

**Mauro Perani**  
*Università di Bologna*

***A 2009 updated Overview on the “Gerona Genizah”:  
a Ketubbah of 1377 from Castelló d’Empúries and other documents reused as binding\****

Published in “Hispania Judaica Bulletin” n. 7 (2010)

*To Eduard Feliu i Mabres (1938-2009) ז”ל  
President of the Societat Catalana d’Estudis Hebraics  
who on July 2009 suddenly passed away and whose  
scientific works strongly enriched  
our knowledge of the Catalan Jewry*

In this paper, I present an updated overview on the “Gerona Genizah”. With this term, used in analogical way, we mean the medieval Hebrew manuscripts reused as bookbinding in the archives of this Catalan town. At the end of this study in an Addendum I’ll publish the text of an early *ketubbah* that I identified this past year in the Arxiu Històric de Girona, whose parchment was recycled to bind a protocol.

The so-called “Gerona Genizah,” was known only locally prior to the late 1990s and the existence of which I made known to the international scientific world eleven years ago.

*1. The use of the term “Genizah” referred to Hebrew manuscripts reused as binding*

I would like to clarify the origin and meaning of the analogical use of the term “Genizah” to indicate the archives and libraries where thousands of ancient Hebrew manuscripts re-cycled as book bindings are kept, and also to answer to a not-rare objection of some colleagues who criticize this use as incorrect. Among those who recently criticized this term was the late Eduard Feliu, President of the Societat Catalana d’Estudis Hebraics and editor of the journal “Tamid”, in his lecture on *Documents i fragments hebraics dels arxius Catalans: estat de la qüestió*, delivered at the conference “Times and places of Jewish Girona” held in Gerona on March 23<sup>rd</sup>, 24<sup>th</sup> and 25<sup>th</sup>, 2009.

Everyone knows well that this “Genizah” is not a true Genizah but it is so called only by analogy with a real Genizah, like that discovered by Solomon Schechter in Old Cairo toward the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. The analogical use of the term European, or Italian, German or Gerona “Genizah” was coined by Prof. Yaaqov Sussmann on the occasion of a congress held in Tel Aviv in 1976 for the eightieth anniversary of the official discovery of the Cairo Genizah in 1896. And since that year, for the past 33 years, the term has often been used in publications in this field of research. Generally, when I tell people that it was Professor Sussmann who coined this term, and not myself, it is accepted at once.

*2. The re-discovery of the Gerona Genizah within the scientific world*

On the occasion of a conference that took place in Gerona from March 26-28, 1998, I visited the archives of the city in order to examine the Hebrew manuscript fragments that had been discovered in book bindings in the city’s archives in the preceding years. I went to the Arxiu diocesà i Biblioteca diocesana del Seminari de Girona, where I met the archivist Josep Maria Marquès, who had notified me that the notarial files of the Arxiu Històric de Girona contained numerous notarial registers from the 14<sup>th</sup> and 15<sup>th</sup> centuries whose binding cardboards had been obtained by gluing together scores of paper folios of Hebrew manuscripts. Marquès had already announced the presence of this hidden treasure in local bulletins in

---

\* I want to express my thanks to all the people who provided me with assistance on this paper. Ramón Magdalena Nom de Déu and Meritxell Blasco Orellana offered me their expertise in the study of catalan ketubbot, and in particular for the Catalan names contained in the text of this *ketubbah*; Montserrat Hosta y Rebés, Director of the Arxiu Històric de Girona, made it possible for me to study the Hebrew fragments reused as bindings and showed me this document; Esperança Valls i Pujol wrote her *addendum* on the electronic catalogue of the fragments; Talia Kraemer translated the paper into English and Pinchas Roth suggested some additions.

Gerona. In fact, in 1982 he had written in the “Diari Los Sitios” (now the “Diari de Girona”): “Fa ben poc vaig tenir el gust de poder donar la notícia del descobriment d’un lot importantíssim de manuscrits jueus gironins; s’està actualment sobre una pista que potser ampliarà encara aquest descobriment.” Some years later, this same diocesan archivist published an article in the local bulletin “El Punt” (Sunday April 19, 1987, p. 5), where he mentioned the fragments discovered and catalogued by Enric Cortès at the Arxiu diocesà i Biblioteca diocesana del Seminari de Girona: “Estic en condicions d’assegurar que almenys uns setanta protocols notarials de l’Arxiu Històric de Girona contenen en el seu relligat més fragments de textos hebreus. El descobriment fet és una mínima part del que s’ha de fer encara. Girona guarda una mica d’informació que espera, abans que els hebraïstes, artesans successors de l’inoblidable Palahí que amb paciència benedictina vagin estovant les tapes de llibres i es desencolin un a un els fràgils papers i els trossos de pergami. Després vindrà l’estudi pròpiament dit.”

When the conference was over, I went to conduct a survey of the Hebrew manuscript fragments present in the Arxiu Històric de Girona. This important archive contains 97 *notarias* for a total of 29,677 registers. The archives’ director at that time, Josep Matas i Balaguer, was not there at the time of my visit, but a very kind archivist showed me the registers contained in the notarial files. I was impressed by the quantity of Hebrew fragments present in the bindings of the notarial deeds: in two hours, I saw hundreds of such fragments. Surely in the notarial files of Gerona and Figueres alone there are thousands of folios and fragments of Hebrew manuscripts, predominantly made of paper.

### 3. *The chronological range of reusing Hebrew manuscripts in Gerona*

Of yet greater interest is that the above-mentioned Hebrew fragments were found in original book covers of notarial deeds dating from as early as 1330 through the 1400s.

If the majority of Hebrew paper fragments in Gerona were reused to bind books during the 14<sup>th</sup>, recycling continues during the 15<sup>th</sup> with some samples also in the first decades of the following century, until the mid of the 16<sup>th</sup>. This is demonstrated by a parchment bifolio of a Bible reused as a wrapper of the register titled *Notas de Capbreuacions de Flassá, Ayguaviva (sic), y de altres, de 1549. Not. Campmany*, followed by some names of places, *Domeny (sic), Gerona*, found in the Arxiu Capítular de la Catedral de Girona and published by Millàs Vallicrosa in 1953<sup>1</sup>. So in Gerona, still sixty years and more after the expulsion of 1492 material from Hebrew manuscripts to be recycled was available.

We are dealing mainly, as I mentioned previously, with paper manuscripts, whose folios and bifolios were glued together in order to form the cardboard of the bindings; there are also some fragments from parchment manuscripts, but it seemed to me that these were used less frequently. Based on a preliminary examination, about half of the Hebrew fragments are from literary texts and half from local documents, especially of juridical nature and related to the every-day life of the Jews in Gerona. I am convinced that in the archives of Gerona alone there are thousands of folios of Hebrew manuscripts from the 13<sup>th</sup> through the 15<sup>th</sup> centuries that ended up in this manner in bindings. These fragments could contain lost or unknown texts; texts from the local Kabbalah center, which flourished less than one century before the recycling of the manuscripts; documents concerning the life of the local community and other texts of great importance. In short, a true “Genizah” that surely holds big surprises.

### 4. *Previous discoveries in the Gerona Archives and notification in local and scientific publications*

The existence of Hebrew fragments in the bindings of books and registers discovered in Gerona and Barcelona had already been brought to light several decades ago by Millàs Vallicrosa and, recently, by other scholars as well. In 1928, Millàs Vallicrosa published the contents of a register belonging to a Jewish moneylender that had been found in a notarial binding from Gerona in the article “*Petita llista d’un prestamista jueu*,” which appeared in the “*Estudis Universitaris Catalans*,” XII (1927), pp. 65-67. In this paper Millàs Vallicrosa wrote the following about a similar phenomenon of reused paper Hebrew manuscripts as bookbindings in Barcelona: “dins les enquadernacions d’alguns llibres de l’Arxiu Històric de la Ciutat de Barcelona es troben papers escrits en hebreu, però de tal manera enganxats uns amb altres i esborrats, que és quasi impossible d’intentar un desentrellament. Per altra part, sembla que llur contingut no és molt interessant perquè compensi el treball”.

<sup>1</sup> Millàs i Vallicrosa, *Restos de una antigua Biblia hebraica manuscrita en Gerona*, “Sefarad”, 13 (1953), pp. 356-358.

Already eight years before, in his paper *Documents aljamiats de jueus Catalans (segle XV)* published in the “Butlletí de la Biblioteca de Catalunya”, vol. V (1918-1919), pp. 132-148, A. Duran I Sanpere mentioned a document which survived thanks to a note written on it in a later period.

In 1948, Millàs Vallicrosa reported on the discovery of a page of the Talmud Yerushalmi found in the binding of a book of “apocas (sic) de pensiones y salarios, 1417-18,” which had been discovered in the Arxiu Municipal de Girona. His comments on this finding were published in the brief article, *Un fragmento del Talmud Jerosolimitano*, published in “Anales del Instituto de Estudios Gerundenses” 3 (1948), p. 193.

In 1951, this same author reported on additional fragments that had been discovered at the Arxiu Capítular de la Catedral de Girona and whose existence had been brought to light by the archivist Jaime Marqués in the article *Restos de antiguos libros hebraicos*, which appeared in “Anales del Instituto de Estudios Gerundenses” 6 (1951), pp. 323 and was reprinted the following year in “Sefarad” 12 (1952) pp. 156-158. Millàs Vallicrosa wrote as follows: “No es la primera vez que constatamos el hecho de los encuadernadores judaicos de Cataluña – artesanía a la que se dedicaron con cierta preferencia – emplearan para los forros de la cubiertas de encuadernación hojas de antiguos libros hebraicos, que estarían deteriorados, o bien restos de cuadernos de cuentas, cuyas anotaciones estarían ya caducadas” (*ibid.*, p. 157).

Two years later, Millàs Vallicrosa published the description of a beautiful bifolio containing a Sephardic bible that had been found in bindings in the Arxiu Capítular de la Catedral de Girona; the article, titled *Restos de una Biblia hebraica manuscrita en Gerona*, appeared in “Sefarad,” 13 (1953), pp. 356-358. The bifolio originated from a register whose title, *Notas de Capbreuacions de Flassá, Ayguaviva y de altres, de 1549. Not. Campmany*, was written in ink on the Hebrew parchment, followed by several names of the locality, including *Domeny* and *Gerona*. From the date of this register, it is evident that even 60 years after the expulsion of the Jews in 1492, material from Hebrew manuscripts was available in Gerona for reuse.

In 1960 Millàs Vallicrosa published in “Sefarad” 20 (1960), pp. 17-49, a paper devoted to the Hebrew manuscript 19 also owned by the Arxiu Catedralici de Girona, titled: *Extractos del Talmud y alusiones polémicas en un manuscrito de la Biblioteca Catedral de Gerona*, but it was not reused as bookbinding.

The American rabbinical scholar, Bernard Chavel, visited Gerona as part of his research into the works of Nahmanides. He was shown a page from a manuscript copy of the early medieval Halakhic work, *Halakhot Gedolot*, that had been reused as a binding. He published the page in *Ha-Darom* 25 (1967), pp. 5-11.

In 1970, Pérez Castro published a study of 20 Hebrew parchment fragments “extraídos de las guardas de procesos inquisitoriales para cuya encuadernación se utilizaron pedazos de manuscritos hebreos” found in the Archivo Histórico Nacional de Madrid, whose existence had been pointed out to him by Haim Beinart of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. The study, titled *Fragmentos de códices del Antiguo Testamento Hebreo en el Archivo Histórico Nacional. I*, appeared in “Sefarad” 30 (1970), pp. 251-288. Pérez Castro announced the publication of additional fragments in a subsequent issue of the same journal.

In the early 1980s, new Hebrew fragments were discovered at the Arxiu diocesà i Biblioteca diocesana del Seminari, again in Gerona, and were published by Enric Cortès in three articles that appeared in the “Revista Catalana de Teologia.” Altogether, nearly 110 fragments of Hebrew and Aramaic manuscripts were found, in three stages, by the archivist J. Maria Marqués. These fragments provide evidence of 24 different manuscripts of biblical, talmudic, liturgical, philosophical, or kabbalistic content. The fragments include texts of the Bible, the Talmud, and the *Halakot gedolot* of Rabbi Shimon Kayyara (Fr. I-III, XII); commentary on the Talmudic tractates *Berakot* and *Shabbat* (Fr. V-VI); fragments of liturgical poems (Fr. VII-X, XIII); fragments of the Bible with the *Targum* and commentary by Rashi (Fr. B-K); and, finally, philosophical and kabbalistic fragments. Also found among the fragments were a previously unknown kabbalistic poem and a fragment of a work by Ibn Guiat.

The above-mentioned fragments were described by Enric Cortès in the following articles:

*Fragments de manuscrits hebreus i arameus descoberts de nou a l'Arxiu Diocesà de Girona*, in “Revista Catalana de Teologia”, 7 (1982), pp. 1-56;

*Una poesia cabalística desconeguda i uns fragments d'Ibn Guiat procedents de l'Arxiu Diocesà de Girona*, in “Arxiu de Textos Catalans Antics”, 2 (1983), pp. 7-21;

*Fragments de manuscrits hebreus i arameus descoberts de nou a l'Arxiu Diocesà de Girona. II*, in “Revista Catalana de Teologia”, 9 (1984), pp. 83-100;

*Fragments de manuscrits hebreus i arameus descoberts de nou a l'Arxiu Diocesà de Girona. III*, in “Revista Catalana de Teologia”, 10 (1985), pp. 31-52.

Additional folios from the register of a Jewish moneylender from Gerona, which made up the cardboard of a binding found in the local Arxiu Històric de Girona, arrived in the hands of Millàs Vallicrosa. These folios were recently published by my friend Ramón Magdalena Nom de Déu and his students in the volume *Libro de cuentas de un prestamista judío gerundense del siglo XIV*. The volume, which belongs to a series published by the University of Barcelona entitled “Judeolenguas marginales en Sefarad antes de 1492. Textos. I”, Barcelona 1990, includes photographic reproductions of the folios, a transcription of the Hebrew text and a translation of the text into Catalan, along with a very helpful index of the names of persons and geographical locations.

About another hundred fragments, in each case located in bindings from the late 1300s or early 1400s, were found in the Arxiu Municipal de Barcelona. I recently received news from the Director of the Arxiu Municipal de Barcelona that these fragments have been catalogued and are ready for publication.

These fragments are referenced by Patricia Giniger Snyder in an article titled *The Treasure of Gerona. Serendipity Uncovers a Medieval Community* that appeared in May 1994 in the monthly publication “The B’nai B’rith International Jewish Montly,” on pp. 17-20. The author mentions the travelling exhibition organized by the City Hall of Gerona with a symposium on “Five Centuries of Jewish Life in Gerona and Catalonia”, which was mounted in New York on 1989. Joaquim Nadal, who was at that time the Mayor of Gerona, and Ramon Alberch, the director of the Arxiu Municipal de Girona, presented during a lecture delivered to the Spanish and Portuguese Synagogue in New York, the finding of several paper Hebrew manuscripts fragments he discovered in 1987 in the Arxiu Municipal de Girona, in a municipal medieval account book containing financial transaction. “This leather-bound volume – recalled Alberch – had seen years of use, and it showed the bindings falling apart, and I saw a piece of paper sticking out from inside the cover”. The librarian knew that in his hands was a rare and precious treasury of Hebrew manuscripts left behind six or seven hundreds centuries before by the Jews of Gerona.

As Patricia Giniger Snyder mentioned in her article, “among those who attended the lecture was Rabbi M. Michell Serels, director of the Jacob N. Safra Department of Sephardic Studies at Yeshiva University”. The following summer, Michell Serels visited Gerona and was able to see about 150 Hebrew fragments recovered from the bindings of the Arxiu Municipal de Girona. Serels described partially in an unofficial way the texts identified by him and his team and summarized some observations in a short paper he published in 1999<sup>2</sup> in the Proceedings of a congress held in Gerona on March 26-28 1998.<sup>3</sup> In the abstract of his paper, the author wrote:

The Hebrew Documents of Girona are a profound resource not only for the study of the local Jewish population, but for exemplifying peninsula Jewry. Rich in a variety of texts, the Girona documents reveal a meticulous internal tax collection with committee responsibility, providing the names of individual tax payers as well as their synagogal location. While all records are written in Hebrew in typical Sephardic cursive, there are Judeo.catalan words in the form of months, personal names, etc. Since these words are written phonetically, the pronunciation reflect 14<sup>th</sup> century Catalan, The rich variety of texts studied include Bible, Talmud, exegetes, poetry and medical works reflecting the scope of Jewish knowledge to be very wide for a rather small community. The influences of Girona Jews were widely felt throughout Spain and continue to impact on Jewish knowledge, law and practice. Consequently, this presentation will be an introductory overview of the documents and fragments with the intent to stimulate further study”.

In the first footnote the author writes that the paper “is a part of a larger study of the Girona Hebrew Documents which will appear at a later date. The study will analyze as the documents in the Municipal Archives as well as those in the Cathedral Archives”, but the promised publication never appeared.

---

<sup>2</sup> M. M. Serels, *Aspects of the Study of Girona Hebrew Documents*, in *La cultura del llibre: herència de passat, vivència de futur*, Actes del Congrés Internacional “Cultura sefardita al Mediterrani”, Girona del 26 al 28 de març de 1998, pp. 167-188, with 14 pictures of the Hebrew manuscripts fragments found in the Arxiu Municipal and Arxiu Catedralici de Girona, that on p. 177 is reversed.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, *La cultura del llibre: herència de passat, vivència de futur*, p. 188.

In the same proceedings in my paper M. Perani, *Fondi di manoscritti ebraici nell'area del Mediterraneo*,<sup>4</sup> I listed some collections of Hebrew fragments, found in the binding of books and registers in various Archives and Libraries of Spain.

The Hebrew fragments found in the bindings of Gerona are also discussed by Ramon Alberch i Fugueras, the above mentioned Director of the Arxiu Municipal de Girona, in his *Guía de la judería de Girona*, published in Gerona in 1995. He writes: "... también se han encontrado interesantes manuscritos en hebreo en el Arxiu Diocesà, el Catedralici y el Històric de la Ciutat. En todos los casos se trata de fragmentos de manuscritos realizados con caracteres hebreos y que se habían reutilizado como material de relleno en la encuadernación de libros antiguos de la administración municipal y eclesiástica. Su fragmentariedad, al haberse deshecho los cuadernos o libros originales por parte de los encuadernadores, mayoritariamente judíos, hace que sea muy difícil restituir su origen, así como poder demostrar su procedencia" (p. 118 e s).

The author of this guide book speaks of 90 Hebrew fragments in the bindings of the Arxiu Històric de Girona; in reality, there are many more. As has been pointed out by other scholars before him, Alberch i Fugueras observes that there were book-binding shops in Gerona managed by Jews: "En este sentido – the author points out – es necesario constatar que la mayoría de encuadernaciones llevadas a cabo en el Ayuntamiento entre los años 1435 y 1449 son realizadas por el librero judío Abraham Vives" (ivi, p. 119). According to Alberch i Fugueras, the Hebrew manuscripts could have been reused in the normal course of manuscript reemployment managed in part by these same Jews. I report this information with reservation, and I believe that it must be verified. It would be interesting to inquire more deeply into this assertion, since one would be dealing with an interesting case of the reuse of Hebrew manuscripts by Jews, despite the fact that this is prohibited by Halakah.

##### 5. My visit to the Arxiu Històric with Benjamin Richler and Abraham David in July 1998 and the publications of the last decades

In July 1998 I returned to Gerona along with the then-Director of the Institute of Microfilmed Hebrew Manuscripts of the JNUL of Jerusalem, Benjamin Richler, and a researcher of the Institute, Abraham David, to continue the survey of bindings located in the notarial files of the city's Arxiu Històric. We were able to examine some hundreds of registers, and we were impressed by the quantity of folios from Hebrew paper manuscripts that had been glued together to form the cardboard bindings of notarial registers. In the Catalan and Spanish bindings lie buried thousands of pages of manuscripts belonging to the Catalan and Aragon Jews from the period preceding the expulsion of 1492.

After this second survey, I understood that the scientific world had to be informed immediately of the existence of this hidden treasure, and I published various short articles regarding the discovery. As I mentioned previously, this discovery was not made by me, because the existence of these fragments had already been pointed out by the diocesan archivist Josep Maria Marquè; however, Marquè's articles were limited to local publications like "El Punt" and "Diari Los Sitios" (now "Diari de Girona"). I believe I was the first to make the discovery known in the international scientific world, beginning with the proceedings of the above-mentioned international conference in Toledo.

The articles published in the last decade to make known the Hebrew manuscripts of Gerona to the international scientific world are the following:

M. Perani, *A new "Genizah" for the new century. Hebrew Manuscript Fragments in the European Archives: The New Findings of Girona* in J. Targarona Borrás and A. Sáenz-Badillos (eds.), *Jewish Studies at the Turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> Century*, Proceedings of the 6<sup>th</sup> EAJS Congress, Toledo 1998, Leiden-Boston-Köln 1999, vol. I: *Biblical, Rabbinical, and Medieval Studies*, pp. 621-626.

M. Perani, *Un nuovo importante giacimento nella "Genizah europea": gli archivi di Girona*, in M. Perani (ed.), *La "Genizah italiana"*, Bologna, Il Mulino/Alfa Tape 1999, pp. 305-313 (also published in "Materia giudaica" 1999/5, pp. 45-49).

M. Perani, *The 'Girona Genizah'*, in EAJS newsletter, Issue 8, March – September 2000, pp. 21-22.

M. Perani, *The "genizot" of Gerona and Italy: Towards a Typological Comparison. Supplementary Note: New Publications on the «Italian Genizah»*, in M. PERANI (ed.), *New Discoveries in the «European Genizah»: The Girona Archives. Prolegomena to a Scientific Inquiry*, Proceedings of the International Congress (Jerusalem, December 12 1999), in "Materia giudaica" VI/2 (2001), pp. 139-144.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid., *La cultura del llibre: herència de passat, vivència de futur*, quoted, pp. 139-163.

E. Feliu and J. Ferrer, *Els documents amagats dels jueus de Girona*, Catalogue of the Exhibition, Girona, 2003 3, where about 20 fragments are described.

E. Feliu, *Llibre de comptes de Jucef Zabara, col·lector del clavari de la comunitat jueva de Girona (1443)*, in "Tamid" vol. 5, 2004-2005 (actually printed in 2007), pp. 87-138.

In recent years appeared an interesting paper by Meritxell Blasco Orellana, in which for the first time the author offers a careful examination of the different fragments detached from the same binding, from an archival, palaeographical, and literary point of view, recomposing as well the different folios which belonged to the same manuscripts.

M. Blasco Orellana *Estudio diplomático y paleográfico de los fragmentos hebreos extraídos del protocolo notarial de Ramon de Peradalta, Arxiu Històric de Girona*, Anuari de Filologia XXVI, Barcelona 2004, pp. 69-80, with a CD edition.

#### 6. *The typology of the Gerona binding*

As far as the typology of the Gerona binding is concerned, a physical description follows. Several paper manuscripts glued together, written in Hebrew, Latin, or Catalan, constitute the inner body of the front and back cardboard plates. The cardboards are wrapped on their external sides with either leather or parchment sheets, which generally are documents written in Hebrew, Latin, or Catalan. These documents only contain writing on one side of the material and are wrapped around the cardboards with the text side facing down, so that only the blank sheet is visible as the cover, on which the notary would write his name and the range of years relating to the deeds contained in the register. On the inside of each cardboard plate, another document is placed, usually made of parchment and sometimes of paper, and the edges of the outside wrapping are folded over to meet the edges of this inside covering. Usually, the inside covering is attached with the text side facing down; however, sometimes the text of the document is showing. In order to reinforce the connection of the register's covers to the spine of the volume, a strip of burlap is placed on the inside of the spine.

#### 7. *The takeoff of the project of recovering and cataloguing the Hebrew manuscripts of the Arxiu Històric*

I did everything I could to initiate a project for the detachment and recovery of the Hebrew fragments of the Arxiu Històric de Girona, and finally a few years ago, after some years of standstill due to various problems, concrete action was taken, thanks to the commitment of the director of the Arxiu Històric, Montserrat Hosta y Rebés, and her sister Assumpció, director of the Centre Bonastruc ça Porta, Museu d'Història dels Jueus and Institut d'Estudis Nakhmànides, as well as the support of the local entities, the Generalitat and the Spanish government. Having met recently with the director of the Arxiu Històric, along with Joan Ferrer Costa, professor of Hebrew and Aramaic studies at the University of Gerona, I am able to provide some updated information on the project, as well as to correct some projections and hypotheses that I made about the "Genizah of Gerona" in the late 1990s.

#### 8. *The current status of the Arxiu Històric de Girona research project*

Up to the present, a census has been taken of 178 registers, mostly belonging to the 11 notarial sections of Gerona. In total, the registers of some 97 notarial files from Gerona and nearby cities are conserved in the Arxiu Històric of the city, comprising altogether 29,677 registers.

The updated number of Hebrew fragments that have been detached from the notarial bindings up to April 2009 is 754, in addition to 893 fragments of Latin and Catalan manuscripts, for a total of 1647 detached fragments. As we can see, the percentage of Hebrew manuscripts is slightly less than that of Latin and Catalan ones. These 754 Hebrew fragments were recovered from 70 different bindings that have been detached and opened following placement in distilled water to detach the paper and parchment sheets; this figure confirms the already registered percentage of about 10 Hebrew fragments per every binding that is opened and unstuck.

The Hebrew manuscripts reused in bindings that have been found thus far are evidently limited to a period beginning in the early 1300s and continuing through the late 1400s to early 1500s. The oldest register in which Hebrew fragments have been found was written by the notary Pere Massanet, belonging to the "Notaria" of Girona-5, and contains proceedings from 1331 (only 68 years after the Disputation of

Barcelona!), while the most recent register of which a census has thus far been taken contains proceedings from the years 1492-93. This latter register was written by the notary Carles Cerdà and is wrapped in a section of a *Sefer Torah*.

An examination of the dates of the registers demonstrates that in Gerona, the phenomenon of recycling Hebrew manuscripts took place continuously for more than two centuries, from the first decades of the 1300s through the first decades of the 1500s, with a clear peak in the 14<sup>th</sup> century. In fact, of the 178 registers of which a census has been taken thus far, a good 148 date back to the 1300s, while only 30 contain proceedings from the 1400s. The first recycling in Gerona took place, as we have seen, only 60 years after Nachmanides and the flourishing of the local kabbalistic center and 65 years after the Disputation of Barcelona.

The inventory of registers with Hebrew manuscripts in their bindings carried out until now, has deliberately stopped with protocols dating from the year of the expulsion, 1492, due to the belief that after this tragic event there were no more Hebrew manuscripts available for reuse. But this assumption is incorrect, and a check must also be done of registers from later dates, since we know that still for a number of years after 1492 fragments of Hebrew manuscripts continued to be used to bind books. Therefore, this research must also be extended beyond the year 1492, and it should also be carried out for other notarial files conserved in the Arxiu Històric de Girona, like those of Castelló, where the phenomenon is known to be present. I believe that when this research is completed, the number of registers whose bindings contain Hebrew fragments could arrive at about 200 registers.

### 9. Characteristics of the Hebrew manuscript fragments of Gerona

As for the manuscripts from which the reused Hebrew fragments found in the bindings of the Gerona archives originated, approximately 95% are paper and only about 5% are parchment.

The fragments of Gerona was written for a big majority in the usual Sephardic semicursive and cursive script<sup>5</sup>, only a few in large size calligraphic square letters, like our *ketubbah*, and for a very few percentage (possibly 1/2 percent) in the Ashkenazic semicursive type of writing, used in France. This demonstrates that Catalonia was not like Italy a cultural crossing of the three main Jewish writing traditions of the Western world, Italian, Ashkenazic and Sephardic ones.

In my previous studies published on this discovery, I made a projection regarding the number of fragments that would be recovered that has been shown to be excessive. Riding a wave of enthusiasm from the (re-)discovery of 1998, but also based on some cases in which up to 30 fragments were recovered from the cardboards of a single register binding, and expecting that such fragments would be recovered from 300-350 registers, I hypothesized that altogether 10,000 fragments or more might be recovered. For example, the cardboards of one binding that I examined, in a register written by the notary Bereguer Capella, n. 64, 1394, were constituted of 20 bifolios (i.e., 80 pages of text) belonging to a manuscript written in Sephardic semicursive script from the 13<sup>th</sup> or 14<sup>th</sup> century and containing Rashi's commentary on the Talmud. This hypothesis can now be revised based on the detachment already completed. From the bindings of 64 registers, we have obtained 643 Hebrew fragments and 796 fragments in Latin or Catalan. The quantity of Hebrew fragments obtained from one register varies from a minimum of 1 to a maximum of 28, with an average of 10 Hebrew fragments per register. Calculating that we will come to take a census of 200 registers, we can expect to recover 2,000 Hebrew fragments.

### 10. Similarities and differences between the Italian and the Gerona "Genizot"

One notable characteristic of this repository, if compared with the discoveries made in the Italian archives, is that while in the latter, each of the three writing styles common in the Occident – Ashkenazi, Italian, and Sephardi – is represented (with each style making up about a third of the recovered fragments), all the fragments from Gerona are written in Sephardi style, with a stronger prevalence of the semicursive and cursive styles relative to the square script. Another difference between the "Italian Genizah" and its Spanish counterpart is that in the latter, the recycling of Hebrew manuscripts began two and a half centuries earlier than in Italy, where there is no trace of the phenomenon prior to the mid 1500s. Moreover, in Spain

---

<sup>5</sup> For a palaeographic survey of the Hebrew writings used in Gerona and in Catalonia during the Middle Ages, see: E. Engel, *Hebrew Scripts in Medieval Catalonia*, in *Actes del I Congrés per a l'estudi dels jueus en territori de llengua catalana*, Barcelona-Girona, del 15 al 17 d'octubre de 2001, pp. 121-138.

the reuse essentially ceased with the expulsion of 1492, even if residual, confiscated or abandoned manuscripts from the exile succeeded in furnishing material for recycling for some years after this date, as we saw above with the biblical bifolio of the Arxiu Capítular de la Catedral de Girona.

### 11. The date and texts contained in the Hebrew fragments of Gerona

The dates of the deeds contained in the registers bound with the Hebrew manuscript constitute the *terminus ante quem* for dating the manuscripts themselves. Of course, being the majority of the Girona Hebrew manuscripts reused in the Arxiu Històric written on paper, they are generally not important works, such as Bible, and Talmud, but less important documents, which were written to be consulted rarely or for a limited time, such as the many moneylending registers in Hebrew. Among the documents containing pages from moneylending registers, there are several dating back to the second half of the 13<sup>th</sup> century that were reused to form the cardboard bindings of notary registers a minimum of 50 to 60 years later. This kind of documentation is of great importance not only for the history of the Jews in Catalonia but also for the history of the development of the credit system.

So after have been served to recover the money with the interest, these registers were no longer important, and were reused as paper to be glued together in order to get cardboard for binding. So often 50-70 years after their use, these paper documents were recycled. During a visit to the Arxiu Històric de Girona this past March 25-26, I saw several money lending registers in Hebrew dating to the second half of the 13<sup>th</sup> century, which is amazing, since these were the same years in which Nachmanides lived and worked in Barcelona.

To a degree that is yet to be defined, but not far from 50%, the manuscripts contain documentary material, with the remaining half containing literary works. The documents present a great importance because they are generally dated and localized. The non-dated literary works can be dated approximately on palaeographical evidence, mainly to the 13<sup>th</sup>-14<sup>th</sup> century, with a few from the 15<sup>th</sup> century. A sample of localized deed is contained in the Hebrew Fragment Girona 5, 285 notaio Bartomeu Tord compiled in the year 1367 in whose last five lines we read: **שנת חמשת אלפים וששים ושש לבריאת עולם למנין [שאנו מונין] בירוונה מתא כאן** that is: *In the year 5066 of the creation according our calculation here in the town of Gerona [old pronunciation Gerunda]*. As we see, the deed was written in parchment in the year 1306 by a scribe well known to us from many documents of this same years found in Gerona, and 61 years later the folio was reused to bind the protocol of the Notary Tord (Fig. 7a, 7b and 7c).

From a first examination of the fragments, to the extent that it was possible to read something of the manuscripts after they were detached from the bindings, I was able to identify folios of a register of a Jewish moneylender from Gerona who noted down money loans that took place from 1327-29. These folios were recovered from the binding of the deeds of a notary named Llobet, dating from 1361. Fragments have been found in Gerona from various different Jewish moneylender registers, and most likely many of these fragments can be connected to two or three *Pinqasim* from the early 1300s or later. In some pages of the moneylender registers, the date listed is 1336. In general, it seems that these registers were recycled in order to make the binding cardboard only a few years after the registers ceased to carry out their function as book-keeping documents. The registers contain many names of Jews and non-Jews who received loans, as well as other indications of historical interest. In these documents there is widespread use of terms in Catalan and Judeo-Catalan, above all in the names of places and persons.

### 12. The works contained in the Hebrew manuscripts of Gerona bindings

As the majority of the recycled manuscripts are paper, the biblical and Talmudic texts among them are rare, as biblical and Talmudic texts were generally recopied in a larger format on stronger, higher quality material, usually on parchment. Some examples, nevertheless, exist; for example, folios from a Talmud written on parchment are present in the register binding of the notary Pere from the year 1411. Instead of biblical and Talmudic texts, there are numerous fragments containing commentary on the Talmud, Halakhic texts, biblical commentary, *Siddurim*, *Sifre mitzwot*, and examples of the work *Torat ha-Bayit* and of *Sefer he-'Aruk*. In two registers from the years 1385 and 1388, the bindings contain letters written in Hebrew by a certain En Vidal ben Natan and a Vidal En Bonjuda, respectively. In another register of the "Notaria" of Gerona II from the year 1397, the binding contains a parchment folio with text in semicursive writing from the will of a not-well-identified Ibn Tibbon prepared in Gerona in 1325. The final page of *Megillat Ester*

was found in a register of the notary Bartomeu Tord from the year 1375, along with designs and writings that refer to the holiday of *Purim* (Fig. 8). Some medical works have been recovered as well (Fig. 9b).

It would also be important, as preparation for the cataloguing of the fragments, to have present those works produced by the Jews of the Iberian Peninsula whose existence is attested to by literary sources but which are currently lost. All these propedeutic aspects of the research were discussed in depth at a conference convened in Jerusalem on December 6, 1999, whose proceedings were published in “*Materia giudaica. Rivista dell’Associazione Italiana per lo Studio del Giudaismo.*”

Among the detached fragments that I was able to examine in this archive were fragments containing two different commentaries on the Talmudic tractate *Rosh ha-Shanah*, one of which seems to be previously unknown. Ezra Chwat, an expert in rabbinic literature who works at the Institute of Microfilmed Hebrew Manuscripts of Jerusalem, proposed that these commentaries be attributed to Yom Tov ben Avraham Asevilli, known also as the *Ritva* (Siviglia, ca. 1320). From this author we have commentaries on many tractates of the Talmud. However, the *Ritva* mentions having written a commentary on the *Sefer ha-halakot* of Alfasi, which is currently missing. According to Chwat, the anonymous commentary contained in these folios would be part of the *Ritva*’s commentary on Alfasi, who is in fact continuously cited in the fragments.

We know that the Jews of Gerona possessed rich and excellent libraries. It would be interesting to carefully study the inventories of books owned by the Jews of the city, in particular the lists published in 1928 by Josep Maria Millàs i Villacrosa and Lluís Batlle, *Inventaris de llibres de jueus gironins*, in “*Bulletí de la Biblioteca de Catalunya*,” Barcelona, VIII (1928), pp. 5-45, and the inventories of the years 1415-16 published in 1985 by Josep Perarnau i Espelt in the article *Notícia de més de setanta inventaris de llibres de jueus gironins, anys 1415-1416* in “*Arxiu de Textos Catalans Antics*,” Barcelona, 4 (1985), pp. 435-444<sup>6</sup>. Both of these articles were reprinted, together with all the well-known studies on Jewish Gerona, in the two volumes edited by David Romano, *Per a una història de la Girona jueva*, 2 voll., Ajuntament de Girona, Girona 1988, I, pp. 283-323 and 325-334 respectively.

### 13. A similar phenomenon of reusing Hebrew Manuscripts in Perpignan and in other Spain archives

Very likely the same phenomenon of reusing medieval Hebrew (and non Hebrew) paper manuscripts is present also in Barcelona, in the rest of Catalonia and in other regions of Spain. I think it would be extremely important to initiate a census of the bindings, extending the project to all of Catalonia and Spain.

After being notified by Ramón Magdalena Nom de Déu to the presence of reused Hebrew manuscripts in Perpignan, similar to those found in the Gerona archives, I was able to examine personally the registers presenting this phenomenon. In my opinion, it is important to note that the reused Hebrew paper manuscripts are visible only where the cardboard covers, both on the front and the back, have decayed and ripped over time. If this has not occurred, the reused Hebrew manuscripts located inside the covers remain invisible. In the registers of Perpignan, only one reused Hebrew manuscript is currently visible; however, it is highly unlikely that this is the only reused Hebrew manuscript present in the Archives Départementales de Perpignan. The legible part of one of the Hebrew manuscripts which appears on the external side contains an unknown commentary to *Talmud Bavli, Baba Batrah, 51,a* (Fig. ).

I would estimate that in fact many such manuscripts are hidden among the Perpignan register bindings, for several reasons. Firstly, Perpignan had a large Jewish community and, in the 14<sup>th</sup> century, was a part of Catalonia, where this phenomenon is known to have existed. Secondly, the binding technique of the Perpignan registers is very similar to that used in Gerona, where many such reused Hebrew manuscripts have been uncovered, and is found among registers of a similar type from the same period (the 14<sup>th</sup> century). I have not carried out an accurate examination in Archives Départementales de Perpignan, but it may be that up to present only one unique example is known to us because its binding is not in a good state of preservation.

### 14. A clash between the archeologists of the book and the archeologists of the text?

Perhaps we do not know of other registers getting Hebrew manuscripts reused in their bindings in Perpignan or because their bindings are better preserved than those of Gerona so that nothing of the Hebrew paper handwritten sheets used to make their cardboards is visible, or simply because we have not yet carried

<sup>6</sup> Reprinted in D. Romano (ed), *Per a una història de la Girona jueva*, cited, Vol. II, respectively see pp. 283-323 and pp. 325-334.

out an accurate census of them. Actually in the Gerona archives, where the register bindings are in a far more advanced state of decay, a larger number of Hebrew manuscripts are easily visible. An inquiry would have to be carried out to confirm whether there is indeed a correlation between the state of conservation of the register bindings and the visibility of reused Hebrew manuscripts, but I am almost sure that this correlation will be confirmed. If so, unless we will be able to use a non-destructive or invasive method of examination of the bindings, a dramatic dilemma will be in front of us: have we to search for the inside Hebrew paper manuscripts even if this slightly damages the bindings, or should we check only the registers and protocols whose bindings are already in bad condition so as to reveal the Hebrew manuscripts? In time there may be a clash between archeologists of the book and archeologists of the text.

### *15. Conclusion*

To sum up, the Spanish archives, and those of Gerona in particular, represent a true mine of handwritten documents and books produced by the Jews of the Iberian Peninsula between the 13<sup>th</sup> and the 15<sup>th</sup> centuries which never left Spain, concealed in the cardboards of the notary registers for six or seven hundreds years up to their discovery, detachment and restoration over the last few years.

It is likely that this phenomenon of reusing paper Hebrew, Catalan and Latin manuscripts no longer interesting as historical documents, is much more diffuse in Spain than we can imagine at the present state of the research. Exactly as happened for the European medieval manuscripts written on parchment, which were reused as wrappers or binding material starting from about the mid- 16<sup>th</sup> century, their counterparts written mainly on paper in Spain were also reused by gluing them together in order to make the cardboards of binding for the notarial registers.

Differently from the Hebrew manuscripts written on parchment and containing only literary works, which were reused as bookbindings in Italy and in the other European countries between the 16<sup>th</sup> and the 17<sup>th</sup> centuries, those of Gerona and Spain are 95% paper manuscripts and only 5% in parchment; they contain both literary compositions and many documents of great importance for the history of the Sephardic Jews and their every-day life, and their reuse begins two centuries before that of the parchment manuscripts owned by the Jews of Europe.

I am almost sure that in the future years we will discover many additional archives in Catalonia and in other Spanish regions holding thousands of Hebrew manuscripts inside the bindings of their registers. This manuscripts were produced or copied by the Jews of the Sephardic lands from the 12<sup>th</sup> until the 15<sup>th</sup> centuries, some hundreds years before being reused. They saved for us and will put in our hands a precious treasury of documental and literary previously unknown sources for reconstructing the cultural and every day life of the Jews two or three centuries before their expulsion of 1492, from the age in which Nachmanides was born in Gerona in 1194, and participated in 1263 in the disputation of Barcelona, where he was living with his kabbalistic circle.

If we consider that a large part of the booklore, archives and manuscripts produced by the Jews of Spain between the 12<sup>th</sup> and 15<sup>th</sup> centuries, was almost completely lost with the *gerush Sefarad*, this discovery is indeed of great importance.

## **ADDENDA**

### *Addendum I<sup>7</sup>*

*by Esperança Valls i Pujol, University of Gerona*

#### **The electronic cataloguing of the fragments and a sample of a monaylender register of the year 1342**

Just one year ago, the cataloguing of the Hebrew manuscript fragments found in the bindings of the Arxiu Històric de Girona (or "AHG") was initiated. After the first step of the restoration process was completed by the technical team of the AHG, 644 fragments had been obtained and digitalized. In the last month, this figure arrived at 700.

---

<sup>7</sup> I present here a short description of the electronic cataloguing of the Gerona fragments carried out by Esperança Valls i Pujol, and the edition of a fragment from a Jewish monaylender register.

A preliminary identification of the contents of the manuscript fragments was carried out in collaboration with Mauro Perani. A first description of the fragments was offered at an exhibition mounted in Gerona titled *Els documents amagats dels jueus de Gerona*. On this occasion, about 20 fragments were described by Eduard Feliu and Dr. Joan Ferrer. Additionally, Feliu recently published in the journal *Tamid* (vol. 5 2004-05, pp. 87-138) an article titled “Llibre de comptes de Jucef Zabara, collector del clavari de la comunitat jueva de Gerona (1443)”. This excellent work presents a transcription and translation of two folios of the records of the treasurer of the Jewish community. Mauro Perani is publishing in the present paper the text of a *ketubbah* from Castelló d’Empúries, written on parchment that was discovered in the bindings of notarial deeds.

We are constructing an electronic database with the objective of adequately cataloguing all of these manuscript materials in order to make them available to researchers. The description of every fragment within the database contains the measurements of the fragment, a preliminary description of the contents of the fragment, and a list of the places referenced in the manuscript. At the end of the construction of this database, it will be made available on the website of the AHG. It will be possible to carry out searches of the database’s contents according to subject matter, names, and call number.

Up to the time of the writing of this note, more than 250 items have been entered into the database. The majority of these fragments originate from documents written on paper, and only about five percent are written on parchment. The script in which these fragments are written is mainly the *Sephardic* semi-cursive that was widespread in the Catalan and Provençal regions. There is a relatively low quantity of texts written in square *Sephardic* characters, and we have only seen a few texts in square *Ashkenazic* writing.

The great variety of textual, palaeographic typologies found among the fragments, as well as the varying states of preservation of the documents, many of which are fragmentary and in bad condition, makes the task of cataloguing them quite difficult. This work is being carried out according to the order of the call numbers of the notarial registers. In each group of fragments it is possible to find different categories of documents spread among different bindings, mixed also with documents written in Latin or in Catalan. Consequently, re-composition of all the fragments belonging to a single manuscript must be done as well. The dates of the registers bound with Hebrew manuscript folios range from 1332 to the end of the 15<sup>th</sup> century, and in some cases, also beyond. Evidently, these dates constitute the *terminus ante quem* of the writing of the Hebrew manuscripts. It is of interest that in many Jewish moneylender registers, the date is often given directly according to the Christian era. Additionally, we must verify whether it is possible that some of the bindings constructed from the reuse of Hebrew paper documents could have in fact been constructed by Jewish binders, as suggested by Ramon Alberch.

Among the fragments catalogued up to the present, we have found many pages from moneylender registers concerning money lent predominantly to merchants from Gerona; additionally, these documents often refer to the area of upper and lower Empordà, Selva, and Pla de l’Estany, which are close to the city of Gerona. We have also found, in smaller quantity, documentation of economic transactions concerning the Jewish community, as was demonstrated by Eduard Feliu, as well as inventories and other different accounts of the community’s expenses. One very rare document that we have found is the fragment Gi 1, 115-codavant 3a/1377, a highly mutilated fragment that contains the notes of a Jew relating to a building firm. Among the manuscripts containing moneylender registers, one group of folios of great interest contains folios from the register of a moneylender that came into the hands of Millàs i Vallicrosa and were published by Ramón Magdalena Nom de Déu in 1999 along with interesting descriptions of the structure, paleography, and lexicography of the folios. These texts contain many Catalan words, including words referring to agricultural products and administrative vocabulary, names of towns, proper names of people, names of months and holidays, and frequent use of prepositions in Catalan. Finally, as has already been pointed out, in addition to the normal Jewish date, the Christian date is sometimes used.

A second group of fragments contains literary texts, such as biblical and Talmudic commentaries, in particular those on *Baba Batra* and *Chulin* by Moses Nachmanides (Ramban), the commentaries by Shlomo ben Yitzchak Rashi to the Talmudic tractates *Berakot*, *Chulin*, and *Pesachim* and the biblical commentaries by David Kimhi to Judges, Isaiah and Joshua. Also extant are commentaries to *Shabbat*, *Berachot* and *Chulin* whose author has not yet been identified. In these commentaries, as well, some Catalan words are present. There are also fragments of Abraham ben Nathan Ha-Yarhi (*Ha-Manhig*), Shlomo ben Adret (*Torat ha-Bayit*) and Abraham ben Shemuel ha-Levi ibn Chasday (*Ben ha-melek we ha-nazir*).

Another typology of documents is that of judgments rendered related to the internal affairs, decisions, and rules of the Jewish community. Among them are a *herem* relating to a clash with a certain Shlomo; several texts concerning the help of the poor; resolution of a legal question caused by a *ketubbah*; a list of

the community's carts, with a declaration of the rabbinic tribunal relating to a question raised in the Jewish quarter; a text granting Shemuel Cresques the permission to own goods that had belonged to Esther, daughter of Miriam and Yitzchak; and finally, drafts of the agreements and elections of the community treasurers, one of which is dated to the year 1353.

Moreover, among the documents catalogued up to the present are fragments of the tractate *Shabbat* of the Babylonian Talmud, liturgical texts, Judeo-Arabic texts from a book of medicine by Ishak ben Hunain ben Ishak, texts in Hebrew regarding the causes of illnesses, and some calligraphic practice.

The possibilities for investigation that these documents offer us are many and of great importance. The documents allow us to conduct a comparative study of Hebrew and Latin sources related to the Jewish communities of Gerona. Moreover, these sources shed new light on the economic system of that period, the relationships between Jewish moneylenders and those receiving loans, and the commercial movements and migrations of the Jewish and Christian populations from the Gerona area. We can obtain from these documents important information regarding the history and configuration of the internal workings of the Jewish community, data concerning the booklore circulating among the Jews in that period, other precious information for the study of Catalan linguistics, and new data for more accurate palaeographic study of the script used in this Catalan region. However, all this will be possible only after concluding the process of detaching, extracting, and cataloguing all the fragments. Only then will we be able to evaluate the true importance of these Hebrew manuscripts hidden for about seven centuries in the cardboard covers of bindings of notarial registers.

I present now a sample of a fragment from a Jewish moneylender register containing some lending deeds of May-September 1342 (Fig. 14). In it the date is directly given according to the Christian year, without thousands and hundreds, but only tens and units: for example in the first line we read: *maig mem bet* (=42) that is the year of May [13]42, considering the Christian century as implied.

*Right column*

- מאיג מב' 1.<sup>8</sup> [...] כני'  
 [...] יום זה נש' נ' די' לג' כני' מאיג מג'<sup>9</sup>. 2. גיאם ס[...] ה פושטיר יג' [די']  
 3. ברנד [...] דגויאן קל' די' לשנה ה' כני מאיג מב'  
 4. ארנל [...] דגויאן לר' די' לחצי שנה יד' די' כני מאיג מב'  
 5. גיאם אשטיבן ד[...] פיין פ די' לפליד מב' חצי מאיג מב'  
 6. פירי מרטין סגרין [ה] דש' גוליא דראמי[ש] יג' די' לפליד מב' בשטר לבד  
 7. [...] באטלי ב[...] ה דסלראן ק' די' לשנה יום זה  
 8. גיאם ארנל[ל] [...] ס' די' [לחצי שנה] ט' יצי' מאיג מב'  
 9. פרנס[.] זברנד [...] ואחרים דשטל[.] אלף שנ' די' לשנה  
 10. [...] דבשק[נון] כח' די' לפליד מג' חצי אגושט מב'  
 11. [...] נב' די' לשנה יצי' אגושט מב' ערב  
 12. [...] ק שנ' די' בזמנים ק' די' לחצי [...] מ' מג'  
 13. [...] דל וק' די' לחצי שטימ' מה' יד' כני אגושט מב'  
 14. [...] סנש' שפ' די' לשנה ה' כני' שטימ' מב'  
 15. [...] גש' [...] ה' די' לשנה יג' כני' שטימ' מב' מחצית / דנבונגודה  
 16. [...] די' לשנה [?] צי שטימ' שמ[ב]  
 17. [...] [?] צי שטימ' שמ[ב]  
 18. [...] לשנה ה' [?] צי שטימ' שמב'

<sup>8</sup> (כניסה), (כניסה) כני' and יצי' (יציאה) are equivalent to *kalendae, nonae* and *idus* of the Roman calendar. In the fragments of Girona there are some *pinqasim* that use directly the Latin word instead of Hebrew.

<sup>9</sup> (פשיטא) פשי' and (דינר) די', (ליטרא) ליט' are respectively equivalent to 'pound', 'soldier' and 'denier' (*lliura, sou* and *diner*).

1. ברנד סריארה דפריירש לח' די' לפליד מג' יא' כני' נובימ' שמב'
2. ברינגיר ריג דסריאן יא' די' לאיסו' שמב' יג' כני' נובימ' שמב'
3. ארנל סריר דקרצאן מ' די' לפליד מג' יב' יצי' נובי' זה
4. ארנל מוריר דוילה דשנש לד' די' לאיסו' ש[מ]ב' בשט[ר] [...] לבד יום זה
5. ארנל פריירש דכמדוראן לח' די' למיקל שמב' יום זה
6. גיאם סיגאר דשטנגול ע' די' לחצי שנה ט' יצי' נובימ' זה
7. פירי וידל דרישק דמדרמניה קקמ' די' לשנה ד' יצי' נובימ' זה
8. ברנגיר וראי דפורה סוילה דסלאן קכ' די' לשנה ג' יצי' נובימ' זה
9. ברנד בוב דוילה דמדרמניה סד' די' לשנה ג' יצי' נובימ' זה
10. רמון דומניק דמדרמניה לח' די' לשנה ג' כני' דדימ' שמב'
11. ארנל גובן דש' אנדריו סלוב קי' די' לשנה ו' כני' דדימ' זה נש' להבט[...] ש[ן] [?] אקכ' די'/'
12. גובן סקברוגאן דמונט דש' פלה' קטו' די' לחצי שנה כני' מאיג שמב'
13. רמון רריט דשאלט וברנגיר ריג /דשריאן\ נה' די' לפליד מב' יום זה
14. ארנל רוג דגויאן סד' די' לשנה חצי מאיג מב'
15. גיאם ארנל דקוארט לר' די' לחצי שנה יא' יצי' מאיג שמב'
16. ברנד פשקאל דסלאן כו' די' ל[שנה] י' יצי' אגושט שמב'
17. פירי פרייר דוילה פרשיר לג' די' לשנה חצי נובימרי שמב'
- 11 /כד\ די' לחצי שנה [ג' יצי' נובימרי שמב']<sup>18</sup> 18. ארנל מסוט דסוילה דגויאן [ב]
19. ברנד אמאט דאיגה ויוה לד' די' לשנה יום זה
20. גקמי גלטיר דסלאן לה' די' לחצי שנה [...] חצי דדימ' שמב'

## English translation

## Right column

1. (...) start of *maig*<sup>12</sup> of [13]42
2. *Guiem sa[...]h Fuster* 13 [*dinarim*] (...); this day he borrows 50 *di[narim]*; 3 (days before the) start of *maig* of [13]43.
3. *Bernad* (...) *de Juià*<sup>13</sup> 130 *di[narim]* per year; 5 (days before the) start of *maig* of [13]42.
4. *Arnal* (...) *de Juià* 36 *di[narim]* per half year; 14 *di[narim]*; start of *maig* of [13]42.
5. *Guiem Esteva*<sup>14</sup> *de* [...] 80 *di[narim]* per [*Sant*] *Felid*<sup>15</sup> *de* [13]42; in mid *maig* of [13]42.
6. *Pere Martín Segre*[...] *de S[ant] Julià de Rami[s]*<sup>16</sup> 13 *di[narim]* per [*Sant*] *Felid* of [13]42; according to separately deed.
7. (...) *batlle* (...) *de Celrà*<sup>17</sup> 100 *di[narim]* per year; this day.

<sup>10</sup> Crossed out in manuscript.

<sup>11</sup> Crossed out in manuscript.

<sup>12</sup> Catalan name of May.

<sup>13</sup> Town of Geronese area.

<sup>14</sup> Lit. 'Estevan'

<sup>15</sup> *Sant Fèlix/Feliu*. Christian festivity on 1<sup>th</sup> August (the most important) or on 18<sup>th</sup> March, also celebrated in Gerona.

<sup>16</sup> Town of Geronese area.

<sup>17</sup> Lit. 'Celran', town of Geronese area.

8. *Guiem Arna[l]* (...) 60 *di[narim]* [per half year]; 9 (days before the) end of *maig* of [13]42.
9. *Farnés [...]* and *Bernad (...)* and others *de Satl[...]* 1350 *di[narim]* per year.
10. (...) *de Bescanó*<sup>18</sup> 28 *di[narim]* per [*Sant*] *Felid* of [13]43; in mid *agost*<sup>19</sup> of [13]42.
11. (...) 52 *di[narim]* per year; end of *agost* of [13]42; guarantor.
12. (...) 350 *di[narim]* in two times; 100 *di[narim]* per half (...) [13]42.
13. (...) and 100 *di[narim]* in mid of *setem[bre]*<sup>20</sup> of [13]45; 14 (days before the) start of *agos[t]* of [13]42.
14. (...) 380 *di[narim]* per year; 5 (days before the) start of *setem[bre]* of [13]42.
15. (...) *di[narim]* per year; 13 (days before the) start of *setem[bre]* of [13]42 half part *d'en Bonjudà*
16. (...) *di[narim]* per year (...) of *setem[bre]* of [1]342.
17. (...) of *setem[bre]* of [1]34[2].
18. (...) per year; 5 (...) of *setem[bre]* of [1]342.

#### Left column

1. *Bernad sa Riera de Ferreres*<sup>21</sup>, 38 *di[narim]* per [*Sant*] *Felid* of [13]43; 11 (days before the) start of *novem[re]*<sup>22</sup> of [1]342.
2. *Berenguer Reig de Sarrià [de Dalt]*<sup>23</sup>, 11 *di[narim]* per '*issur*'<sup>24</sup> of [1]342; 13 (days before the) start of *novem[re]* of [1]342.
3. *Arnal Serrer de Corçà*<sup>25</sup>, 40 *di[narim]* per [*Sant*] *Felid* of [13]43; 12 (days before the) end of this *nove[mre]*.
4. *Arnal Morer de Viladessens*<sup>26</sup> 34 *di[narim]* per '*issu[r]*' of [1]342; according to separately (...) deed; this day.
5. *Arnal Ferreres de Can Duran (?)*<sup>27</sup> 38 *di[narim]* per [*Sant*] *Miquel*<sup>28</sup> of [1]342; this day.
6. *Guiem Segar de Sa Tanajol (?)*<sup>29</sup> 70 *di[narim]* per half year; 9 (days before the) end of this *novem[re]*.
7. *Pere Vidal de Rissec de Madremanya*<sup>30</sup> 240 *di[narim]* per year; 2 (days before the) end of this *novem[re]*.
8. *Berenguer Verai de fora sa vila de Celrà* 120 *di[narim]* per year; 3 (days before the) end of this *novem[re]*.
9. *Bernad Bou de Vila de Madremanya* 64 *di[narim]* per year; 3 (days before the) end of this *novem[re]*.
10. *Ramon Domènec de Madremanya* 38 *di[narim]* per year; 3 (days before the) start of *dedem[bre]*<sup>31</sup> of [1]342.

<sup>18</sup> Lit. 'Bescanon'. Town of Geronese area.

<sup>19</sup> Catalan name of August.

<sup>20</sup> Catalan name of September.

<sup>21</sup> Neighbourhood of Flaçà, in Geronese area.

<sup>22</sup> Catalan name of November.

<sup>23</sup> Lit. 'Sarrian', old village of Sarrià de Ter, in Geronese area.

<sup>24</sup> איסור להג It could refer to Sant Esteve (26th December), or another day added to any other festivity, probably Christian.

<sup>25</sup> Lit. 'Cartsan', town of Baix Empordà area (Girona).

<sup>26</sup> Town of Geronese area.

<sup>27</sup> There is an area called 'Can Duran' in Caldes de Malavella, town of Selva area (Girona).

<sup>28</sup> Christian festivity on 29<sup>th</sup> September.

<sup>29</sup> Maybe דשנטיגול, *de Sant Jul*, It could refer to Sant Julià de Ramis, town of Geronese area.

<sup>30</sup> Town of Geronese area. We also have evidence of *Pere Rissec del "Mas Rissec" de Madremanya*, cf. Marquès i Planagumà, Josep M. *Pergamins de la Mitra (891-1687). Arxiu Diocesà de Girona*, Girona, Institut d'Estudis Gironins, 1984, doc. 1264.

<sup>31</sup> *Dedembre*. Catalan name of December.

11. *Arnal Jubany de S[ant] Andreu Salou*<sup>32</sup> 110 *di[narim]* per year; 6 (days before the) start of this *dedem[bre]*; he borrows (...) \120 *di[narim]*/.
12. *Jubany sa Cabrogan de Munt de S[ant] Pla (?)*<sup>33</sup>, 115 *di[narim]* per half year; start of *maig* of [1]342.
13. *Ramon Raret de Salt*<sup>34</sup> and *Berenguer Reig de \Sarrià/[de Dalt]* 55 *di[narim]* per [*Sant*] *Felid* of [13]42; this day.
14. *Arnal Roig de Juià*<sup>35</sup> 64 *di[narim]* per year; in mid *maig* of [13]42.
15. *Guiem Arnal de Quart*<sup>36</sup> 36 *di[narim]* per half year; 11 (days before the) end of *maig* of [1]342.
16. *Bernad Pasqual de Celrà* 26 *di[narim]* per year; 10 (days before the) end of *agost* of [1]342.
17. *Pere Ferrer de Vilafreser*<sup>37</sup> 33 *di[narim]* per year; in mid of *novembre* de [1]342.
18. *Arnal Massot de sa vila de Juià* [2] \24/ *di[narim]* per half year; [3 (days before the) end of *novembre* of [1]342].
19. *Bernad Amat d'Aiguaviva*<sup>38</sup> 34 *di[narim]* per year; this day
20. *Jacme Galter de Celrà* 33 *di[narim]* per half year; (mid) *dedem[bre]* of [1]342].

## **Addendum II**

### The ketubbah of 1377 from Castelló D'Empúries

On the occasion of a visit to Arxiu Històric de Girona in March 2008, the director Montserrat Hosta i Rebés showed me a large size parchment of 62 x 48,8 cm which was reused as the wrapper of a notarial protocol of the *Notaria* de Castelló d'Empúries<sup>39</sup>, protocol n. 764 of the years 1473-1477, written by the notary Francesc Bach.

In the large blank bottom margin of the parchment folio of the *ketubbah*, on the left the following note was written in pencil: *Contracte de matrimoni entre jueus / Castelló d'Empúries. Any 1417*. I asked my friends Ramón Magdalena Nom de Déu and Meritxell Blasco Orellana, of the University of Barcelona, if this note could have been written by Millàs Vallicrosa, but they examined the writing and wrote me that this note was written by Jaume Riera i Sans<sup>40</sup>.

In the same bottom margin, unfortunately, someone needing a piece of blank parchment for writing, cut vertically from the right corner a rectangle of h 8 x ø 15 cm exactly where the signatures of the witnesses were written. Likely the same person cut horizontally also a piece of blank parchment measuring h 8 x ø 15 cm in the upper margin, from the left corner for about two thirds of the margin. This damaged the upper half of the first line, but I was able to reconstruct the missing part thanks to the extant lower half. So the marriage of the groom David son of Meshullam of Gallac and the virgin Astruga, daughter of Avraham son of Yosef Al Gallet, was celebrated on the 3<sup>th</sup> of May of the year 1377 according to the Christian era. If we consider that the register of the Notary Francesc Bach contains deeds from the years 1473-1477, we realize that the large size parchment used in 1377 to write the *ketubbah* was reused as binding material exactly 96 years

<sup>32</sup> Town of Geronese area.

<sup>33</sup> Maybe Sant Feliu de Girona or Sant Pere Desplà in Arbúcies, town of Selva area (Girona).

<sup>34</sup> Town of Geronese area.

<sup>35</sup> Lit. 'Juián'. Town of Geronese area.

<sup>36</sup> Town of Geronese area.

<sup>37</sup> Nucli de Vilademuls de la comarca del Pla de l'Estany (Girona)

<sup>38</sup> Town of Geronese area.

<sup>39</sup> For a deed related to the donation of a house in Girona written on May 15 1392, see: I. Loeb, *Actes de vente hébreux*, in D. Romano (ed.), *Per a una història de la Girona jueva*, Ajuntament de Girona, Girona 1988, Vol. II, pp. 495-496.

<sup>40</sup> In an e-mail the colleagues wrote me as follows: "La letra no es de Millàs Vallicrosa, sino de Jaume Riera i Sans. Hemos comparado las grafías y, sobre todo, los números, con algunas dedicatorias de la mano de Jaume Riera en algunos libros que tiene Ramón en casa y todo apunta a que la nota de la *ketubbah* ¡es de la mano del mismo Riera! El error de este 'catalogador' se debe a que no pudo reconstruir la mutilada fecha hebrea de la primera línea y se dejó guiar por la fecha del registro de actas cristiano al que sirvió de cubierta".

after the marriage was celebrated, when the couple was already dead, and the document no longer had any legal value. So, once more, we must be grateful for the practice of reusing any kind of book material, because it was one of the most important way of preserving for us many written documents.

As I already wrote, the bridegroom of this *ketubbah* is David ben Meshulam from Gallac, and the bride was “Astruga<sup>41</sup> the virgin, daughter of Sir Avraham son of Yoseph Al Gallet.” This document is important not only for the history of the Jews of Girona<sup>42</sup>, but also for that of the Catalan communities.<sup>43</sup>

### A. The Hebrew text

1. בשלישי בשב[ת] [חמ]שה ועשרים יום לירח אייר [שנת חמשת אלפים ומאה] ושבע לבריאת עולם למנין שאנו
2. מונין כאן בק[שטיון דא]מפוריאש איך החתן ר' דוד בר' משלם [דגלאק] אמר לה למרת אשתרוגה בתולתא בת ר' אבר[ה]ם ב'ר יוסף אלגליט

<sup>41</sup> For Astruga, a well known Catalan name with its variants Estruga/Estrugona/Struga and in its masculine form, see D. Romano, *Índex onomastic*, in Id. (ed), *Per a una història de la Girona jueva*, cited, pp. 744-746; Esperança Valls i Pujol et alii, *Regest dels documents de l'Arxiu Diocesà de Barcelona relatius als jueus*, cit., p. 79, and E. Pérez i Pons, *Fonts per a l'estudi de la Comunitat jueva de Mallorca. Regesta i bibliografia*, Catalonia Hebraica VI, Barcelona 2005, p. 274; see also: E. Klein, *Hebrew Deeds of Catalan Jews. Documents hebraics de la Catalunya medieval 1117-1316*, Societat Catalana d'Estudis Hebraics – Patronat Municipal Call de Girona, Barcelona - Girona 2004, pp. 191, 214; the name is attested in Catalonia also in its extended form *Bonastruga* for exemple p. 212; J. M. Llobet i Portella, *Dos testaments i un capítol matrimonial de jueus de Cervera*, in “Tamid” I (1997), pp. 41-49: 48; finally, J. Hinojsa Montal, *The Jews of the kingdom of Valencia. From persecution to expulsion, 1391-1492*, The Magnes Press, Jerusalem 1993, *sub indice*, p. 705.

<sup>42</sup> For the History of the Jewish Gerona see the two volumes compiled and reprinted by D. Romano, *Per a una història de la Girona jueva*, 2 vols. above cited.

<sup>43</sup> For other Catalan or Spanish ketubbot see the studies of the late José Luis Lacave who devoted a large part of his work to the publication of all the ketubbot of Spain, in particular in his *Los judíos de Navarra, Documentos hebreos 1297-1486*, Navarra Judaica 7, Pamplona 1998. More recently a *ketubbah* written on March 13 1335 in Santa Coloma (today Santa Margarida) de Montbui, also reused to bind a protocol in the local archive, has been published by J. R. Magdalena Nom de Déu and M. Blasco Orellana, *Una "ketubbá" inédita catalana de Santa Coloma de Montbui (siglo XIV)*, in “Judaismo Hispano” Estudios en Memoria de José Luis Lacave Riaño”, Madrid 2002, pp. 575-584. A Sardinian ketubba of the mid of the 15th century, also reused to bind a register kept in the Biblioteca Universitaria di Sassari, has been recently published by A. Meir, *La ketubbah di Shelomoh ben Zarch de Carcassona ebreo sardo di origine provenzale, Alghero metà del XV secolo*, in C. Tasca, *Gli ebrei in Sardegna nel contesto mediterraneo. La riflessione storiografica da Giovamni Spano ad oggi*, Atti del XXII congresso internazionale dell'AISG e X di Italia Judaica, Cagliari 17-20 novembre 2008, in “Materia giudaica” XIV/1-2 (2009), Giuntina, Firenze, 2009, in print.

The previous studies devoted to other Spanish marriage contracts are: a *ketubbah* from Tudela published by Lacave in his paper: *Importante hallazgo de documentos hebreos en Tudela*, in “Sefarad”, 43 (1983), pp. 169-179, with some pictures. F. Cantera Burgos, *La Ketuba de D. Davidovitch y las ketubbot españolas*, in “Sefarad” 33 (1973), pp. 375-386; M. Kayserling, *Un contract de mariage en langue catalane*, in “Revue des Etudes Juives” 24 (1892), p. 291; J. M. Millàs i Vallicrosa, *Documents hebraics de jueus catalans*, Barcelona 1927, Doc. N. XXVII; PP: 30-31; V. Collado y R. Robles, *Textos hebraicoaramaicos en el Archivo de la Catedral de Valencia*, in “Primer Congreso de Historia del País Valenciano”, Valencia 1973, vol. I, pp. 341-346. D. Romano, *Documentos hebreos del siglo XIV de Cataluña y Mallorca*, in “Sefarad” 34 (1974), pp. 295-296, and pp. 306-312; J. Riera i Sans y F. Udina i Martorell, *Els documents hebreus conservats a l'Arxiu de la Corona d'Aragó*, in “Miscellanea Barcinonensia” 9 (1978), docs. 6 and 7, pp. 26-30; E. Cortès, *A propòsit d'un manuscrit fragmentari hebraico-arameu de l'Arxiu Diocesà de Vic*, in “Associació Bíblica de Catalunya” 25-26 (1981), pp. 15ss); J. Gasol, *Notícia d'una 'ketubà' del segle XIV de l'Arxiu Històric de Manresa*, in *Jornades d'Història dels Jueus de Catalunya* (Girona abril 1987), Girona 1990, pp. 295-297; I. Llop, *Una ketubà inédita a l'Arxiu Episcopal de Vic*, in “Ausa” 19/144 (2000), pp. 55-60. The pictures of the following ketubbot are contained in the catalogue of the Exhibition *Documentos hebreos en los archivos navarros (1287-1486)*, see the preface by José Luis Lacave, p. 7-8, they are: six ketubbot of Tudela from the years 1300 (n. 6), 1309 (n. 7), 1324 (n. 5), 1486 (n. 21), 1476 (n. 25), 1480 (n. 26), three ketubbot of Borja from 1482 (n. 22+23), with its additions (n. 24), and a last of Milagro from the year 1309 (n. 7).

3. הואי לי לאנתו [כדת משה] וישראל ואנא אפלה ואוקיר ואיזון ואפרנס יתיכי כהלכת גוברין יהודאין [דפלאחין ומוקירין וזנין] ומפרנסיין
4. ית נשיהון ב[קושטא ויהיבנ]א ליכי מהר בתולייכי כסף זוזי מאתן דחזו ליכי ומזוניכי וכסותיכי וספוקיכי ואעול לותיכי כא[רח] כל ארעא
5. וצביאת מר[ת אשתרוגה כל]תא דא והות ליה לר' דוד חתן דנן לאנתו ודא נדוניא דהנעלת ליה מבית אמה בין בכסף בין בזהב
6. ובגדים ותכשיטיין ושמוש ערסא ושש מאות דינרין של פשיטים ממטבע מלגוריש<sup>44</sup> העובר היום במקום זה לכל מקח וממכר סך
7. שומת הכל קבל עליו ר' דוד חתן דנן בשבע מאות דינרין של פשיטים ממטבע הנזכר וצבי ר' דוד חתן דנן והוסיף לה מדיליה מאתים דינרין
8. גדולים של כסף צרוף שיש שמנה זוזים בכל דינר ודינר וכך אמר לנו ר' דוד חתן דנן כל זמן ששטר כתובה זה יצא מתחת יד מרת
9. אשתרוגה כלתא [ד]א הן מתחת יד יורשיה הן מתחת יד הבאים ברשותה כדלא קרוע וכדלא כתוב על גבו שהוא פרוע יהיו נאמנים
10. הן היא הן יורשיה הן הבאים ברשותה הן עלי הן על יורשי הן על הבאים ברשותי בדבורם בלבד לומר לא נפרענו בין בכל סך ממון
11. הכתובה והנדוניא והתוספת הנזכרים בין במקצתו בין בענין מזונותיה ופרנסתה הנזכרים בין בכלן בין במקצתן ובכל עניני שטר
12. כתובה זה ובכל שאר תנאי בית דין של כתובה כשני עדים כשרים בלא שום נדר ובלא שום שבועה קלה וחסורה בעולם וגלגול[ה]
13. ואפלו חרם סתם והדרת הראש שכך קבלתי בקנין גמור מעכשו עלי ועל יורשי ועל הבאים ברשותי נאמנות זו בפירוש הן [לה]
14. ליורשיה הן לבאים מכחה בכל ענין זכותה ויפוי כחה ובכל לשון של זכות בלא שום תנאי ושיור בעולם ובפירוש חיבתי ל[....]
15. עצמי חיוב גמור בקנין גמור מעכשו לכתובתא דא ונדוניא דא ותוספת דילה ומזונותיה ופרנסתה הנזכרים ולכל שאר תנאי בית
16. דין של כתובה ולכל מה שנזכר ונכלל למעלה והרי אני מודה לה בפניכם הודאה גמורה שעל מנת כן נתחיבתי לה בכ[ח]
17. הכתובה והנדוניא והתוספת הנזכרים שלא תשמיטם בשביעית ואחריות וחומר שטר כתובתא דא ונדוניא דא ו[תוספת דילה]
18. ומזונותיה ופרנסתה הנזכרים וכל שאר תנאי בית דין של כתובה וכל מה שנזכר ונכלל למעלה קבלתי על[ין]
19. הבאים ברשותי בקנין גמור מעכשו לחתפרעא מכל שפר ארג נכסין וקנינין דאית לי תחות כל שמיא דקניתי ודאקנה דאית
20. להון אחריות [ואנבן] דלית להון אחריות דקניתי ודאקנה כלהון יהון אחראין וערבאין ומשועבדין לשטר כתובתא [דא ונדוניא דא]
21. ותוספת דילה [.....]תיה ופרנסתה הנזכרים ולכל מה שנזכר [ו]נכלל למעלה למגבי מנהון הכל בלי פחת מכל מ[עדיית ..]

<sup>44</sup> The currency "Mlgwrys" have to be read "melgorè, melgarès or better malgurès", meaning coined in Melgoir, today Mauguio, a place seated east of Montpellier. This name of place is attested in Catalan in 1317, and comes from the ancient Occitan "malgoirès". Referred to unit of weight, the same term is used in the expression *Psw Mlgwyyrs* in the ms. Firkovitch I-Heb-338, of the State Library of Russia in St. Petersburg, fol. 26, lin. 21, published by Meritxell Blasco Orellana, *Manuscrito hebraicocatalán...*, cited, p. 98 (ms.) y 99 (transcr.).

22. אשתרוגה כלתא [...]רא בכל נכסיהן היא הן יורשיה הן הבאים [בר]שותה הן ממני הן מיורשי הן מהבאים מכ[חי.....]
23. וממבחר שבכל שאר נכסים ואפלו מגלימא דעל כתפאי בלא רשותי ובלא רשות שום בית דין ואדם בעולם בא[חריות ובחומר כל]
24. שטרי כתובות לימין דנהיגין בישראל שתקנו חכמים מיומא דנן ולעלם דלא כאסמכתא ודלא כטפסי דשטרני בבטול כל מודיעי]
25. שמסרתי ושאמסור וקנינא מן החתן ר' דוד בר' משלם דגלאק הנזכר למרת אשתרוגה כלתא דא בת ר' אברהם [ב'ר יוסף אלגליט]
26. [על כל מה דכ]תיב ומפרש לעיל ועל הנאמנות בפירוש במנא דכשר למקניא ביה דגלאק דביני חטי והכל שריר וקים.

### B. English translation

1. Tuesday the 25<sup>th</sup> of the month of Iyyar of the year 5137 of the creation of the world, according to our calculation
2. that we adopt here in Castelló d'Empuries<sup>45</sup>, that the groom Sir David son of Sir Meshullam of Gallac<sup>46</sup> said to Madam Astruga, a virgin, daughter of Sir Avraham son of Yosef Al Gallet<sup>47</sup>:
3. "Be for me a wife [according to the law of Moses] and of Israel, and I will sustain you and honour you, I will provide you with nourishment and that which you need to live, according to the law of Jewish men that they sustain, honour, and provide food
4. and that which is needed to live to their wives with abundance. I give you the dowry (*mohar*) of your virginity, that is the amount of 200 *zuzim* that are due to you, and additionally your maintenance, your clothing, as much as is necessary, and sexual relations with you<sup>48</sup> according to the custom of the whole earth."
5. Madam Astruga, a virgin, has consented and has become the wife of this present groom, Sir David, and these are the goods of her dowry (*nedunia*) that she has brought to him from the house of her mother: both silver and gold and
6. the clothing, jewels and clothes that are used for the bed and 600 *dinarim peshitim* of the currency of Lagores<sup>49</sup> that is current today in this place for every type of commercial transaction, and the total of all this
7. was assessed from Sir David, the groom, in the figure of 700 *dinarim peshitim* of the currency mentioned and to which the present groom, Sir David has consented and has added for her from his own two hundred dinarim

<sup>45</sup> The toponyme Castelló [d'Empúries] in Hebrew is written *Qstywn*, or Castion, and appears several times in the register of an anonymus Jewish monay lender of Gerona, for exemple: f. 1a, lin. 2; f. 4a, lin. 19; f. 4a, lin. 20; f. 12a, lin. 5, etc. This is the for attested as well in some *responsa* de Ra"n and, especially, of Shelomo Ben Aderet in the printed editions. See also D. Romano, *Per a una història de la Girona jueva*, cited above, vol. II, p. 495 and p. 754.

<sup>46</sup> This name, written in the ancient writing Gallach, but to be pronounced Gallac, with the final "k" is common in Cataluña (Sant Feliu de Girona, Barcelona, etc.) y Valencia (Castellón de la Plana, Valencia, Alzira, Sueca, Corbera, etc.).

<sup>47</sup> The father of the bride Astruga is Abraham ben Yosef Algualit. The Jewish surname Algalet or Algallet is known as a Spanish name, especially used in the Corona de Aragón, and it has to be pronounced with the palatalized *el* as in Castillian. This name is attested for exemple in the aljama of Calatayud, see F. Baer, *Die Juden im christlichen Spanien...*, doc. 506 (pp. 821-822, and in particular p. 822), where appears a Brahém Algualit, together with other jews, ... *regidores de la dita aliama ...*, ACA, Reg. 2444, foll. 37-38.

<sup>48</sup> Literally: rising up on you.

<sup>49</sup> See footnote 16.

8. large pure silver and these dinarim are composed each one of eight *zuzim*, and thus this groom said to us, for all the time that this document of the *ketubbah* will be presented/will go out from the hand of Madam
9. Astruga the bride or from the hand of her heirs or otherwise from those persons that are a part of her nuclear family, on the condition that it not be torn and that it not be written on the external side that it was paid, to these conditions will she be deigned faithful;
10. as well as her heirs and also those who are a part of her entourage. These things are upon me and upon my heirs and upon those who are a part of my family, and on the basis that they affirm, saying, we have not been paid in all of the amount
11. of the *ketubbah*, of *neduniah* and of *tosefet* mentioned above, also in consideration of her sustenance, whether partially or totally, as well as everything that concerns the document
12. of this *ketubbah* and all the rest of the conditions of the court of the *ketubbah*, before two valid witnesses without any vow (*voto?*) and without any oath, whether light or heavy, in our territory and in our surroundings.
13. and not even any generic ban or an oath by my life, thus have I accepted with complete commitment, in the case that I fail with regard to these things, a punishment on me and on all my heirs or on those of my entourage, this faithfulness in an explicit manner
14. for her heirs or those delegated by her in every matter of her rights, without any condition or exception...
15. I commit myself with a total commitment - with a complete acquisition beginning now toward this *ketubbah* or her mentioned foodstuffs and for all the other conditions for the *ketubbah* established by the
16. Beit Din and for all that was mentioned and included above, I confess before you for her in your presence with a perfect communication that for this purpose I intend ...
17. that the *ketubbah* and *neduniah* and *tosefet* mentioned not be nullified in the seventh year. The guarantee and the content of this document of *ketubbah* and dowry and her additional payment and her
18. maintenance and the goods mentioned above and all the rest of the conditions of the court of the *ketubbah* and all that which is mentioned and included above I have accepted on me.
19. and on all those who make up a part of my entourage and with a complete acquisition from now to be paid by every type of good or acquisition that I possess under the heavens, movable and immovable, that I have acquired and that I will acquire (I put at the disposition of this payment...),
20. all will be in guarantee and mortgage and submitted to the document of this *ketubbah* or her dowry
21. and addition and for her maintenance above recalled and for all that which was mentioned and included above, to be paid from without any loss ... from my part for the benefit of the bride
22. Astruga, for all that which regards the goods, she and her heirs or those who are a part of her entourage, these moneys (that come to her)
23. can be chosen from the more valuable part of all my other goods and even from the shirt that is on my shoulders without the need for my permission and without the permission of any court or of any person in the world, and all these have value of guarantee like all *ketubot* according to the custom in Israel that the masters established, from this day on and without any reservations
25. that I have delivered and that I will deliver. And (we witnesses) have acquired from the groom Sir David son of Meshullam de Gallac above mentioned... on behalf of (a *favore di?*) Madam Astruga the bride this daughter of Abraham of Yosef Al Gallit
26. and on all that which is written and made explicit above and the commitment explicitly with an object for sealing a sale, and with the word "Gallac" added between the lines, and everything is confirmed and valid.



Pere Despont	1379	212	
Pere Despont	1381-1382	219	
Pere Despont	1382-1383	221	
Pere Despont	1387	231	
Pere Despont	1388-1389	234	
Pere Despont	1389-1390	23-	
Pere Despont	1390-1391	239	
Pere Despont	1397	255	
Pere Despont	1397	256	
Pere Despont	1398-1400	257	
Pere Despont	1399	258	
Pere Despont	1400	260	Documents a 2 cobertes.
Pere Despont	1402-1403	264	
Pere Despont	1377-1391	268 bis	
Pere Mut	1367	278	
Miquel Pere	1411	347	

*Volums revisats fins 1491 signatures 1 a 493*

### **GIRONA-2**

<i>Notari</i>	<i>Any</i>	<i>Sig.</i>	<i>Observacions</i>
Berenguer Capella	1370-1371	10	Coberta posterior
Berenguer Capella	1373-1374	17	Docs. a coberta ant. i post.
Berenguer Capella	1376-1377	20	
Berenguer Capella	1376-1377	21	
Berenguer Capella	1385-1386	48	1 document
Berenguer Capella	1391-1392	59	1 fragment
Berenguer Capella	1393-1395	62	2003 Docs. a coberta ant. i post.
Berenguer Capella	1394	64	
Berenguer Capella	1397-1398	71	Coberta anterior
Berenguer Capella	1397-1398	72	
Berenguer Capella	1400-1401	81	Molts docs extrets en algun moment. Hi ha 2 carpetes de diferents formats
Berenguer Capella	1398-1399	76	Coberta posterior
Berenguer Capella	1401	86	Força documents
Berenguer Capella	1404	95	
	1445	212	Quadern de 22 pàgines entre folis 179 i 192 (J. Zabara). Les pàgines estan numerades 180 a 191, numeració que es correspon al lloc on estava relligat. (Veure f 179 v l'últim instrument)

*Volums revisats fins 1492 signatures 1 a 310*

### **GIRONA-4**

<i>Notari</i>	<i>Any</i>	<i>Sig.</i>	<i>Observacions</i>
Jaume Transfort	1339	16	Pergamí
Jaume Transfort	1339	17	pergamí
Jaume Transfort	1339	18	Pocs
Berenguer Ferrer Sala	1437	144	
Berenguer Ferrer Sala	1443-1452	171	

*Volums revisats fins 1507 signatures 1 a 215*

### **GIRONA-5**

<i>Notari</i>	<i>Any</i>	<i>Sig.</i>	<i>Observacions</i>
Pere Massanet	1331	12	Coberta posterior, pocs docs.
Pere Massanet	1333	15	
Ramon Serra	1331	30	Coberta anterior i posterior, molt malmesos
Bartomeu Vives	1351	63	
Bartomeu Vives	1360	112	
Bartomeu Vives	1361	119	
Bartomeu Vives	1361	120	Documents a 2 cobertes.
Bartomeu Vives	1361	121	Coberta anterior ratats, posterior pergami hebreu
Ramon Peradalta	1351-1352	136	
Ramon Peradalta	-	137	
Ramon Peradalta	1352-1353	142	
Ramon Peradalta	1361	170 b	Cobertes anterior i posterior, molts docs.
Ramon Peradalta	1361	172 b	
Ramon Peradalta	1361-1362	173 b	
Ramon Peradalta	1361-1362	174 b	
Ramon Peradalta	1362-1363	179 b	
Ramon Peradalta	1365	182	
Ramon Peradalta	1365-1366	184	
Ramon Peradalta	1366-1367	186	
Ramon Peradalta	1366-1367	187	
Ramon Peradalta	1367-1368	188	
Ramon Peradalta	1367-1368	189	
Ramon Peradalta	1368	191	Coberta anterior i a la posterior pergami hebreu
Ramon Peradalta	1368	192	Coberta anterior i posterior
Ramon Peradalta	1369-1370	198	Coberta anterior
Ramon Peradalta	1370-1371	203	Coberta anterior molts docs.
Ramon Peradalta	1371	205	
Ramon Peradalta	1372-1373	212	Coberta anterior molts mal estat, la posterior no es veu
Ramon Peradalta	1379-1380	228	
Ramon Peradalta	1382-1383	237	
Ramon Peradalta	1371-1383	239	
Bartomeu Tord	1361	255	
Bartomeu Tord	1361	257	
Bartomeu Tord	1362	261	
Bartomeu Tord	1363	263	
Bartomeu Tord	1363	264	
Bartomeu Tord	1363	266	
Bartomeu Tord	1363	267	
Bartomeu Tord	1363-1364	269	
Bartomeu Tord	1364	272	
Bartomeu Tord	1364	273	
Bartomeu Tord	1365	274	
Bartomeu Tord	1365	275	
Bartomeu Tord	1365	276	
Bartomeu Tord	1366	279	
Bartomeu Tord	1367	284	
Bartomeu Tord	1367	285	
Bartomeu Tord	1368	287	
Bartomeu Tord	1368	288	
Bartomeu Tord	1373	304	
Bartomeu Tord	1375	307	
Bartomeu Tord	1362-1369	321	
Bartomeu Tord	1367	324	
Bartomeu Tord	1374	326	

Bartomeu Tord	1371	327	
Joan de Fontcuberta	1367	347	
Joan de Fontcuberta	1384-1385	382	
Joan de Fontcuberta	1386	385	
Joan de Fontcuberta	1387	389	
Joan de Fontcuberta	1388-1389	391	
Joan de Fontcuberta	1389-1390	394	
Joan de Fontcuberta	1391-1392	399	
Francesc de Cantallops	1376	406	
Francesc de Cantallops	1378-1379	408	
Francesc de Cantallops	1381-1382	409	
Francesc de Cantallops	1384	412	
Francesc de Cantallops	1391-1393	415	
Bernat de Dons	1383-1388	422	
Bernat de Dons	1386	425	
Bernat de Dons	1388-1389	429	
Bernat de Dons	1390-1391	433	
Bernat de Dons	1392	435	
Bernat de Dons	1393-1394	438	
Bernat de Dons	1394	440	
Bernat de Dons	1394-1395	444	docs molt enganxats,
Bernat de Dons	1389-1390	448	docs molt enganxats
Bernat de Dons	1390	449	

*Volums revisats fins l'any 1512 signatures 1 a 476*

### **GIRONA-6**

<u>Notari</u>	<u>Any</u>	<u>Sig.</u>	<u>Observacions</u>
Jaume Compte	1340	24	fragment
Francesc Vidal	1400-1401	91	1 fragment coberta ant.
Francesc Vidal	1403-1404	101	fragment
Francesc Vidal	1404	102	fragment
Francesc Vidal	1405	105	1 fragment mal estat

*Volums revisats fins l'any 1495 signatures 1 a 204*

### **GIRONA-7**

<u>Notari</u>	<u>Any</u>	<u>Sig.</u>	<u>Observacions</u>
Guillem Banyuls	1347	7	
Bernat Pintor	1361	26	
Bernat Pintor	1363	27	Docs coberta posterior, mal estat
Bernat Pintor	1364	30	
Bernat Pintor	1374-1379	49	fragment
Bernat Pintor	1375	50	
Bernat Pintor	1379	57	
Bernat Pintor	1390	63	
Bernat Pintor	1392-1393	67	Coberta anterior pergamí, docs molt enganxats
Bernat Pintor	1393-1397	68	
Bernat Pintor	1397-1398	71	Docs. a coberta ant. i post.
Bernat Pintor	1399	72	
Bernat Pintor	1402-1406	77	Coberta posterior pergamí, docs molt enganxats

*Volums revisats fins l'any 1482-1497 signatures 1 a 147*

**GIRONA-8**

<u>Notari</u>	<u>Any</u>	<u>Sig.</u>	<u>Observacions</u>
Joan Escuder	1421-1423	7	
Joan Escuder	1425-1426	11	

*Volums revisats fins l'any 1498-1499 signatures 1 a 107*

**GIRONA-9**

<u>Notari</u>	<u>Any</u>	<u>Sig.</u>	<u>Observacions</u>
Pere Sitjar	1425	44-	

*Volums revisats fins l'any 1498 signatures 1 a 108*

**GIRONA-10**

<u>Notari</u>	<u>Any</u>	<u>Sig.</u>	<u>Observacions</u>
Bonanat Nadal	1366	2	Pocs fragments
Guillem de Dons	1365	13	Pocs fragments
Guillem de Dons	1367-1368	14	Pocs fragments
Guillem de Dons	1369	16	Mal estat
Guillem de Dons	1375-1377	25	
Guillem de Dons	1378	26	
Guillem de Dons	1387-1388	32	
Guillem de Dons	1391-1393	36	
Guillem de Dons	1398-1399	39	
Roger de Dons	1412-1414	59	

*Volums revisats fins l'any 1500 signatures 1 a 134*

**GIRONA-11**

<u>Notari</u>	<u>Any</u>	<u>Sig.</u>	<u>Observacions</u>
Narcís Simó	1394-1396	14	Docs. a coberta ant. i post.
Narcís Simó	1395-1396	17	Docs. a coberta posterior.
Carles Cerdà	1492-1493	63	1 frag
Carles Cerdà	1492-1493	64	Pergamí,
Carles Cerdà	1488-1512	97	Pergamí, format gran

*Volums revisats fins l'any 1511 signatures 1 a 98*

**HOSPICI**

signatura núm. 67

**B.** *Quantity of Hebrew and non-Hebrew fragments extracted from the first 74 notarial registers up to April 2009.*

	<b>LLIBRES NOTARIALS DE LES COBERTES DELS QUALS S'HAN EXTRET DOCUMENTS HEBREUS</b>	<b>DOC HEBREUS EXTRETS</b>	<b>DOC NO HEBREUS EXTRETS</b>	<b>TOTAL DOCUMENTS EXTRETS</b>
1	Del s. XIV sense signatura	<b>27</b>	-	27
2	Gi 1, 5	<b>10</b>	3	13
3	Gi 1, 7 / 1345-1346	<b>7</b>	29	36
4	Gi 1, 51, 1361	<b>19</b>	13	32
5	GI 1, 56 1361 – 1362	<b>3</b>	21	24
6	GI 1, 62 1363	<b>2</b>	4	6
7	Gi 1, 268 bis	<b>0</b>	2	2
8	GI 1, 90 / 1369	<b>24</b>	2	26
9	GI 1, 99 / 1371	<b>12</b>	5	17
10	GI 1, 109 / 1374-75	<b>1</b>	10	11
11	GI 1, 110 / 1374-76	<b>5</b>	1	6
12	GI 1, 114 / 1376-1377	<b>5</b>	11	16
13	GI 1, 115 / 1377	<b>17</b>	17	34
14	GI 1, 116 / 1377	<b>0</b>	28	28
15	GI 1, 130 / 1383-1384	<b>1</b>	46	47
16	GI 1, 140/ 1391-1392	<b>14</b>	8	22
17	GI 1, 160 / 1361-1362	<b>17</b>	11	28
18	GI 1, 178 / 1368	<b>13</b>	21	34
19	GI 1, 180 / 1368	<b>14</b>	18	32
20	GI 1, 191 / 1371-1372	<b>2</b>	25	27
21	GI 1, 182 / 1368-1369	<b>11</b>	1	12
22	GI 1, 198 /1374-1375	<b>0</b>	12	12
23	GI 1, 211 / 1378-1379	<b>2</b>	13	15
24	GI 1, 212 / 1379	<b>5</b>	3	8
25	GI 1, 219 / 1381-1382	<b>4</b>	26	30
26	GI 1, 221/ 1382- 1383	<b>4</b>	17	21
27	GI 1, 231/ 1387	<b>16</b>	16	32
28	GI 1, 234/ 1388-1389	<b>18</b>	16	34
29	GI 1, 237/ 1389- 1390	<b>18</b>	0	18
30	GI 1, 239/ 1390 - 1391	<b>6</b>	21	27
31	GI 1, 255/ 1397	<b>7</b>	8	15
32	GI 1, 256 / 1397	<b>9</b>	8	17
33	GI 1, 257/ 1398-1400	<b>3</b>	3	6

34	GI1, 258	<b>16</b>	11	27
35	Gi 1, 260 / 1400	<b>16</b>	15	31
36	Gi 1, 264	<b>16</b>	45	61
37	Gi 1, 278	<b>12</b>	12	24
38	Gi 1, 347	<b>2</b>	7	9
39	Gi 2, 10	<b>1</b>	11	12
40	Gi 2, 17/ 1373-1374	<b>28</b>	-	28
41	Gi 2, 20	<b>3</b>	21	24
42	Gi 2, 21	<b>0</b>	31	31
43	Gi 2, 48	<b>2</b>	55	57
44	Gi 2, 59	<b>2</b>	60	62
45	Gi 2, 62 / 1393-1395	<b>13</b>	6	19
46	Gi 2, 64	<b>13</b>	1	14
47	Gi 2, 71	<b>6</b>	1	7
48	Gi 2, 72	<b>14</b>	23	37
49	Gi 2, 81 /	<b>24</b>	-	24
50	Gi 2, 212 / 1445	<b>1 quadern de 9 fulls</b>	-	<b>1 quadern de 9 fulls</b>
51	Gi 5, 136 / 1351-1352	<b>10</b>	-	10
52	Gi 5, 120 / 1361	<b>9</b>	6	15
53	Gi 5, 192	<b>13</b>	10	23
54	Gi 5, 198	<b>1</b>	17	18
55	Gi 5, 203	<b>6</b>	6	12
56	Gi 5, 205	<b>25</b>	7	32
57	Gi 5, 212	<b>17</b>	11	28
58	Gi 5, 228	<b>3</b>	15	18
59	Gi 5, 237	<b>5</b>	30	35
60	Gi 5, 239	<b>8</b>	17	25
61	Gi 5, 255	<b>6</b>	5	11
62	Gi 5, 257	<b>5</b>	6	11
63	Gi 5, 261	<b>20</b>	5	25
64	Gi 5, 263	<b>13</b>	6	19
65	Gi 5, 264	<b>32</b>	2	34
66	Gi 7, 71 / 1397-1398	<b>15</b>	8	23
67	Gi 10, 25 / 1375-1377	<b>7</b>	3	10
68	Gi 10, 36 / 1391-1393	<b>24</b>	6	30
69	Gi 11 , 14 / 1394-1396	<b>14</b>	15	29

70	Gi 11, 17 / 1395-1396	<b>26</b>	-	26
71	Gi 11 , 64 / 1492-1493	<b>1 coberta perg</b>		1 cob. perg
72	Gi 11, 97	<b>1</b>	-	1
73	Fons de l'Hospici, 67 / 1498-1499	<b>19</b>	-	19
74			-	1
	Castelló d'Empúries, 764	<b>1 coberta perg</b>		
		<b>(Kettubà)</b>		
	<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>754</b>	893	1647
	Girona, 2009			



(Prof. Mauro Perani)

University of Bologna, Ravenna Campus,  
Dept for the Preservation of Cultural Heritage,  
via Degli Ariani, 1 - 48121 Ravenna - ITALY

President of the European Association for Jewish Studies (EAJS) <http://www.eurojewishstudies.org>  
President of the Associazione Italiana per lo Studio del Giudaismo (AISG) <http://www.aisg.it>

Tel. +39.0544.936782; Fax +39.0544.936781

E-mail: [mauro.perani@unibo.it](mailto:mauro.perani@unibo.it)

Curriculum vitae: [www.dismec.unibo.it/cat3/perani/CV-Mauro-Perani-English-January-2008.pdf](http://www.dismec.unibo.it/cat3/perani/CV-Mauro-Perani-English-January-2008.pdf)

Bibliography: [www.aisg.it](http://www.aisg.it) > soci > Perani  
[www.dismec.unibo.it/cat3/perani/perani](http://www.dismec.unibo.it/cat3/perani/perani)