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Towers and Lions? Identifying the Patron of a Medieval Illuminated Maḥzor from Cologne

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Introduction

In her essay "Patronage," Holly Flora notes that "There is ... no term that equally, convincingly, and accurately describes the personalities and processes involved in artistic commissions."[1] In response, Jill Caskey comments:

> Related words, including instigator, donor, matron, founder, promulgator, impresario, and their rough equivalents in other languages may express more specific roles or nuanced meanings than those implied by the broad "patron." ... Patronage is "probably never completely simple and straightforward."[2]

The issue of patronage—the initiating, production, and leadership of an artistic project—has been extensively addressed in the research literature on the Middle Ages. Who were the patrons of works of art? What motivated them? What kinds of relations did they have to the artists who produced works, and to what extent were they involved in the work beyond paying for all or part of it? All these questions have kept scholars occupied for many years. This is especially true of the period that ended in the thirteenth century, from which notarized agreements between patrons and the artists they hired have not survived. The situation changes from the fourteenth century onward, from which scholars have uncovered such documents and documented the behind-the-scenes relations between the sponsors of works of art and their craftsmen.

In two recent articles on this issue, Caskey has asked the fundamental questions and identified research fields relating to these questions with regard to the study of medieval Christian art.[3] The contours sketched out by

[1] Holly Flora, "Patronage," *Studies in Iconography* 33 (2012): 209.

[2] Jill Caskey, "Medieval Patronage and Its Potentialities," in *Patronage, Power, and Agency in Medieval Art*, Index of Christian Art, Princeton University Occasional Papers, ed. Colum Hourihane (University Park, PA, 2013), 3–30. The quote is on page 4.

[3] Ibid.; Jill Caskey, "Whodunnit? Patronage, the Canon, and the Problematics of Agency in Romanesque and Gothic Art," in *A Companion to Medieval Art: Romanesque and Gothic in Northern Europe*, ed. Conrad Rudolf (Malden, MA, 2010), 193–212.

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Caskey will serve as my point of departure in my effort to identify the patron who ordered one of the earliest illuminated and ornamented *maḥzorim*—one produced by the Jewish communities north of the Alps in the Middle Ages.

The Amsterdam Maḥzor, which originally served the Jewish community of Cologne, is one of the oldest illuminated maḥzorim that has come down to us. But who commissioned it and donated it to the community? I will show that the illuminations in the manuscript seem to point to a specific patron known to us from other records. In my effort to identify the patron, I will attempt to offer a broader account of why the patron chose to fund a maḥzor as well as possible other works of art, and to include in this object specific artistic and textual intimations as ways of immortalizing himself in his community, and perhaps beyond it. I will also consider the social stratum that this person represented and the significance of the choice of an ornamental maḥzor as a donation to his specific community. I will also show that this act was hardly exceptional in the cultural and political milieu in which the patron operated.[4]

In the medieval Christian world, especially in the Romanesque and Gothic periods, patrons of art were, by and large, people of religious and political ambition—the heads of monasteries, such as Abbot Suger of St. Denis, bishops and archbishops, as well as highly placed individuals from outside the church, such as members of the nobility and royalty. An innovation in the thirteenth century was the emergence of lay patronage by urban patricians. They donated works of art that served principally in or as liturgical settings. These could be entire buildings, wings of buildings, sculptured tombs, frescoes, but also sacred objects such as reliquaries, wrought iron church doors, and illuminated manuscripts.

In the case of the Jewish public, the involvement of lay high-profile urban elite patrons can be traced to as early as the eleventh century. This is not surprising given the absence of prelates and magnates from the medieval Jewish social hierarchy. We know of wealthy individuals supporting the construction of public structures for communal use such as ritual baths, synagogues, new synagogue wings (often with inscribed dedications, such as can be seen on the synagogue at Worms).[5] From the thirteenth century onward, Hebrew

[4]On the growth of the phenomenon of lay patrons of medieval religious works of art, especially in the later Middle Ages, see Andrew Martindale, "Patrons and Minders: The Intrusion of the Secular into Sacred Spaces in the Late Middle Ages," *Studies in Church History* 28 (1991): 143–78; Corine Schleif, "Hands That Appoint, Anoint and Ally: Late Medieval Donor Strategies for Appropriating Approbation Through Painting," *Art History* 16 (1993): 1–32; Jeffrey Hamburger, "Before the Book of Hours: The Development of the Illustrated Prayer Book in Germany," in *The Visual and the Visionary: Art and Female Spirituality in Late Medieval Germany*, ed. Jeffrey F. Hamburger (New York, 1998), 149–96.

[5]Inscriptions of donors' names are, of course, found in ancient synagogues in Palestine and the Diaspora. On Jewish dedicatory inscriptions in medieval Germany, see Annette Weber,

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manuscripts became art objects and they too were commissioned. The first books to be illuminated were books of the Bible (with or without the Masoretic texts), and *ḥumashim* (the Five Books of Moses). Later, objects intrinsic to ritual practices were decorated and contributed, such as illuminated daily and Sabbath prayer books (*siddurim*) and maḥzorim, which were used by the prayer leaders (*ḥazanim*). Later, patrons commissioned illuminated *haggadot* (books containing the service for the Passover Seder), used in the home.[6]

The Amsterdam Maḥzor is one of the most beautiful and earliest objects of its kind. The maḥzor received its name because it passed into the possession of the Ashkenazi community of Amsterdam in the early modern period.[7] It is, however, strongly associated with the medieval Jewish commu-

"Neue Monumente für das mittelalteriche 'Aschkenas'? Zur Sakraltypologie der Ritualbauten in den SchUM Gemeinden," in *Die SchUM-Gemeinden Spayer Worms Mainz: auf dem Weg zum Welterbe*, ed. Pia Heberer and Ursula Reuter (Regensburg, 2013), 37–62.

[6]On Ashkenazi illuminated Bibles, see Bezalel Narkiss, *Hebrew Illuminated Manuscripts* (*Amended and Expanded Hebrew Version*) [in Hebrew] (Jerusalem, 1984), 41–51; Gabrielle Sed-Rajna, *The Hebrew Bible in Medieval Illuminated Manuscripts* (New York, 1987). More recently, see Marc Michael Epstein, "Ashkenaz: Franco-Germany, England, Central, and East Europe," in *Skies of Parchment Seas of Ink: Jewish Illuminated Manuscripts*, ed. Marc Michael Epstein (Princeton, 2015), 47–54. On Ashkenazi illuminated haggadot, see *The Washington Haggadah*, copied and illustrated by Joel Ben Simeon, introduction and translation by David Stern, introduction by Katrin Kogman-Appel (Cambridge, MA, 2010). On Jewish imagery in other media from medieval Germany, see Daniel M. Friedenberg, *Medieval Jewish Seals from Europe* (Detroit, 1987), 146–309. Another example of such activity has been noted in Malachi Beit-Arié, "How Scribes Disclosed Their Names in Hebrew Manuscripts," *Studia Rosenthaliana* 38–39 (2006): 144–57.

[7]The Amsterdam Maḥzor currently resides in that city's Jewish Historical Museum (Joods Historisch Museum) and was until recently owned by the city's Ashkenazi community organization, the Nederlands-Israëlietische Hoofdsynagoge. The maḥzor is catalogued at the museum as a manuscript, JHM B.166. The reasons ownership of the maḥzor shifted from the seventeenth-century Jewish printer Feivish ha-Levi Drucker in 1669 (8 Kislev 5430) are noted on the manuscript itself and are discussed by the editors of the collection of articles on the maḥzor: Albert van der Heide and Edward van Voolen, "Introduction," in *The Amsterdam Maḥzor: History Liturgy Illumination*, ed. Albert van der Heide and Edward van Voolen (Leiden, 1989), 9–18 esp. 14–15, and Ill. 36. Joods Historisch Museum recently purchased the manuscript from the Jewish community, together with the MiQua museum now being constructed in what was Cologne's medieval Jewish Quarter. (The site is on the municipal square—Rathausplatz—in the heart of the Innenstadt, the city's central district, close to the site where the vestiges of the medieval synagogue and ritual bath [*mikveh*] have been found, along with those of several Jewish homes from the height of the Middle Ages.) When the Cologne MiQua museum opens, the Amsterdam Maḥzor will be timeshared by both museums. On the archeological excavations in the medieval Jewish quarter in Cologne, see Otto Doppelfeld, "Die Ausgrabungen im Kölner Judenviertel," in *Die Juden in Köln: Von den ältesten Zeiten bis zur Gegenwart*, ed. Zvi Asaria (Cologne, 1959), 71–145. The turn of the millennium brought renewed interest in archeologically revisiting this site, eventually leading

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nity in Cologne. It was preceded by the Michael Maḥzor, the earliest positively dated illuminated Ashkenazi maḥzor, now in the collection of Oxford's Bodleian Library, which has been dated by its colophon to 1258, but whose exact provenance is unclear.[8] In a recent article, I discussed the possible connections between three events: the production of the Amsterdam Maḥzor, the renovation of the Cologne community's synagogue at the end of the 1260s and early 1270s, and the construction of a new bima for the synagogue.[9] I argued that these events are connected to the increasing power of important Jewish lay figures moving to positions of influence in the local community. I linked these events to the warnings issued by rabbinic circles in Cologne (especially by the eminent scholar resident in the city, Rabbi Asher ben Yehiel, also known by the acronym Rosh) regarding the possible theological problems with the decorations in maḥzorim and the stone reliefs engraved on the bima. Rabbi Asher tried to enlist the support of important rabbinical figures, such as his mentor Rabbi Meir (known also by the acronym Maharam[10]),

to new excavations. For a preliminary discussion, see Marinne Gechter and Sven Schütte, "Ursprung und Voraussetzungen des mittelalterlichen Rathaus und seiner Umgebung," in *Köln: Das Gotische Rathaus und seine historische Umgebung* (Stadtspuren-Denkmäler in Köln 26), ed. Walter Geis and Ulrich Krings (Cologne, 2000), 96–196. For an interim report on the excavations through 2012, see Sven Schütte and Marianne Gechter, eds., *Von der Ausgrabung zum Museum: Kölner Archäologie zwischen Rathaus und Praetorium—Ergebnisse und Materialen*, 2006–2012 (Cologne, 2012). On the prospective new museum in Cologne, see https://miqua.blog/2017/12/14/nach-800-jahren-wieder-in-koeln/.

[8] Oxford Bodleian Library, MSS. Michael 617 and 627. The two-volume Michael Maḥzor is the earliest known illuminated maḥzor. It is named for the nineteenth-century bibliophile Heimann Joseph Michael, who once owned it. On this maḥzor, see http://bav.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/news/hebrew-manuscript-highlights—Maḥzors-and-mathematical-diagrams.

[9] Ephraim Shoham-Steiner, "The Writing on the Wall: A Stone Carved Privilege, a Maḥzor and a Bimah in Thirteenth Century Cologne," in *Visual and Material in Medieval and Early Modern Jewish Culture*, ed. Katrin Kogman-Appel, Elisabeth Hollender, Elisheva Baumgarten, and Ephraim Shoham-Steiner (Turnhout, 2021). On the etymology of the word "almemar" for the bima, the raised platform in the center of the synagogue from which prayers are led, see Edward Y. Kutscher, *Words and Their History* [in Hebrew] (Jerusalem 1966), 10–13.

[10] Some of the earliest illuminated maḥzorim hail from Franconia. According to the catalogue of the Oxford Bodleian library the Laud Maḥzor (named after Archbishop Laud who owned the maḥzor in the sixteenth century) (MS. Laud Or. 321) is an illuminated maḥzor produced in Franconia, ca 1275. See https://hebrew.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/catalog/manuscript_17. The fact that such maḥzorim became common place not only in Cologne but also in Franconia could explain why, in his responsum to Rabbi Asher, Rabbi Meir of Rothenburg was hesitant to oppose them so vehemently. See Meir ben Baruch of Rothenburg, *Responsa* (ed. Y. Farbstein) [in Hebrew] (Jerusalem 2014), vol. 2: (Cremona edition), §24, p. 29 (Berlin edition §39 (97), 555 [the most complete version]) and in vol. 3: (*Sefer Sinai*), §385, 255–56 (all in Hebrew). For discussions of the connection between this responsum and the characteristic visual features of the illustrated Ashkenazi maḥzorim that became prevalent during the second half of the thirteenth century, see Bezalel Narkiss, "On the Zoocephalic Phenomenon

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who resided then at Rothenburg op der Tauber, in Franconia southeast of Cologne. This request for support suggests either that Rabbi Asher did not enjoy much support on this matter within his own community or that he tried to drum up a more uniform opinion that would go beyond the local. It may also indicate something about the status of rabbis in a community led assertively by wealthy laymen.

The Amsterdam Maḥzor has been the object of scholarly attention since the beginning of the twentieth century. The late 1980s saw the publication of a collection of articles all dedicated to this manuscript, discussing it from various perspectives and scholarly fields.[11] The chapters chronicle how the manuscript reached Amsterdam, its codicology, its decorations and illuminations, and its rite (the *nussah*, meaning the form of the liturgy it contains). In the absence of a colophon offering the names of the owners and sponsors of its production, as well as the name of the scribe and punctuator, its dating and provenance remain open questions. Scholars who have studied it have had to make do with hints and indirect evidence from the text itself, and the existence or absence of a structured plan of illumination, in the hope that these can help determine when and where the work was produced. Ezra Fleischer found the versions of liturgical poems (*piyyut*) included in the maḥzor to be characteristic of the lower Rhine and Cologne region.[12] While he did not definitively determine that the maḥzor was produced in Cologne itself, he offered two important pieces of evidence that support such a claim. Fleischer concluded his study by stating that "Liturgical codices of the scope and antiquity of the Amsterdam Maḥzor should be studied again and again. They will continue to reveal information and increase our knowledge in more than one field."[13] It is in the spirit of this late scholar of Jewish liturgical poetry that I will here take a new look at the Amsterdam Maḥzor.

in Mediaeval Ashkenazi Manuscripts," in *Norms and Variation in Art: Essays in Honor of Moshe Barasch*, ed. Lola M. Sleptzoff (Jerusalem 1983), 49–62, esp. 57; Vivian Mann, *Jewish Texts on the Visual Arts* (rabbinic texts trans. Eliezer Diamond) (Cambridge, UK, 2000), 110–11; Katrin Kogman-Appel, "Christianity, Idolatry, and the Question of Jewish Figural Painting in the Middle Ages," *Speculum* 84 (2009): 73–107 (esp. 76); Sarit Shalev-Eyni, *Jews Among Christians: Hebrew Book Illumination from Lake Constance* (Turnhout 2010), 67–83.

[11] Van der Heide and van Voolen, *The Amsterdam Maḥzor.*

[12] Ezra Fleischer, "Prayer and Liturgical Poetry in the Great Amsterdam Maḥzor," in *The Amsterdam Maḥzor: History Liturgy Illumination*, ed. Albert Van der Heide and Edward van Voolen (Leiden, 1989), 26–43.

[13] Ibid., esp. 43.

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Ascription of the Maḥzor to the Cologne Community and Its Date

That the maḥzor was used by the Cologne Jewish community has hardly been doubted; both those who have studied the artistic ornamentation and those who have studied the liturgical text have agreed on this. Fleischer is unequivocal in this regard:

> Our manuscript itself confirms, on fol. 182a, that it belongs to the rite of Cologne. Here, at the beginning of the *Seliḥot* for Kol Nidre, a later hand made the following note: 'The Cologne custom: *Yoshev ha-Keruvim*; *Darkekha Eloheinu Leha'arikh*; *Ashamnu*; *Selaḥ Na*; *El Levavkhem*; *Tumat Ṣarim*; *Otkha Edrosh*.[14]

Fleischer also noted that Isaac Maarsen, who studied the maḥzor in the 1920s, had pointed out that the order of the prayers in the marginal note is identical to that in the maḥzor itself, and that the note was a later addition to the maḥzor. In other words, the rite in the maḥzor at the time it was produced matches the order of both the *seliḥot* and the prayers as practiced in Cologne. The marginal note was presumably made to distinguish the order that appears in the maḥzor from that practiced in its new location.[15] According to Fleischer,

> The rite of Cologne was practiced by various Jewish communities from the archbishopric of Cologne, such as Bonn, Deutz, Remagen and Linz. We should not, therefore, automatically assume that our codex was written in Cologne itself. Yet its scope as well as its rich and monumental appearance evidently point to a large and wealthy community as its place of origin.[16]

Fleischer's determination that the maḥzor comes from Cologne is further corroborated by its size and the relative lavishness of its colorful decoration and illumination. The use of expensive pigments such as gold leaf indicate that

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[14] Ibid., 42. This is a list of the Cologne rite of liturgical poems that were recited in Cologne on the night of Yom Kippur.

[15] The marginal note Fleischer quotes is one of many added to the manuscript in a wide variety of hands, reflecting the maḥzor's later journeys. Cantors in places that the maḥzor reached used it in different communities and at different times at the end of the Middle Ages and the beginning of the modern era. See Isaac Maarsen, "Ha-Maḥzor (ketav yad) shel Qehillat Ashkenazim beAmsterdam," *Bijdragen en Mededeelingen van het Genootschap voor de Joodsche Wetenschap in Nederland* 3 (1925): 28–47. A similar case in this regard is the Worms Maḥzor, produced by the Würtzburg community, but which later reached Worms. See Malachi Beit-Arié, ed., *Maḥzor Worms: National and University Library Jerusalem Ms. 4781/1* (facsimile edition), vol. 1 (Vaduz, 1985), 14.

[16] Fleischer, "Prayer and Liturgical Poetry," 42.

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the object was most likely produced, as was accepted practice in Ashkenaz at the time, with the sponsorship of a wealthy patron from a prosperous and important community. Such a patron would often have kept the volumes of the maḥzorim in his home and made them available to the community for its use on special Sabbaths and holidays.[17] Gabrielle Sed-Rajna, who has studied the artistic aspects of the maḥzor, has noted the expensive nature of the object as a significant factor in assigning the object to the affluent Cologne Jewish community.[18]

Another issue discussed by scholars with implications for the maḥzor's provenance is that of its script. In 1976, Norman Golb argued that the style of the lettering was northern French and declared that the scribe came from Rouen.[19] Sed-Rajna disagreed, arguing that the script was clearly Ashkenazi. She identified the scribe as Joseph ben Rabbi Kalonymous, who was also the scribe who wrote the Kalonymous Bible (produced in 1238 and preserved today in the Wrocław University Library, call number: M1106). Current scholarship tends to accept the northern French script, but remains cautious about Golb's claim that the scribe came from Rouen.[20] It is important to note that the determination that the maḥzor's script is characteristic of northern France does not mean that the work is "northern French." A yet unpublished paleographical analysis of the maḥzor by Judith Olszowy-Schlanger presented in a workshop about the maḥzor in Cologne (October 2019) suggests it was written by a northern French-trained scribe who received his training and set his style in the later years of the first half of the thirteenth century. It is certainly

[17]The version of the Yiddish blessing found in the Worms Maḥzor that lauds the people who took the trouble to carry the heavy maḥzor to synagogue, as well as the copper engraving by the German artist Albrecht Altdorfer depicting the foyer of the synagogue in Regensburg showing an older man bearing a large book, apparently the maḥzor, indicate that Ashkenazi maḥzorim produced at the initiative of well-off patrons were most probably kept in their homes and taken to synagogues when they were needed for liturgical use. See Katrin Kogman-Appel, *A Maḥzor from Worms: Art and Religion in a Medieval Jewish Community* (Cambridge MA, 2012), 10. Altdorfer's copper engraving is kept in the Berlin Staatliche Museen: Albrecht Altdorfer, *Entrance to the Synagogue of Regensburg, Regensburg 1519*, Berlin Staatliche Museen, Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Kupferstichkabinett. On the rhymed blessing in Yiddish in the *Worms Maḥzor*, see Chone Shmeruk, "The Versified Old Yiddish Blessing in the Worms Maḥzor," in *The Worms Maḥzor, Jewish National and University Library MS. Heb* 4^{0} 781/1*: Introductory Volume* [in Hebrew], ed. Malachi Beit Arié (Vaduz, 1985), 100–103.

[18]Gabrielle Sed-Rajna, "The Decoration of the Amsterdam Maḥzor," in *The Amsterdam Maḥzor: History Liturgy Illumination*, ed. Albert Van der Heide and Edward van Voolen (Leiden, 1989), 56–70.

[19]Norman Golb, "In Search of the Original Home of the Great Mahazor of Amsterdam," *Studia Rosenthaliana* 10 (1976): 195–211.

[20]I thank Katrin Kogman-Appel, Emile Schrijver, Elisabeth Hollender, and especially Judith Olszowy-Schlanger for discussing and sharing their knowledge and insights on this matter with me.

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possible that the patron from Cologne contracted with a master scribe from northern France to inscribe the liturgical text. There should be nothing surprising about this. The Cologne rite and its liturgical poetry were influenced both by those of ShUM (Speyer, Worms, and Mainz), as well as by that of northern France. Furthermore, the Jews of Cologne imported raw materials for the renovation and embellishment of their synagogue, as well as for the construction of the bima, from northern France. It is thus not impossible that the scribe also hailed from this area.[21]

Opinions differ also with regard to the dating of the maḥzor. Sed-Rajna has argued that it should be dated early, close to the time of the earliest illuminated codices known to us from Ashkenaz, which became common in this region during the 1230s and 1240s.[22] She pointed to the lack of a systematic artistic program of the kind typical of earlier maḥzorim, which she saw as evidence for an early date for the object. The use of certain colors (gold and blue) and the style of the illuminations resemble, in her view, the style seen in the Ulm Codex, which has been dated to the 1230s. Based on this evidence, Sed-Rajna argued that the Amsterdam Maḥzor may be the earliest illuminated and decorated maḥzor that has come down to us, even earlier than the aforementioned "Michael Maḥzor," dated to 1258.[23]

A comprehensive codicological examination of the manuscript, conducted by Emile Schrijver, challenged Sed-Rajna's claim. Schrijver looked at the ruling of the pages and affirmed that it is characteristic of a later period than that

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[21] On Cologne Jewry's "French connection," see Micha J. Perry, "Imaginary Space Meets Actual Space in 13th-Century Cologne: Eliezer Ben Joel and the Eruv," *Images: A Journal of Jewish Art and Visual Culture* 5 (2011): 26–36; Elisabeth Hollender, *Liturgie und Geschichte: Der aschkenasische Machsor und jüdische Mobilität im Mittelalter—Ein methodologischer Versuch* (Trier, 2015); Ephraim Shoham-Steiner and Elisabeth Hollender, "Beyond the Rabbinic Paradigm: Lay Leadership in the Jewish Community of Medieval Cologne," *Jewish Quarterly Review* 111 (2020) (forthcoming).

[22] An Ashkenazi maḥzor residing in the library in Bernkastel-Kues, on the Mosel River, may be the earliest illuminated maḥzor known to us, but its precise date has yet to be determined: Bernkastel-Kues St. Nicholas Hospital Cod. Hebr. 314. According to Sed-Rajna, the style of the illuminations found in the Amsterdam Maḥzor, along with the lack of a systematic iconographic plan (characteristic of maḥzorim of the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries) and the absence of a practice that later became common—the replacement of human heads with those of animals and birds—indicate that the Amsterdam Maḥzor is contemporaneous with the Ulm Bible, which was produced in southern Germany between 1236 and 1238. On the Ulm Bible, see Bezalel Narkiss, *Hebrew Illuminated Manuscripts* (*Amended and Expanded Hebrew Version*) [in Hebrew] (Jerusalem 1984), 41–51; Sed-Rajna, *The Hebrew Bible*. More recently, see Marc Michael Epstein, "Ashkenaz: Franco-Germany, England, Central, and East Europe," in *Skies of Parchment, Seas of Ink: Jewish Illuminated Manuscripts*, ed. Marc Michael Epstein (Princeton-Oxford, UK 2015), 47–54.

[23] Sed-Rajna, "The Decoration of the Amsterdam Maḥzor," 56–70. See also Gabrielle Sed-Rajna, *Le Maḥzor enluminé: Les Voies de formation d'un programme iconographique* (Leiden, 1983), 63–64, figs. 1, 19, 29, 72.

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argued for by Sed-Rajna. Schrijver concluded that the Amsterdam Maḥzor should be dated to the 1260s and perhaps even the 1270s, not to the 1230s or 1240s.[24] In a forthcoming study, following Schrijver's dating that placed the time of the Amsterdam Maḥzor's production in the 1260s or 1270s, I suggested that it fell into the same time frame in which Rabbi Meir of Rothenberg (Maharam) wrote his well-known halakhic responsum to Rabbi Asher (Rosh) of Cologne regarding the illuminated maḥzorim. A close reading of this halakhic text shows that Rabbi Meir's answer to Rabbi Asher's question, which has not survived, related both to illuminations in maḥzorim, possibly in connection with the production of the Amsterdam Maḥzor, as well as to the appearance of three-dimensional figures. I suggested that this is a reference to the fine stone masonry of the newly renovated Cologne synagogue bima, which took place while Rabbi Asher was a young rabbi at the beginning of his career, residing in Cologne in that same period.[25] The limestone bima was constructed, adorned with stone reliefs, among them animals and birds, to which apparently Rabbi Asher also objected, just as he opposed illuminations in maḥzorim.[26]

Despite this extensive study, the question of who the patron of the Amsterdam Maḥzor was remains unresolved. If Schrijver's dating is correct, as well as my suggestion connecting the production of the maḥzor, the reconstruction of the new bima, and the reaffirmation of the privilege granted to the city's Jews by Archbishop Engelbert II von Falkenberg, all occurring in the late 1260s and in the 1270s, I propose going one more step. A number of hints hidden among the ornaments and illustrations in the maḥzor could well point to a specific Cologne Jewish individual we know of from the second half of the thirteenth century as the possible patron of this work of art. I

[24] Up until the 1260s, lines were ruled by hard point; afterwards this method is used alongside a more modern one employing thinned ink and a lead point. Only at the end of the thirteenth century is hard point ruling abandoned entirely in favor of ink or lead alone. See http://web.ceu.hu/medstud/manual/MMM/frame6.html. For Schrijver's article on the ruling method, see Emile G. L. Schrijver, "The Amsterdam Maḥzor: Some Remarks," *Studia Rosenthaliana* 25 (1991): 162–69.

[25] Regarding the placement of Rabbi Asher in Cologne, see Avraham Haim Freimann, *Ha-Rosh: Rabbenu Asher ben Rabbi Yehiel ve-Ṣe'eṣa'av; Hayehem u'Fa'olam* [in Hebrew] (Jerusalem, 1986), 20–26. For the further significance of this responsum, and its implications for the connection between liturgical activity in synagogue and the presentation of illuminated maḥzorim to the public during prayer services, see Sarit Shalev-Eyni, "Between Interpretation and Distraction: Image Text and Context in the Illuminated Ashkenazi Maḥzor" [in Hebrew], in *Jewish Prayer: New Perspectives*, ed. Uri Ehrlich (Beer Sheba, 2016), 355–74.

[26] Shoham-Steiner, "The Writing on the Wall."

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am referring to none other than Judah ben Samuel ha-Nadiv, better known as Lyvermann von Düren.[27]

The Maḥzor's Illuminations

The Amsterdam Maḥzor is illuminated and decorated. In addition to the pictures that appear within the text and at the sides of the pages, there are also words that are highlighted and decorated with curvilinear geometric decorations. The first three decorated pages highlight an equal number of words. The words come from verses in the Song of Songs that are integrated into liturgical poetry recited as part of the liturgy for Passover (Pesaḥ) during which, by custom, the Song of Songs is chanted publicly in synagogue.[28] On fol. 38v the words highlighted are *ṣena u-re'ena* ("go forth and gaze," Song of Songs 3:11); *hinekh yafa* ("You are fair," 4:1); *shinnayikh* ("Your teeth," 4:2); and *ke-ḥut ha-shani* ("like a crimson thread," 4:3) (fig. 1).

Exactly these same words are highlighted on fol. 52r, but another word is added: *ke-migdal*, ("like the tower," from the verse "Your neck is like the Tower of David," 4:4). Appearing on this page, between the ornamented words *hinekh yafa*, is an elephant-like animal with a trunk; on its back is a stone structure with three towers (fig. 2).

On fol. 58v, the same words are again highlighted: *ṣena u-re'ena*, *henekh yafa*, *shinnayikh*, and *ke-ḥut ha-shani*. To the right of the word *shinnayikh* there is a hybrid winged creature, something like a bird, with a lion to its left. These creatures are painted in red/earth brown and blue. On this page, the ornamented word *ke-migdal* also appears; to its right, on the side of the page, there is a drawing of a stone structure, similar to that on fol. 52r, painted red and blue, with three towers. A crown appears above the towers, with five floral-looking decorations. Small ornamented crown-like or crenel-like structures appear between the towers (fig. 3).

The highlighted words are not random. They are quotes from the Song of Songs that feature in the first four or five stanzas of the piyyutim that appear on these pages. The decoration of words quoted from scripture appears in several maḥzor manuscripts.[29]

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[27] Moritz Stern und Robert Hoeniger, *Das Judenschreinsbuch der Laurenzpfarre zu Köln* (Berlin, 1888), 17.

[28] Benjamin E. Scolnic, "Why Do We Sing the Song of Songs on Passover?" *Conservative Judaism* 48 (1996): 53–72. On the Passover piyyutim that adduce phrases from the Song of Songs (*Shir ha-Shirim*), see Elisheva Hacohen, "The Piyyutim on the Song of Songs in Ashkenaz," *Rabbi Mordechai Breuer Festschrift: Collected Papers in Jewish Studies Vol. II*, ed. Moshe Bar-Asher [in Hebrew] (Jerusalem 1992), 399–416.

[29] See n. 33 for examples.

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Figure 1. Amsterdam Maḥzor (Amsterdam, Joods Historisch Museum, JHM B.166), fol. 38v.

On fol. 38v (fig. 1), the decorated words are from the piyyut from the liturgy of the first day of Passover, *Ṣena u-re'ena Maskil Shir Yedidim*, a *siluk* to the *Yoṣer Or Yesha Me'usharim*, composed by Rabbi Shelomo ha-Bavli.[30] On fol. 52v (fig. 2), the decorated words are from the siluk *Ṣena u-re'ena Melekh bi-Yofyo* and from the siluk to the Yoṣer *Afik Renen va-Shirim* for the second day of Passover, written by Ravna Meshulam bar Kolonymous of Lucca (who died between 1000 and 1010).[31] On fol. 58v (fig. 3), the decorated words are from the siluk *Ṣena u-re'ena shur ba'atara* to the Yoṣer

[30]On the Italian poet Rabbi Shlomo ha-Bavli, see Ezra Fleisher, *The Poems of Shlomo ha-Bavli: Critical Edition with Introduction and Commentary* [in Hebrew] (Jerusalem, 1973), 354. Shlomo ha-Bavli is considered the founder of medieval European Hebrew liturgical poetry. Rabbi Meshulam saw Rabbi Shlomo as his mentor in this field; see Fleischer, *The Poems of Shlomo ha-Bavli*, 28; Avraham Grossman, *The Early Sages of Ashkenaz: Their Lives Leadership and Works (900–1096)* [in Hebrew] (Jerusalem, 1988), 49, n. 77. For this poem, see Israel Davidson, *Thesaurus of Medieval Hebrew Poetry*, vol. 1 (New York. 1924), 91 §1962; Ezra Fleischer, *The Yozer: Its Emergence and Development* [in Hebrew] (Jerusalem, 1984), 650–54; 671–75; 691–700.

[31]See Grossman, *The Early Sages of Ashkenaz*, 47–78. For the date of his passing, see ibid., 56. For this poem: Davidson, *Thesaurus*, vol. 1, 324 § 7129; Fleischer, *The Yozer*, 673–75; 692–700. On Shimon bar Yitzhak piyyutim in the Amsterdam Maḥzor, see Elisabeth Hollender, *Synagogale Hymnen: Qedushta'ot des Simon b. Isaak im Amsterdam Mahsor* (Frankfurt on the Main, 1994).

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Figure 2. Amsterdam Maḥzor (Amsterdam, Joods Historisch Museum, JHM B.166), fol. 52r.

Ahuvekha Ahevukha, composed by Rabbi Shimon bar Yitzhak ben Abun of Mainz (∼950–1020), known as Rabbi Shimon Hagadol (the Great, ∼950–1020).[32] These words are also highlighted in other contemporary maḥzorim, such as the early manuscript form Bernkastel-Kues 314. Unlike the Amsterdam Maḥzor, they are not illuminated so magnificently.[33] Similar decorations can be found in other maḥzorim, for example one located in Stuttgart (Stuttgart Württemberglische LandesbibliothekCod. Or. fol. 42), as well as one at the Royal Library in Copenhagen (Ms. Hebr. Add. 3, fol. 80). But

[32]On this poet, see Eliezer Landshut, *Amudei Ha'avodah* (New York, 1965), 162–67; Grossman, *The Early Sages of Ashkenaz*, 86–102. For the poem, see Davidson, *Thesaurus*, vol. 1, 65 § 1387; Fleischer, The *Yozer*, 673–74; 693–700.

[33]The Ashkenazi maḥzor from the Bibliothek des St. Nikolaus-Hospitals (Bernkastel-Kues), Cod. Hebr. 314 is currently being studied by Elisabeth Hollender, who brought this important Ashkenazi maḥzor to my attention. The maḥzor is not positively dated, but Hollender places it in the mid-thirteenth century, in close temporal and geographical proximity to the Amsterdam Maḥzor, since it probably also hails from the Rhineland. There is a reference in the maḥzor to the Jews who were burned, killed, and drowned in Boppard on the Rhine near Mainz. The Jewish community of Boppard suffered several attacks in the twelfth century, during which Jews suffered these fates; see Karl-Josef Burkard, "Geschichte der Bopparder Juden," *Beitrage zur Judischen Geschichte in Rheinland Pfalz* 2 (1992): 53–66. The maḥzor is mentioned in Shnayer Z. Leiman, "The Scroll of Fasts: The Ninth of Tebeth," *Jewish Quarterly Review* 74 (1983): 174–95.

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Figure 3. Amsterdam Maḥzor (Amsterdam, Joods Historisch Museum, JHM B.166), fol. 58v.

these decorated maḥzorim have not been precisely dated, and for the present it is not possible to say for certain whether they influenced the Amsterdam Maḥzor or were influenced by it.[34]

The reason the words are decorated seems to be that, unlike the words in the Yoṣer and siluk spoken only by the cantor, these highlighted words were said by the cantor and congregation together. As the art historians Katrin Kogman-Appel and Sara Offenberg have shown in their studies of Ashkenazi manuscripts, there is generally a connection between the text of the manuscript and the illuminations that decorate the manuscript near the text. Sometimes the connection is apparent, while at others it is concealed and

[34] Aside from these, I am referring to the Hammelburg Maḥzor (Darmstadt-Hessiches Landes und Hochschulbibliothek Cod. Or. 13); the maḥzor catalogued and noted by Roth, and dated to 1358, Ernst Roth, *Verzeichnis der Orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland*, vol. 2 (1965), nos. 22–36; and the Torino Maḥzor, Biblioteca Nationale Universitaria di Torino A I 9. The Stuttgart Maḥzor, mentioned above, and the Torino Maḥzor are not precisely dated, and their similarity to the Hammelburg Maḥzor indicates that they may have been influenced by it, which would place them later and preclude them from having an effect on the discussion here. To the best of my knowledge, the Amsterdam Maḥzor is the earliest of all these maḥzorim, and the type of illumination in all of them is similar in some ways. I am grateful to Michal Sternthal of the Center for Jewish Art at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem for discussing these matters with me.

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needs to be revealed.[35] Sometimes the unapparent aspect is connected to Jewish anti-Christian polemics; in other instances it may have to do with esoteric Kabbalistic knowledge. There are times the message is concealed because of a desire to intimate something rather than state it explicitly.

In my opinion, the embellished words on the first three decorated pages of the Amsterdam Maḥzor contain, in this instance, hints of a personal nature. For example, on fol. 58v (fig. 3) the words of the siluk *Ṣena u-re'ena shur ba-atara* are decorated. The poet here urges his audience to act like the women in the verse "Oh maidens of Zion, go forth and gaze on King Solomon, wearing the crown that his mother gave him on his wedding day, on his day of bliss" (Song of Songs 3:11). The poem's audience is urged to see (*shur*) the crown (*ba-atara*). On the margin of the page, where these words are indeed highlighted, there is the drawing of a florin crown (*atara*). This statement is clear and needs no teasing out. But I propose that this statement, so obviously connected to the conduct of the liturgy that the maḥzor brings to an artistic climax, was chosen with a double purpose by the producers and decorators of the maḥzor at the behest of the patron. Alongside the illustrative interpretation of the words of the piyyut, they added another personal stratum hinting at the identity of the patron. The piyyut urges its audience to gaze not only on the metaphorical crown, but also on the illustrated one, and in doing so to remember the patron of the manuscript.[36]

Intentional hints at the identity of the manuscript's patron and his name are included in several of the illuminations. One such, for example, appears not at the beginning of the manuscript but in its middle.

On fol. 87v (fig. 4), the word *aluf* is illustrated, taken from *Aluf mesubbal be-Hod*, a *qerovah* from the first day of Shavuot, by the poet Rabbi Shimon

[35] See Kogman-Appel's methodological and programmatic articles: Katrin Kogman-Appel, "Jewish Art and Cultural Exchange: Theoretical Perspectives," *Medieval Encounters* 17 (2011): 1–26; and more recently: Katrin Kogman-Appel, "Bild–Text–Kontext: Beispiele aus Illuminierten Handschriften des Mittelalters," in *Zu Bild und Text im jüdisch-christlichen Kontext im Mittelalter*, Erfurter Schriften zur jüdischen Geschichte Bd. 3, ed. Maria Stürzenbecher and Sara Laubenstein (Jena-Quedlinburg, 2015), 30–47; Katrin Kogman-Appel, "Pictorial Messages in Mediaeval Illuminated Hebrew Books: Some Methodological Considerations," in *Jewish Manuscript Cultures: New Perspectives*, ed. Irina Wandrey (Berlin, 2017), 443–67; Sara Offenberg, *Illuminated Piety: Pietistic Texts and Images in the North French Hebrew Miscellany* (Los Angeles, 2013), 9–18.

[36] Many of these liturgical manuscripts were not kept in the synagogue, but rather at the patron's home. There, they were either kept under lock and seal or may have been on display, showcasing the patron's wealth and power. The short Yiddish rhyme from the Worms Maḥzor suggests that these large liturgical manuscripts were carried from the homes in which they were kept to the synagogue before they were used for liturgical purposes. See above, n. 17. If this was the case and the maḥzor was on display at the patron's home, it would make more sense to position the important illuminated pages that were intended for display in the middle of the codex rather than at the beginning or the end.

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Figure 4. Amsterdam Maḥzor (Amsterdam, Joods Historisch Museum, JHM B.166), fol. 87v.

bar Yiṣḥak.[37] On either side of the word *aluf* appear two rampant lions, their maws open wide and their paws extended before them. Another lion appears in the illustration on fol. 161r (fig. 5).

On this page, initial words from the piyyut *Melekh Elyon*, recited on Rosh Hashana, appear in different colors. At the bottom of the page, the words *Adonai Melekh* are emblazoned in gold. These two words open the next piyyut, *Adonai Melekh, Adonai Malakh, Adonai Yimlokh le-Olam Va'ed*. It is a coronation (*hamlakhah*) piyyut by the same author, R. Shimon bar Yitzhak ben Abun of Mainz.[38]

Between the two words *adonai* and *melekh* the figure of a lion appears in red and green. He faces the golden word *adonai* to the right, and he has a golden crown on his head. The lion stands above or alongside a decoration reminiscent of flowing water, six wavy lines in red and green. Another lion appears on fol. 58v (fig. 3), the same page with the tower and the crown described above. This lion stands to the left of the highlighted word *shinnayikh*.

The Lion Pictures

In many manuscripts, lions are used in connection with the verse "Judah is a lion's whelp" (*gur aryeh Yehuda*, Genesis 49:9), and often the lion designates the name, or one of the names, of the manuscript's patron or its scribe. In art

[37] On this poet, see above, n. 31, and Davidson, *Thesaurus*, vol. 1, 225 §4875; Avraham M. Habermann, *Liturgical Poems of R. Shim'on bar Yiṣaq* [in Hebrew](Jerusalem-Berlin, 1938), 95–96.

[38] See above, n. 31.

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Figure 5. Amsterdam Maḥzor (Amsterdam, Joods Historisch Museum, JHM B.166), fol. 161r.

from around the world from antiquity onward, the lion symbolizes victory, strength, and kingship. In Jewish sources, the lion often indicates not only the kingship of the tribe of Judah but also the name Judah.[39] The fact that the lion on fol. 161r wears a royal crown is, of course, connected to the subject of the quoted verses and the piyyut, as it is a song of coronation. The lion is the king of all living things and thus an allegory for God's power and reign over the world.[40] In medieval art, the lion is seen as the king of beasts, and thus already served as a symbolic and important motif in the art, not just in manuscripts, of the lower Rhine (Niederrhein) at a very early time.[41] In Rosh

[39]On the use of the lion to hint at the name Judah in Ashkenazi manuscripts (in micrographic illustrations), see Rachel Fronda, "Attributing of Three Ashkenazi Bibles with Micrographic Images," *Ars Judaica* 9 (2013): 45–56. In the micrographic manuscripts, the reference is to the scribe. Here the use of the illumination and the color scheme, and especially the use of the color gold, seem to refer to a figure of more importance than the scribe—that is, the patron of the manuscript.

[40]Sara Offenberg, "Expressions of Meeting the Challenges of the Christian Milieu in Medieval Jewish Art and Literature" (PhD diss., Ben-Gurion University of the Negev, 2008, 107–10).

[41]Ephraim Shoham-Steiner, "The Clash over Synagogue Decoration in Medieval Cologne," *Jewish History* 31 (2017): 129–64; an image of a crowned lion like the one in the illumination on fol. 161r can be found in Bodleian Library, MS. Lyell 71, fol. 16r and in Bibliothèque Nationale de France, MS lat. 10448, fol. 118v. On lions in medieval bestiaries, see http://bestiary.ca/beasts/beast78.htm.

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Hashana coronation piyyutim, where the figure of a lion is illustrated in the manuscript, it is clear that the lion is an allegory for God's kingship. But the fact that his crown is golden is also testimony to the wealth of the patron and his leadership aspirations.

The lions that stand on either side of the highlighted and golden word *aluf* on fol. 87v (fig. 4) are also symbols that bolster the authority of the honorable title *aluf*, which means "champion" or "commander." In the piyyut itself, the title is applied to Moses as he ascends to receive the Torah from God. During the time of the Babylonian *geonim*, this title was applied to the geonim themselves, and it may well also have been applied as a mark of respect to public leaders.[42] In early medieval Ashkenaz, the term *aluf* was already being applied to respected scholars.[43] In Ashkenazi rabbinic responsa, this title appears among the honorifics at the openings of replies, common, for example, in the writings of Rabbi Meir ben Baruch of Rothenburg.[44] Note that, while the title can be found in the literature, it is rare to find it on medieval Ashkenazi gravestones.[45] Nevertheless, *aluf* served as a title for a respected person, and the fact that the word appears in gold, supported, as in heraldry,

[42]In his book on the Jewish community in Qayrawan (Kairouan), Menachem Ben-Sasson writes: "The award of titles of honor from the *yeshivot* to community leaders and members of the communities seems to have been the initiative of the Babylonian leadership. Even if it did not involve an active appointment, but rather simply applying the title to a person who already enjoyed local authority, in any case the appointment was given in Bavel and the title came from Babylonian institutions—*aluf*, *rosh kalah*, *rosh haseder*… its bearer was ostensibly subordinate to the institution in which there was practical meaning to the title" (trans. Haim Watzman), Menachem Ben-Sasson, *The Emergence of the Local Jewish Community in the Muslim World: Qayrawan 800–1057* (Jerusalem 1996), 414. Similarly, in Rabbi Yitzhak ben Moshe of Vienna's *Or Zarua*, Yitzhak ben Moshe of Vienna, *Sefer Or Zarua*, ed. Yaakov Farbstein, vol. 2 (Jerusalem: 2010), *Hilkhot Pesaḥim*, para. 234, p. 298 Rabbi Yitzhak cites a tradition of not locking the door on the night of Passover in the name of Rabbi Nissim ben Ya'akov Gaon, whom he refers to as *Aluf Aviv*, the champion of his father. Rabbi Nissim was not a Babylonian gaon, but rather a tenth-century North African rabbi (∼990–1057).

[43]In the Prague edition of the responsa of Rabbi Meir of Rothenburg, based on the Prague Jewish Museum Manuscript, n. 20, we find a dossier of responsa that were copied alongside those attributed to Rabbi Meir, but which in fact date back to the eleventh century. Their author is Rabbi Judah ben Menachem Ha-Cohen, known also as Rabbi Judah Ha-Cohen, or Rabbi Judah Ha-Cohen the Elder (*Hazaken*), author of *Sefer ha-Dinim*. In these texts, Rabbi Judah is referred to sometimes as *ha-aluf*. Likewise, the twelfth-century sage Rabbi Eliezer ben Nathan (Ra'avan) is also addressed in some letters as *aluf*. See Meir ben Baruch of Rothenburg, *Responsa* (Prague edition), ed. Jacob Farbstein, vol. 1 (Jerusalem 2014), 455, §887.

[44]See, e.g., Meir ben Baruch of Rothenburg, *Responsa* (Prague edition), ed. Jacob Farbstein, vol. 1 (Jerusalem, 2014), 65, §106, 125, §224; vol. 2 (Cremona edition), 29–30 §24, etc.

[45]The title *aluf* does not appear at all in Avraham (Rami) Reiner's survey of honorifics appearing in Ashkenazi epitaphs, and it is mentioned twice only in the entire "Epidat" corpus. See Avraham (Rami) Reiner, "'A Tombstone Inscribed': Titles Used to Describe the Deceased in Tombstones from Würzburg between 1147–1148 and 1346," *Tarbiz* 78

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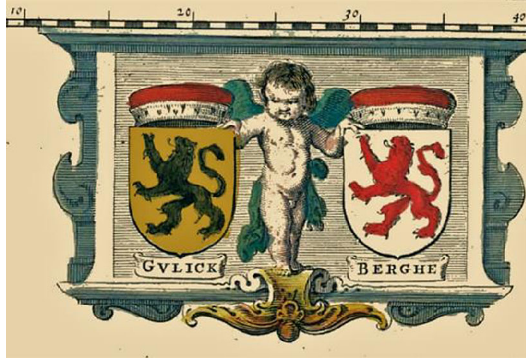

Figure 6. Family crest of the Jülich (Gulick) family, as it appears on a map of the territories of the United Duchies of Jülich-Cleves-Berg, 1645.

by two rampant roaring lions, points, I suggest, to a respected person named, as the lions would indicate, Judah.[46]

Tellingly, in the second half of the thirteenth century, lions were heraldic symbols that appeared on the coats of arms and family crests (*Wappen*) of noble families in the region in which the maḥzor was produced. One of the families whose crest included a lion in a similar pose (rampant) was that of the counts of Jülich. This family was awarded the neighboring city of Düren, Lyvermann's city of origin, during the 1240s. The family crest and

(2008): 123–52. For Epidat at the Steinheim Institute in the University of Duisburg-Essen, established by Michael Broke, which surveys all known Jewish epitaphs in Germany, see http://www.steinheim-institut.de/cgi-bin/epidat.

[46]There are only three instances in the maḥzor of a decorated and ornamented initial word (opening a piyyut) flanked by an animal or human. One is the word *aluf* on fol. 87v. Another is the word *ata* (you), which appears in striped banner-like colors of red, blue, and gold, flanked by acanthus leaves on fol. 92r (from an *Azharot* piyyut for the Musaf service on Shavuot composed by Rabbi Shimon bar Isaac, *Ata Hinkhalta Torah le-Amekha* ("You Have Bequeathed Torah to Your People"). Another, with a similar floral decorative pattern, is the word *va-yosha*, the opening word of the *Yoṣer* piyyut *Va-Yosha Or Israel* ("And the Light of Israel Delivered"), for the first day of Passover, by Rabbi Meir bar Isaac Shaz of Worms, on fol. 71. Slightly different is the word *adon* from the *Yoṣer* piyyut for the first day of Shavuot, *Adon Imnani* ("The Lord has Trained Me"), by Rabbi Shimon bar Isaac, on fol. 80 v. The word *adon* (Lord) is completely gilded and positioned in an initial rectangular box flanked by two winged dragons. The last one of these boxed initial words flanked by symbolic beings is the word *aleynu*, beginning the prayer *Aleynu le-Shabe'aḥ* ("It is incumbent upon us to praise"), the opening words of a piyyut for the second day of Rosh Hashana on fol. 171v. In this initial box, the word is flanked by the human figure of a barefoot cantor standing on the right. He is wrapped in a fringed prayer shawl, wearing a typical *Judenhut* (Jewish hat), and holds a small book in his hand, in which the words *Aleynu le-Shabe'aḥ* can be discerned. To the left of the word is a stylized podium or pulpit with an open book displaying the words of the previous piyyut, *Oḥila la-El* ("I Will Beseech God").

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Figure 7. The coat of arms of the Jülich family from *Armorial Bellenville* (a fourteenth–century manuscript containing the coats of arms of the time), preserved in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris.

Figure 8. Seal of the city of Düren, as it appears on the city website.

coat of arms depicted such a lion (figs. 6 and 7); during the fourteenth century the lion was combined with the imperial eagle in the Düren city emblem (fig. 8).[47]

I propose that the lion figure that appears in these illuminations in the maḥzor are meant to refer to Lyvermann, whose given name was Judah. They may possibly hint at his place of origin, the city of Düren controlled by the counts of Jülich, whose family crest featured a rampant lion.[48]

[47] Hans J. Domsta, *Siegel und Wappen der Stadt Düren und ihrer Stadtteile* (Düren, 1985).

[48] Can it be that the lions in this manuscript were designed to hint at the lion in the coat of arms of the counts of Jülich? It would be difficult to adduce proof for this theory, but I

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The *Nadiv*

Judah ben Shmuel, known as Lyvermann von Düren, appears in the documents of the *Judenschreinsbuch* of Cologne with the title *nadiv*.[49] This honorific title began to be used in Ashkenaz in early medieval times, and perhaps it should be no surprise that it makes its earliest appearance in reference to a Jewish lay leader from Cologne. In describing the works of Mar (Master) Judah ben Rabbi Abraham ha-Parnas (the counselor), martyred in the Rhineland massacres of 1096, the chronicler Shlomo bar Shimshon (active circa 1140) writes the following passage, which reads like a quote from an earlier source, about the merits of this man:

> The *parnas* there,[50] the chief spokesman, *nadiv* of all the *nedivim*,[51] and leader of them all, was Master Judah ben Rabbi Abraham, a wise, distinguished counselor. When all the communities would gather in Cologne for the markets, three times a year, he would address them all in the synagogue; they would be silent in his presence and appreciate what he had to say. When the [other]

believe that certain historical facts need to be taken into account. In 1241, the city of Düren, where Lyvermann was born, was granted the status of a *Reichsfreistadt*, a free imperial city. As such, it was entitled to its own fortifications, as depicted in its seal. However, in 1246 King Konrad IV awarded the city of Düren as a pledge property to Graf Wilhelm IV von Jülich, one of the most powerful landed lords in the lower Rhine area of northwestern Germany. This may be the reason Lyvermann left his hometown and settled in Cologne. The lion on the Jülich coat of arms shows some resemblance to the one on this illuminated page.

[49] The *Judenschreinsbuch* is the ledger kept in the parish church of St. Laurenz near the Jewish quarter in Cologne. From an early date, real estate transactions in the Jewish quarter were registered in the ledger. In some cases, the Jews not only initiated the registry with the canons of the parish church but also added Hebrew deeds that were sewn into the ledger turning it into a bilingual (Latin-Hebrew) document. The ledger was published by Moritz Stern and Robert Höniger in 1888. See Moritz Stern and Robert Höniger, *Das Judenschreinsbuch der Laurenzpfarre zu Köln* (Berlin, 1888).

[50] Mar Judah bar Avraham was among those murdered in Krakh Ilna (the fort of Ilna), one of the places to which the Jews of Cologne fled at the behest and under the protection of Archbishop Hermann III of Cologne. On the identification of this place, see Robert Chazan, "The Deeds of the Jewish Community of Cologne," *Journal of Jewish Studies* 35 (1984): 185–95; and his later book, Robert Chazan, *European Jewry and the First Crusade* (Berkeley, 1987), 347–48. I tend to accept Eva Haverkamp's suggestion identifying the place as Ellen. See Eva Haverkamp, *Hebräische Berichte über die Judenverfolgungen während des Ersten Kreuzzugs* (*Monumenta Germaniae Historica: Hebraische Texte aus dem Mittelalterlichen Deutschland* Bd.001) (Hannover, 2005), 427, 572. On this man and his connection to the Cologne synagogue, its decorations, and the dispute over their nature, see Ephraim Shoham-Steiner, "The Clash over Synagogue Decorations in Medieval Cologne," *Jewish History* 31 (2017): 129–64.

[51] *Nedivim* is the Hebrew pl. form of *nadiv*.

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> leaders of the communities would begin to speak, they would all rebuke them and chide them to listen to his words. "What he says is true, sincere, and correct." He was of the tribe of Dan, a man of good faith and the exemplar of his generation, one who would sacrifice himself were someone else in distress. Throughout his life no harm ever came to anyone on his account. He was loved by God and kind to all souls; concerning him did David recite his entire Psalm, "Lord who may reside in Your tent" (Psalms 15).[52]

This account may possibly be quoted from a eulogy delivered at Master Judah's grave at the end of the eleventh century, when the Jews martyred during the pogrom were brought for burial, and then preserved in this chronicle penned in the mid-twelfth century. The description connects a distinguished and wealthy lay leader and the title *nadiv*.[53] Mar Judah's generosity would seem to be a factor of his wealth. Examining the use of this title, by searching for it in the relevant information databases relating to the world of the Jews of Ashkenaz, can help pinpoint its meaning. Avraham (Rami) Reiner has done a comprehensive survey of the titles engraved on gravestones in the Jewish cemetery in Würzburg. His article on the titles used on the epitaphs analyzes both the titles he found on the gravestones and sets them in a broader context. The title *nadiv* is almost completely absent. It is mentioned in the course of a discussion of the title *parnas* as applied to Mar Judah ben Avraham ha-Parnas of Cologne.[54] Other scholars mention that the title *nadiv* appears in the writings of the northern French Tosafists.[55]

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[52] The transcription here is based on Haverkamp, *Hebräische Berichte*, 573, a comparison between the versions of Rabbi Shlomo bar Shimshon and of Rabbi Eliezer ben Natan (Ra'avan), 429–31. The text can also be found in A. M. Habermann, *Gezerot Ashkenaz ve-Ṣarfat: Divrei Zikhronot mi-Vnei ha-Dorot she-ba-Tequfat Masa'ei ha-Ṣlav u-Mivḥar Piyyuteihem* (Jerusalem, 1946), 46–47. See also Reiner, "A Tombstone Inscribed," esp. 137–40 and n. 69.

[53] On the possible existence of an early twelfth-century Cologne chronicle that served as Rabbi Shlomo bar Samson's source for the account about Mar Judah ben Avraham ha-Parnas and others, see Robert Chazan, "The Deeds of the Jewish Community of Cologne," *Journal of Jewish Studies* 35 (1984): 185–95.

[54] See n. 46.

[55] See Joseph Shatzmiller, "Towards a Picture of the First Maimonidean Controversy," *Zion* 34 (1969): 126–44. Shatzmiller discusses a text from northern France in which *ha-nadiv* is used, but it is unclear whether this refers to a *nadvan* (philanthropist or generous person) or has a more scholarly connotation. It appears in the letter signed (ostensibly) by the Tosafist R. Samuel of Falaise (and his brother Isaac) concerning the Maimonidean controversy, "Yiṣḥak ben *ha-Nadiv* Rabbi Shlomo, may he live" and "Shmuel ben *ha-Nadiv* Rabbi Shlomo, may he live." See also Ephraim Kanarfogel, "Varieties of Belief in Medieval Ashkenaz: The Case of Anthropomorphism," in *Rabbinic Culture and Its Critics*, ed. Daniel Frank and Matt Goldish (Detroit, 2001), 144–45, nn. 20–21. I thank Ephraim Kanarfogel for discussing this matter with me.

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The digital corpus of gravestones "Epidat," compiled by the Steinheim Institute, University of Duisburg-Essen, contains all the gravestones that survived in Jewish cemeteries in Germany, among them those dating from the Middle Ages. It shows some forty that ascribe the title *nadiv* or *ha-nadiv* to an individual buried in a Jewish cemetery.[56] In some cases, the title is clearly related to economic wealth. Such is the case, for example, with the grave of the woman Nanda bat Yitzhak ha-Nadiv, from 1350 (5110), from the Jewish cemetery in Minden in northern Germany, which reads: "I placed this stone at the head of [Mistress] Nanda bat *ha-Nadiv* Rabbi Yitzhak [z]tz"l the wealthy [*he-ashir*] from Hamelin."

The majority of the epitaphs in which the title *nadiv* appears come from the *Heilige Sand* Jewish cemetery in Worms.[57] On some of the stones, the deceased is described as *nadiv ben nadiv*, with the title applying to the father as well. Others mention the person's occupation (for example, one gravestone tells us that the *nadiv* was a *mohel*, a ritual circumciser, and the son of a mohel). An especially famous example links economic wealth and the title *nadiv* to an exceptional act of charity. This comes from the stone of the *nadiv* Alexander Süsskind ben Shlomo Wimpfen, who ransomed the earthly remains of Rabbi Meir of Rothenberg, who died in 1293 while incarcerated in Alsace, and buried him in Worms in February 1307. The *nadiv* Alexander asked to be buried at Rabbi Meir's side after his own death, which came in September 1307.[58] In the case of other tombstones, it is difficult to determine from the inscription what led to the person being called a *nadiv*.

[56] It should be noted that, while the title *nadiv* also appears in connection with the names of women, it always denotes the woman's father: "daughter of the *nadiv*." The feminine form of the title, *ha-nedivah*, has not been found in the gravestone corpus. On female involvement in communal charity in medieval Ashkenaz, see Elisheva Baumgarten, *Practicing Piety in Medieval Ashkenaz: Men, Women, and Everyday Religious Observance* (Philadelphia, 2014), esp. ch. 3.

[57] This is not to say that the title *nadiv* is not found in other areas of medieval Germany. Rather, it is the case that few medieval Jewish cemeteries survived, with Worms being an exceptional one. On this cemetery, see Fritz Reuter, *Warmaisa: 1000 Jahre Juden in Worms* (Worms, 1984), 27–56; Michael Brocke, "Der mittelalterliche Friedhof Worms: Vom Reichtum und den Nöten einer heiligen Stätte," in *Raschi und sein Erbe: Internationale Tagung der Hochschule für Jüdische Studien und der Stadt Worms*, ed. Daniel Krochmalnik et al. (Heidelberg, 2007), 199–226. On the fate of this cemetery, see Nils Roemer, *German City, Jewish Memory: The Story of Worms* (Waltham, MA, 2010), 102–9, 160–61, 198–203.

[58] On this, see Juda Löw Kirchheim, *The Customs of Worms Jewry*, ed. Israel Mordechai Peles (Jerusalem, 1987), customs for 23 Iyar, 291–93. N. 3. As noted by Simcha Emanuel, the same description is found in Ms. Oxford, Bodleian Library, Mich. 541 (Neubauer 673), fol. 112a (by a later hand, in somewhat illegible writing). The manuscript contains one additional sentence at the end of the story. On this matter, see Joseph Isaac Lifshitz, "The Maharam of Rothenberg and the Ransom That Never Materialized [in Hebrew]," in *Captives*, ed. Merav Mack (Jerusalem, 2014), 133–47. Ephraim Shoham-Steiner, "Burial *ad sanctus* for a Jewish Murderer? Alexander Süsskind Wimpfen and Rabbi Meir of Rothenburg," *Jewish Studies*

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Many of the inscriptions that apply the title to a man (twenty-four out of thirty-one) come from the end of the thirteenth century onward; a majority are from the fourteenth century, while only two such gravestones that survived from the fifteenth century included in this database feature the title *nadiv*. In light of the recent work of Elisheva Baumgarten, it seems reasonable to presume that the title was applied at the beginning of this period to community elders and leaders, and from the fourteenth century to Jewish philanthropists who donated money to the community, synagogue, or charity.[59]

As noted, in Hebrew documents from the *Judenschreinsbuch*, Lyvermann of Düren is described as "*haNadiv* Judah ben Samuel," and he is identified with this title in a document that arranges for the purchase of part of the land on which he would later build his home, on the eastern side of the site of Cologne's synagogue courtyard.[60] As noted, this title seems to refer to Lyvermann's wealth and his contributions to the Cologne Jewish community. Lyvermann's wealth was evident in that he, his wives (his first wife, Ursina, and his second, Gutte), and his children figure prominently in documentation of real estate transactions preserved both in the Hebrew and in the Latin documents in the *Judenschreinsbuch*. Furthermore, in 1271 Lyvermann was one of three Jews who granted a huge loan of 400 marks to Cologne's exiled archbishop, Engelbert II von Falkenburg. A close associate of the archbishop, Provost Werner of the Church of St. Gereon, served as guarantor to this loan.[61]

So far, I have shown that the maḥzor is attributed to a wealthy man connected to the Cologne community, whose name is Judah. If the maḥzor was donated to the community, then the title *nadiv* would be wholly appropriate. Furthermore, identifying Judah ben Shmuel Lyvermann of Düren as the patron of the maḥzor can explain the tower imagery.

The Tower Illuminations

Three structures with towers appear as illuminations in three different places in the maḥzor. The towers are red/earth brown in color and the bricks or stones of which the towers are constructed are clearly identifiable in the

Quarterly 23 (2016): 124–41; Simcha Emanuel, "Did Rabbi Meir of Rothenburg Refuse to Be Ransomed?" *Jewish Studies Quarterly* 24 (2017): 23–38.

[59] Baumgarten, *Practicing Piety in Medieval Ashkenaz*, 103–37.

[60] Stern and Hoeniger, *Das Judenschreinsbuch*, 17.

[61] The other money lenders were David of Zülpich and Jossel of Roding. See Adolf Kober, *Cologne*, trans. Solomon Grayzel (Philadelphia, 1940), 44.

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Figure 9. Amsterdam Maḥzor (Amsterdam, Joods Historisch Museum, JHM B.166), fol. 180v.

artwork. One such illustration appears on fol. 52r (fig. 1), where the tower is borne on the back of a beast that, while spotted like a leopard, has an elephant-like trunk. This tower appears between two highlighted and ornamented words, *hinakh yafah* ("You are fair") of the piyyut there, rather than alongside the highlighted word *migdal* (tower) at the bottom of the page. The second tower can be seen on fol. 58v (fig. 3), and above it is a crown with five floral-looking decorations. This illustration is placed to the right of the highlighted and ornamented word *ke-migdal* in the text. More towers can be seen on fol. 180v (fig. 9), where there are two towers on the left side of the page, ensconced between the arches of what looks like an ornamented double window that serves as a frame for the two opening words of the Kol Nidre prayer, recited on Yom Kippur Eve. The first tower, borne on the back of an elephant (fig. 2), is a familiar motif in medieval Christian art, found at times in manuscript illuminations. In some of the many examples, the tower appears on the back of the elephant, with soldiers visible inside. In others, it is empty, without human presence, as in the case at hand.[62] The other tower, which seems to serve as an emblem of a place of origin or identity, inasmuch as it resembles a heraldic symbol, is the second tower of fol. 58v (fig. 3). I suggest that it connects the text of the piyyut that serves as the page's textual

[62]On this motif in medieval art, especially in the art of manuscript illumination, see http://bestiary.ca/beasts/beast77.html. There are many examples at http://www.larsdatter.com/elephants.htm of elephants with and without elaborate structures on their backs. On the possible meaning of certain elephant images in Jewish art, see Marc Michael Epstein, *Dreams of Subversion in Medieval Jewish Art and Literature* (University Park, PA, 1997), 39–69. I believe that the idioms mentioned in the bestiaries do not apply to the present case, which is not mentioned in Epstein's book.

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content, the biblical source of the text of the piyyut in the Song of Songs, and the city of birth of the manuscript's patron, which forms part of his name. The tower illumination refers to the emblem and seal of the city of Düren.

Düren received the status of a walled imperial city during the thirteenth century. In the middle of that century, the German Emperor Friedrich II and his heir King Conrad IV both referred to the city as *oppidum nostrum*, "our city," meaning a city under their protection. In 1245, Düren and its income were awarded by Conrad IV to Graf Wilhelm IV von Jülich, one of the most powerful and important nobles in this part of Germany, probably in an attempt to win his support in the king's struggle for succession of the imperial title.[63] Later, at the beginning of the fourteenth century, a rampant lion with a red tongue, the symbol of the counts of Jülich (fig. 7), was added to the city seal, at which time the city emblem and seal were also augmented with the German imperial eagle (fig. 8). During the thirteenth century, as the city's standing took shape, a wall with three towers appeared in the city emblem and its seal. The first testimony to this comes from the 1240s in a city seal on a document which shows the emperor wearing a crown (one that looks much like that placed above the tower in fig. 3) and holding the insignia of government. Above the figure of the emperor is a wall with three towers, which clearly refers to Düren (fig. 10).[64] The modern city leaders have chosen a red wall with three towers as the seal and emblem of the contemporary city. The tower symbol would also seem to be connected to the personality of the wealthy philanthropic patron Lyvermann, who sought to perpetuate, by means of the illuminations in the maḥzor, not only his name, Judah, with the lion symbol but also his city of origin, Düren, the symbol of which, at the time the maḥzor was produced, was a red wall with three towers and the imperial crown. To this end, the illuminator of the maḥzor was probably instructed to draw alongside the highlighted and ornamented word *ke-migdal* on fol. 58v (fig. 3) a picture referring to the city seal, with a crown above it.

What is the significance of these artistic procedures in the maḥzor? As we have seen, Lyvermann of Düren was one of the wealthiest people in Cologne.

[63] A testament to the loyalty of Graf Wilhelm IV to the imperial crown can be found in the circumstances of his violent death, along with some of his sons, in Aachen in April 1278, while collecting taxes for King Rudolf I von Habsburg. See Möller, *Stammtafeln westdeutscher Adelsgeschlechter im Mittelalter* (Insingen, 1995, originally Darmstadt 1922), band 1, 14.

[64] It is important to note that the three towers that appear in different places in the maḥzor come together in the composition of the tower with three turrets, as in the Düren city seal. While the tower decorating the window that houses the words Kol Nidre (fig. 9) is divided into two structures, together there are three towers. Furthermore, the colors of all the towers that appear as illuminations in the maḥzor are painted in the same colors as the lion on fol. 58v (fig. 3), which appears to the left of the word *shinnayikh*.

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Figure 10. The seal of the city of Düren from the thirteenth century. The inscription on the seal is *Hoc est regale sigilum opidi durensis* (This is the royal seal of the city of Düren).[65]

He was certainly one of the wealthiest Jews in the city, if not the wealthiest of his time in the mid-thirteenth century. As his name indicates, Lyvermann probably moved to Cologne from the periphery of the lower Rhine region—from Düren, 56 kilometers southwest of Cologne. Even though Düren grew in importance during the second half of the thirteenth century, during Lyvermann's lifetime it was much less prominent than Cologne. In the mid-thirteenth century, Cologne was one of the largest and most populous cities in northern Europe (along with Paris and London, which began to equal it in size). The city's merchants and bankers constituted its economic and social elite. During the thirteenth century, members of the nobility became increasingly involved in the city; then the upper class, first the nobility and gradually also well-off burgher merchants, began supporting the production and providing funding for artistic works in liturgical settings.[66]

[65] I am grateful to Elisabeth Hollender for putting me in touch with Ms. Marion Larue and Mr. Paul Larue (the current mayor of Düren). I wish to thank Mr. and Ms. P. and M. Larue for the references and the images of the city of Düren Wappen during the initial phase of this research. https://www.dueren.de/sprachversionen/english/municipal-coat-of-arms-city-logo/.

[66] In England, which had wide-ranging connections with Cologne, this subject has been investigated in-depth by Elisabeth Gemmill; see Elisabeth Gemmill, *The Nobility and Ecclesiastical Patronage in Thirteenth-Century England* (Martlesham, UK, 2013). At the International Congress of Medieval Studies held at Kalamazoo in May 2017, a special session discussed "Signs of Patronage in Medieval Manuscripts" as part of a larger theme: "Image and Meaning in Medieval Manuscripts: Sessions in Honor of Adelaide Bennett Hagens." The proceedings of this session have not yet been published. On the strong ties between Cologne and England, see Joseph P. Huffman, *The Social Politics of Medieval Diplomacy: Anglo-German Relations (1066–1307)* (Ann Arbor, 2000), 14–16, 26–36. The po-

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A man with Lyvermann of Düren's social profile would have wanted to display and perpetuate his position and improve his social standing by any number of means. One of them would have been the purchase of real estate in the heart of the city's Jewish quarter (close to city hall and adjacent to the Cologne synagogue). Such purchases are documented in the *Judenschreinsbuch*. Another way was by supporting construction projects within the synagogue's sacred precinct. As already suggested, Lyvermann and probably other wealthy Jews were the initiators and funders of the renovation of the Cologne synagogue in the mid-1260s, including the construction of a new, lavishly decorated bima made of expensive limestone imported from northern France.[67] Furthermore, in my opinion Lyvermann was the patron of the Amsterdam Maḥzor, which served the Cologne Jewish community from the 1270s onward. This act, and probably other acts of philanthropy, earned him the title *ha-nadiv*. Hints of his patronage appear on the pages of the maḥzor, both textual and in the ornamentation and illumination that point to his name and place of birth. The maḥzor extols its patron in two ways. First, the illuminated and decorated maḥzor was used in prayer services and served as the vehicle and thesaurus of the local Cologne liturgy on holidays and special Sabbaths, on the bima at the center of the synagogue. It may also have been displayed to the public during prayer, as Sarit Shalev-Eyni has recently proposed.

But this magnificent textual object also played an important role in the home in which it was, apparently, kept while not serving a liturgical purpose in the synagogue. A large sum of money was invested in the production of the maḥzor, and it is thus reasonable to think that it was on display at the home of its wealthy patron. Was this an object that the patron wished to vaunt before Jewish and non-Jewish guests as a symbolic way of declaring that he belonged to a certain social and economic class?[68] Or was it used

litical ties brought about material ties as well. From as early as the late eleventh century there were strong mercantile connections between southern England and the Cologne areas. The existence of these connections received recent archaeological substantiation when household items made in the Thames River valley near London were found at the excavations of the Jewish Quarter near the synagogue in Cologne. See http://www.museenkoeln.de/archaeologische-zone/default.asp?schrift=&lang=2. Not only were these artifacts similar in form to those produced in England in the eleventh century but material analysis also revealed that some vessels and utensils were actually made from Thames valley clay soil and sediment; see Lyn Blackmore and Jacqueline Pearce, "A Dated Type Series of London Medieval Pottery," pt. 5, Shelly-Sandy Ware and the Greyware Industries, Museum of Archaeology London, Monograph Series 49 (London, 2010).

[67] Sven Schütte and Marianne Gechter, *Von der Ausgrabung zum Museum*, 137–41. See, also, Shoham-Steiner, "The Writing on the Wall."

[68] On privately owned books, see Patricia Stirnemann, "Private Libraries Privately Made," *Medieval Manuscripts, Their Makers and Users: A Special Issue of Viator in Honor of Richard and Mary Rouse* (Turnhout, 2011), 185–98.

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in the home of the patron for intellectual purposes? Many medieval illuminated manuscripts did not have an intellectual function. There were editions of those same books without illuminations for that purpose. Thus, the maḥzor probably served the patron for display. We should bear in mind that for non-Jewish patrons, there was always the option of supporting an artistic project such as a painting or sculpture to beautify their homes. Although we know of Jews in a later period (mid-fourteenth century) who decorated their homes with wall paintings in a colorful lavish manner very close in style to those of their non-Jewish neighbors, some Jewish patrons may not have favored this option at this earlier date.[69] That being the case, the possibility that the maḥzor was displayed in the patron's home needs to be taken into account, even if it is no more than speculation.

Conclusion

While the Amsterdam Maḥzor has not been definitively dated, it was most probably produced for the Cologne Jewish community in the late 1260s or during the 1270s. At this time, the community was in full flower, and its leaders and financers were wealthy Jewish bankers who apparently sought to perpetuate their affluence, prowess, and memories in a number of ways. The embellishment and beautification of the synagogue was one way this was done; the renovation and redecoration of the synagogue's bima was carried out in precisely this period. When this initiative was completed, an illuminated and embellished maḥzor was donated. The patron may or may not have chosen to inscribe his name in a colophon—we may never know as this page did not survive in the maḥzor. I suggest that either alongside a colophon or instead of one, he placed hints of his name in the book itself. But instead of doing so by means of a heraldic symbol, as did contemporary Christian patrons, he did so by choosing symbols of iconographic significance and hints in the seam between text and illumination. The authors of piyyutim alluded to biblical figures in their works; the patron of the manuscript did so by commissioning the illustrations. Such intimations seem to be the preferred medium in this context. By donating a liturgical object, such as a prayer book, the patron hoped to perpetuate his memory and perhaps that of close relatives, as

[69]For wall paintings in houses owned by Jews in Zurich, see Dölf Wild und Roland Böhmer, "Die spätmittelalterlichen Wandmalereien im Haus 'Zum Brunnenhof' in Zürich und ihre jüdischen Arbeitsgeber," *Zürcher Denkmalpflege* (1995–1996): 15–33. See Sarit Shalev-Eyni, "Jews of Means in a Christian City: Artistic and Textual Aspects" [in Hebrew] in *Image and Sound: Art, Music and History*, ed. Richard I. Cohen (Jerusalem, 2007), 107–30; Joseph Shatzmiller, *Cultural Exchange: Jews, Christians, and Art in the Medieval Marketplace* (Princeton, 2013), 61–72.

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well as his move from the city of origin (Düren) to the big city in which he reached the height of his powers, wealth, and political influence as a lender and spokesman for his community. The efforts of great Jewish bankers to obtain a renewal of the privilege in 1266 made philanthropists such as Judah ben Shmuel (Lyvermann of Düren) one of the most influential Jews in Cologne and its environs. The book we now call the Amsterdam Maḥzor seems to have been Lyvermann's way of conveying this message. The recurring lion image, as well as the towers, I believe, tell us about his personality and his city of origin and celebrate his wealth, his political power, and his innovative spirit in choosing to contribute an illuminated and ornamented maḥzor, a relatively new phenomenon in the medieval Jewish community in Ashkenaz.

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