalman's own hand after he had moved to Italy in about 1453.³⁰ Zalman of Sankt Goar appears to have stayed in Treviso at least for a time³¹, and he must have found the prayer rite he encountered there remarkable enough to merit inclusion in his own work.

The glimpses Zalman offers of Italo-Ashkenazi practice at mid-century are based on two distinct sources. One was a collection of *minhagim* pertaining to Treviso's synagogue ritual regarding the various festivals over the course of the Jewish year, excerpts of which Zalman inserted into his discussion of the respective occasions under the heading of *sefer Terviz* ('the order' or 'the rite of Treviso'). In addition, he copied a list headed *sefer ha-selihot be-Terviz* ('the order of penitential prayers [customary] in Treviso') into the first pages of his manuscript. These two texts, the compilation of *minhagim* and the list of *selihot*, can also be found in a manuscript today housed in Munich, which however only dates from the early years of the sixteenth century.³² In a colophon that follows the two texts in that manuscript, they are referred to as 'the customs and the order of the penitential prayers for the whole year

³⁰ MS Oxford, Bodleian Library, Mich. 292 (IMHM 21866). See Adolf Neubauer, *Catalogue of the Hebrew Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library and in the College Libraries of Oxford*, vol. 1 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1886), no. 907; Malachi Beit-Arié, *Catalogue of the Hebrew Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library: Supplement of Addenda and Corrigenda to Vol. 1 (A. Neubauer's Catalogue)*, ed. by R. A. May (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994), s.v.; Peles, 'Book of "Maharil"' (as in n. 24), p. 13 no. 2; p. 182 no. 9. On the date of Zalman's migration, see *ibid.*, pp. 172–76.

³¹ See the first-person remarks mentioning the city in *The Book of Maharil* (as in n. 21), p. 475 n. 11; pp. 506–7 no. 13.

³² MS Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Cod. hebr. 401 (IMHM 1237; available online at <urn:nbn:de:bvb:12-bsb00103868-0>), fols. 195r–198v, 199r–v. See Moritz Steinschneider, *Die hebräischen Handschriften der K. Hof- und Staatsbibliothek in München*, 2nd ed. (Munich: Palm, 1895), pp. 220–24 s.v.

that were laid down by the great luminary R. Zalman Yent of blessed memory';³³ they have been known as 'The *minhagim* of Zalman Yent' ever since they were first published from the same manuscript in 1979.³⁴

Of Zalman Yent little is known. Apparently a student of Maharil and a teacher of Moshe Mintz, he is mentioned in two of Isserlein's responsa as one of several rabbis resident in Treviso in the mid-1430s.³⁵ Unfortunately, he does not seem to have left a trace in the archival sources examined by Angela Möschter in her recent study of the Jews of Treviso in the fifteenth century.³⁶ The colophon in the Munich manuscript cited above goes on to say that the prayer rite laid down by Zalman

³³ MS Munich 401, fol. 199v (מה"ר זלמן) האשל הגדול מכל השנה שסידר זלמן זצ"ל (יינט זצ"ל).

³⁴ 'מנהגי הרב זלמן יענט', in *Sefer Haminhagim of Rabbi Eisik Tirna*, 2nd ed. (as in n. 22), pp. 169–82. Israel Peles has since identified a better copy of the *minhagim* (but not the *selihot* list) among the marginal texts in a manuscript *siddur* kept in Frankfurt am Main, Universitätsbibliothek Johann Christian Senckenberg, hebr. oct. 227 (IMHM 23165; available online at <urn:nbn:de:hebis:30:2-10178>), fols. 169v–172r, whose codicology, according to the principles set out in Malachi Beit-Arié, *Hebrew Codicology: Tentative Typology of Technical Practices Employed in Hebrew Dated Medieval Manuscripts* (Jerusalem: Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities, 1981), pp. 22–26, 42, 86, would seem to suggest it was written in Italy, possibly by the mid-1430s. See the introduction in *R. Juda Löw Kirchheim: The Customs of Worms Jewry*, ed. by Israel Mordechai Peles, The Manfred and Anne Lehmann Foundation Series, 8 (Jerusalem: Mifal torath chachmey Ashkenaz/Machon Yerushalayim, 1987), p. 19 n. 20 (in Hebrew), and Spitzer's introduction to the second edition of 'מנהגי הרב זלמן יענט' (as cited above), pp. 167–68.

³⁵ Yisra'el Isserlein b. Petahya, *Pesaqim ukhtavim* (Venice, 1519), pt. 2 of *Sefer terumat ha-Deshen*, ed. by Shmuel Avitan (Jerusalem: Avitan, 1991), p. 441 no. 257 (מ"ז יינטא) and no. 258 (מה"ז טערויז) (I owe the date to Yacov Guggenheim). Additional sources are listed in Shlomo Spitzer, 'Social and Religious Ties between the Jews of Austria and Northern Italy during the 15th Century', in *Il mondo ebraico* (as in n. 1), pp. 31–41, at pp. 33–34. For Zalman Yent's relationship to Maharil, see id., 'פסקים ותשובות רבותינו באשכנז בדור שלאחר גזירת ק"ט', *Moriah* 8: 8–9 (1979), 9–13, at p. 11 no. 5; for that to Moshe Mintz, Yuval, *Scholars* (as in n. 23), p. 391 n. 77, and Mordechai Breuer in *Germania Judaica III* (as in n. 17), II, pp. 801–2 no. 37 and p. 825 n. 448. From a note regarding the *haftara* of the afternoon service on Yom Kippur preserved in MS Parma, Biblioteca Palatina, 2857 (de Rossi 665; IMHM 14355; available online at <rosetta.nli.org.il/delivery/DeliveryManagerServlet?dps_pid=IE 21268126>), fol. 32v (וקרובי מו"ר אפרים ב"ר שמחה זלה"ה הנקרא זלמן ייאניט הורה בטערויש ובסביבותיה לומר על התורה וכן אנו נוהגים), we learn that Zalman Yent's Hebrew name was Efrayim b. Simḥa and that he was no longer alive in 1451. See Benjamin Richler, ed., *Hebrew Manuscripts in the Biblioteca Palatina in Parma: Catalogue* (Jerusalem: JNUL, 2001), p. 58 no. 267. Whether this is the same man whose responsum in MS Oxford, Bodleian Library, Opp. 74 (cat. Neubauer 819; IMHM 20356), fols. 41v–42r, is cited in Yuval, *Scholars* (as in n. 23), pp. 355–56, requires further study.

³⁶ Angela Möschter, *Juden im venezianischen Treviso (1389–1509)*, Forschungen zur Geschichte der Juden, A 19 (Hannover: Hahnsche Buchhandlung, 2008), esp. p. 341 no. 173.

Yent was followed 'in the Jewish community of Treviso and in Mestre and also in all of Lombardy'.³⁷ While the latter may literally refer to the Italian region where Ashkenazi Jews were beginning to settle in growing numbers at the time, it may also be used more loosely to denote Italy as a whole. Indeed, a responsum cited in *Leqet Yosher*, the collection based on the teachings of Rabbi Yisra'el Isserlein put together by Isserlein's student Yosef b. Moshe of Höchstädt, in c. 1470 does refer to Zalman Yent as the source of *minhagim* which were followed 'in all the lands of Italy'.³⁸ In other words, the *seder Terviz* first attested in a manuscript of *Sefer Maharil*, laid down in Treviso some fifty years after Jews were first admitted to the city³⁹, subsequently appears to have spread across Italy and become the rite customary among Italo-Ashkenazi Jews *tout court*. This would seem to fit Möschter's description of Treviso as the center of the Ashkenazi diaspora in Italy during its formative years in the first half of the fifteenth century, before a change in municipal policy led to its decline and gradual replacement by Mestre and Padua and finally, from 1509 onward, Venice itself.⁴⁰

The *selihot* liturgy laid down by Zalman Yent in Treviso is remarkable in a number of ways. Not only can the exact same order of penitential prayers not be found elsewhere. In fact, hardly any Jewish community appears to have had a fixed set of *selihot* at the time. Generally speaking, of course, Ashkenazi liturgy at large divides into two major branches: the apparently older western Ashkenazi rite, *minbag Rainus* or *minbag Ashkenaz*, and the eastern Ashkenazi variant, *minbag Ostraiikh*, which later came to be identified as *minbag Polin*.⁴¹ The picture, however, is much more

³⁷ MS Munich 401, fol. 199v (וכן נוהגי בקהילת טערוז ובמעשטרי וגם בכל לומברדיאה). My reading follows that suggested in Spitzer's introduction in *Sefer Haminhagim of Rabbi Eisik Tirna* (as in n. 22), p. 167 n. 2, as against the reading given in his own edition, *ibid.*, p. 182, which would appear to remain indebted to Steinschneider.

³⁸ MS Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Cod. hebr. 405 (IMHM 1646; available online at <urn:nbn:de:bvb:12-bsb00107851-7>), fol. 80v (ה]מנהגי אשר נוהגי אחריה' בכל מדינו' אטליא). See *Leket Joscher des Joseph b. Mose: Collectaneen seines Lehrers Israel Isserlein*, ed. by Jacob Freimann, 2 vols (Berlin: Mekize Nirdamim, 1903–1904), I, p. 110 (in Hebrew), or the more recent edition, *ספר לקט יושר חלק אורח חיים*, ed. by Amihai Kinarti (Jerusalem: Mifal torath chachmey Ashkenaz/Machon Yerushalayim, 2010), p. 252. For the autograph's dating, see Freimann's introduction *ibid.*, p. XII; on Zalman Yent himself, p. XXVII no. 38. And see now Vladislav Zeev Slepoy, *Halachische Literatur in Aschkenas in den Jahren 1350–1500*, Schriften der Hochschule für Jüdische Studien Heidelberg, 19 (Heidelberg: Winter, 2016), ch. 5.

³⁹ On the origins of the Jewish settlement in Treviso in the 1380s, see Möschter, *Juden im venezianischen Treviso* (as in n. 36), pp. 45–49.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, esp. pp. 262–73; cf. Toaff, 'Migrazioni' (as in n. 1), pp. 15–21.

⁴¹ See [Ernst] Daniel Goldschmidt's introduction to his edition of the High Holiday prayer-book, *מחזור לימים הנוראים לפי מנהגי בני אשכנז לכל ענפיהם*, 2 vols (Jerusalem: Koren, 1970), I, pp.

variegated in the field of *selihot*—the penitential prayers recited before and during the High Holy Days in the fall, on the one hand, and on the various fast days over the course of the Jewish year, on the other. The liturgical poets of medieval Ashkenaz were famously prolific in this area. At the end of the Middle Ages, there were literally hundreds of poems to choose from for each and every one of these occasions, and each community or region developed their own habits regarding what to recite in what order on which day.⁴²

When precisely these local orders of *selihot* recitation emerged is a question that has hardly begun to be addressed by scholars. In general, the practice is believed to have remained fairly fluid throughout the later Middle Ages. For a very long time, cantors could simply choose their own set of *selihot* every year; it was only in the course of printing that the practice fully evolved into a multiplicity of divergent traditions.⁴³ If until now we have thought that adherence to a local *minhag* of long standing handed down in individual communities was of crucial importance in this process, the evidence from northern Italy indicates that we may have to rethink those assumptions. Migration and a sense of displacement, of beginning afresh in a new land in search of a tradition of its own, may have played a greater role than we might have expected.

13–14; Eric Zimmer, *Society and Its Customs: Studies in the History and Metamorphosis of Jewish Customs* (Jerusalem: Zalman Shazar Center, 1996), pp. 216–19 (in Hebrew).

⁴² On *selihot* and *selihot* recitation, see Goldschmidt, *מחזור* (as in n. 41), II, pp. 12–18; Ismar Elbogen, *Jewish Liturgy: A Comprehensive History*, trans. by Raymond P. Scheindlin (Philadelphia and New York: The Jewish Publication Society, 1993), § 33, pp. 177–84. A selection of some 350 pieces, the majority of which did not make it into any of the printed rites, can be found in *Preces Poenitentiales quae Selichoth vocantur a poetis Germanicis et Francogallicis conscriptae*, ed. by Daniel Goldschmidt and Avraham Fraenkel (Jerusalem: Mekize Nirdamim, 1993) (in Hebrew).

⁴³ See Jonah Fraenkel and Avraham Fraenkel, ‘Prayer and Piyyut in the Mahzor Nuremberg’ (in Hebrew), 2008 (available online at <jnul.huji.ac.il/dl/mss-pr/mahzor-nuremberg/pdf/fraenkel_j_a.pdf>), pp. 97–98, esp. p. 98 n. 458. A list of thirteen different *selihot* rites printed in early modern Ashkenaz, east and west, can be found in Goldschmidt, *מחזור* (as in n. 41), II, p. 13, or at greater length in the introduction to either one of his editions of the two rites that remain in use among Ashkenazim in Israel today, *minhag Polin* and *minhag Lita*. I have used סדר הסליחות כמנהג ליטא (Jerusalem: Mossad Harav Kook, 1965), pp. 6–8. *Ibid.*, p. 6 n. 16, Goldschmidt notes that the *selihot* according to the indigenous Italian rite never reached a comparable level of standardization.

The Emergence of an Italo-Ashkenazi *Selihot* Rite

Not only can the manuscript tradition of *Sefer Maharil* serve as an early witness to a full-fledged rite of *selihot* recitation that appears to have existed in the Italo-Ashkenazi diaspora as early as the mid-fifteenth century. It also opens a window onto how that rite took shape over time. When Zalman of Sankt Goar first added the glosses detailing the rite of Treviso to his earlier text, he was apparently not aware that it had been laid down by one Zalman Yent. That name does not appear in his text until later on, when he composed a new—or first Italian—redaction of his work in *c.* 1454. It was then that he integrated his own glosses into the text, sometimes neglecting to retain the reference to Treviso, and that he added an introduction to the fall *selihot* which mentioned Zalman Yent for the first time.⁴⁴ He also made one minor yet significant correction to the list itself.⁴⁵ Most importantly, while the Munich manuscript lists the *selihot* for the entire year and ascribes that whole list to Zalman Yent, the *Vorlage* used by Zalman of Sankt Goar was apparently restricted to the fall season of repentance preceding and including the Day of Atonement. It lacked both the penitential prayers recited on the three biblical fast days (the Tenth of Tevet, the Fast of Esther and the Seventeenth of Tammuz) and those intended for the voluntary fasts undertaken by the more pious in the community on Monday, Thursday and the following Monday after both Pesah and Sukkot (*sheni*

⁴⁴ Peles, ‘Book of “Maharil”’ (as in n. 24), pp. 182–83 no. 10 (manuscript family no. 3 in Spitzer’s edition). A representative of this group is MS Parma, Biblioteca Palatina 2237 (de Rossi 1421; IMHM 13403; available online at <rosetta.nli.org.il/delivery/DeliveryManagerServlet?dps_pid=IE14266054>), copied in Italy in 1472. See the introduction to the *selihot*, *ibid.*, fol. 73v (ל"ז יענט ז"ל) (סדר טערויז אשר סידר מהר"ז יענט ז"ל), and cf. the notes to Spitzer’s edition of *The Book of Maharil* (as in n. 21), p. 261 no. 7.

⁴⁵ The original gloss listing the *selihot* for the eves of Rosh Hashanah and Yom Kippur in MS Oxford 907, fol. 2r, fails to mention a piece headed *Orkha va’amikha*; so does MS Munich 401, fol. 199r. That *selihah* does appear in the later Italian redactions of *Sefer Maharil*, as well as all later witnesses to the Italo-Ashkenazi *selihot* rite that I am aware of. Interestingly, a note on the *minhag* of Mainz signed by Zalman of Sankt Goar’s own grandfather, cantor in Mainz in the mid-fourteenth century, and copied into the fifteenth-century MS Karlsruhe, Badische Landesbibliothek, Reuchlin 7 (IMHM 2179), fol. 7r, indicates that *Orkha va’amikha* was one of two pieces to be recited if people had risen too early and there was time left before the regular morning service could begin. See S[amuel] Landauer, *Die Handschriften der Grossherzoglich Badischen Hof- und Landesbibliothek in Karlsruhe*, vol. II, *Orientalische Handschriften* (Karlsruhe: Groos, 1892), pp. 22–25 no. 12. The discrepancy between the two versions in the manuscript tradition of *Sefer Maharil* would hence seem to reflect not a copyist’s error but a legitimate variant. In any event, Zalman of Sankt Goar appears to have used a different *Vorlage* when he composed his Italian redactions than when he first glossed MS Oxford 907.

vehamishi vesheni or *behab*) that had been introduced more recently.⁴⁶ Although there is a possibility that the *seliḥot* for all of these occasions did appear in his source and Zalman of Sankt Goar failed to copy them for reasons of his own, it seems more likely that the three distinct categories were originally transmitted independently of each other.

Historically, the penitential prayers recited during the various services on Yom Kippur were often copied into the text of the respective volume of the *mahzor*, the Festival Prayer Book, while those for the individual fast days were sometimes included in the *siddur*, the prayerbook used on weekdays and regular *shabbatot*. In addition, *seliḥot* were transmitted in collections of their own, often organized according to genre in order to enable the precentor to select appropriate pieces *ad hoc* for whatever the occasion might be.⁴⁷ A similar distinction between the several categories—the High Holy Days, the biblical fast days, and *behab*—appears to have been operative during the early days of *seder Terviz*; in any event, Zalman of Sankt Goar became aware of the respective components of what would later appear as ‘the rite of Zalman Yent’ in MS Munich in a succession of stages which can be traced in his work.

The list of some 130 different *seliḥot* slated for recitation during the season of penitence which found entry into the margins of a *Sefer Maharil* manuscript Zalman of Sankt Goar had brought with him from Germany⁴⁸ must have reached him soon after he first set foot on Italian soil. It contains five or six for each of the days of *seliḥot* leading up to Rosh Hashanah, ten each for the Days of Awe (*yeme ha-teshuva*) between Rosh Hashanah and Yom Kippur, twenty pieces to be recited, with slight variation, on the eves of both Rosh Hashanah and Yom Kippur, and finally thirteen *seliḥot* for each of the three major services (*shaharit*, *musaf* and *minḥa*) on the Day of Atonement itself. The same liturgy is also documented in an otherwise unrelated manuscript collection of *seliḥot* written in 1459 and today found in Padua, which is arranged according to the sequence of their recitation over the course of the Jewish year and features the exact same order for each of the

⁴⁶ On fast days and their ritual in general, see Elbogen, *Jewish Liturgy* (as in n. 42), § 21, pp. 106–108; on ב"ב (an acronym made up of the Hebrew letters representing the second, the fifth and another second day of the week), H[irsch] J[akob] Zimmels, ‘Nachtalmudische Fasttage’, in *Jewish Studies in Memory of George A. Kohut*, ed. by Salo W. Baron and Alexander Marx (New York: The Alexander Kohut Memorial Foundation, 1935), pp. 599–614, at pp. 603–4; Daniel Sperber, מְקוֹרוֹת וְתוֹלְדוֹת: מְנַהֲגֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל: vol. 1 (Jerusalem: Mossad Harav Kook, 1989), pp. 192–99 = id., *Why Jews Do What They Do: The History of Jewish Customs Throughout the Cycle of the Year*, trans. by Yaacov Elman (Hoboken, N.J.: KTAV, 1999), pp. 73–81.

⁴⁷ For an example, see MS Oxford, Bodleian Library, Opp. 175 (IMHM 16614), or the detailed listing of its contents in Neubauer, *Catalogue* (as in n. 30), no. 1154.

⁴⁸ MS Oxford 907.

occasions enumerated above but a completely different, and in fact unique, program for the biblical fast days and the more recent ones of *behab*.⁴⁹ There is a good chance that the Padua manuscript likewise originated in Italy;⁵⁰ if it did, this may confirm our assumption that Zalman Yent's order of the *selihot* for the fall season originally circulated independently of the fast day liturgies that were later also transmitted in his name. It may have been that full list for the fall occasions, including a fixed set for each and every one of the days of *selihot* and of *teshuva*, which constituted his original innovation, hence caught the interest of Zalman of Sankt Goar.⁵¹

The order of the penitential prayers for the biblical fast days, on the other hand, and that for the three-day fast of *sheni vehamishi vesheni* apparently remained in flux among the Ashkenazim of northern Italy for quite some time. Nevertheless, when selections for these appeared in the Munich manuscript written in the early 1500s, they too were ascribed to Zalman Yent.⁵² The same selections for the two categories also made it into *Sefer Maharil*; however, they only appeared in the second Italian redaction which Zalman of Sankt Goar produced in c. 1460, and when they did, he did not link them either to Zalman Yent or to Treviso.⁵³ They may thus simply represent one strand of Italo-Ashkenazi usage Zalman of Sankt Goar had since become acquainted with, or perhaps the one preferred by the customers for whom he was writing at the time.⁵⁴ Ironically, when *Sefer Maharil* was

⁴⁹ MS Padua, Biblioteca del Seminario Vescovile, 218 (IMHM 775), fols. 38v–265v. See Giuliano Tamani, 'Manoscritti ebraici nella Biblioteca del Seminario Vescovile di Padova', *Annali di Ca' Foscari* 9.3 (1970), 1–12, at pp. 4–6 no. 3.

⁵⁰ A number of specifically Italian features are noted in the *SfarData* database of the National Library of Israel (as in n. 6), no. oE089.

⁵¹ By the early fifteenth century, communities had begun to develop certain preferences regarding the pieces to be recited on the first day of *selihot*, on the eves of Rosh Hashanah and Yom Kippur, and on Yom Kippur itself; the intervening days, however, were left at the precentor's discretion. See the snapshot of contemporary practice in Mainz and Worms in MS Oxford, Bodleian Library, Opp. 269 (cat. Neubauer 2368; IMHM 21429), which Zalman of Sankt Goar recorded in the 1440s, a few years prior to his migration to Italy; cf. Peles, 'Book of "Maharil"' (as in n. 24), p. 14 no. 4, pp. 169–71.

⁵² MS Munich 401, fol. 199v; 'מנהגי הרב זלמן יענט' (in *Sefer Haminhagim of Rabbi Eisik Tirna*, as in n. 22), p. 182.

⁵³ For an autograph representative of this group, see MS Frankfurt am Main, Universitätsbibliothek Johann Christian Senckenberg, hebr. oct. 94 (IMHM 25916; available online at <urn:nbn:de:hebis:30:2-8843>), fols. 45v, 72v, 126v; cf. *The Book of Maharil* (as in n. 21), pp. 156, 235, 412. Some slight discrepancies can be found with regard to the Thirteenth of Adar, *ibid.*, fol. 128r = *The Book of Maharil*, p. 420.

⁵⁴ The same selections for the biblical and the more recent fast days can also be found in two luxury *siddurim* written in Italy at about the same time: MS Budapest, Hungarian Academy of

brought to print in 1556, it was these *selihot*, unlike the repertory for the fall season that had been laid down by Zalman Yent, that were retained, causing considerable confusion over the resulting discrepancy between what is recorded there and Rhenish practice as documented elsewhere.⁵⁵

Their inclusion in the printed *Sefer Maharil* notwithstanding, the *selihot* for the individual fast days ascribed to Zalman Yent in the Munich manuscript never reached the same degree of canonicity that his list for the fall season appears to have achieved among the Ashkenazim south of the Alps. As late as the mid-sixteenth century, when a number of Yiddish *minhagim* manuscripts were written in northern Italy that were all based on an expanded version of the Hebrew *minhagim* of Zalman Yent⁵⁶, the lists of *selihot* according to the local rite that were carefully copied into their text at the appropriate occasions accorded with what he had prescribed for the fall season but were based on a different order of *selihot* for both biblical and voluntary fast days, indicating that a certain measure of variation remained possible as late as a century after Zalman Yent.

Sciences, Kaufmann A 369 (IMHM 12667), written for one Yeḥi'el Michel b. Avraham ha-Kohen Rapp in 1456 and completed by the owner in Lugano (לוגאנו על נהר לאנו לוגאנו) in 1468, pp. 680–781, and the famous Rothschild Miscellany, MS Jerusalem, Israel Museum 180/51 (IMHM 32638 G), written for one Moshe b. Yequṭi'el ha-Kohen in 1479, fols. 251r–272r. Interestingly, the same set also appears on fols. 99r–114v of the edition of the *selihot* according to the rite of Fürth, which was first printed in Wilhermsdorf in 1714 (available online at <urn:nbn:de:bvb:12-bsb10210186-3>) and, according to the title page, went back to what had been customary in Nürnberg before the expulsion of 1498. If this claim can be believed, we may perhaps conclude that the set for the biblical fast days and for *behab* that later became part of the Italo-Ashkenazi *selihot* rite was brought into Italy by Jewish émigrés from Nürnberg. On the migration of members of the Rapp family from Nürnberg to Treviso and beyond, see Möschter, *Juden im venezianischen Treviso* (as in n. 36), esp. pp. 74–83, 87–91; for the suggestion that the Rothschild Miscellany may have been commissioned by a member of that family, Daniele Nissim, 'Famiglie Rapa e Rapaport nell'Italia settentrionale (sec. XV–XVI). Con un'appendice sull'origine della Miscellanea Rothschild', *Rassegna mensile di Israel*, 67.1–2 (2001), 177–92, at pp. 190–1.

⁵⁵ Peles, *Customs of Worms Jewry* (as in n. 34), p. 19 nn. 22–23; id., 'Book of "Maharil"' (as in n. 24), p. 119 and n. 33.

⁵⁶ See Turniansky and Timm, *Yiddish in Italia* (as in n. 3), nos. 36–39, pp. 74–79; no. 47, pp. 96–99. This work is distinct from the illustrated manuscript *ibid.*, no. 35, pp. 70–73, on which see Zimmer, 'A Book of Customs' (as in n. 18), pp. 84–85. For these and related manuscripts, see Lucia Raspe, 'Minhag and Migration: Yiddish Custom Books from Sixteenth-Century Italy', in *Regional Identities and Cultures of Medieval Jews*, ed. by Javier Castaño, Talya Fishman and Ephraim Kanarfogel, Littman Library of Jewish Civilization (Liverpool: Liverpool UP, 2018), pp. 241–59; *ead.*, 'Minhagim Books in Yiddish: A Tentative Taxonomy', in *Rabbinical Literature in Yiddish and Judezmo*, ed. by David M. Bunis, Katja Šmid and Chava Turniansky (forthcoming).

The Impact of the Italo-Ashkenazi Tradition in Print

The anonymous Yiddish customal just mentioned was never printed, which may explain the relatively large number of manuscripts—six in all—that have come down to us. The famous Yiddish *minhagim* book that did reach print in Venice in 1589 was an altogether different work.⁵⁷ Put together by one Shim'on ha-Levi Günzburg, it is often considered a mere translation of the Hebrew customary written by Maharil's contemporary Ayzik Tirna, which represents the eastern Ashkenazi rite and was first published in Venice in 1566.⁵⁸ Yet even here, a close look at the *selihot* listed in the first edition reveals Günzburg's indebtedness to the indigeneous Italo-Ashkenazi tradition, as those given for the season of penitence in the fall and for *sheni vehamishi vesheni* follow Zalman Yent (or what is ascribed to him in MS Munich). More remarkable still, Günzburg's *selihot* for the biblical fast days hark back to the order prescribed in the six Yiddish *minhagim* manuscripts, which is unparalleled elsewhere. Again, this would seem to indicate that there were a number of divergent though equally legitimate rites for both the biblical and the more recent fast days that circulated among Italo-Ashkenazim even at this late point in time. The core of the matter, however, the *selihot* rite for the days of penitence that had originally been laid down by Zalman Yent in Treviso in the 1430s, remained stable throughout.

Most of the Italo-Ashkenazi *selihot* lists were deleted when Günzburg's book was reprinted with woodcut illustrations in Venice in 1593.⁵⁹ Those for the biblical fast days remained. Although by that time, this particular selection was probably not recited even in Italy, they faithfully reappeared in each of the fifty-or-so reprints of the second Venetian edition that came out in a wide variety of places until c. 1820⁶⁰,

⁵⁷ Shmeruk, 'Yiddish Printing in Italy' (as in n. 3), no. 18, pp. 149–153; Turniansky and Timm, *Yiddish in Italia* (as in n. 3), no. *40, pp. 80–82; Kosofsky, *The Book of Customs* (as in n. 19). A French translation of the Venice 1593 edition is currently being prepared by Jean Baumgarten (Paris).

⁵⁸ *Sefer Haminhagim of Rabbi Eisik Tirna* (as in n. 22). But see Shmeruk, 'Yiddish Printing in Italy' (as in n. 3), pp. 126–27 = Turniansky and Timm, *Yiddish in Italia* (as in n. 3), p. 178.

⁵⁹ This would seem to be the reason why their appearance in the *editio princeps* has gone unnoticed by scholars. I am currently preparing a separate study of the early history of Günzburg's work for publication elsewhere.

⁶⁰ For a list of editions, albeit incomplete, cf. Chone Shmeruk, 'האיורים מן המנהגים ביידיש', *Studies in Bibliography and Booklore*, 15 (1984), 52–31 [sic], at pp. 35–34; cf. Erika Timm, *Yiddish Literature in a Franconian Genizah: A Contribution to the Printing and Social History of the 17th and 18th Centuries*, Yiddish: Texts and Studies (Jerusalem: Akademon, 1988), pp. 27–28.

thus preserving first-rate testimony to the Italian origins of a work that would remain a staple of Ashkenazi culture at large for centuries to come.

Much the same can finally be said for the Italo-Ashkenazi *selihot* themselves. The penitential liturgy printed by Meshullam Cusi in Piove di Sacco near Padua in c. 1475 was one of the first Hebrew imprints ever,⁶¹ and it created a new format that would be emulated across Europe. A collection of 194 *selihot* to be recited on all relevant occasions throughout the year, it brought together several strands of Italo-Ashkenazi practice by combining Zalman Yent's order of *selihot* for the fall season of penitence and for the biblical fast days with the selections for *behab* found in the Yiddish *minhagim* manuscripts. Reprinted by Gershom Soncino in Barco in 1496 and in Fano in c. 1505, the order of *selihot* established in Piove di Sacco remained the rite used by the Italo-Ashkenazi community well into the nineteenth century.⁶²

More importantly, it also inspired similar editions elsewhere. When Hebrew printing first began in Prague and Krakow in the second and fourth decade of the sixteenth century, respectively, the local rites of *selihot* were again among the first books to be brought to press; in format and layout, they closely followed the model that had been established in Italy.⁶³ In Germany, a similar dependence on the Italo-Ashkenazi editions was even more pronounced. The *selihot* printed in Augsburg in 1536 and in Heddernheim ten years later,⁶⁴ astonishingly enough, were not geared

⁶¹ Moritz Steinschneider, *Catalogus librorum Hebraeorum in Bibliotheca Bodleiana*, 3 vols (Berlin: Friedlaender, 1852–60), no. 2829. See Glatzer, 'Early Hebrew Printing' (as in n. 16), pp. 82–83. For the copy formerly owned by Stadtbibliothek Frankfurt am Main, acquired from the Merzbacher collection in 1903 and sold to Salman Schocken in 1937, see <rosetta.nli.org.il/delivery/DeliveryManagerServlet?dps_pid=IE34253125>.

⁶² Steinschneider, *Catalogus* (as in n. 61), nos. 2830–31. From the mid-sixteenth century onward, six pieces used in the original rite were replaced with others deemed less offensive to Christian sensibilities. This is the case in the Venice 1548, 1600, and 1712 editions (*ibid.*, nos. 2836, 2842, 2882); for details, see Meir Benayahu, *Copyright, Authorization and Imprimitour [sic] for Hebrew Books Printed in Venice* (Jerusalem: Ben Zvi Institute, 1971), pp. 181–89 (in Hebrew).

⁶³ Although the *selihot* according to the rite of Prague that were published in 1529 (Steinschneider, *Catalogus* [as in n. 61], no. 2832) have long been considered the *editio princeps*, a recent *genizah* find of one quire has established that the date must be pushed back to c. 1512/15. See Olga Sixtová, 'The Beginnings of Prague Hebrew Typography 1512–1569', in *Hebrew Printing in Bohemia and Moravia*, ed. by Olga Sixtová (Prague: Academia, 2012), pp. 74–121, at p. 101 no. 2 and p. 108 no. 14; cf. *ibid.*, pp. 76–77, 80, 99. For the *editio princeps* of the *selihot* according to the Polish rite published by the Helicz brothers, dated to 1532 on the frontispiece but probably printed several years later, see Teter and Fram, 'Hebrew Printing in Cracow' (as in n. 22), pp. 47–48 and p. 49 fig. 6. I am grateful to Edward Fram for providing me with a photocopy of the *unicum* housed in the Ossolinski Institute, Wrocław.

⁶⁴ Steinschneider, *Catalogus* (as in n. 61), no. 2834–35. For the copy of the Augsburg *Selihot*

to a local rite but followed the Italo-Ashkenazi editions piece by piece, occasion after occasion.⁶⁵ It took until 1587 before the *selihot* rite of the largest community that had remained in place in western Ashkenaz, that of Frankfurt am Main, was first printed in Prague⁶⁶, and another century before it was joined by editions representing the rites of other German communities.⁶⁷ Meanwhile, the Jews returning to the German lands in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries had to go with whatever was available. Although the early German *selihot* editions may have been intended for sale in Italy⁶⁸, the Italo-Ashkenazi rite caught on within Germany, too. As late as 1823, a *selihot* edition following the rite of the Ashkenazim of Venice, as it said on the title page, was printed in Fürth.⁶⁹ From the list of subscribers (*Pränumeranten*) which opens the volume, it is clear that it was not meant to be distributed in Italy but in a number of nearby communities, chief among them Bamberg and Bayreuth. If a sizeable number of Franconian Jews continued to follow the Italo-Ashkenazi rite at a time when *selihot* recitation was beginning to fall into desuetude, that would seem once more to underscore the long-term impact the Ashkenazi diaspora in Italy had on their brethren north of the Alps.

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⁶⁵ If Goldschmidt, סדר הסליחות כמנהג ליטא (as in n. 43), p. 7, refers to the Augsburg edition as the *editio princeps* of the western Ashkenazi rite of Frankfurt and environs, that would seem as telling as it is erroneous. Cf. Yitzhak Yosef Cohen, ‘Selihot according to the Ashkenazic Rite’ (in Hebrew), in id., *Sources and History: Studies and Essays on Halakha, Customs, Liturgy and Liturgical Poetry, and on the History of the Jews of Hungary, Transylvania and Romania* (Jerusalem: Mass, 1982), pp. 175–82, at p. 177. It must be noted that these early editions usually lack title pages; colophons—where they exist—are often misleading. For more detailed discussion, see Lucia Raspe, ‘Between Venice and Prague: Local Rites of *Selihot* Recitation in Early Modern Ashkenaz’, in *Interwoven Regional Worlds: Jews and Christians in Bavaria, Bohemia and Austria*, ed. by Eva Haverkamp (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, forthcoming).

⁶⁶ Steinschneider, *Catalogus* (as in n. 61), no. 2838.

⁶⁷ Beginning with the rites of Alsace (Frankfurt am Main 1691) and Köln (Frankfurt am Main 1694). See Sara Frenkel, ‘Two Unknown Hebrew Prints’, *Alei Sefer*, 10 (1982), 139–41, at p. 141 (in Hebrew); Daniel Goldschmidt, ‘The Penitential Liturgy (*Selihot*) in the Rite of Cologne’, *Aresbet*, 1 (1958), 91–96 (in Hebrew), repr. in id., *On Jewish Liturgy: Essays on Prayer and Religious Poetry* (Jerusalem: Magnes, 1978, 2nd ed. 1980), pp. 31–37 (in Hebrew).

⁶⁸ See Mosche N. Rosenfeld, *Der jüdische Buchdruck in Augsburg in der ersten Hälfte des 16. Jahrhunderts* (London: Rosenfeld, 1985), p. 8; Hans-Jörg Künast, ‘Hebräisch-jüdischer Buchdruck in Schwaben in der ersten Hälfte des 16. Jahrhunderts’, in *Landjudentum im deutschen Südwesten während der frühen Neuzeit*, ed. by Rolf Kießling and Sabine Ullmann, *Colloquia Augustana*, 10 (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1999), pp. 277–303, at pp. 285–86.

⁶⁹ For the copy owned by Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich, see <urn:nbn:de:bvb:12-bsb10240541-0>.

Conclusion

When Ashkenazi Jews began to leave the German lands on a massive scale from the end of the fourteenth century onward, they found themselves faced with the challenge of preserving their own heritage under less than favorable conditions.⁷⁰ The *selihot* rite that was laid down in Treviso in the 1430s, first attested in the near-contemporaneous Italian manuscripts of *Sefer Maharil*, testifies to the efforts made by Ashkenazi immigrants into Italy to come to terms with that challenge. While the history of local orders of *selihot* recitation remains to be written, the evidence of Treviso would seem to suggest that, somewhat paradoxically, the experience of displacement may have been a strong factor in their emergence. Motivated by a need to hold on to the intense localism characteristic of Ashkenazi practice in a place that lacked a tradition of its own, as well as the necessity to foster a sense of community among newcomers from a wide variety of backgrounds, the rite of Treviso went beyond what had been customary in Ashkenaz until then in that it laid down a fixed program for all relevant occasions throughout the year. Once it had been brought to print, it became established practice among Ashkenazim throughout Italy; at the same time, the edition first published in Piove di Sacco in c. 1475 was widely emulated elsewhere. When Jewish life returned to, or stabilized in, the German lands from the sixteenth century onward, the Italo-Ashkenazi rite was adopted in a number of communities where a local tradition had apparently not been preserved. The Italian editions were likewise influential in making the local *selihot* rite a staple of Jewish book production throughout central and eastern Europe. It was thus the need of Ashkenazi immigrants to preserve their identity in a new land that led to new forms of expression; it was when they adopted the technology of print then beginning to blossom in Italy that the choices they made became exemplary elsewhere. Ultimately, then, the impact they had on the shape Ashkenazi culture took in the age of print can be described as a response to the late medieval disruption of Jewish life within Europe that, in the long run, proved wildly successful.

⁷⁰ 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*, ed. by Yosef Kaplan (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2017), pp. 26–43.

Zusammenfassung

Die Migration deutscher Juden nach Italien und die Entstehung lokaler aschkenasischer Bußliturgien

Unter den Folgen der Krise um 1400 ist die Auswanderung deutscher Juden nach Oberitalien weniger bekannt als diejenige nach Polen und Litauen, doch waren ihre Auswirkungen kaum weniger bedeutend. Die Rolle der aschkenasischen Diaspora südlich der Alpen in der Entstehung einer jiddischen Literaturtradition darf als gut erforscht gelten, ihr Einfluss auf die narrative Überlieferung zur Geschichte der jüdischen Ansiedlung im mittelalterlichen Aschkenas selbst ist in den letzten Jahren zunehmend deutlicher geworden. Der vorliegende Beitrag ist der Liturgie gewidmet – einem Gebiet, das grundsätzlich stark lokalen Charakter trägt und deshalb besonders geeignet scheint, die Veränderungen sichtbar zu machen, welche die Migrationsbewegungen im Übergang von Mittelalter zu früher Neuzeit mit sich brachten.

Nicht weniger als dreizehn unterschiedliche aschkenasische Bußriten wurden im Laufe der Jahrhunderte zum Druck gebracht. Dabei spielten die italo-aschkenasischen Juden eine Vorreiterrolle. Eine spezifisch oberitalienische Bußliturgie, die offenbar in den 1430er Jahren in Treviso entstand, wird zuerst in den unterschiedlichen Redaktionen des *Sefer Maharil* um die Mitte des Jahrhunderts greifbar – zu einem Zeitpunkt also, als kaum eine der noch bestehenden jüdischen Gemeinden in Deutschland über eine bis in alle Einzelheiten festgelegte Bußordnung für die Fast- und Bußtage im jüdischen Jahr verfügte. Damit scheint die Migration in ein Land ohne eigene jüdische Tradition mehr zu der Verfestigung der zentralen Rolle lokaler Überlieferung beigetragen zu haben, als wir vielleicht erwartet hätten.

Italo-aschkenasische Juden gehörten auch zu den Pionieren des frühen hebräischen Buchdrucks. Nachdem die lokale Bußordnung 1475 in Piove di Sacco – als eines der ersten hebräischen Werke überhaupt – im Druck erschienen war, setzte sie sich als der Ritus der aschkenasischen Juden in ganz Italien durch. Zugleich wurde sie zum Vorbild, als der hebräische Buchdruck einige Jahrzehnte später auch nördlich der Alpen Fahrt aufnahm. Im Ergebnis hat es den Anschein, dass die Bemühungen der deutsch-jüdischen Auswanderer um die Bewahrung der spezifischen Eigenheiten ihrer Kultur mittelfristig erheblichen Einfluss auf die Gestalt ausgeübt haben, die das aschkenasische Erbe in der frühen Neuzeit annahm. In diesem Sinne können sie als eine Antwort auf die Herausforderungen der Krise um 1400 beschrieben werden, die von außerordentlichem Erfolg gekrönt war.

The Jews of Europe around 1400

Disruption, Crisis, and Resilience

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