



רְזִירָם רְגַמְּדָאַשְׁיָה ב
וְמַשְׁקִיאָם וְחַבְּרִיאָה
לְאַרְבָּתָם חַמְּשָׁאָפָה
נְחַשָּׁת וּרְתַּעַמְּדָרָה
חַמְּשָׁה רְהִוְתְּהִוְהָרָה
רְחִילָה רְיִשְׁיָהָרָה
וְלְבִּישָׁהָרָה דְּרָהָה
רְסִימְבְּהָרָה דְּרִמְשָׁהָה
וְעַשְׁבְּלָהָרָה
אֶת הַאֲרָבָה עַל שְׁטוּם
אֶמְתִּים רְחַצְבָּרָה אַלְמָה
רְאַמְּמָה יְחַנְבָּרָה כְּמָבָבָה
רְאַמְּמָה יְחַנְבָּרָה כְּמָבָבָה

וְשָׁבַע שְׁתִי אֶתְחַכְּמָה
מְרֻלְּכִים וּלְעִמְרִים יְתַפְּרִי
פְּתַחְתָּת אֶתְכְּלָא וְאֶ
וְאֶחָדָרָנָא יְיַצְבָּע וְחַ
זְחוּתָה יְכִירָא שְׂזָהָר עַ
עַלְמָר אַמְּמָז עַלְבָּרִי
רִתְתָּלְתָה פְּרַזְלִקְזָוָה
יְיַעַשְׁלָה אַרְפְּלִעְיָה
עַמְּוֹדָה שִׁיטָּהָם רַיְנָה
וְעַצְלָמָה יְחָבָר וְרַיְחָם וְחַ
רִיצְקָה לְחָם אַרְבְּעִירָה
אַרְבְּנִיכְסָה וּבְרַתָּה
אַרְכְּבָעָה עַמְּוֹדָה שְׁטָהָן

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Beyond the Text: Liturgical Clues in Burgundian Masoretic Manuscripts

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Beyond the Text: Liturgical Clues in Burgundian Masoretic Manuscripts

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Summary

In this essay I discuss four groups of Masoretic manuscripts produced in Burgundy around 1300. I explore the distinctive manuscript culture that flourished in this region, with a particular focus on its liturgical dimension. The unusual liturgical features observed in these manuscripts offer invaluable insights into the historical dynamism and fluidity of Jewish religious practice. By analysing these features, we can better understand the complex interplay among older customs, textual transmission, and the lived religious experience of Jewish communities in medieval Europe.

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Introduction

During the Middle Ages, the Bible, the Jewish people's most revered religious text, was copied in vast numbers, likely exceeding the production of any other Hebrew book. Despite general conventionality and a dependence on the ancient models, the actual copies of the Masoretic manuscripts took a variety of forms. The differences can be seen in the type of the codex and its liturgical aspects as well as in the paratextual elements and material-visual characteristics, including the physical dimensions of the manuscript, the page and text layouts, text articulation, and decoration. Some of these variables were the result of the specific functions for which the manuscripts were produced, whereas others depended on the preferences of those who produced and commissioned them. Nevertheless, decisions about content and appearance were not entirely personal but were often dictated by local traditions, which varied from region to region. In the following pages, I explore one such tradition, the division of the Pentateuch text into weekly Torah portions (parashot) and the corresponding haftarot in the manuscripts produced in Burgundy, which reveal some unusual features. Given the importance of geographical provenance of manuscripts in discerning regional liturgical variations, my initial focus is on establishing the Burgundian origin of the codices of interest. The Burgundian manuscripts discussed below fall into four distinct groups, with the manuscripts in each group evidencing the same scribal and Masoretic hands. The fact that each of these groups was produced in the same professional setting helps us discern the range of strictly local scribal practices and liturgical variations. The second part of the essay then delves into the parashot and haftarot and examines distinctive Burgundian customs, while addressing the broader interpretive challenges posed by manuscript evidence.

1. Localizing the Burgundian Manuscripts

When studying a large corpus of manuscripts, those with colophons serve as a point of departure. Based on shared codicological traits, palaeographic features, and approaches to the decoration, such manuscripts provide criteria for establishing the geographical origin and relative chronology for others that are neither dated nor localized. However, a significant challenge arises in medieval French and German-Ashkenazi corpora. According to Malachi Beit-Arié, only 22% of the manuscripts from those areas include colophons that explicitly mention the place of production.¹ The fact that there are so few localized codices makes pinpointing the geographical origin of unlocalized manuscripts difficult and hinders our understanding of regional manuscript traditions. To overcome this obstacle,

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1 Malachi Beit-Arié, *Historical and Comparative Typology of Medieval Hebrew Codices Based on the Documentation of the Extant Dated Manuscripts until 1540 Using a Quantitative Approach*, English version (Jerusalem and Hamburg: Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities, 2022), 177; accessible online at <https://www.fdr.uni-hamburg.de/record/9349> [accessed 02/2023].

I rely primarily on palaeographic identification of the individual scribes and masoretes. By distinguishing the hands that shared the copying of one manuscript and tracing them in others, it is possible to establish the groups of codices produced in the same towns and professional settings. The larger the group, the higher the probability that at least one manuscript will include a colophon with a date and/or origin information. This allows for localizing and establishing a relative chronology for the entire group.

The principal method that the Hebrew Palaeography Project (NLI), initiated by Malachi Beit-Arié, uses for identifying scribal hands in manuscripts without colophons largely relies on the graphic, para-scriptural, and peri-textual elements accompanying the letters, which are easier to classify than the stereotypic styles of the script, especially in cases of scribes working side by side. These elements include line management, even-line devices (such as the shape of graphic fillers), auxiliary signs designed to increase legibility, the form of the substitute for the Tetragrammaton, and so on.² In contrast to the standardised square script used by medieval scribes, the graphic elements are individual to each scribe and their use was generally consistent across the various manuscripts copied by the same hand. The findings presented below are based on this method as a starting point but go beyond the para-scriptural aspects of writing. To differentiate among the hands that shared the copying and to identify different copies written by the same hand, I considered a range of stylistic aspects of the script itself. These include the angle of writing and its density, the relationships of the letters to one another and to the head- and baselines, the spaces between the words, and the morphology of each letter, to mention but a few.³ These criteria yielded four distinct groups of codices—comprising from two to eight manuscripts—that can be attributed to Burgundy, which serve as the bases for the following discussion.

1.1. The First Burgundian Group

The first Burgundian group that shares the hand of the same scribe includes two liturgical Pentateuchs: BAV.Urb.ebr.3 and SUB.hebr.25–26. A deed of sale at the end of the former indicates that it was produced shortly before 1302.⁴ The manuscript was copied by the principal scribe, Hayyim, who worked with two anonymous scribes and a masorete named Samson (Appendix II, Group 1:1). The latter codex, SUB.hebr.25–26, was apparently produced at a slightly later date by one Joseph ben Isaac, who worked alone and was also responsible for its vocalization, *masora parva*, and proofreading (Appendix II, Group 1:2).⁵ He might have copied it for his own use and it may have

2 Malachi Beit-Arié, “Stereotype and Individuality in the Handwriting of Medieval Scribes,” in *The Makings of the Medieval Hebrew Book* (Jerusalem: Magnes, 1993), 77–92.

3 For the principles of classification and description of the Hebrew script, see HebrewPal Project, “Glossary of Palaeographic Concepts,” ed. Judith Olszowy-Schlanger; accessible online at <https://t1p.de/gk15j> [accessed 02/2023].

4 Malachi Beit-Arié and Benjamin Richler, *Hebrew Manuscripts in the Vatican Library: Catalogue* (Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 2008), 600–601. The manuscript is accessible online at <https://t1p.de/trhtq> [accessed 02/2023].

5 Moritz Steinschneider, *Catalog der Handschriften in der Stadtbibliothek zu Hamburg*, vol. 1: Hebräischen Handschriften (Hamburg: Otto Meissner, 1878[a]), 3, no. 15. The manuscript is accessible online at <https://t1p.de/gkt8x> [accessed 02/2023].

been conceived as a model for further manuscripts. Palaeographic examination of this codex has shown that Joseph ben Isaac was the same scribe as the first anonymous scribe of BAV.Urb.ebr.3 (Table 1). He and the second anonymous scribe of BAV.Urb.ebr.3 must have collaborated under the direct supervision of Ḥayyim. The turnover of the scribal hands in BAV.Urb.ebr.3 does not correspond to the codicological or textual structure of the manuscript and two different hands sometimes appear on the same folio, which suggests that they worked under the same roof (Appendix II, Group 1:1).

Table 1: Summary of the hands that copied the first Burgundian group (the name of the same scribe is screened in blue)

BAV.Urb.ebr.3 (before 1302)	SUB.hebr.25–26
Scribe 1: Ḥayyim	
Scribe 2: Joseph ben Isaac	Scribe: Joseph ben Isaac
Scribe 3: Anonymous	
Masorete: Samson	

The scribes and masoretes responsible for BAV.Urb.ebr.3 and SUB.hebr.25–26 likely shared not only a workspace but also common textual sources. Although a comprehensive textual comparison was beyond the scope of this study, evidence suggests that they consulted a manuscript produced by one Rabbi Jacob *nakdan*. Samson, the masorete of BAV.Urb.ebr.3, noted that fact in his comment on the word *בנִי* (Gen 29:1), which he first accentuated with *dagesh* and then added *rafeh*: “*רֱבִי יַעֲקֹב נָקְדָן רַפֵּי*” (“*מֵצָא[תִּ] בְּסֻפְ[רִ] רֱבִי יַעֲקֹב נָקְדָן רַפֵּי*” and *rafeh* in the book of Rabbi Jacob *nakdan*) [BAV.Urb.ebr.3, p. 91].⁶ Joseph ben Isaac also mentioned Rabbi Jacob *nakdan* frequently in his annotations in SUB.hebr.25–26. In those of his marginal notes that deal with comparisons of the variant readings, he referred to the variants that he learned about from his two, otherwise unknown, teachers Rabbi Joseph *nakdan* and Rabbi Jacob Vidal (לִיאָדָן) *nakdan*.⁷ Moreover, in the outer margin of SUB.hebr.26, folio 117r near the middle of haftarah *Be-har Sinai*, he wrote “*עַד כָּאן סִים*” (“*עַד כָּאן סִים*” and *haftarah* [רָה...] *... וּבְסֻפְרֵ רֱבִי הַחַ”ר עַד כָּאן סִים*” (“Until here is the end of the haftarah ... and I did not find more in the book of Rabbi Jacob”). The book he referred to, which was also used by Samson, was most likely a manuscript of a liturgical Pentateuch that Rabbi Jacob *nakdan* either copied or only proofread and annotated.

Joseph ben Isaac's liturgical remarks provide a clue as to where this group of grammarians was active. At the end of the book of Exodus in SUB.hebr.25–26, he divided

6 In SUB.hebr.25, this word is written with *rafeh* (fol. 34v) but is not annotated by the scribe.

7 Rabbi Joseph *nakdan* is referred to in SUB.hebr.25, fols. 307v, 338v and in SUB.hebr.26, fol. 71r. Rabbi Jacob *nakdan* is referred to in SUB.hebr.25, fols. 82v, 216r, 290v, 324v, 338v and in SUB.hebr.26, fols. 15r, 105v, 117r, 133v, 141r. His full name, Jacob Vidal, is mentioned in SUB.hebr.25, fol. 109v in relation to the vocalization of *הַמְבָלֵג* (Exod 14:11). There were several medieval *nakdanim* who bore the same names, Joseph and Jacob, but no connection between them and the teachers of the scribe Joseph ben Isaac could be established. See, for example, a list of medieval *nakdanim* compiled by Leopold Zunz, *Zur Geschichte und Literatur*, vol. 1 (Berlin: Veit und Comp., 1845), 107–22. See also Christian D. Ginsburg, *Introduction to the Massoretico-Critical Edition of the Hebrew Bible* (London: Trinitarian Bible Society, 1897), 507 n. 2, 601 n. 4.

“כאן סיום הפרשה במלכות בורגוניא”⁸ the parashot into two parts and wrote in the margins: “בשבת שחרית מז ה' נסיכם [נסיכים?] בשנה מעברת בלבד” (“Here is the end of the parashah in the Kingdom of Burgundy on Shabbat in *shaharit* of the seven *nesikhim/nesivim*?⁹ only in the leap year”; fig. 3).¹⁰ This peculiar Burgundian custom is discussed in detail in the next section. Where, then, in the Kingdom of Burgundy were these two manuscripts produced? Joseph’s annotations refer to the historical Kingdom of Burgundy, which encompassed territories bordering both France and Switzerland and extended southwards into Provence.¹¹ That was the Burgundy that was described in the tenth century in *Sefer Josippon*, a southern Italian work on the history of the Jewish people, “בורגוניא היישבים על נהר רודנו” (“Burgundy located on the River Rhône”).¹² However, the Kingdom of Burgundy ceased to exist as a political entity and was fragmented into ducal and comital territories well before SUB.hebr.25–26 and BAV.Urb.ebr.3 were produced. In Jewish medieval sources, “Burgundy” could designate either the County of Burgundy (Franche-Comté), according to the accounts of the Jewish moneylender, Héliot de Vesoul,¹³ or the Duchy of Burgundy. The Duchy of Burgundy referred to as the “Kingdom” (מלכות) is mentioned in a somewhat later narrative in *Tikkun Sefer Torah* by Yom Tov Lipmann Mülhausen (d. after 1420). There, Mülhausen cited an epistle that was allegedly written by Maimonides about his journey to the Kingdom of Burgundy: “רמב"ם נסע למלכות בורגוניא למדינת שללין היישבת על נהר שונא ומצאה בה ס"ת כתב יוד עוזא הסופר” (“Rambam went to the Kingdom of Burgundy to the city Chalon-sur-Saône [in the Duchy of Burgundy] and found there a Torah scroll copied by Ezra ha-Sofer”; Appendix I).¹⁴

Additional evidence for the attribution of SUB.hebr.26–25 and BAV.Urb.3 to the County or Duchy of Burgundy is a bill of sale in BAV.Urb.ebr.3, which provides a *terminus ante quem* for its production as 1302 (fol. 402r). The bill, in which the names of the seller and the buyer were erased by later owners, states that the manuscript was sold in 1302 for the sum of eighteen livre tournois (טורנייש) in the town of Nyon (נוואן) in the presence of two witnesses, Hayyim ben Solomon and Elijah ben Hayyim (Appendix II, Group 1:2).¹⁵ The Hebrew spelling of the French currency, טורנייש, is well attested in the accounts from Franche-Comté.¹⁶ Another early owner’s note, repeated several times in the beginning of the manuscript, reads: “יוסף דקאלון” (“Joseph of Chalon-sur-Saône”), who may have been

8 The meaning of the word is unclear in this context. The mention of “seven” is possibly connected to the seven leap years in each cycle of nineteen years (*maḥzor katan*).

9 SUB.hebr.25, fol. 305v, 315r, 327v.

10 For the variants of the Hebrew spelling of “Burgundy,” see Heinrich Gross, *Gallia Judaica, dictionnaire géographique de la France* (Paris: Cerf, 1897), 108–109.

11 David Flusser, ed., ספר יודע פון, vol. 1 (Jerusalem: Mossad Bialik, 1978), 6.

12 Isidore Loeb, “Deux livres de commerce du commencement du XIV^e siècle,” *Revue des études juives* 8/16 (1884[a]): 174.

13 Cited from the earliest extant copy (early sixteenth century) in BL.Add.17338, fol. 33r. For the full version of this narrative, see David S. Löwinger and Ephraim Kupper, “זיקון ספר תורה של ר' יום טוב ליפמן” (מילולא זיקון, *Sinai* 60 (1966/67): 237–68. For different opinions on the originality of Maimonides’s epistle, see s.n., “מכתב הרמב"ם ומ庫ורותיו,” *The Jewish Quill (Kulmus)* (New York, 1998): 84–86.

14 Given the geographical context of this manuscript, it is unlikely that the town in question was Nouan or Noyon, as was suggested in the Vatican catalogue (Beit-Arié and Richler 2008, 601). For Jewish presence in Nyon, see Achille Nordmann, *Les juifs dans le pays de Vaud 1278–1875* (Paris: Durlacher, 1925), 157.

15 Isidore Loeb, “Deux livres de commerce du commencement du XIV^e siècle (suite et fin),” *Revue des études juives* 9/18 (1884[b]): 195. See also Judith Olszowy-Schlanger, “Binding Accounts: A Ledger of a Jewish Pawn-Broker from 14th Century Southern France (MS Krakow, BJ Przyb/163/92),” in *Books within*

one and same Joseph ben Isaac (fol. 1v).¹⁶ Thus it is possible that Joseph either brought BAV.Urb.ebr.3 from Chalon-sur-Saône to Nyon shortly after it had been produced and sold it there in 1302 or that this manuscript was produced in the area of Nyon and was sold in 1302 to one Joseph of Chalon-sur-Saône (Appendix I).

The Burgundian origins of SUB.hebr.25–26 and BAV.Urb.ebr.3 are further supported by an unusual Masoretic practice of reference. As it is well known, the Masoretic apparatus comprises two sets of notes: the *masora parva*, written between the text columns and in the margins, most often provides the total count of a specific word or expression (the lemma) in the Bible (or its individual books). The corresponding *masora magna*, found in the upper and lower margins, expands upon the *masora parva* by citing all the biblical verses that contain that lemma. In BAV.Urb.ebr.3 as in other Masoretic codices, a single folio typically includes a significantly greater number of *masora parva* notes compared to *masora magna* lists because *masora magna* lists are not provided for every *masora parva* note. The placement of the *masora magna* lists within the codex can vary, appearing on one or more but not all the folios that contain the lemma. To indicate where he provided a *masora magna* list for a specific lemma in BAV.Urb.ebr.3, Samson sometimes included a reference to the relevant parashah in the *masora parva* note. For example, Samson's *masora parva* to תְּבִיבָה (Gen 19:12) reads: "תְּבִיבָה נָחָת" ("Twelve times defective, Noah" [p. 50]).¹⁷ "Noah" refers to parashah *Noah*, where one of the twelve occurrences of תְּבִיבָה appears (Gen 8:22) and in this case is provided with the *masora magna* list (p. 22^b). Another example is תְּבִשָּׁא in Genesis 19:15.¹⁸ In its *masora parva* (p. 51), Samson wrote: "תְּבִשָּׁא לְקָה" ("Seven times, Lekh"), thereby referring to parashah *Lekh lekha*, that is, Genesis 17:15 on page 44, where he included the *masora magna* list for תְּבִשָּׁא. Despite the evident advantages of this reference system in facilitating the organization and control of Masoretic information within the manuscript, apart from the manuscripts copied by a masorete named Meir in the County of Burgundy, which are discussed below (the third Burgundian group), it was not adopted by French masoretes.

1.2. The Second Burgundian Group

The second Burgundian group, which accounts for two Bibles, LMB.theol.3 and BNF. hébr.4, was copied by the scribe Isaac ben Barukh (Table 2). The earlier of the two, LMB.theol.3, which today includes the Pentateuch and Writings, was produced entirely by that scribe in 1260–1270 (Appendix II, Group 2:1). This dating is suggested by the manuscript's codicological features, such as ruling by hard point and pricking in the outer margins.¹⁹ In

Books: *New Discoveries in Old Bookbindings*, ed. Andreas Lehnhardt and Judith Olszowy-Schlanger (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 109.

16 This assumption cannot be confirmed palaeographically, as Joseph's formal square script in both manuscripts cannot be compared with the casual semi-cursive script of the owner's note. For identification of בָּנָאָה as Chalon-sur-Saône, see Loeb 1884[a], 184; Gross 1897, 590–94.

17 Cf. Christian D. Ginsburg, *Massorah Compiled from Manuscripts: Alphabetically and Lexically Arranged*, vol. 2 (London: s.n., 1883), 377, #163. Ginsburg provides fourteen references, which include twelve occurrences of תְּבִיבָה and two of בָּנָאָה.

18 Ginsburg 1880, vol. 1, 110, #1145.

19 SfarData, Questionnaire #ZY363. For the changes in the pricking and ruling practices that occurred during this period, see Beit-Arié 2022, 232–39. The manuscript is accessible online at <https://t1p.de/pqlp> accessed [accessed 02/2023].

contrast, the second Bible, BNF.hébr.4, which he produced in 1286, was ruled by a metal plummet and pricked in both the inner and outer margins, a practice that gradually became widespread in France towards the latter part of the thirteenth century.²⁰ Isaac shared the work on this codex with an anonymous scribe and an anonymous masorete (Appendix II, Group 2:2).

Table 2: Summary of the hands that copied the first Burgundian group (the same scribe is screened in blue)

LMB.theol.3	BNF.hébr.4 (1286)
Scribe-masorete: Isaac ben Barukh	Scribe 1: Isaac ben Barukh
	Scribe 2: Anonymous
	Masorete: Anonymous

As Sarit Shalev-Eyni has shown, Isaac was not only the principal scribe of BNF.hébr.4 but he was also responsible for outlining the decorative programme, which consists of painted panels surrounding the initial words of the biblical books and other sections and marginal scenes. She suggests that the decorative compositions and illustrations were designed as part of the copying process, before or during the writing of the Masorah.²¹ Particularly noteworthy is the scene of David and Adonijah (fol. 249v). In an illustration at the beginning of 1 Kings, David and Adonijah are depicted as jousting knights and are inscribed: "דָּוִד הָא" ("this is David") and "הַמְּרַדָּא הָא" ("this is Adonijah"). Using this scene as the primary criterion for the manuscript's attribution, Gabrielle Sed-Rajna localized the production of BNF.hébr.4 in Lorraine or the Rhineland on the basis of a comparison with the 1295/96 manuscript of Maimonides's *Misheh Torah*, MTAK.A.77, which she had previously attributed to north-eastern France.²²

However, the style of illumination in MTAK.A.77 is profoundly different from that of BNF.hébr.4 in terms of the compositional arrangements, colour palette, and choice and application of motifs and ornaments—a fact that Sed-Rajna herself acknowledged, noting that MTAK.A.77 is more refined. It therefore seems that the attribution of BNF.hébr.4 to Lorraine (or neighbouring Rhineland) was suggested by iconographic factors rather than the style of illumination. Both Sed-Rajna and Michel Garel, who localized its production in Lorraine or Franche-Comté, pointed to a visual parallel between the depiction of David

20 Cf. Malachi Beit-Arié et al., ed., *Manuscrits médiévaux en caractères hébraïques portant des indications de date jusqu'à 1540*, vol. 1 (Paris: Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique and Jerusalem: Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities, 1972), no. 11; Javier Del Barco, *Hébreu 1 à 32 – Manuscrits de la bible hébraïque*, Manuscrits en caractères hébreux conservés dans les bibliothèques de France 4 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2011), 30–35. The manuscript is accessible online at <https://t1p.de/edbzf> [accessed 02/2023].

21 Sarit Shalev-Eyni, "Obvious and Ambiguous in Hebrew Illuminated Manuscripts from France and Germany," *Materia Giudaica* 7/2 (2002): 249–52. It is also possible, as Gabrielle Sed-Rajna has suggested, that the panels, whose style varies slightly throughout the manuscript, were coloured by more than one artist. Gabrielle Sed-Rajna, *Les Manuscrits hébreux enluminés des bibliothèques de France* (Louvain: Peeters, 1994), 180–81.

22 Gabrielle Sed-Rajna, "The Illustrations of the Kaufmann Mishneh Torah," *Journal of Jewish Art* 6 (1979): 64–77.

and Adonijah and a jousting scene in a Latin Breviary produced in the Verdun area in 1288–1304 (BNF.lat.1029A, fol. 10r).²³ They suggest that this scene's frequent appearance in other Lorraine manuscripts supports this localization.²⁴ However, the jousting scene, with its specific details, was common throughout northern and north-eastern France, and even beyond,²⁵ so its presence in BNF.hébr.4 offers little regional specificity. Medieval artistic motifs and compositions were frequently copied and circulated, and similar scenes could well appear across geographically diverse manuscripts. Besides, while other decorated pages in BNF.hébr.4, such as the gate-shaped frontispieces and the hybrid creatures in the panels and margins, reflect general trends in French book art of the period, they have no close parallels in either Hebrew or Latin manuscripts, further weakening the argument for a specific Lorraine origin.



Fig. 1. Pentateuch and Writings, scribe Isaac ben Barukh. Kassel, Universitätsbibliothek, Landesbibliothek und Murhard-sche Bibliothek, Fol. Ms. theolog. 3, fol. 276v.



Fig. 2. Liturgical Pentateuch, Anonymous scribe (Scribe 3). Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica, Urb. ebr. 3, fol. 161r.

23 Sed-Rajna 1994, 180; Michel Garel, *D'une main forte: manuscrits hébreux des collections françaises* (Paris: Seuil, Bibliothèque nationale, 1991), 102, no. 70. BNF.lat.1029A, fol. 10r is reproduced in Howard Heslinger, "Images on the Beatus Page of Some Medieval Psalters," *The Art Bulletin* 2 (1971): 170, fig. 12; Lucy Freeman Sandler, *Studies in Manuscript Illumination, 1200–1400* (London: Pindar Press, 2008), 80, fig. 4.

24 The Aspremont-Kievraing Psalter of 1290–1302, produced in Lorraine (BODL.Douce.118, fol. 127r). Margaret Manion, Lyndsay Knowles, and John Payne, "The Aspremont Psalter-Hours: The Making of a Manuscript," *Art Bulletin of Victoria* 34 (1994): 25–34. The manuscript is accessible online at <https://t1p.de/wgqmm> [accessed 02/2023]. See also Breviary of Renaud de Bar of 1302–1305, produced in the area of Metz (VBM.107, fol. 19v). Alison Stones, "Les manuscrits de Renaud de Bar," *L'écrit et le livre peint en Lorraine, de Saint-Mihiel à Verdun (IXe-XVe siècles): Actes du colloque de Saint-Mihiel, 25–26 octobre 2010* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2014): 269–310. The manuscript is accessible online at <https://t1p.de/izjq8> [accessed 02/2023].

25 See, for example, a Latin Psalter dated to 1280–1290 (BNF.lat.10435, fol. 1r), attributed to the area of Amiens. Alison Stones, "L'atelier artistique de la Vie de sainte Benoîte d'Origny: nouvelles considérations," *Bulletin de la Société Nationale des Antiquaires de France* (1990): 385 n. 9. The manuscript is accessible online at <https://t1p.de/6x4uy> [accessed 02/2023]. For an example from Besançon, see KANTONY.24, fol. 52r; accessible online at <https://t1p.de/lfab4> [accessed 02/2023]. Other examples are provided in Helsingr 1971, 174.

Palaeographic analysis of the script points to Franche-Comté rather than Lorraine as the region of origin of the second group. The style of writing, the morphology of the letters, and the decorative elements that Isaac ben Barukh and the third anonymous scribe of BAV. Urb.ebr.3 share strongly suggest that they worked in the same region. The stylistic kinship of the script of these two scribes is particularly evident in their use of long serifs on the left sides of letters such as the *aleph*, *het*, and *peh* (figs. 1 and 2).²⁶ The link between Isaac ben Barukh's codices and other Burgundian manuscripts is strengthened by the structural features in his second Bible, BNF.hébr.4. Although this manuscript is an entire Bible and as such does not include haftarot, Isaac ben Barukh marked their initial words in the Prophets by making them larger and enclosing them in decorative panels.²⁷ To the best of my knowledge, this unique method of highlighting the haftarot in manuscripts that do not include a separate section of haftarot is only found in one other Bible from Franche-Comté, BP.3286–3287, which belongs to the third Burgundian group.

1.3. The Third Burgundian Group

The third Burgundian group includes one Bible and three liturgical Pentateuchs for which the same masorete, Meir, wrote the Masorah: BP.3286–3287, BP.3191, BNF.hébr.36, and BP.3289. Only one of these codices is dated and refers to the place of production. In the colophon of the liturgical Pentateuch BNF.hébr.36, the scribe Joseph ben Benjamin from פונטראלי (Pontarlier) wrote that he copied this codex for Aaron ben Jacob and that he completed it on 30 June 1300 in פולני (Poligny) (Appendix II, Group 3:3).²⁸ Scholars have proposed two different ways of identifying its origin. Malachi Beit-Arié and his co-authors read the place of production, beginning with the *peh rafeh*, as Foulenay, in contrast to Heinrich Gross, who identified it as Poligny, situated about 20 km from Foulenay in the County of Burgundy.²⁹ The prevailing scholarly consensus favours Poligny, given its status as a significantly larger and more influential town, home to a Jewish community with the

26 A very similar script, albeit by a different hand, appears in the Prophets and Writings fragments, ACAPMO.4. Mauro Perani and Saverio Campanini, *I frammenti ebraici di Modena*, Archivio Capitolare – Archivio della Curia, e di Correggio, Archivio Storico Comunale (Florence: Leo S. Olschki, 1999), 250; Mauro Perani, “Un atto di vendita di un manoscritto ebraico dei Profeti e degli Scritti stilato a Bologna l’8 febbraio 1485 nel frammento 5 dell’Archivio Capitolare di Modena,” *Scripta. An International Journal of Palaeography and Codicology* 1 (2008): 113–20. The fragments are accessible online at <https://t1p.de/8lw3q> [accessed 02/2023]. See also Books within Books: <https://t1p.de/gauwm>; <https://t1p.de/tywrn>; <https://t1p.de/hlllt> [accessed 02/2023].

27 There are many Bibles in which the haftarot were denoted in the margins by the scribes or, more frequently, later owners; none of them, however, includes the haftarot marked and decorated within the text of the Prophets.

28 Hermann Zotenberg, *Catalogues des manuscrits hébreux et samaritains de la Bibliothèque Impériale* (Paris: Impr. Impériale, 1866), 4, no. 36. The manuscript is accessible online at <https://t1p.de/hjbxx> [accessed 02/2023].

29 Malachi Beit-Arié et al., ed., *Manuscrits médiévaux en caractères hébraïques portant des indications de date jusqu'à 1540*, vol. 1 (Paris: Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique and Jerusalem: Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities, 1972), no. 24; Gross 1897, 439–40. Isidore Loeb in an earlier publication also read the name of the locale as Foulenay. Loeb 1884[a], 182. However, Gabrielle Sed-Rajna and Michel Garel identified it as Poligny. Gabrielle Sed-Rajna, “Filigree Ornaments in 14th-Century Hebrew Manuscripts of the Upper Rhine,” *Jewish Art* 12/13 (1986–1987): 45; Sed-Rajna 1994, 158–65; Garel 1991, 105, no. 72.

economic means to afford these four undoubtedly expensive manuscripts (Appendix I).³⁰

Apparently, Joseph ben Benjamin copied the second liturgical Pentateuch, BP.3289 in the same town (Appendix II, Group 3:4).³¹ In both BNF.hébr.36 and BP.3289, he collaborated with the masorete Meir, who signed his work with segmented colophons. Meir wrote his name and additional information, letter by letter outlined by the *masora magna*, on the rectos of several successive folios. A similar segmented colophon appears in another codex, a Bible in two volumes BP.3286–3287, where the biblical text was copied by another scribe, also called Joseph (Appendix II, Group 3:1).³² The fourth manuscript that can be attributed to Meir is the liturgical Pentateuch BP.3191 (Appendix II, Group 3:2).³³ Although this manuscript lacks a colophon, Meir often marked his name within the Masorah, as he did in the other three codices (Table 3).

Table 3: Summary of the hands that copied the third Burgundian group (the same scribe and masorete are screened in blue and green, respectively)

BP.3286–3287	BP.3191	BNF.hébr.36 (1300)	BP.3289
Scribe: Joseph	Scribe: Anonymous	Scribe: Joseph ben Benjamin	Scribe: Joseph ben Benjamin
Masorete: Meir	Masorete: Meir	Masorete: Meir	Masorete: Meir

Meir's colophons and the unique segmented way in which they are rendered, as well as the striking similarity of his script and micrographic decoration in the four codices, strongly suggest that he produced the Masorah in all of them.³⁴ However, his Masoretic script poses certain challenges, as it underwent obvious stylistic changes from a more angular writing in BP.3286–3287, which may have been produced at the beginning of his career as a masorete, to the rounded script leaning to the right in BP.3289. The stylistic differences in the Masoretic script may well correspond to the chronological sequence of the manuscripts' production, with BP.3286–3287 being the earliest and BP.3289 the latest, produced shortly after BNF hébr.36 (1300).

The quality of Meir's Masoretic work provides further evidence for this chronology. His earliest known codex, BP.3286–3287, features relatively simple Masoretic annotations, limited to basic information. In the later ones, he progressively refined his annotations

30 See Elizabeth A. R. Brown, "Philip V, Charles IV, and the Jews of France: The Alleged Expulsion of 1322," *Speculum* 66/2 (1991): 328.

31 Malachi Beit-Arié and Benjamin Richler, *Hebrew Manuscripts in the Biblioteca Palatina in Parma: Catalogue* (Jerusalem: Jewish National and University Library, 2001), 16. The manuscript is accessible online at <https://t1p.de/wrtal> [accessed 02/2023].

32 Beit-Arié and Richler 2001, 5. The manuscript is accessible online at <https://t1p.de/mdlhx> [accessed 02/2023].

33 Beit-Arié and Richler 2001, 17. The manuscript is accessible online at <https://t1p.de/qh02u> [accessed 02/2023].

34 Sed-Rajna 1986–1987, 45; Rahel Fronda, "Masters of Micrography: Examples of Medieval Ashkenazi Scribal Artists," in *Ruling the Script in the Middle Ages: Formal Aspects of Written Communication (Books, Charters, and Inscriptions)*, ed. Sébastien Barret, Dominique Stutzmann, and Georg Vogeler (Turnhout: Brepols, 2016), 274–76.

and expanded the content of his Masoretic notes. Meir's earlier codices lack references to *masora magna* lists by parashot, a practice that first appeared in BNF.hébr.36 and BP.3289, which exhibits a striking similarity to Samson's referencing system in BAV.Urb.ebr.3. Meir consulted various textual sources for proofreading and correcting his later codices, BNF. hébr.36 and BP.3289, and to a lesser degree, BP.3191. These sources, noted in the margins, include "corrected" book(s) (*sefer mugah*), Sephardi manuscript(s), and a copy of the Jericho Pentateuch. The last is a Near Eastern ancient codex, now lost, which was often employed as a standard for the correction of other Bible manuscripts and is frequently cited in medieval Masoretic annotations.³⁵ Further, Meir, like Samson (BAV.Urb.ebr.3) and Joseph ben Isaac (SUB.hebr.25–26), cited a book of Rabbi Jacob *nakdan* in his marginal notes. He apparently consulted Rabbi Jacob's Pentateuch manuscript, comparing it against other authoritative texts. For example, next to לְפָנֵי (Deut 4:18), Meir commented (fol. 254r): "כִּי בְּחֻמֶּשׁ וּרְיַחַן וּבְכָל סְפָרֵי מִסּוּרָה [זֶה מִצְחָתִי רַמְשָׁךְ]" ("So it is in the Jericho Pentateuch and all books of *masoret*. In another book of Rabbi Jacob *ha-nakdan*, I found *רַמְשָׁךְ*").³⁶ The rare vocalization of *רַמְשָׁךְ* appears in the main text of BAV. Urb.ebr.3 (fol. 290r) and SUB.hebr.26 (fol. 12v) and both Samson and Joseph ben Isaac commented on it: "כִּי בְּדוּקָה" ("So it is in the accurate [book]"). "The accurate" text likely refers to the codex of Jacob *nakdan*, a source frequently consulted and highly regarded by these masoretes. Thus, the references to Rabbi Jacob *nakdan* may indicate that Meir had access to the textual model of Joseph ben Isaac's teacher, Jacob Vidal *nakdan*.³⁷ The similarities between the first and third Burgundian groups and possibly shared models suggest that their scribes and masoretes belonged to the same professional milieu and engaged with one another.

1.4. The Fourth Burgundian Group

The fourth group of Burgundian manuscripts is the largest with eight codices: a fragment of a *maḥzor* BP.2696, 3088; the liturgical Pentateuch LAUREN.Plut.3.3; the liturgical Pentateuch BODL.Kenn.3; the Prophets and Writings BP.3187–3189; fragments of the Writings BP.3095, 3569; the liturgical Pentateuch BP.2338–2339; the liturgical Pentateuch BL.Add.21160 (the so-called Jonah Pentateuch); and a fragment of the Writings JTS.L420.³⁸ The oldest dated manuscript in this group is the liturgical Pentateuch LAUREN.Plut.3.3, which, according to the colophon of its vocalizer Isaac ben Menahem, was produced in 1291 (Appendix II, Group 4:2).³⁹ The hand of its anonymous scribe can also be identified in BODL.Kenn.3 from 1299 (Appendix II, Group 4:3) and in the *maḥzor* according to the French rite, which includes the liturgy for the Shabbat *ḥol ha-mo'ed* (the intermediate days) of Pesach and Shavuot (Exod 19:1–24 with Targum Onkelos in the margins), BP.2696, 3088

³⁵ For references to the Jericho Pentateuch, see, for example, BP.3191, fol. 281r; BNF.hébr.36, fols. 20r, 99r, 193v; BP.3289, fols. 8r, 18r, 34v, 68v, 121r. On the Jericho Pentateuch, see Ginsburg 1897, 433. Otherwise, Meir also used works of the English grammarian Moses of London and Joseph Hazzan of Troyes (BP.3191, fol. 23v; BNF.hébr.36, fol. 20r; BP.3289, fol. 8r).

³⁶ See, a similar note in Meir's BNF.hébr.36, fol. 237v.

³⁷ Additional references to Rabbi Jacob *nakdan* in Meir's manuscripts appear, for example, in BNF. hébr.36, fol. 193v; BP.3289, fols. 68v, 284r.

³⁸ Five of these manuscripts are discussed in Ilona Steimann, "Masoretic Manuscripts from France: The Jonah Pentateuch (BL, Add. MS 21160) Revisited," *Corpus Masoreticum Working Papers 5* (2023): 1–35.

³⁹ The manuscript is accessible online at <https://t1p.de/bvgmr> [accessed 02/2023].

(Appendix II, Group 4:1).⁴⁰ The masorete of BODL.Kenn.3, Joseph ben Isaac of Archiac, copied the Masorah in another, undated codex of the Prophets and Writings, BP.3187–3189, which he also signed with his name (Appendix II, Group 4:4).⁴¹ For BP.3187–3189, Joseph worked together with the scribe of the main text, one Nathan, who copied two additional biblical codices, BP.3095, 3569 (Appendix II, Group 4:5) and BP.2338–2339 (Appendix II, Group 4:6).⁴² The masorete of BP.3095, 3569 could not be identified in other manuscripts, but Isaac of Bressuire is known to be the masorete for BP.2338–2339. His name is mentioned in the owner's note (BP.2338, fol. 271r and BP.2339, fol. 189v) concerning the manuscript's provenance, which documents the transfer of ownership from Meir ben Senior to a new buyer (whose name was later erased).⁴³ According to Meir, from whose words the new owner recorded the information, BP.2338–2339 was copied for him in the house of his mother-in-law Blanca of Rheims. He did not mention the name of the scribe but noted that Isaac of Bressuire vocalized it, added the Masorah, and proofread the manuscript (Appendix II, Group 4:6).⁴⁴ Isaac of Bressuire also wrote the Masorah in the liturgical Pentateuch BL.Add.21160 (Appendix II, Group 4:7) and in the fragment of the Bible JTS.L420 (Appendix II, Group 4:8).⁴⁵

40 For BODL.Kenn.3, 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), 809, no. 2325; Malachi Beit-Arié, *Catalogue of the Hebrew Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library: Addenda and Corrigenda to Vol. 1* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994), 452, no. 2325. For BP.2696 and 3088, see Beit-Arié and Richler 2001, 269–70 and 250 respectively. The manuscripts are accessible online at <https://t1p.de/o7b4f> (BODL.Kenn.3); <https://t1p.de/ezg82> (BP.2696); <https://t1p.de/arkkx> (BP 3088) [accessed 02/2023].

41 Beit-Arié and Richler 2001, 45–46. The manuscript is accessible online at <https://t1p.de/9l2zs> (BP.3187); <https://t1p.de/ax1fj> (BP.3188); <https://t1p.de/wblnq> (BP.3189) [accessed 02/2023]. Joseph ben Isaac is not one and the same person as the homonymous scribe of SUB.hebr.25–26 and BAV.Urb.ebr.3. Nor is he identical with the scribe of TBM.9, who is also called Joseph ben Isaac.

42 Beit-Arié and Richler 2001, 78, 68 (BP.3095, 3569) and 23 (for BP.2338–2339). The manuscripts are accessible online at <https://t1p.de/oole> (BP.3095); <https://t1p.de/vctyf> (BP.3569); <https://t1p.de/cmnd8> (BP.2338); <https://t1p.de/419nn> (BP.2339) [accessed 02/2023]. See also Steimann 2023, 14–15.

43 The name שְׁנִיאָרָן is used in literature in various spellings, for example, Shneur, Shnyur, and Shneor. The transcription of this name here, Senior, follows Siegmund Salfeld, *Das Martyrologium des Nürnberger Memorbüches* (Berlin: Leonhard Simion, 1898), 414. The name was very common in (German) Ashkenaz and to a lesser extent in France. See Gérard Nahon, *Inscriptions hébraïques et juives de France médiévale* (Paris: Belles Lettres, 1986), 41–42.

44 Steimann 2023, 13.

45 For BL.Add.21160, see George Margoliouth, *Catalogue of the Hebrew and Samaritan Manuscripts in the British Museum*, vol. 1 (London: British Museum, 1899), 49–50, no. 75. The manuscripts are accessible online at <https://t1p.de/50ao6> (BL.Add.21160); <https://t1p.de/du0sn> (JTS.L420) [accessed 02/2023]. The Masorah in the fragments of the Prophets, ASTA, Pfalz Sulzbach Weidauische Rechnungen, 578–581, 1043–1044, may also have been copied by Isaac of Bressuire, but the fragments' poor state of preservation renders definite identification of his hand impossible. For the description of the fragments, see Andreas Lehnhardt, *Die hebräischen und aramäischen Einbandfragmente in deutschen Archiven, Bibliotheken und Sammlungen* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 2021), 39–41, nos. 18–22, 24; the fragments are accessible online at <https://t1p.de/xryec> [accessed 02/2023].

Table 4: Summary of the hands that copied the fourth Burgundian group (the same scribes and masoretes are screened in the same colour)

BP.2696, 3088	LAUREN. Plut.3.3 (1291)	BODL. Kenn.3 (1299)	BP.3187– 3189	BP.3095, 3569	BP.2338– 2339	BL.Add. 21160	JTS.L420
Scribe: Anonymous	Scribe: Anonymous	Scribe: Anonymous	Scribe 1: Nathan	Scribe 1: Nathan	Scribe 1: Nathan	Scribe 1: Barukh	Scribe: Anonymous
			Scribe 2: Anonymous	Scribe 2: Jehiel	Scribe 2: Anonymous	Scribe 2: Anonymous	
	Vocalizer: Isaac ben Menaḥem				Scribe 3: Anonymous		
	Masoret: Anonymous	Masoret: Joseph ben Isaac of Archiac	Masoret: Joseph ben Isaac of Archiac	Masoret: Anonymous	Masoret: Isaac of Bressuire	Masoret: 1: Isaac of Bressuire	Masoret: Isaac of Bressuire
						Masoretes 2–5: Anonymous	

Apart from these scribes and masoretes, there is evidence of several other hands in the fourth Burgundian group that appear to have copied small portions of the main text, Masorah, or just added the vowels and accents, sometimes on only one or two folios. BL.Add.21160 reveals a particularly large number of Masoretic hands, which only appear on a few folios (Appendix II, Group 4:7).⁴⁶ The obviously limited impact of their work on the principal masoret's workload casts doubt on the notion that efficiency was the primary motivation for their involvement. It is more likely that their sporadic, minimal contributions indicate a training process for future masoretes. Along with other additional scribes and vocalizers associated with the fourth Burgundian group, they provide evidence regarding the workshop settings for manuscript production.⁴⁷ As discussed above, a similar phenomenon can be observed in the first and second Burgundian groups as well as the third one but there to a lesser extent.⁴⁸ Whether these hands were in professional ateliers or family teams working together and training apprentices, they indicate a thriving scribal culture and a strong demand for manuscripts in Burgundy.

Clearly, the manuscripts in the fourth Burgundian group that share the hands of the same scribes and masoretes must have originated in the same geographical area, perhaps the same or neighbouring towns (Table 4). The colophons and owners' notes mention Bressuire and Archiac in Aquitaine, but these were not the places where these manuscripts were produced. Rather, "from Bressuire" (BP.2338–2339) and "from Archiac" (BP.3187–3189 and BODL.Kenn.3) indicate the birthplaces of the masoretes Isaac and Joseph, who resided elsewhere when they wrote the Masorah for these manuscripts (Appendix I). The only codex in this group that refers to its actual place of production is BODL.Kenn.3. In his colophon, Joseph not only noted that he came "from Archiac" but also that he completed the vocalization and the Masorah in the town of קרייניא/אַרְצַיָּה (emphasis mine). The uncertainty involved in reading the underlined letters makes it difficult to identify the place where BODL.Kenn.3 and the rest of the group were actually produced. Adolf

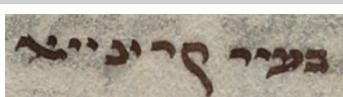
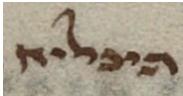
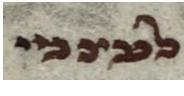
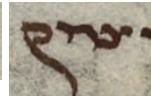
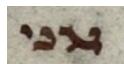
46 See also Steimann 2023, 5–6.

47 Ilona Steimann, "Multi-Handed Bible Manuscripts: Masoretic Workshops in Medieval Ashkenaz?," *Corpus Masoreticum Working Papers 8* (2024): 185–88.

48 Although Meir of the third group worked with the same scribe, Joseph ben Benjamin, on two manuscripts, he did not collaborate with other masoretes. The scribes in this group also worked individually, with each manuscript produced by a single scribe.

Neubauer read the place as קְרִינִיָּה, the reading that I adopted in my previous publication.⁴⁹ SfarData's documentation of this manuscript suggests reading the name of the town as either קְרִינִיָּה or קְרִינִיָּה, the latter being the preferred one in Malachi Beit-Arié's catalogue of the Bodleian manuscripts.⁵⁰ However, it is unlikely that the third letter in the locale's name is a *tzadi*; rather it seems as though the image is of two letters, the *yod* and the *nun*. The right arm of the *tzadi*, as it appears in other words in Joseph's colophon, is shaped as a hook attached to the stem of the letter; the stem itself is similar to that of the *kaph* and has a rounded base that reaches almost to the top on the left (Table 5: יְצָחָק, לְעַצְמִי, חַצְלִיחַ). In contrast, the short line following the *resh* in the name of the town is completely detached from the next letter; it is elongated as a *vav*, but is too short, and is therefore most likely the *yod*, which sometimes appears elongated in other words in the colophon (Table 5: אָנִי). The next letter, which I read as the *nun*, has a more straightened base than the *tzadi*, just as it looks in other appearances of the *nun* there (Table 5: אָנִי). Thus, the suggested reading of the name of the place is קְרִינִיָּה.

Table 5: The name of the town in the colophon of BODL.Kenn.3

Colophon, BODL.Kenn.3, fol. 239v	
בָּעֵיר קְרִינִיָּה	
צָחָק, לְעַצְמִי, חַצְלִיחַ	  
אָנִי	

The town, rendered in Hebrew as קְרִינִיָּה, is most likely derived from the Latin *Car(i)niacum*. Most French locales associated with the toponym Carniacum are in the Dutchy of Burgundy: Charny, Charigny, Charnay-lès-Chalon, and Charnay-lès-Mâcon (Appendix I).⁵¹ For the first three, there is little or no evidence of Jewish communities at that time.⁵² Moreover, given that these are small villages, it is hard to imagine that a large number of manuscripts of such good quality could have been produced there. In contrast, according to archival sources, Charnay-lès-Mâcon and other villages around Mâcon, on the border with the County of Burgundy, were home to numerous Jewish communities,

49 Neubauer 1886, vol. 1, 809. Steimann 2023, 20–21.

50 SfarData, Questionnaire #0C285; Beit-Arié 1994, 452.

51 Karlheinz Dietz, "Die Templer und das Turiner Grabtuch," in *The Templars and Their Sources*, ed. Karl Borchardt, Karoline Doring, Philippe Josserand, and Helen Nicholson (London and New York: Routledge, 2017), 336. See also Monika Buchmüller-Pfaff, *Siedlungsnamen zwischen Spätantike und frühem Mittelalter: Die -(i)acum-Namen der römischen Provinz Belgica Prima* (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer Verlag, 1990), 146 (no. 184B) and 147 (no. 186D).

52 A street called "Rue des Juifs" in Charny might indicate that there was a small Jewish community there in the Middle Ages. See *Les Juifs de Côte d'Or*, accessible online at <https://t1p.de/nqque> [accessed 02/2023].

which cultivated fields and vineyards.⁵³ The Jewish population in this area reached its peak in the thirteenth century, which makes it more likely that the manuscripts in this group were produced in and around Mâcon. Joseph's migration from Archiac to the Duchy of Burgundy, which occurred prior to 1299, may have been forced by the expulsion of Jews from the provinces of Saintonge, to which Archiac belonged, and Poitou in 1291.⁵⁴ Apparently under the same circumstances of the expulsion from Aquitaine, Isaac arrived in Burgundy from his native Bressuire in Poitou. A taxation document from Bressuire (1268/69) mentions a Jew named Isaac, who may have been the masorete in question before he left the town.⁵⁵ The route taken by these two masoretes makes perfect sense; they went southwards to the duchy, where for the time being the Jews enjoyed relative stability. In the Duchy of Burgundy, both masoretes met the scribe Nathan, with whom they collaborated on BP.2338–2339 and BP.3187–3189. Localizing the production of the fourth group in the Duchy of Burgundy implies that all of the included manuscripts were produced before Philip the Fair expelled the Jews from the Kingdom of France in 1306 and the Jews of the Duchy of Burgundy, although not subject to the crown, shared the fate of those in the kingdom and had to leave.⁵⁶

As evidenced by the fourth Burgundian group, migration was an integral aspect of Jewish life both before and after the 1306 expulsion. The demographic instability within Jewish communities inevitably impacted manuscript production. The high degree of mobility of scribes and masoretes across regions led to a broad spread of scribal practices beyond their original locales. Migrants also introduced diverse traditions, leading to a rich interplay with local customs. Consequently, it is unrealistic to expect codices produced within the same region, or even the same town, to always exhibit uniform characteristics. One particularly significant variable was the liturgical content.

53 Bernhard Blumenkranz, *Juifs et chrétiens dans le monde occidental, 430–1096* (Paris: Peeters, 2006), 27–28; Michael Toch, *The Economic History of European Jews. Late Antiquity and Early Middle Ages* (Leiden, Brill, 2013), 83–85.

54 Dorin Rowan, *No Return: Jews, Christian Usurers, and the Spread of Mass Expulsion in Medieval Europe* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2023), 163–64. See also Gross 1897, 451.

55 Maurice Jusselin, “Documents financiers concernant les mesures prises par Alphonse de Poitiers contre les Juifs (1268–1269),” *Bibliothèque de l’école des chartes* 68 (1907): 146. For the difficulty in dating this document, see Nahon 1966, 170. See also Docteur Vincent, “Les Juifs du Poitou au bas Moyen Age,” *Revue d’histoire économique et sociale* 18 (1930): 297.

56 Michel A. Gerson, *Essai sur les Juifs de la Bourgogne au Moyen-Age: et principalement aux XIIe, XIIIe et XIVe siècles* (Dijon: J. Berthoud, 1893), 27–38; Léon Gauthier, “Les Juifs dans les deux Bourgognes,” *Revue des études juives* 48/96 (1904): 208–29.

2. The Parashot in the Burgundian Manuscripts: *Pikdu u-Pishu* and *Va-Tekhel*

The division of the Pentateuch into fifty-four parashot (or *parshiyot*) that are read in the synagogue over the course of a year was adopted by European Jews from the order arranged in Babylonia, whereas in the Land of Israel the Pentateuch was divided into *sedarim*, read over the course of three years.⁵⁷ The one-year reading cycle begins on the last Shabbat of the month of Tishrei with the parashah *Bereshit* and ends with the reading of parashah *Ve-zot ha-berakhah* on Simhat Torah. The division into fifty-four portions corresponds to the maximum number of Shabbatot in a leap year, which adds an additional month, Adar II, to the usual twelve months. Nevertheless, as it follows from the tenth-century liturgical compendium *Siddur Rav Sa'adia Gaon*, back then there were fifty-three parashot. Parashah *Va-yelekh* (Deut 31:1–30) was not a separate parashah, as it is today, but part of parashah *Nitzavim*, from which it could be detached if necessary.⁵⁸ Further, according to Sa'adia Gaon, during non-leap years, when there are fewer Shabbatot, some pairs of short parashot could be joined together so that the entire Pentateuch was still read over the course of one year: *Va-yakhel–Pekudei*, *Tazri'a–Metzora*, *Ahrei mot–Kedushim*, *Be-har–Be-hukotai*.⁵⁹ The main principle of the division into parashot and its calendric implementation was summarised in the ninth-century liturgical compendium *Seder Amram Gaon* as follows:

- Parashah *Tzav* (Lev 6:1–8:36) is always read on the Shabbat before Pesach (sign “*pikdu u-pishu*”).
- Parashah *Be-midbar* (Num 1:1–4:20) on the Shabbat before Shavuot (sign “*menu ve-yitzru*”).
- Parashah *Va-ethanan* (Deut 3:23–7:11) on the Shabbat after Tish'a be-Av (sign “*tzumu ve-tzalo*”).
- Parashah *Nitzavim* (Deut 29:9–30:20) on the Shabbat before Rosh ha-Shanah (sign “*kumu ve-tik'u*”).⁶⁰

However, the first of the geonic principles, the reading of parashah *Tzav* on the Shabbat before Pesach (*pikdu u-pishu*), could be followed only in non-leap years. As the three or four Shabbatot of Adar II were added in a leap year, the parashah following *Tzav* was usually read before Pesach, and this was the point where various regional liturgical traditions started to part ways. To resolve this conflict, in *Mishneh Torah* 13:2 Maimonides suggested a simple solution: to read *Tzav* before Pesach only in non-leap years and in leap years to

57 Ezra Fleischer, “הערות לצבין המחוור התלת-שנתי של הקרייה בתורה כמנハ הארץ ישראל”, *Tarbitz* 73/1 (2003): 83–124.

58 Israel Davidson, Simcha Asaf, and Issachar Yoel, ed., *Siddur Rav Sa'adia Gaon* (Jerusalem: Mekitzei Nirdamim, 1941), 364. See also Joseph Ofer, “על מנת עתיק של קראת השבעה במחוזות הארץ – פת וילך: השנתית”, *Daf Shv'ui* of the Bar-Ilan University 984 (2012): 1–3.

59 Davidson, Asaf, and Yoel 1941, 364–65.

60 Daniel Goldschmidt, ed., *Seder Rav Amram Gaon* (Jerusalem: Mosad Rav Kuk, 1971), 109. See also Joseph Ofer, “חלוקת קריית התורה במחוזות הארץ-שנתית”, *Alon Shvut* 104 (1983): 43–45.

read parashah *Metzora*.⁶¹ Whereas this was also the practice in German Ashkenaz, there was an alternative tradition in France. As follows from *Mahzor Vitry*, which was compiled in the second half of the eleventh century by Rashi's disciple, Simha ben Samuel of Vitry (d. 1105), the geonic prescription was taken literally and the parashot were arranged in such a way that parashah *Tzav* was read on the Shabbat before Pesach in both non-leap and leap years. To gain additional parashot in Exodus for the Shabbatot of Adar II, *Mahzor Vitry* suggests dividing the following parashot into two:

- Parashah *Tetzaveh* (Exod 27:20–30:10) to be split at Exodus 29:1 (“*Ve-ze ha-davar*”).
- Parashah *Ki-tisa* (Exod 30:11–34:35) to be split at Exodus 32:15 (“*Va-yifen*”).
- Parashah *Va-yakhel* (Exod 35:1–38:20) to be split at Exodus 37:1 (“*Va-ya'as Bezalel*”).
- Parashah *Pekudei* (Exod 38:21–40:38) to be split at Exodus 39:32 (“*Va-tekhel*”).⁶²

These liturgical specifications appear at the end of the BL.Add.27200–27201 manuscript of *Mahzor Vitry*, which was copied around 1242 and this was the version that Simon Hurwitz and Arye Goldschmidt used as the basis for their printed editions.⁶³ The practices reflected in the 1242 codex, as well as all other early surviving copies of *Mahzor Vitry*, originated in northern France (north of the Loire).⁶⁴ However, no known northern French Bibles or liturgical Pentateuchs divide parashot *Tetzaveh*, *Ki-tisa*, *Va-yakhel*, and *Pekudei*, and it is uncertain whether any of the northern French communities actually followed this practice.

Evidence of the implementation of the liturgical division described in *Mahzor Vitry* is found in the Burgundian liturgical Pentateuch SUB.hebr.25–26. As was common in French and German-Ashkenazi biblical codices, the parashot in this manuscript open with larger initial words written in display script, thereby visually dividing the text into liturgical sections. Although the additional parashot, beginning with Exodus 29:1 (*Ve-ze ha-davar*), Exodus 32:15 (*Va-yifen*), Exodus 37:1 (*Va-ya'as Bezalel*), and Exodus 39:32 (*Va-tekhel*) are not marked with a larger initial word, Joseph ben Isaac wrote in the margins next to three of them that in leap years in the Kingdom of Burgundy the parashah ends here (fig. 3).⁶⁵ The absence of any indication as to where to divide *Pekudei* does not necessarily mean that it was not supposed to be divided; rather it is possible that Joseph simply forgot to annotate it.

Indeed, in the other liturgical Pentateuch in this group, BAV.Urb.ebr.3, which was also partially copied by Joseph ben Isaac, all four parashot are divided. The scribe, Hayyim, who was responsible for copying Exodus in BAV.Urb.ebr.3, wrote the initial words of the additional parashot, [הָדָר] זֹה (Exod 29:1), וַיַּצְא (Exod 32:15), [בְּצִלְמָה] וַיַּעַש (Exod 37:1), and וְתַכְלֵי (Exod 39:32), in large letters, in a manner consistent with the other initial words

61 See also Ginsburg 1883, 463–64, #369–70.

62 This division corresponds to the division into *sedarim*, apart from the last one, which begins in Exodus 39:33 instead of Exodus 39:32 (*Va-tekhel*). See Christian D. Ginsburg, *Massorah Compiled from Manuscripts: Alphabetically and Lexically Arranged*, vol. 2 (London: s.n., 1883), 330, §76.

63 BL.Add.27201, fols. 261r–263v. The manuscript is described in Justine Isserles, “*Mahzor Vitry*: étude d'un corpus de manuscrits hébreux ashkénazes de type liturgico-légal du XII au XIV^e siècle,” Doctoral Thesis (Paris, Ecole Pratique des Hautes Etudes, 2012), 334–43. The manuscript is accessible online at <https://t1p.de/7el0u> [accessed 02/2023].

64 For dating and localizing of the manuscript copies, see Isserles 2012.

65 As quoted above, in the previous section (see SUB.hebr.25, fols. 305v, 315r, 327v).

of the parashot in that manuscript, and added the abbreviation (parashah) between them and the preceding parashot (fig 4).⁶⁶ These two Burgundian codices thus provide unique evidence of the custom mentioned in *Mahzor Vitry*. Moreover, BAV.Urb.ebr.3 not only articulates the text according to the division into four additional parashot but also assigns additional haftorot to the first two parashot, which I discuss further on.



Fig. 3. Liturgical Pentateuch, Parashah *Ve-ze ha-davar*. Hamburg, Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Carl von Ossietzky, Cod. hebr. 25, fol. 305v.



Fig. 4. Liturgical Pentateuch, Parashah *Ve-ze ha-davar*. Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica, Urb. ebr. 3, fol. 136r.

Other Burgundian manuscripts do not divide the last four parashot in Exodus. In fact, the third and fourth Burgundian groups follow an alternative French tradition, which was also referred to, albeit indirectly, in *Mahzor Vitry*. Instead of splitting the four parashot, some of them divide only the last parashah of Exodus, *Pekudei*, at *Va-tekhel* (Exod 39:32) in order to arrange the readings so that parashah *Be-midbar* could be read on the Shabbat before Shavuot.⁶⁷ In these cases, the initial word *Va-tekhel* is written in large letters, the same as for the other parashot, and is sometimes surrounded by a decorative panel, which suggest that a new parashah begins from Exodus 39:32 and continues until the end of Exodus (figs. 5 and 6).⁶⁸ The preceding three parashot *Tetzaveh*, *Ki-tisa*, and *Va-yakhel* are not divided. In this regard, Simha Vitry cited the opinion of the French Tosafist Rabbeinu Tam (Jacob ben Meir, 1100–1171), who opposed the practice of splitting parashah *Pekudei*, insisting that there are other parashot which are more suitable for dividing.⁶⁹ Interestingly enough, one of the copies of *Mahzor Vitry*, RGB.481, produced in northern France at the end of the twelfth or the very beginning of the thirteenth century (sometime after 1171), mentions

66 BAV.Urb.ebr.3, fols. 136r, 142v, 151v, 157r.

67 Joseph Ofer, "פירוש החזקוני לתורה וגולגולין", *Megadim* 8 (1989): 80.

68 See the second Burgundian group: BP.3286, fol. 29v; BNF.hébr.36, fol. 128v; BP.3289, fol. 130r. The third Burgundian group: BODL.Kenn.3, fol. 98v; LAUREN.Plat.3.3, fol. 126v. However, BP.3191, fol. 320r (the second Burgundian group); BL.Add.21160, fol. 134r, and BP.2338, fol. 121r (the third Burgundian group) do not divide parashah *Pekudei*. Some of these examples of the large initial word of *Va-tekhel* are discussed in detail in Laura Feigen, "Material Witnesses: Migrating Hebrew Manuscripts and Jewish Expulsion 1290–1550," Doctoral Thesis (London, The Courtauld Institute of Art), forthcoming.

69 Simon Hurwitz, ed., מחזר ויטר ללבינו שמהה אחד מתלמידיו ר' ז"ל (Nuremberg: s.n., 1923), 6 [806] (*hashlamot*). See also Ofer 1983, 47–48; Ofer 1989, 80–81.

parashah *Va-tekhel* after *Va-yakhel* and skips *Pekudei* in a passage that lists the parashot to be recited during *minha* on Shabbatot, Mondays, and Thursdays.⁷⁰ This passage, which does not appear in other extant copies of *Mahzor Vitry*, might have been added in a local redaction of its text designed to bring it into line with the regional custom of its scribes. At the same time, it is highly unlikely that parashah *Pekudei* was actually replaced with *Va-tekhel*, so the reason for not mentioning *Pekudei* along with *Va-tekhel* remains unclear.



Fig. 5. Liturgical Pentateuch, Parashah *Va-tekhel*.
Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, hébr. 36, fol. 128v.



Fig. 6. Liturgical Pentateuch, Parashah *Va-tekhel*.
Oxford, Bodleian Library, Kenn. 3, fol. 98v.

It is difficult to establish the extent to which the custom of starting a new parashah with *Va-tekhel* was widespread before Rabbeinu Tam argued against it and how frequently it occurred after his ruling. Among the earliest examples that render the initial word *Va-tekhel* in large letters to designate a new parashah is the 1189 liturgical Pentateuch, MOB.858 (formerly Valmadonna 1; p. 115), apparently produced in England.⁷¹ Another early liturgical Pentateuch, BL.Arund.2 of 1216, which features a large initial word *Va-tekhel* (fol. 111v) is of unknown origin, but its codicological and palaeographic characteristics suggest that it was copied in northern France.⁷² Several other English and French scholars were also well aware of the custom of dividing parashah *Pekudei* at *Va-tekhel*. In the liturgical-halakhic compendium *Etz Hayyim*, written in 1287 by Jacob ben Judah Hazzan of London, *Va-tekhel* is mentioned as a parashah to be recited in leap years.⁷³ Joseph ben Isaac Bekhor Shor of Orléans (flourished in the second half of the twelfth century) referred to *Va-tekhel* in his commentary on the Pentateuch as a separate parashah that includes Exodus 40:20, וַיְשִׁם אֹתָהּ הַבְּדִים עַל הַאֲרוֹן, instead of referring to *Pekudei*.⁷⁴ In a similar way, parashah *Va-tekhel* was used as a reference in the commentary on the Pentateuch *Sefer ha-g”n* (ca. 1240) by the French Tosafist Aaron ben Yossi ha-Kohen, which was based largely on Bekhor Shor’s

70 RGB.481, fols. 328v–331r, published in Aryeh Goldschmidt, ed., “רשות ויטרי לרביינו שמחה מוטרי תלמיד”, in: “רשות”, vol. 2 (Jerusalem: Makhon Otzar ha-Poskim, 2008), 580. For the description of RGB.481, see Isserles 2012, 306–12. The manuscript is accessible online at <https://t1p.de/1x0i2> [accessed 02/2023].

71 Malachi Beit-Arié, *The Only Dated Medieval Hebrew Manuscript Written in England (1189 CE) and the Problem of Pre-Expulsion Anglo-Hebrew Manuscripts* (London: Valmadonna Trust Library, 1985). The manuscript is accessible online at <https://t1p.de/k3nvi> [accessed 02/2023]. The emphasis on *Va-tekhel* in English versus French manuscripts, including this example, is extensively discussed in Feigen, forthcoming.

72 Margoliouth 1899, 41–42, no. 68. The manuscript is accessible online at <https://t1p.de/36mrp> [accessed 02/2023].

73 Israel Brody, ed., *רבי יעקב חזון מלונדרץ עץ חיים הלכות פסוקים ומנהגים* (Jerusalem: Mosad Rav Kuk, 1942), 47. See also Feigen, forthcoming.

74 Aharon Jellinek, ed., *פירוש ר' יוסף בכור שור להמשה חומשי תורה* (reprint, Jerusalem: s.n., 1956), 139. See also Shaul Esh, “פירושות והפטורות”, *Tarbitz* 26/2 (1957): 211.

commentary.⁷⁵ The only extant copy of *Sefer ha-ga”n* is preserved in the margins of the ca. 1300 liturgical Pentateuch ÖNB.hebr.28.⁷⁶ There, as Bekhor Shor, Aaron ben Yossi referred to Exodus 40:20 by parashah *Va-tekhel*: “וְאַעֲפָ שֵׁם מְשֵׁה אֶת הַבְּדִים בְּאַרְון כְּדֵכֶת [בְּ] בָּוֹתְכֶל” (fol. 116r, emphasis mine).⁷⁷ However, possibly as a result of Rabbeinu Tam’s opposition to the division of *Pekudei* at *Va-tekhel*, many northern French scribes did not split it. Parashah *Pekudei* was not divided in the following northern French Bibles and liturgical Pentateuchs: BAV.ebr.14 (fol. 111r), copied in Rouen in 1239; BR.BCB.430 (fol. 43r) dated 1250–1270;⁷⁸ NLI.heb.8°7087 (fol. 80v) dated 1270–1300; BL.Harl.709 (fol. 110v) dated ca. 1300; and BNF.hébr.44 (fol. 75v), copied in Paris in 1303.⁷⁹

In contrast, in the manuscripts produced along the eastern borderland of France, *Va-tekhel* is often emphasised in this or another way. Apart from the above examples from the Duchy and County of Burgundy, the liturgical Pentateuchs JCL.95 (p. 246), produced in Crest in 1296, and BODL.Opp.14 (fol. 117v), produced in the area of L’Albanne (Dauphiné) in 1340 fall into this category.⁸⁰ The liturgical Pentateuch BP.3081 (fol. 130r), likely from the Duchy of Burgundy, also features a large initial word for *Va-tekhel*. Its attribution to the duchy is based on the striking similarity of its square script to that of the fourth Burgundian group, specifically to the writing of the scribe Jehiel in BP.3569 (Appendix II, Group 4:5).⁸¹ Another example is the liturgical Pentateuch that includes *Sefer ha-ga”n*, ÖNB.hebr.28. There, *Va-tekhel* (fol. 139v) is marked halfway through as a parashah and features the larger initial letter *vav* instead of the customary initial word that opens other parashot in this manuscript.⁸² *Va-tekhel* is preceded by the three letters *peh* that denote the parashot but does not have the other usual parashot attributes, which suggests that it has never been regarded as a regular, separate parashah. *Va-tekhel* does not end with a summary of the verses of the parashah, but following the Masoretic tradition, the summary of verses that appears at the end of *Va-tekhel* counts the verses of *Pekudei*. Nor is *Va-tekhel* included in the summary of the parashot in Exodus, which number eleven (with *Va-tekhel* there would

75 Jechiel M. Orlean, ed., *בְּרִאשׁוֹן חֲמִישָׁה חֲמִשִּׁי תּוֹרָה מִאַת רְبִי אַהֲרֹן בֶּן רְבִי יְהוָשִׁי הַכֹּהֶן* (מִבְּעָלֵי הַתוֹסְפָּה) (Jerusalem: Mossad ha-Rav Kuk 2009), 42–49.

76 Arthur Z. Schwarz, *Die hebräischen Handschriften der Nationalbibliothek in Wien* (Vienna: Strache, 1925), 17–19, no. 19. The manuscript is accessible online at <https://t1p.de/fbl3d> [accessed 02/2023]. This commentary appears within circles placed between Rashi’s commentary of the upper and lower margins and the Aramaic Targum in the inner margins and is integral to the carefully planned layout of the folios. Although it is written in a different shade of ink than the Rashi commentary and in smaller script, its letters are morphologically identical with those of Rashi’s commentary, so, clearly, it was written by the same scribe. This is in contrast to the opinion of Jechiel Orlean, who suggested that *Sefer ha-ga”n* was added to ÖNB.hebr.28 later by another hand. See Orlean 2009, 15–18.

77 Orlean 2009, 252. See also Esh 1957, 211.

78 Although *Va-tekhel* was not marked by the original scribe, a later hand added it to the upper margin of folio 43r, along with other parashah names.

79 The manuscripts are accessible online at <https://t1p.de/wb1ty> (BAV.ebr.14); <https://t1p.de/qze9o> (BR.BCB.430); <https://t1p.de/9iakm> (NLI.heb.8°7087); <https://t1p.de/a7y0r> (BODL.Harl.5709); <https://t1p.de/5uh8c> (BNF.hébr.44) [accessed 02/2023].

80 The manuscripts are accessible online at <https://t1p.de/dah4n> (JCL.95); <https://t1p.de/4tpit> (BODL.Opp.14) [accessed 02/2023].

81 Beit-Arié and Richler 2001, 15. The manuscript is accessible online at <https://t1p.de/jjlre> [accessed 02/2023].

82 This example of *Va-tekhel* is discussed in Esh 1957, 211–12 and Feigen, forthcoming.

be twelve).⁸³ In another late thirteenth-century liturgical Pentateuch, BAV.ebr.480, copied in the square French script similar to that in ÖNB.hebr.28, *Va-tekhel* is also denoted with the large initial letter *vav* (fol. 196r), but with no other markings that would indicate that it is a separate parashah.⁸⁴ The same appears in the liturgical Pentateuch BL.Add.15282 (fol. 134v) of ca. 1320, which, according to Sarit Shalev-Eyni, was produced in German Ashkenaz, in the area of Lake Constance, by a French émigré scribe.⁸⁵ The astonishing similarity between BL.Add.15282 and ÖNB.hebr.28 in terms of their scripts and the designs of the micrographic Masorah suggests that the scribe of BL.Add.15282 came from the area of France where ÖNB.hebr.28 was copied. Although the place of production of ÖNB.hebr.28 and BAV.ebr.480 is unknown, it stands to reason that they were produced in eastern France, most probably in Franche-Comté.⁸⁶ The script of ÖNB.hebr.28, its artistic repertoire, and the style of its micrography, particularly the large-scale, margin-dominating images with clear outlines and largely empty interiors, suggest a connection to the third Burgundian group (figs. 7 and 8).



Fig. 7. Liturgical Pentateuch, Micro-graphic Dragon. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, hébr. 36, fol. 73r.



Fig. 8. Liturgical Pentateuch, Micrographic Dragon. Vienna, Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek, Cod. hebr. 28, fol. 237r.

In all of these cases, however, it remains unclear as to whether the division of parashah *Pekudei* was actually implemented in these communities. In this regard, Isaac ben Barukh's second Bible, BNF.hébr.4, which belongs to the second Burgundian group, offers

83 ÖNB.hebr.28, fols. 137r, 139v.

84 Beit-Arié and Richler 2008, 415–16. The manuscript is accessible online at <https://t1p.de/qtmdt> [accessed 02/2023].

⁸⁵ Sarit Shalev-Eyni, *Jews among Christians: Hebrew Book Illumination from Lake Constance* (London: Miller, 2010), 130–44. See also Margoliouth 1899, 48–49, no. 74. The comparison of *Va-tekhel* in ÖNB.hebr.28 and BL.Add.15282 is discussed in Feigen, forthcoming. BL.Add.15282 is accessible online at <https://t1p.de/dnyui> [accessed 02/2023]. This manuscript was copied by the scribe Hayyim; see his colophon on fol. 313v. Interestingly enough, ÖNB.hebr.28 and BAV.ebr.480 were also copied by two homonymous scribes, Hayyim. The name Hayyim is marked in ÖNB.hebr.28, fols. 8v (the catchword) and 35v and BAV.ebr.480, fol. 13r. However, the three Hayyims in BL.Add.15282, ÖNB.hebr.28, and BAV.ebr.480 were not one and the same person as their scripts suggest.

86 In some publications, the origin of ÖNB.hebr.28 was erroneously attributed to Provence on the basis of a note by its later owner (e.g., Esh 1957, 211–12). On this owner note, which tells that the manuscript was found in the community of La Baume near Sisteron on the river Durance, which was completely destroyed in 1348 with the outbreak of the Black Death, see Joseph Shatzmiller, “Les Juifs de Provence pendant la peste noire,” *Revue des études juives* 133/3–4 (1974): 457–80.

compelling evidence. Unlike his earlier codex, LMB.theol.3, where he did not divide the biblical text into parashot,⁸⁷ BNF.hébr.4 marks the beginning of each parashah with enlarged letters and decorative panels. Intriguingly, while much space was left for the initial word *Va-tekhel* and its panel (fol. 75r), the word itself is missing (fig. 9).⁸⁸ Regardless of whether the omission was intentional or accidental, it seems that the practice in his community was to divide all four parashot at the end of Exodus, rather than just the last one, *Pekudei*. His community's practice can be deduced from his colophon in BNF.hébr.4, in which he wrote that he completed the Prophets on 17 Sivan, parashah *Be-midbar* (Appendix II, Group 2:2). As noted by Malachi Beit-Arié and his colleagues, in the year [5]046 (1286), which was a leap year, 17 Sivan fell during the week of parashah *Shelah*, three weeks after *Be-midbar*.⁸⁹ It is highly improbable that Isaac ben Barukh was unaware of the current parashah when writing his colophon. Therefore, the most likely explanation for this discrepancy is that his community divided each of the last four parashot of Exodus into two, thereby adding three and sometimes four parashot before *Be-midbar*. A list of the parashot and haftarot in BNF.hébr.4 (fol. 1v) that was added to the manuscript by a subsequent owner in the late fourteenth or fifteenth century clarifies the way these divisions were made in his community (fig. 10). Like SUB.hebr.25–26 and BAV.Urb.ebr.3, this list includes *Ve-ze ha-davar* (dividing *Tetzaveh*) and *Va-tekhel* (dividing *Pekudei*). However, it omits *Va-ya'as Bezalel*, replaces *Va-yif'en* with *Re'eh ata* (Exod 33:12, dividing *Ki-tisa*), and adds *Ve-et ha-mishkan* (Exod 26:1, dividing *Terumah*).⁹⁰

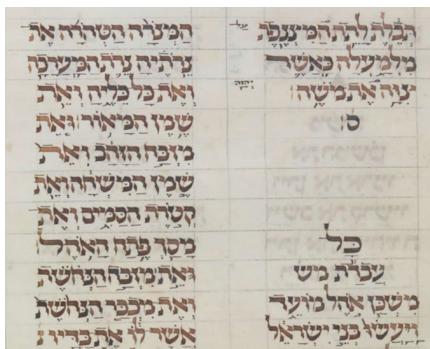


Fig. 9. Bible, *Va-tekhel*. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, hébr. 4, fol. 75r.

אללה רבשפטים	הרכ' אשר היה אל'ו מינו ירכיה כה
הרומה	וַיְהִי כְּמֵה לְטַלְמָה מִלְבָטָם כ
וְאַתָּה מְשִׁנָּנוּ	וַיְכַלְּפָה אֶת הַבְּנָה מִלְבָטָם ז
פְּעָזָה	אַתָּה בָּן אִירָב הַגָּר אֶת כְּבִיה יִשְׁרָאֵל יְחִיקָּא ד
וְזֹה הַרְכָּב	וַיְעִשָּׂא אֶת הַמְּבָנָה מִלְבָטָם ח
תְּשָׁא	וַיְשַׁלַּח אֲחָאכָב כְּלָגְלָל יִשְׁרָאֵל מִלְבָטָם כָּא
רַאֲהָ	וַיְרַחַי הַיְהָה אֶל אֱלֹהִים מִלְבָטָם כָּא
וַיְרִיחָל	וַיְשַׁלַּח הַמֶּלֶךְ שְׁלָמָה מִלְבָטָם ח
אַלְפָקוֹדָה	וַיְעִשְׂחוּרָב אֶת הַכְּיוֹרָה מִלְבָטָם ח
וְתַכְלָל	וַיְשַׁלַּח הַמֶּלֶךְ אַלְפָקוֹדָה מִלְבָטָם ח
וַיְדַרְאָה	עַם וַיְתַרְדֵּל יְשֻׁעָיָה כָּב

Fig. 10. Bible, List of the parashot and haftarot. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, hébr. 4, fol. 1v.

Thus, the emphasis on *Va-tekhel* seems to be a vestige of an older scribal tradition, transmitted in eastern France from manuscript models to their copies, rather than an indication that only *Pekudei* was divided. In practice, the communities using these codices may have adhered to different customs. Knowing their local practices, in all likelihood, users did not need explicit markings within their manuscripts to indicate the parashah breaks. Although the evidence is inconclusive, it suggests that Burgundian communities were more focused on the liturgical implications of leap years than their northern French counterparts. Around 1300, copies of liturgical Pentateuchs and their presumed models

87 The abbreviation 'פָּרָשָׁה' (parashah) at the beginning of the parashot was added by a later hand.

88 The missing initial word of *Va-tekhel* is discussed in Feigen, forthcoming.

89 SfarData, Questionnaire #0B005; Beit-Arié et al. 1972, no. 11.

90 These additional parashot and their haftarot are mentioned in the next section.

circulating in Burgundy often referenced the division of the parashot (or at least one parashah) at the end of Exodus in various ways.

3. Reading the Haftarot in the Burgundian Communities

Haftarot, the passages from the Prophets recited on Shabbat, festivals, and fast days following the reading of the weekly parashah, are integral aspects of the parashot, closely intertwined with their liturgical function. In French liturgical Pentateuchs, the haftarot were added at the end of the codex or more rarely before the Five Scrolls. Their arrangement was either in accordance with the liturgical year or in two groups: firstly, the haftarot for regular Shabbatot and, secondly, those for festivals and other occasions. The *Encyclopaedia Talmudica* identifies and differentiates among diverse regional practices of reciting the haftarot on the basis of manuscripts and printed editions of the Pentateuch but does not distinguish between the French and German-Ashkenazi rites.⁹¹ Likewise, no such distinction is made in the catalogues of Hebrew manuscripts, in which the haftarot in both French and German-Ashkenazi liturgical Pentateuchs are consistently delineated as “according to the Ashkenazi rite.”⁹² Nevertheless, a comparative analysis of the haftarot in the French and German codices reveals that they represent two distinct traditions, and medieval scribes were well aware of the differences.

In this respect, the liturgical Pentateuch produced in Rouen in 1239, BAV.ebr.14, is particularly instructive, as its scribe-vocalizer-masorete, Elijah ben Berekhiah, copied the haftarot according to the German-Ashkenazi rite, which generally corresponds to the rite defined as “Ashkenazi” in the *Encyclopaedia Talmudica*, and he indicated the verses that were to be recited in accordance with the Tzarfat (northern French) rite in the margins.⁹³ The deviations that he documented relate to haftarot *Va-yera*, *Jethro*, *Ki tisa*, *Ha-hodesh*, and the first day of Pesach.⁹⁴ He also commented on haftarah *Pekudei*, in this case denoting the German-Ashkenazi variant in the margin. In his earlier manuscript, SBB-PK.Or.qu.9, the haftarot follow the French rite.⁹⁵ The rationale behind Elijah’s decision to provide two variants of the haftarot in BAV.ebr.14 remains unclear. He may have copied the haftarot from a German-Ashkenazi model but had to adapt them to the rite of the manuscript’s patron, one Rabbi Asher, who was apparently French. Alternatively, it is also possible that the patron wanted to have both the German and the French sets of the haftarot in the same manuscript. Regardless of Elijah’s motivation, the unique evidence of the French rite of reciting the haftarot found in BAV.ebr.14 allows for comparison with the Burgundian

91 Meir Berlin, ed., *Encyclopaedia Talmudica*, vol. 10 (Jerusalem: Hotza’at Entziqlopedia Talmudit, 1976), 702–23 (“Haftarah,” [Hebrew]).

92 See, for example, the catalogues of the Hebrew manuscripts in Parma and the Vatican (Beit-Arié and Richler 2001 and Beit-Arié and Richler 2008, respectively).

93 Beit-Arié and Richler 2008, 9–11. The manuscript is accessible online at <https://t1p.de/wb1ty> [accessed 02/2023].

94 Undoubtedly, further discrepancies exist between the haftarot of these two rites, in addition to those identified by Elijah, but their examination is beyond the scope of this study and thus remains for future research.

95 Moriz Steinschneider, *Verzeichniss der Hebraeischen Handschriften*, vol. 1, Die Handschriften-Verzeichnisse der Königlichen Bibliothek zu Berlin 2 (Berlin: Vogt, 1878[b]), 22–23, no. 43. The manuscript is accessible online at <https://t1p.de/d6gjj> [accessed 02/2023].

manuscripts. As can be seen in Appendix III, the haftarot in the Burgundian groups largely correspond to the rite defined by Elijah ben Berekhiah in the margins of BAV.ebr.14 as the Tzarfatrite.⁹⁶ Further comparison with other French liturgical Pentateuchs has also shown that regardless of their specific region of production, they generally reflect the same rite, the one indicated in the margins of BAV.ebr.14. The distinct features of this French rite are in line with the liturgical directives of *Maḥzor Vitry*. A list of haftarot that appears in RGB.481 (fol. 329r) documents exactly the same rite as is found in the French liturgical Pentateuchs.

The only exceptions are the haftarot for the last two parashot of Exodus, *Va-yakhel* and *Pekudei*, where the contents were very unstable in medieval France. *Va-yakhel* and *Pekudei* are among the pairs of the parashot that were combined in non-leap years and read separately in leap years. In the non-leap years, only the haftarah for *Va-yakhel* was read. In the leap years, too, *Va-yakhel* or *Pekudei* was usually dropped out, since one of the four special Shabbatot, most commonly *Shabbat shekalim*, falls on and replaces one of these two haftarot. Possibly it was for this reason that *Maḥzor Vitry* (RGB.481, fol. 329r), as well as several other manuscripts (Table 6: SBB-PK.Or.qu.9 and LAUREN.Plut.3.3) do not include a haftarah for *Pekudei*, thereby apparently suggesting reading haftarah *Va-yakhel* in both leap and non-leap years.⁹⁷ Other manuscripts in Table 6 include both haftarot *Va-yakhel* and *Pekudei*. According to the French rite, haftarah *Va-yakhel* most commonly included the verses 1 Kings 7:13–22 or 26, in contrast to German Ashkenaz, where the verses 1 Kings 7:40–50 were traditionally recited. The German-Ashkenazi haftarah for *Va-yakhel* (1 Kings 7:40–50 or more verses) in French codices was often assigned to *Pekudei*. Remarkably, a number of Burgundian manuscripts follow the German-Ashkenazi rite of reciting haftarot *Va-yakhel* and *Pekudei*, although all the other haftarot in these codices are read according to the French rite as described above (Table 6: BAV.Urb.ebr.3; BP.3191; BNF.hébr.36). Even manuscripts copied by the same scribe sometimes vary in their selection of the verses for these occasions (Table 6: BODL.Kenn.3; LAUREN.Plut.3.3; BP.3289; and BNF.hébr.36), likely owing to the use of variant models.

Table 6: Haftarot *Va-yakhel*, *Pekudei*, and *Va-tekhel* in French manuscripts

Conventions: The colours denote the following groups of manuscripts that share the hands of their scribes and masoretes: **The Rouen group, copied by Elijah ben Berekhiah (1233 and 1239); the first Burgundian group; the second Burgundian group; the third Burgundian group; BL.Add.9403, which contains a haftarah for *Va-tekhel*.** The manuscripts copied by the same scribe in each group are marked in bold.

Haftarot	1 Kings 7:13–22	1 Kings 7:13–26	1 Kings 7:27–39	1 Kings 7:40–50	1 Kings 7:40–51	1 Kings 7:40–8:1	1 Kings 7:51–8:11	1 Kings 7:51–8:21
<i>Va-yakhel</i>	BP.2339 BODL.Kenn.3	SBB-PK. Or.qu.9* BP.3289 BL.Add.9403		BAV.Urb.ebr.3 SUB.hebr.26 BP.3191 BNF.hébr.36	LAUREN. Plut.3.3*	BAV.ebr.14		
<i>Pekudei</i>		BAV.ebr.14	BL.Add. 9403	BP.3289		BP.2339 BODL. Kenn.3	SUB. hebr.26	BAV.Urb.ebr.3 BP.3191 BNF.hébr.36
<i>Va-tekhel</i>					BL.Add.9403			

*No haftarah for *Pekudei*

⁹⁶ The Bibles BNF.hébr.4 and BP.3286–3287 are not included in the Appendix. While their scribes indicated the beginning of the haftarot within the Prophets, they did so inconsistently and did not mark the end of the haftarot.

⁹⁷ Some later Ashkenazi halakhic authorities justified the reading of only haftarah *Va-yakhel* by the fact that haftarah *Pekudei* is read on the second day of Sukkot. See Shlomo Solomon, "הפטרת פרשת ויקהיל ופרשת פקדוי" in *בשנה מעוגרת*, *Yerushatenu* 2 (2008): 176–84.

The variety and sometimes confusion of the verses for haftarat *Va-yakhel* and *Pekudei* in French manuscripts was not due solely to the calendrical complexities of their recitation, but also to the inclusion of additional parashot and the need to assign corresponding haftarat. A special haftarah for *Va-tekhel* is listed, for example, in *Etz Hayyim* by Jacob Ḥazzan of London and includes 1 Kings 8:12–21, simply continuing haftarah *Pekudei*, 1 Kings 7:51–8:11.⁹⁸ In the French manuscripts, however, parashah *Va-tekhel* does not usually have a haftarah, even in those which do divide parashah *Pekudei* at *Ve-tekhel*, except in one case. In the liturgical Pentateuch BL.Add.9403, produced in southern (south of the Loire) or south-eastern France in the second half of the thirteenth century, haftarah *Va-tekhel* appears at the end of the haftarat of Exodus (fol. 128v), following haftarat *Va-yakhel* and *Pekudei* (fig. 11).⁹⁹ Haftarah *Va-yakhel* in this manuscript includes the verses 1 Kings 7:13–26, which are commonly assigned to this haftarah in French manuscripts (Table 6).¹⁰⁰ The verses of haftarah *Va-tekhel*, 1 Kings 7:40–51, are the same ones that are usually used for haftarah *Pekudei*.¹⁰¹ Thus, for *Pekudei*, the scribe of BL.Add.9403 used the verses in between, namely, 1 Kings 7:27–39, which otherwise appear among the haftarat for additional parashot only in a later list added to BNF.hébr.4 (Table 7). In so doing, the scribe of BL.Add.9403 divided the entire seventh chapter of 1 Kings into three sequential parts, which were used as haftarat *Va-yakhel*, *Pekudei*, and *Va-Tekhel*, respectively (Table 6: in red). Interestingly enough, parashah *Va-tekhel* itself in this manuscript does not begin with a larger initial word (fol. 54v; fig. 12). The lack of emphasis on the initial word *Va-tekhel* in the manuscript containing the haftarah for that parashah further highlights the fact that textual articulation did not always correspond to the actual liturgical practice.



Fig. 11. Liturgical Pentateuch, Haftarah *Va-tekhel*. London, British Library, Add. 9403, fol. 128v.

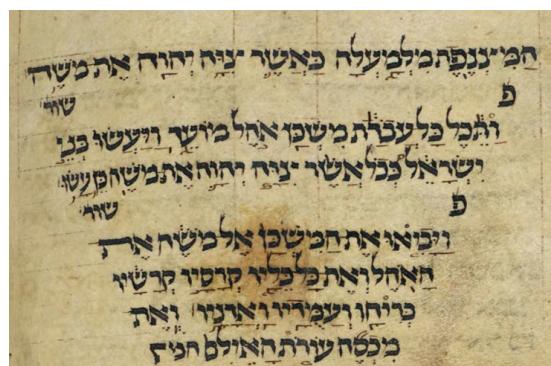


Fig. 12. Liturgical Pentateuch, *Va-tekhel*. London, British Library, Add. 9403, fol. 54v.

98 Haftarat *Pekudei* and preceding *Va-yakhel*, which includes 1 Kings 7:40–50, are the same as in the German-Ashkenazi rite. Brody 1942, 54.

99 Margoliouth 1899, 47–48, no. 73. The manuscript is accessible online at <https://t1p.de/lcooc> [accessed 02/2023].

100 According to *Encyclopaedia Talmudica*, these verses are also assigned to haftarah *Va-yakhel* in some Sephardi and Italian sources. Berlin 1976, 705.

101 Haftarah *Va-tekhel* is titled "בָּסְפָּר" ("in the same book"), meaning in the same book of Kings as haftarat *Va-yakhel* and *Pekudei*.

Whereas the spread of liturgical implementation of parashah *Va-tekhel* remains largely unknown, the division of the last four parashot of Exodus, indicated in BAV.Urb.ebr.3 and SUB.hebr.25–26, seems to be a regional Burgundian custom. Unlike the haftarot in SUB.hebr.25–26, which follow the common French rite without any special additions (Appendix III), BAV.Urb.ebr.3 includes uncommon haftarot for two of the four additional parashot, *Ve-ze ha-davar* and *Va-yif'en* (Table 7: BAV.Urb.ebr.3). The haftarah for *Ve-ze ha-davar* features Ezekiel 43:10–27. In other French codices, these verses are usually assigned to haftarah *Tetzaveh*, which is divided at *Ve-ze ha-davar*. The haftarah for *Tetzaveh* in BAV.Urb.ebr.3, Zechariah 6:9–8:3, connects the crowning of High Priest Joshua with the donning of Aaron's sacral vestments as described in the parashah. The scribe of SUB.hebr.26, Joseph ben Isaac, added Zechariah 6:9–[8:3] in the margins as an alternative haftarah for *Tetzaveh* ("רְכָב אַתְּ תַּצְהַוְתָּה") (Table 7: SUB.hebr.26).

Table 7: Additional haftarot in Burgundian and Provençal manuscripts (screened in blue)

Burgundian custom								Provençal custom	
Haftarot	SUB.hebr.26 (fols. 101v– 105r)	BAV.Urb. ebr.3 (fols. 377r–382r)	BNF.hébr.4 (fol. 1v)*	BCI.1 (fols. 391r–399v)	CAM- TR.F.18.24 (fols. 382v– 387r)	BCI.22 (fols. 67v–75v)	RGB.119 (fols. 118r–122r, 130r, 138v– 142r)		
<i>Terumah</i>	1 Kgs 5:26– 6:13	1 Kgs 5:26– 6:13	1 Kgs 5:26– [...]	1 Kgs 5:26– 6:13	1 Kgs 5:26– 6:13	1 Kgs 5:26– 6:13	1 Kgs 5:26– 6:13	1 Kgs 5:26– 6:13	
<i>Ve-et ha- mishkan</i>	--	--	1 Kgs 6:14– [...]	--	--	--	1 Kgs 6:14–36	1 Kgs 6:14–7:1	
<i>Tetzaveh</i>	Ezek 43:10–27	Zech 6:9–8:3	Ezek 43:10– [...]	Ezek 43:10–27	Ezek 43:10–27	Ezek 43:10–27	Zech 6:9–8:3	Ezek 43:10–27	
	<i>Tetzaveh aher</i> (added by the scribe in the margins):								
	Zech. 6:9–7:15 (trimmed)								
<i>Ve-ze ha- davar</i>	--	Ezek 43:10–27	1 Kgs 7:27– [...]	Zech 6:9–8:3 (6:13–8:3 are unvocalized)	Zech 6:9–8:3	Ezek 43:10–27	Zech 6:9–8:3 (unvocalized)		
<i>Ki-tisa</i>	1 Kgs 18:20–39	1 Kgs 18:1–19	1 Kgs 18:20– [...]	1 Kgs 18:1–19 (unvocalized)	1 Kgs 18:1–19	1 Kgs 18:20–39	1 Kgs 18:20–39		
<i>Va-yif'en</i>	--	1 Kgs 18:20–39		1 Kgs 18:20–39	1 Kgs 18:20–39	--		1 Kgs 18:46– 19:21	
<i>Re'e ata</i>	--	--	1 Kgs 18:46– [...]	--	--	--	--	1 Kgs 18:46– 19:21**	
<i>Va-yakhel</i>	1 Kgs 7:40–50	1 Kgs 7:40–50 (+ 7:51–8:1 are unvocalized and repeated below)	1 Kgs 7:13– [...]	1 Kgs 7:40–50	1 Kgs 7:40–50	1 Kgs 7:13–26	1 Kgs 7:13–26		
<i>Va-ya'as Bezalel</i>	--	--	--	--	--	--	--		
<i>Pekudei</i>	1 Kgs 7:51– 8:11	1 Kgs 7:51– 8:21	1 Kgs 7:40– [...]	1 Kgs 7:51– 8:21	1 Kgs 7:51–21	1 Kgs 7:40–50	1 Kgs 7:40–8:1		
<i>Va-tekhel</i>	--	--	1 Kgs 7:51– [...]	--	--	--	--		

*Later addition to the manuscript.

**The haftarah is titled בְּקָרְבָּן or הַמִּזְבֵּחַ, which is an alternative division of parashah *Ki tisa*.

There are several other manuscripts that include additional haftarot, although they do not divide the last four parashot in Exodus by any visual means. One of them is a Provençal liturgical Pentateuch, BCI.21–22, copied by Joseph ben Samuel Barceloni in Sephardi script in Arles in 1202.¹⁰² This codex includes two additional haftarot, *Ve-et ha-mishkan* and *Ve-ze ha-davar*, the latter being the same as in BAV.Urb.ebr.3 (Table 7: BCI.22). The second codex, a partial liturgical Pentateuch, RGB.119, has three additional haftarot, *Ve-et ha-mishkan*, *Ve-ze ha-davar*, and *Va-yifern* (Table 7: RGB.119). This manuscript was copied by Solomon ben Ḥasdai in Sephardi script in northern Italy at the end of the fourteenth century.¹⁰³ In the margins of haftarah *Ve-ze ha-davar*, the scribe explained the various ways of reciting this section of the haftarat (fol. 122r):

מנhog פרובינציה בשנה עבורה לחלק תרומה עם ואת המשכן ואתה תצוה עם וזה הדבר כי תשא עם
ויפן ויש נהגים כי תשא עם ראה אתה שאין רוצים לטעום טעם העגל בשתי שבתות. ויקחלו עם
אללה פקדוי. ומפטירין שבת ואת המשכן ובין שלמה. וזה הדבר בוכריה ויהי דבר יי' וכמו קבוח מאת
הגולה. ראה אתה ויד יי' היהת אל אללה.

(A Provençal custom is to divide in the leap year [parashah] *Terumah* with *Ve-et ha-mishkan* [Exod 26:1], *Ve-ata tetzaveh* with *Ve-ze ha-davar* [Exod 29:1], *Ki tisa* with *Va-yifern* [Exod 32:15]; and there are those who are accustomed [to divide] *Ki tisa* with *Re'eh ata* [Exod 33:12] since they do not want to taste the taste of calf on two Shabbatot. And *Va-yakhel* with *Pekudei* [Exod 38:21]. And the haftarah for Shabbat *Ve-et ha-mishkan* is *Va-yiven Shelomo* [1 Kgs 6:14]. [For] *Ve-ze ha-davar* is Zechariah, *Va-yihidvar* ... [Zech 6:9]. [For] *Re'eh ata* is *Ve-yad* ... [1 Kgs 18:46].)

Solomon ben Ḥasdai was a professional scribe who produced manuscripts for several patrons in northern Italy.¹⁰⁴ RGB.119, which he copied for his own use, may have been designed as a model, which would explain why it includes a number of rites, as then Solomon could choose the appropriate rite for the copies he produced. This passage thus provides clear evidence for the coexistence of varied liturgical customs within the Jewish communities of his environment. His reference to the Provençal custom regarding the haftarot is largely reminiscent of the liturgical variations recorded in a compendium on writing Torah scrolls, *Kiryat Sefer*, by the Provençal scholar Menahem ben Solomon ha-Meiri (1249–1315).¹⁰⁵ It is worthy of note that the later list of the parashot and haftarot added at the beginning of BNF.hébr.4 is closer to the Provençal examples than to the Burgundian ones, suggesting that the manuscript was used by a French Jew in either Provence or Italy. Thus, the custom of dividing the final parashot of Exodus in leap years and assigning them additional haftarot appears to have been widespread throughout the

¹⁰² SfarData, Questionnaire #E349. The manuscript is accessible online at <https://t1p.de/31o02> [accessed 02/2023].

¹⁰³ SfarData, Questionnaire #ZY123. The manuscript is accessible online at <https://t1p.de/7ho95> [accessed 02/2023]. Another variation of haftarat *Ve-ze ha-davar* and *Va-yifern* is found in the fifteenth-century liturgical Pentateuch, copied in Sephardi script, HUC.3 (fols. 366v–368v): 1 Kings 7:27–37 (*Ve-ze ha-davar*; these verses were used for haftarah *Va-tekhel* in the previously discussed BL.Add.9403) and 1 Kings 18:46–19:21 (*Va-yifern*). The manuscript is accessible online at <https://t1p.de/e0ody> [accessed 02/2023].

¹⁰⁴ For example, he copied a Bible with Masorah for Benjamin ben Menahem of Corinaldo in Ferrara in 1396, which allows for dating and localizing RGB.119 (SfarData, Questionnaire #E20; see also #ZE323).

¹⁰⁵ Moshe Hershler, ed., *Κρίτις ספר מנאחים בון שלמה המאייר* (Jerusalem: Defus ha-Masorah, 1956), 84.

Kingdom of Burgundy, including Provence. Not only is it challenging for us to categorise the various manifestations of this custom, it also presented difficulties for medieval scribes. Consequently, they sometimes provided alternative versions or left certain haftarot, or portions thereof, unvocalized, a common practice to signify uncertainty regarding their liturgical use (Table 7).

The remaining two Burgundian liturgical Pentateuchs in Table 7 that include haftarot *Ve-ze ha-davar* and *Va-yif'en*, BCI.1 (fig. 13) and CAM-TR.F.18.22–24, are more similar to BAV.Urb.ebr.3 than to the Provençal examples in the choice of the verses to be recited for the entire set of the haftarot from *Terumah* to *Pekudei*. As in SUB.hebr.25–26 and BAV.Urb.ebr.3, they were copied in Ashkenazi (French) and not Sephardi (Provençal) square script. Although the production of CAM-TR.F.18.22–24 cannot yet be localized more precisely,¹⁰⁶ it stands to reason that BCI.1 was produced in Burgundy.¹⁰⁷ BCI.1 does not have a colophon but it is datable and localizable owing to a bill of sale, which notes that Ḥiyya ben Ezekiel sold this codex to Menashe ben Ezekiel in the presence of two witnesses, Ḥayyim ben Ḥayyim and Isaac ben Yehotzadak, who signed the bill (fol. 440v). The transaction took place in 1284, which provides *terminus ante quem* for the manuscript's production. Copied on parchment with almost indistinguishable sides, it was ruled by plummet and pricked in both its inner and outer margins, which suggests that BCI.1 must have been produced shortly before it was sold. The bill also refers to the place of sale as בְּרֹלָא. Ktiv (the International Collection of Digitized Hebrew Manuscripts) identifies as the town of Brühl situated not far from Cologne, but that is highly unlikely because of the currency mentioned in the bill.¹⁰⁸ BCI.1 was sold for the sum of 30 livre tournois “בְּשָׁלְשִׁים” (לטרן טוֹנוֹיִשׁ) — the same currency that was mentioned in the bill of sale for BAV.Urb.ebr.3 in Nyon. The locale בְּרֹלָא here is thus most likely one of the towns called Le Breuil (in Allier, Rhône, or Saône-et-Loire?) in the Duchy of Burgundy. The bill of sale, together with the liturgical peculiarities of this codex, suggests that it was produced not far from the area where it was later sold, somewhere in Burgundy.



Fig. 13. Liturgical Pentateuch, Haftarah *Ve-ze ha-davar*.

Rome, Biblioteca della Comunità Israelitica, 1, fol. 396v.

¹⁰⁶ Herbert Loewe, *Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Hebrew Character, Collected and Bequeathed to Trinity College Library by the Late William Aldis Wright* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1926), 3, no. 14. The manuscript is accessible online at <https://t1p.de/al9pv> [accessed 02/2023].

¹⁰⁷ The manuscript is accessible online at <https://t1p.de/zwk3f> [accessed 02/2023].

¹⁰⁸ For Ktiv's identification, based on Avigdor Aptowitzer, ed., ת' לְלָל פְּסָקִי דִּינִים, חֲדֹשִׁים וְשׂוֹתֶה (Jerusalem: Mekitzei Nirdamim, 1938), see <https://t1p.de/zwk3f> [accessed 02/2023].

The Burgundian manuscripts show the existence of two parallel traditions regarding parashot and haftarot. One divided parashah *Pekudei* at *Va-tekhel* so that parashah *Bemidbar* could be read on the Shabbat before Shavuot. This custom originated around 1300 in either northern France or England but has been preserved mainly in the Burgundian manuscripts. Originally, a special haftarah *Va-tekhel* was reserved for those years when there was a necessity to divide *Pekudei*, evidence for which has only been found in *Etz Hayyim*, BL.Add.9403, and in the list added to BNF.hébr.4. Another Burgundian custom concerned the observance of the ancient rule of *pikdu u-pishu*, namely, reading parashah *Tzav* on the Shabbat before Pesach in both non-leap and leap years. To do so, each of the last four parashot in Exodus was divided into two. This practice was obviously spread in the former Kingdom of Burgundy, with minor differences between Burgundian (the Duchy and County of Burgundy) and Provençal traditions.

Conclusions

The above analysis suggests that the liturgical aspects of the manuscripts were shaped by multiple factors, including not only local liturgical customs but also the customs reflected in the models that the scribes used for copying. This observation raises broader questions about interpreting manuscript evidence: To what extent does the visual representation of a text correspond to the actual liturgical practice? Did Burgundian scribes simply copy existing models, including their liturgical peculiarities, occasionally adapting them to local rites? Conversely, does the absence of the large initial words for the additional parashot in the last portion of Exodus and their haftarot necessarily mean that the custom of dividing these parashot in leap years was not observed in those Burgundian communities? Users of these manuscripts, who were likely familiar with local practices, may not have needed explicit indications. In this respect, the study of the four Burgundian groups, each group copied by the same scribes and/or masoretes, is particularly instructive. It demonstrates that even manuscripts copied by the same scribe can differ liturgically, thereby highlighting the crucial role of the model texts.

Despite the differences between text transmission and actual practices, only direct reference to the implementation of the division of the last four parashot of Exodus is preserved in SUB.hebr.25–26 and BAV.Urb.ebr.3. This suggests much greater consideration of the liturgical complexities of leap years in Burgundy than in northern France, defined here as the territory north of the Loire, where these rare customs seemingly originated. Whereas northern French Jewish communities apparently followed the directives of Rabbeinu Tam and did not divide any of the parashot at the end of Exodus, those in the historical Kingdom of Burgundy transmitted the tradition in their manuscripts, either dividing the four parashot at the end of Exodus or only the last one, *Pekudei*. The additional haftarot found in codices from historical Burgundy (including Provence) suggest that these practices were indeed followed at least in some of those communities.

The four Burgundian groups I discussed above are just the tip of the iceberg. Many unattributed codices from Burgundy await scholarly attention. Further research promises to expand upon the initial findings presented here and, further, to illuminate the vibrant and distinctive manuscript culture that flourished along the eastern borderland of France.

Abbreviations for Libraries and Collections

ACAPMO	Modena, Archivio Capitolare
AStA	Amberg, Staatsarchive
BAV	Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica
BCI	Rome, Biblioteca della Comunità Israelitica
BL	London, British Library
BNF	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France
BODL.	Oxford, Bodleian Library
BP.	Parma, Biblioteca Palatina, Parm.
BR.	Zurich, Braginsky Collection
CAM-TR	Cambridge, Trinity College
HUC	Cincinnati, Hebrew Union College Library
JCL	Oxford, Jesus College Library
JTS	New York, Jewish Theological Seminary
KANTON.	Frauenfeld, Thurgauische Kantonsbibliothek
LAUREN.	Florence, Biblioteca Laurenziana
LMB	Kassel, Universitätsbibliothek, Landesbibliothek und Murhardsche Bibliothek
MOB	Washington, Museum of the Bible
MTAK	Budapest, Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Kaufmann Collection
NLI	Jerusalem, National Library of Israel
ÖNB	Vienna, Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek
RGB	Moscow, Russian State Library, Guenzburg Collection
SBB-PK	Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Preußischer Kulturbesitz
SUB	Hamburg, Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Carl von Ossietzky
TBM	Tours, Bibliothèque municipale
VBM	Verdun, Bibliothèque municipale (Bibliothèque d'étude du Grand Verdun)

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Appendix I: Partial Map of Medieval France



Appendix II: Description of the Burgundian Groups of Masoretic Manuscripts

Abbreviations used:

MM: Masora magna

MP: Masora parva

MS: Manuscript

MS: Manuscript

MR. Miami 51

R.C. Kashin's C

Group 1: Duchy or County of Burgundy, before 1302

1. BAV.Urb.ebr.3

429 folios (paginated until p. 101 but thereafter foliated starting from 50r [=102])

390 × 300 mm

Liturgical Pentateuch, vocalized and accentuated, with Masorah:

Pentateuch with TR Onkelos; Five scrolls (Ruth, Song of Songs, Ecclesiastes, Lamentations, Esther); Haftarat according to the French rite.

SCRIBE 1: Hayyim, except for the folios copied by SCRIBES 2 and 3

Colophon, fol. 401r (end of the haftarat for regular Shabbats):

חזק ונתחזק חיים | הסופר לא יזק

Hayyim marked his name in the MT, fols. 189v, 304v.

SCRIBE 2: Joseph ben Isaac (=Scribe of SUB.hebr.25–26), pp. 17–32 and fol. 366r (outer column)–366v (outer column).

SCRIBE 3: Anonymous, pp. 33–35 (inner and middle columns), fols. 161r–162r (inner and middle columns), 365r–366r (inner and middle columns).

VOCALIZER-MASORETE: Samson.

Samson marked his name in the MM, fols. 92r, 105r, 106v, 405v.

Bill of sale, fol. 402r:

109 The Book of Job is missing.

[נפשו בטוב תlein וזרעו יירש ארץ | אלהו ב"ר חיים ז"ל זכר צדיק לברכה]

2. SUB.hebr.25–26

339 and 196 folios respectively

325 × 278 mm

Liturgical Pentateuch, vocalized and accentuated, with *masora parva*:

Pentateuch with TR Onkelos; Haftarat according to the French rite;¹¹⁰ Five scrolls (Ruth, Song of Songs, Ecclesiastes, Esther, Lamentations); Job.

SCRIBE-VOCALIZER-MASORETE: Joseph ben Isaac¹¹¹ (=Scribe 2 of BAV.Urb.ebr.3).
Colophon, SUB.hebr.26, fol. 86v (end of the Pentateuch):

חזק ונתחזק יוסף בן הק[דוש] ר' יצחק

Joseph marked his name in the MT, SUB.hebr.25, fols. 67r, 151r, 175r; SUB.hebr.26, 64v, 93r.

Joseph divided the three last parashot of Exodus into two (Exod 29:1, fol. 305v; Exod 32:15, fol. 315r; Exod 37:1, fol. 327v) and commented:

כאן סיום הפרשה במלכות בורגוניה... בשנה מעברת בלבד

Group F2: County of Burgundy, 1260–1280 and 1286

1. LMB.theol.3

281 folios

410 × 300 mm

Pentateuch and Writings, vocalized and accentuated, with Masorah:

Pentateuch; Writings (Ruth, Psalms, Job, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Song of Songs, Lamentations, Daniel, Esther, Ezra-Nehemiah, 1–2 Chronicles).

SCRIBE-VOCALISER-MASORETE: Isaac ben Barukh (=Scribe 1 of BNF.hébr.4).
Colophon I, fol. 82v, integrated into the micrographic fleur-de-lys that contains the summary of the verses in Leviticus (end of Leviticus):

אני יצחק בר | רבי ברוך הסופר כתבת זה החומש וסיימתי יומן [...] פרשנת יעקב ברוך | הנתן לייען כוח אמן

Colophon II, fol. 218r (end of Daniel):

¹¹² חזק ונתחזק | הסופר לא יזק: יצחק | ב"ר [ברוך] [...]

Isaac marked his name in the MT, fols. 240v, 258v.

Fol. 1 was replaced by a later hand.

¹¹⁰ The final formula at their end mentions the completion of the haftarat and five scrolls. The scrolls apparently preceded the haftarat in the original MS and were later misbound.

¹¹¹ This Joseph ben Isaac should be distinguished from the homonymous scribe of BODL.Kenn.3, as well as from the Joseph ben Isaac who penned TBM.9. These are not one and the same individual.

¹¹² The bottom line is cropped.

2. BNF.hébr.4

616 folios

478 × 341 mm

Bible, vocalized and accentuated, with Masorah:

Pentateuch; Early Prophets (Joshua, Judges, 1–2 Samuel, 1–2 Kings) and Latter Prophets (Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Isaiah, Twelve Minor Prophets); Haftarot according to the French rite;¹¹³ Writings (Ruth, Psalms, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Song of Songs, Lamentations, Daniel, Ezra-Nehemiah, Job, Esther, 1–2 Chronicles).

SCRIBE 1: Isaac ben Barukh (=Scribe of LMB.theol.3), except for the folios copied by SCRIBE 2.

Colophon, fol. 446r (end of the Prophets):

חוקני ואמצני | ומתורהך תלמוני | ומUPER תרומני | ובסומתך צפוני | אני יצחק | בר רב ברכז
 הסופר | ג"ע [נוחו עז] כתבת זה הספר | שנק[רא] [עשרה וארבעה] | ר' יעקב
 בה"ג [בן הנדייב] | ר' יוסף ושמו רב | יהודה בן הנדייב רב[י] | יוסף אי"ש ח"ל [ארך ימים ושות חיים
 ושלום יוסףו ל' ; Prov 3:2] | סימתי ש"ל [שבח לאל] יום ג' | פרש[ת] במדבר בעשר[ה] | ושבעה
 לירח סיון | שנת ארבעת אלפים | וארבעים ושהה | לבריאות עולם: המק[ום] | זיכ[המ] לזרען ולזרע
 | זרעם בעגל ובזמן | קרייב ואמרו אמן

(11 June 1286)

Isaac marked his name in the MT, fol. 15r, 18r, 18v, 68r, 141r, 157r.

SCRIBE 2: Anonymous, fol. 619v–622r.

MASORETE: Anonymous.

VOCALIZER: Unknown.

A later user of the MS added on fol. 1v–4r lists of the parashot, haftarot, and liturgical readings related to the festivals and special occasions.

Another user, Hayyim, replaced fol. 77, 301. The replaced folios are partly vocalised and accentuated and do not contain a Masorah. Hayyim marked his name in the MT, fol. 301v.

Group 3: County of Burgundy, Poligny, 1280–1300

1. BP.3286–3287

258 and 202 folios respectively

500 × 375 mm

Bible, vocalized and accentuated, with Masorah:

BP.3286 (vol. I): Pentateuch (Genesis and the beginning of Exodus are missing); Early Prophets, incomplete (Joshua, Judges, 1–2 Samuel, 1–2 Kings).

BP.3287 (vol. II): Latter Prophets (Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Isaiah, Twelve Minor Prophets); Haftarot according to the French rite;¹¹⁵ Writings (Song of Songs, Ruth, Lamentations, Ecclesiastes, incomplete Esther, incomplete Daniel, Ezra-incomplete Nehemiah). Psalms, Proverbs, Job, and 1–2 Chronicles are missing.

¹¹³ Within the Prophets, each haftarah begins with a large initial word framed by a decorative panel.

¹¹⁴ The word “four” (ארבעה), penned by Isaac over an erasure, is clearly an error and should be read as “five” thousand.

¹¹⁵ Within the Prophets, each haftarah begins with a large initial word framed by a decorative panel.

SCRIBE: Joseph.

Colophon, BP.3286, fol. 161v (end of the Prophets):

חזק | נתחזק יוסף הסופר לא | יק לא היום ולא לעולם עד | שיעלה חמור בסולם: | חזק | יוסף ואם

Joseph marked his name in the MT, BP.3286, fols. 82r, 220v.

VOCALIZER¹¹⁶-MASORETE: Meir (=Masorete of BP.3191; BNF.hébr.36; BP.3289).

Colophon, written in micrography, partly letter by letter on the rectos of BP.3287, fols. 158r–161r and 161v (end of the Prophets):

מ | א | ר: | חזק

Meir marked his name in the MM and MP, BP.3286, fols. 71v, 73r, 127v, 139v, 166r, 167r.

The last folio contains a list of haftarot written by a later Ashkenazi hand, with references to the folio numbers corresponding to those written in the upper left corner of this MS (cf. Beit-Arié and Richler 2001, 5). The same hand added references to haftarot next to the corresponding parashot in the MT.

2. BP.3191

447 folios

355 × 317 mm

Liturgical Pentateuch (bound out of order), vocalized and accentuated, with Masorah: Incomplete Pentateuch with TR Onkelos; Five scrolls (Song of Songs, Ruth, Lamentations, Ecclesiastes, Esther); Haftarot according to the French rite, missing in the beginning.

SCRIBE: Anonymous.

VOCALIZER-MASORETE: Meir (=Masorete of BP.3286–3287; BNF.hébr.36; BP.3289).

Meir marked his name in the MM and MP, fols. 200r, 253v, 370v.

A later hand replaced fols. 1r–7v, 65r–71v, 444r–446v without the Masorah.

3. BNF.hébr.36

364 folios

512 × 353 mm

Liturgical Pentateuch, vocalized and accentuated, with Masorah: Pentateuch with TR Onkelos; Five scrolls (Song of Songs, Ruth, Lamentations, Ecclesiastes, Esther); Haftarot according to the French rite; Job.

SCRIBE: Joseph ben Benjamin (=Scribe of BP.3289).

Colophon I, fol. 282r (end of the Pentateuch):

חזק | יוסף ב"ר בנימן צב"י [צדיק באמונתו ייחה]

Colophon II, vocalized, fol. 348r (end of the haftarot):

חזק נתחזק | וחשלם כל | המלאכה | אשר עשייה להחבר ר' אהר

Colophon III, fol. 364r (end of the MS):

וישוף הלבLER לא ימוות: | לא היום ולא לעולם עד | שיעלה גמל בסולם שייעקב | חלם:

¹¹⁶ Based on the ink's shade, it is plausible that the scribe Joseph added the vocalization in the MS's initial section.

Colophon IV, fol. 364v, vocalized (end of the MS):

ותכל כל מלאכת תורה משה המטולאה | מכל קרבן ואשה: בחמשי בשבת בשנים | עשר יום לירח תמוז שנה
חמשת אלפים | וששים שנה לבריאת עולם למן שאנו | מונן כאן בפּוֹלִני (Poligny) מעתה על די יוסף הספר
| להחבר רבי אהרן בן הנדייב רבי יעקב ה'ה' [וברונו לח'י העולם הבא] | הקב"ה זיכרו להגנות בו הוא ורעו
וירע זרע | עד סוף כל הדורות אמן ^{אמן} ואמן סלה: יוסף | הספר דפונט[ללאה] (Pontarlier) לא ייק לא היום
ולא לעולם עד שיעלה חמור בסולם שיעקב | חלם ויזכני לעשות ספרים אחרים

(30 June 1300)

VOCALIZER-MASORETE: Meir (=Masorete of BP.3286–3287; BP.3191; BP.3289).

Colophon I, written in micrography, partly letter by letter on the rectos of fols. 280r–281r
(end of the Pentateuch):

מ | אי | [ר]

Colophon II, written in micrography, partly letter by letter on the rectos of fols. 357r–364r
(end of the MS):

ה | נ | ק | ד | ז : | ח | ז | ק | זה ספר הח"ר [החבר רב] | אהרן שיח[יה] בן הנ"ר [הנדיב רב] יעקב
וצ"ל [זכור צדיק לברכה]

Meir marked his name in the MM, e.g., fols. 209r, 211r.

4. BP.3289

372 folios

530 × 370 mm

Liturgical Pentateuch, vocalized and accentuated, with Masorah:

Pentateuch, missing in the beginning, with TR Onkelos; Five scrolls (Song of Songs, Ruth, Lamentations, Esther, Ecclesiastes); Haftarot according to the French rite, missing at the end.

SCRIBE: Joseph ben Benjamin (=Scribe of BNF.hébr.36).

VOCALIZER-MASORETE: Meir (=Masorete of BP.3286–3287; BP.3191; BNF.hébr.36).

Meir marked his name in the MM, e.g., fols. 222v, 304r, 330v.

Colophon, written in micrography, partly letter by letter on the rectos of fols. 358r–372v
(end of the MS):

מאיר הנקדן יהיה יגאל סלה ועד חזק זה החומש ר' [...]

Group 4: Duchy of Burgundy, Charnay-lès-Mâcon?, 1290–1306

1. BP.2696, 3088

4 folios and 1 folios respectively

205 × 176 mm; 295 × 200 mm

BP.2696: Fragment of mahzor according to the French rite:

Liturgy for Shabbat *Hol ha-mo'ed* of Passover; The reading of Song of Songs and the relevant portion of the Pentateuch (incomplete).

BP.3088: Fragment from the Shavuot liturgy, Torah reading for the first day of Shavuot (Exod 19:1–24) with Targum Onkelos in the margins (incomplete).

SCRIBE: Anonymous (=Scribe of LAUREN.Plut.3.3; BODL.Kenn.3).

2. LAUREN.Plut.3.3

366 folios

425 × 305 mm

Liturgical Pentateuch, vocalized and accentuated, with Masorah:

List of differences between Ben Asher and Ben Naftali; Pentateuch with TR Onkelos and RC; Haftarat according to the French rite with RC; Five scrolls (Song of Songs, Ruth, Lamentations, Ecclesiastes, Esther) with RC.

SCRIBE: Anonymous (=Scribe of BODL.Kenn.3; BP.2696, 3088) copied the MT and TR.
MASORETE: Anonymous.

VOCALIZER: Isaac ben Menaḥem.

Colophon, fol. 366r (end of the MS):

ואני יצחק ב"ר מנהם הנגיד נגידתי זה החומש [לר' מחתה גראסי צ"ז]¹¹⁷ וסימתיו באחד בשבת |
בארבעה ועשרים יום לחדש אדר שנת [ארבעת]¹¹⁸ אלף וחמשים ואחת לבריאת עולם. המוקם יזכה
להגנות בו הוא ובנו | ובני בני | עד סוף כל הדורות א' סלה. ברוך הנזון לעש' כח ולאין אונס עצמה ירצה

(25 February 1291)

SCRIBE OF RC: Abraham.

Abraham marked his name in RC, e.g., fol. 20r, 41v.

3. BODL.Kenn.3

295 folios

263 × 185 mm

Liturgical Pentateuch, vocalized and accentuated, with Masorah:

Pentateuch with TR Onkelos; Five scrolls (Song of Songs, Ruth, Ecclesiastes, Lamentations, Esther); Haftarat according to the French rite.

SCRIBE: Anonymous (=Scribe of LAUREN.Plut.3.3; BP.2696, 3088), copied the MT and TR.

VOCALIZER-MASORETE: Joseph ben Isaac of Archiac (=Masorete of BP.3187–3189), except for Genesis and first four chapters of Exodus that were vocalized by another hand. Joseph was also the proofreader of most of the MT, apart from the notes in light brown ink added by a later hand.

Colophon written in two parts, fol. 239v (end of the scrolls):

1) ויהי ביום החמישי באחד חדש אדר שנת חמשים וחמשים ותשעה¹¹⁹ | חמשות אלף וחמשים ותשעה
נשלמה מלאכת הנגיד | והמסורת מז חמש זה מ כתוב יהודית ומתורגם ארמית | המוקם יזכה להגנות
בו ר' שמואל ב"ר משה הלוי הוּא | זרעו וזרעו עד סוף כל הדורות ועליו יהי מקים | פסוק זה לא
מושו מפיק ומפי זרעך ומפי זרע זרעך | מעתה ועד עולם

(4 February 1299)

2) אני יוסף ב"ר יצחק מארכיאק נגידתי ומסורתית [לבד מנקדת הספר הראשון]¹²⁰ זה החמץ לר' שמואל
ולהעם[דתני] הלוי והעמדתו על מכונו בעיר קרייניה(?) (Charny/Charigny/Charnay?) וכבש |

¹¹⁷ A later hand erased the original patron's name and substituted it with the current one. The name likely originates from the town of Grasse in Provence.

¹¹⁸ A later hand altered the thousands number to falsely date the manuscript to an earlier period. Originally, the thousands number was likely five, but it was erased and replaced with four, thus redating the manuscript to the year 291.

¹¹⁹ Here and further in this colophon, the dots added by the masorete above the letters denote errors.

¹²⁰ A note written to the right of the colophon by Joseph. Next to Exodus 4:18, Joseph indicated that he began to vocalize there: "באן החל יוסף הנגיד לנגיד" (fol. 57v).

שוכתי לסדר אותו כן אזכה לעשות ספרים אחרים הרבה | לעצמי ולבני אחרי ועלי יהיה מקים מקרא
זה לא | ימוש ספר התורה הזה מפץ והגית בו יומם ולילה לשמר | למען תשרם כל הכתוב בו כי אז
תצליח את דרכך ואו | תשכיל

Joseph marked his name in the MM, fols. 153r, 176v.

In the beginning of the fourteenth century, the manuscript underwent changes, most probably in southern France:

- Replacement of folio 1 (the beginning of Genesis) that opens the first quire;
- Replacement of folio 100 (the beginning of Leviticus) in the middle of a quire;
- Replacement of a bifolio 131–132 (the beginning of Numbers) in the middle of a quire;
- Erasure and overpainting of the panel on folio 54^bv (the beginning of Exodus);
- Erasure and overpainting of the panel on folio 178r (the beginning of Deuteronomy).

4. BP.3187–3189

128, 134, and 139 folios respectively

406 × 332 mm

Prophets and Writings, vocalized and accentuated, with Masorah:

BP.3187 (vol. I): Early Prophets (incomplete Joshua, incomplete Judges, incomplete 1–2 Samuel, incomplete 1–2 Kings) with TR Jonathan.

BP.3188 (vol. II): Latter Prophets (incomplete Jeremiah, Ezekiel, incomplete Isaiah) with TR Jonathan. Twelve Minor Prophets are missing.

BP.3189 (vol. III): Writings (Song of Songs, Ruth, Lamentations, incomplete Ecclesiastes, incomplete Esther, Dream of Mordecai and Prayers of Mordecai and Esther in Aramaic, incomplete Proverbs, Job, Daniel, incomplete Ezra-Nehemiah, incomplete 1–2 Chronicles) with TR to Song of Songs–Job. Psalms are missing.

SCRIBE 1: Nathan (=Scribe 1 of BP.3095, 3569; Scribe 1 of BP.2338–2339), copied the MT in all volumes, except for the folios copied by SCRIBE 2.

Nathan marked his name in the MT, BP.3187, fol. 79v.

SCRIBE 2: Anonymous, copied the TR in all volumes and the MT in BP.3189, fols. 1r–59v, 95r–139r.

VOCALIZER-MASORETE: Joseph ben Isaac of Archiac (=Masorete of BODL.Kenn.3). BP.3189, fols. 34r–39v are unvocalized. Another hand vocalized BP.3189, fols. 48r–59v; Joseph's note on fol. 48r reads:

מכאן עד סוף הספר לא מנקדתי

Colophon, BP.3189, fol. 139r (end of the MS):

יוסף הנקדן בר' יצחק מארכיאק

Joseph marked his name in the MM, e.g., BP.3187, fol. 26r.

A later hand replaced BP.3187, fols. 87r–102v (2 quires, text is missing between fols. 86v and 87r), 111r–111v, 118r–118v; BP.3189, fols. 92r–94r (text is missing at the end). The replaced folios are written on different parchment, unvocalized, and have no Masorah.

5. BP.3095, 3569

46 and 84 folios respectively

307 × 240 mm

Fragments of Writings, vocalized and accentuated, with Masorah:

BP.3095 (vol. I): Incomplete Psalms with TR and RC.

BP.3569 (vol. II): Incomplete Writings (Job, Daniel, Ezra-Nehemiah, 1 Chronicles) with RC.

SCRIBE 1: Nathan (=Scribe 1 of BP.3187–3189; Scribe 1 of BP.2338–2339), copied the MT and TR, except for the folios copied by SCRIBE 2.

SCRIBE 2: Jehiel, copied the MT and RC, BP.3569, fols. 30r–84v.

Jehiel marked his name in the MT, BP.3569, fols. 49r, 55r, 82v and RC, BP.3569, fol. 56v.

MASORETE: Anonymous.

VOCALIZER: Unknown.

6. BP.2338–2339

286 and 189 folios respectively

205 × 156 mm

Liturgical Pentateuch, vocalized and accentuated, with Masorah:

BP.2338 (vol. I): Pentateuch with TR Onkelos.

BP.2339 (vol. II): Five scrolls (Song of Songs, Ruth, Lamentations, Ecclesiastes, Esther); Haftarat according to the French rite; Proverbs and Job; RC to the entire MS (except for Job which hosts Joseph Kara's commentary) is a later addition.

SCRIBE 1: Nathan (=Scribe 1 of BP.3187–3189; Scribe 1 of BP.3095, 3569), copied the MT and TR, except for the folios copied by SCRIBES 2 and 3.

Nathan's note in the haftarat, BP.2339, fol. 129r (French in Hebrew letters, vocalized):

חזק ונתחזק הSCR בזין ליארז'יט מישט'יר

("Be strong the scribe and may we be strengthened; he would have needed it very much")

SCRIBE 2: Anonymous, BP.2339, fols. 1r–8v.

SCRIBE 3: Anonymous, BP.2339, fols. 129v–133v (these folios are partly vocalized but have no Masorah).

VOCALIZER-MASORETE: Isaac of Bressuire (=Masorete 1 of BL.Add.21160; Masorete of JTS.L420).

A note, written twice by the former owner of the MS, Meir ben Senior, informs the new owner about the circumstances of the MS's production (BP.2338, fol. 271r, repeated in BP.2339, fol. 189v):

אמת וברור כי הר' מאיר בן מוי' הר"ר שניאור ספר אל' כי חומש | זה נכתב בבית המתו' מר' בלנק' מאיר רואונש (Reims) וננדך ונמסר | בבית הנכבד הונ[צורת] מיד הר' יצחק מרברצויירא [...] (Bressuire) וגם דק בו לעיניו | אחר גמרו לנקרו ומה ששמעתי מפי כתבי וחתמתי נאם הצעיר [...] (Bressuire)

SCRIBE OF RC (and Joseph Kara's commentary): Levi Halfan (was added to the MS in Piedmont in the fifteenth century).

7. BL.Add.21160

329 folios

387 × 286 mm

Liturgical Pentateuch, vocalized and accentuated, with Masorah:

Incomplete Pentateuch with TR Onkelos; Incomplete Haftarat; Five scrolls (Ruth, incomplete Song of Songs, Ecclesiastes, Esther, Lamentations, incomplete Job).

SCRIBE 1: Barukh, except for the folios copied by SCRIBE 2.

Barukh marked his name in the MT, fols. 1r, 268v.

SCRIBE 2: Anonymous, fols. 298r–300v, 318v.

MASORETE 1: Isaac of Bressuire (=Masorete of JTS.L420; BP.2338–2339), except for the folios copied by MASORETES 1–4.

Isaac marked his name in the MM, fols. 16r, 25v, 274v.

MASORETE 2: Anonymous, fol. 13v.

MASORETE 3: Anonymous, fols. 14r, 15v.

MASORETE 4: Anonymous (possibly the scribe Barukh), fol. 17v.

MASORETE 5: fols. 319r–329v, possibly completing the missing Masorah at the end of the MS at some later point.

Apparently referring to the masorete Isaac, another hand (of the MS patron/owner?) commented in the margin, fol. 145r:

دلג יצחק הנקדן זה המஸור[ת]

VOCALIZER: At least two vocalizers. One of them indicated which parts he did not vocalize:

ג' קלונבישי אלה לא נקדתי (fol. 59v)

מכה עד סופה לא נקדתי מלבד פסוק אחרון אך לא ראשו (fol. 293r)

אין עמוד זה מנוקדי (fol. 295v)

This vocalizer was the proofreader of the MT.

8. JTS.L420

16 folios

520 × 420 mm

Fragment of Writings, vocalized and accentuated, with Masorah:

Daniel and 1 Chronicles, incomplete.

SCRIBE: Anonymous.

MASORETE: Isaac of Bressuire (=Masorete of BP.2338–2339; Masorete 1 of BL.Add.21160).

VOCALIZER: Unknown.

Appendix III: Haftarot in the Burgundian Liturgical Pentateuchs, Compared to the Rouen Manuscript (BAV.ebr.14)

Conventions: French rite is in blue; German-Ashkenazi rite is in red

Rouen MSS			First group of the Burgundian MSS		Second group of the Burgundian MSS			Third group of the Burgundian MSS	
Haftarot	BAV. ebr.14	SBB-PK. Or.qu.9	SUB. hebr.26	BAV. Urb. ebr.3	BNF. hébr.36	BP.3289	BP.3191	BODL. Kenn.3 and LAUREN. Plut.3.3	BP.2339
Va-yera	2 Kgs 4:1-37	2 Kgs 4:1-23	2 Kgs 4:1-23	2 Kgs 4:1-23	2 Kgs 4:1-23	2 Kgs 4:1-23	2 Kgs 4:1-23	2 Kgs 4:1-23	2 Kgs 4:1-23
Jethro	Isa 6:1-7:6, 9:5-6	Isa 6:1-7:6	Isa 6:1-7:6	Isa 6:1-7:6	Isa 6:1-7:6	Isa 6:1-7:6	Isa 6:1-7:6	Isa 6:1-7:6	Isa 6:1-7:6
Ki tisa	1 Kgs 18:1-39	1 Kgs 18:20-39	1 Kgs 18:20-39	1 Kgs 18:1-19*	1 Kgs 18:20-39	1 Kgs 18:20-39	1 Kgs 18:20-39	1 Kgs 18:20-39	1 Kgs 18:20-39

<i>Ha-hodesh</i>	Ezek 45:16– 46:15	Ezek 45:18– 46:15	Ezek 45:18– 46:15	Ezek 45:18– 46:15	Ezek 45:18– 46:15	Ezek 45:18– 46:15	Ezek 45:18– 46:15	Ezek 45:18–46:15	Ezek 45:18– 46:15
	<i>Scribal note:</i> בְּ[בָּרָא] תְּ[רִיאָה] בְּ[בָּרָא] כְּ[בָּרָא] Ezek 45:18– 46:15								
<i>First day of Pesach</i>	Josh 3:5–6:1	Josh 5:2–6:1	Josh 5:2–6:1, 27	Josh 3:5–6:1, 27	Josh 5:2–6:1, 27	Josh 5:2–6:1, 27	Josh 3:5–7**; 5:2–6:1, 27	Josh 5:2– 6:1, 27	Josh 5:2–6:1, 27
	<i>Scribal note:</i> בְּ[בָּרָא] מְ[תְּחִילָה] בְּ[בָּרָא] כְּ[בָּרָא] Josh 5:2–6:1								

*The passage of 1 Kings 18:1–39 was divided into two parts to serve as haftarah *Ki tisa* (18:1–19) and the additional haftarah *Va-yifēn* (18:20–39), see Table 7.

**The haftarah begins with Joshua 3:5–7 and continues with Joshua 5:2, which opens with a larger initial denoting the actual beginning of the haftarah.