

The Artistic Style of the Maḥzor

Aliza Cohen-Mushlin

THE SCRIBE AND THE ARTIST

The relation between text and decoration reveals the scribe as responsible for the general lay-out of the manuscript. He left spaces for the decoration, for example for the opening arch which towers above the second of the initial words (fol. 1v). This is also true of the opening pages for Pesah and Shavu'ot (fols. 48v, 111r) where the *piyyuṭim* were written towards the centre of the page in order to accommodate the arches which surround them. In the *piyyuṭ* for Purim, however (fol. 19r), the scribe did not leave enough space for the artist in the outer margin, so that the denticulated edges of the frame invade the text. Since the colouring conforms to the script, at times even overlapping it (e.g. fols. 48v, 58r, 59r), it is clear that the text was written before the decoration was coloured. On the other hand, the underdrawings, or at least their boundaries, were designed in advance wherever the text and decoration are closely connected. The medallions illustrating the prayer for dew are a good example: the scribe felt free to invade with his script the borders of the medallions of the lamb and the flower-bearer (fol. 57v), the reaper (fol. 58v), Cancer (fol. 59r) and Capricorn (fol. 59v). However, he avoided the medallion of the mower, proceeding vertically with the text (fol. 58r). This means that at least the outline of the medallion was drawn before writing, perhaps even by the scribe himself.

At first glance it seems that a single hand decorated the manuscript. Comparing the arch decorating the *piyyuṭ* אור ישע for the first day of Pesah (fol. 48v) with that decorating the *piyyuṭ* ארן אמוני for Shavu'ot (fol. 111r), the style is seen to be similar, as well as the colouring. This is especially noticeable when similar elements and motifs in both arches are compared, particularly the wide decorated pillars resting on animals decorated with similar motifs, such as the open five-petalled rosettes, the trefoil leaves, or the small fine acanthus leaves bordering the arches. However, by comparing one of these arches, for example that for Pesah (fol. 48v), with the opening arch of the *Maḥzor* for *Shabbat Sheqalim* (fol. 1v), a difference in style becomes apparent. The opening arch is decorated with a chequerboard pattern and spared-ground technique in dark brown ink, which is not found in the other arches. Moreover, the acanthus scroll in the first arch is more compact than those in the Pesah arch, where the lobes are well articulated and have intervening spaces; and the lion supporting the right-hand column of the opening arch differs in style from those in the Pesah arch. The former is linear, without modelling and substance, compared with the full-bodied lions of the Pesah arch.

Two similar linear lions adorn the initial words of two other *piyyuṭim*. One is enclosed within the final letter *mem* of the initial word אסירי (fol. 66r), and the other is attached to the *yod* of the initial word אנכי (fol. 113r). Since each of these lions is closely connected with the initial words written in display script by the scribe, it can be assumed that he also drew the lions there. Furthermore, the acanthus scroll which decorates the initial word אתי for *Shabbat ha-Gadol* (fol. 34v) in spared-ground technique within the letter, is presumably also by the scribe and is similar in style to that in the opening arch (fol. 1v), but differs from that in the Pesah arch (fol. 48v). We can thus conclude that the opening arch was executed by the hand which decorated the scribe's display script, namely the scribe himself.

The scribe, Simḥah, did not, however, colour the opening arch, but used brown ink to fill in geometric patterns and the background to foliage motifs. The colouring, in vermilion, blue and green, is by the hand which coloured the arches for Pesah (fol. 48v) and Shavu'ot (fol. 111r). This can be deduced from a comparison of the four coloured acanthus leaves at the corners of the capitals in the opening arch (fol. 1v) with those along the borders of the columns and turrets in the Pesah and Shavu'ot arches respectively. Furthermore, Simḥah the scribe did not draw the figure holding the scales in the opening arch, which resembles in style the figures holding scrolls in the Shavu'ot arch (fol. 111r), both in its posture and in the garment folds, especially round the waist. These folds are better seen in the Shavu'ot arch, because there the colour has flaked off to show the underdrawing, whereas in the opening arch the colour and black ink outlines simplify the drapery folds. The facial features are also similar: the nose and lower lip forming a sharp "beak", the eye connected to it, and the flowing hair are all executed in the same manner.

Summarizing the evidence so far, Simḥah the scribe drew and decorated the opening arch and the two beasts connected to it in brown ink. The figure with the scales and the colours were added by the artist who drew the two other arches, for Pesah (fol. 48v) and for Shavu'ot (fol. 111r). Indeed, throughout the manuscript only these two hands are discernible. The hand of the scribe can mostly be recognized in the decoration of his display script, and that of the artist in the illustrations to the text.

The scribe's decoration of the display script consists of inscriptions in red enclosed within the letters (fols. 1v, 54r), of acanthus leaves (fols. 34v, 89v) and dots (fol. 62r) in spared-ground technique, and of letters with denticulated edges (fols. 9v, 61v, 77v, 89r). One of the initial words in ink and vermilion (fol. 77v), is adorned with birds' and dragons' heads and a mask. Birds (fols. 63v, 111v, 116v), dragons' heads (fols. 11r, 93r, 103v, 116r) and acanthus leaves (fols. 81v, 93v–94v, 109v, 111v, 116v, 175v) seem to be a favourite device of the scribe's for accentuating acrostics, refrains and initial or important words. However, his most common forms of decoration for initial words are flourishes in brown ink or vermilion surrounding the letters (e.g. fols. 11r, 83r, 93r, 118v, 160r).

Two initial words (fols. 125r, 133v) show clearly that the artist, and not the scribe, added elaborate flourishes which, in contrast to the scribe's initials, are in several colours. Moreover, on fol. 133v the three dragons' heads decorating the initial words קניי ד resemble in the upturned nose and pointed ears the second dragon from the left in the Shavu'ot arch (fol. 111r). These motifs also feature in the head of the dragon on fol. 93r, thereby betraying the hand of the artist. The scribe's dragon heads (e.g. fols. 11r, 26v, 77v, 103v) are more rounded and not so well articulated. The flourishes of the other initial word (fol. 125r) are inhabited by some hump-backed dragons similar to those decorating the Shavu'ot arch (fol. 111r). Although more crudely executed, the style is that of the artist. Note especially the dragon on the lower left, where the talons also resemble the dragon on fol. 93r.

It seems that although the scribe was responsible for the decoration of the script and the artist for the illustration of the text, some overlapping did occur. The scribe intervened in the artist's work

when he drew the opening arch (fol. 1v), though without the figure; and the artist intervened in the scribe's work by adding flourishes and dragons to the latter's display script (fols. 125r, 133v). On the whole, however, each kept to his own task.

The artist had a greater share in the decoration of the manuscript than the scribe. In addition to the two arches decorating the *piyyuṭim* for Pesah and Shavu'ot (fols. 48v, 111r), he painted the hanging of Haman and his ten sons which illustrates the *piyyuṭ* for Purim on fol. 19r. The foliage is similar to that found in the Pesah arch (fol. 48v), and although the figures are contorted in posture and their hair hides their faces, the drapery style resembles that of the Shavu'ot arch (fol. 111r). Figure proportions and a drapery style particularly close to Haman and his sons (fol. 19r) can also be found in the illustrations of some months' labours for the prayer for dew (fols. 57v–59v). Comparing these latter with the elongated figures in the Shavu'ot arch (fol. 111r), the squat figures within the medallions seem somewhat cruder in execution. However, on fol. 58r the style of the figure with the scythe and of the ox resembles that of the priest and red heifer which illustrate *Shabbat Parah* (fol. 21r); and the goat on fol. 59v resembles the hounds in the deer hunt illustrating the *piyyuṭ* אילת אהבים for Pesah (fol. 130v). This illustration shows the artist's best style, especially in the sinuous outlines which form the animals and in the colour shading which models them. These are also to be found in the lions supporting the columns of the Pesah arch (fol. 48v). It seems that the artist was more interested in depicting animals than human figures, which appear to be more crudely executed (e.g. fols. 34v, 95r, 129r).

Apart from some corrections by the vocalizer, as well as marginal notes and later additions (see Introduction by M. Beit-Arié, above, pp. 20–29) the *Mahzor* was written by one scribe, Simḥah bar Judah, who assiduously mentions his name throughout the manuscript (fols. 95r, 108v, 113r, 129r, 143r, 155r). Nevertheless, to illustrate the word “and my scribes” (וסופרים) occurring in a *piyyuṭ* he made the following inscription in a book held by a figure (fol. 95r): “Judah the scribe of Nuremberg, Simḥah the scribe and Shemaiah the Frenchman.” Since Simḥah wrote the entire text, it seems that the name of his father, Judah of Nuremberg, himself a scribe, was included as a tribute. The other principal hand which features in the manuscript is the artist's, and in all probability the last name in the inscription, Shemaiah the Frenchman, is his, but he also may have been the vocalizer. Artists-vocalizers were commonly known in Hebrew illuminated manuscripts.⁸¹

THE STYLISTIC ENVIRONMENT

The closest stylistic parallel to the *Worms Mahzor* is to be found in the *Birds' Heads Haggadah*.⁸² Notwithstanding the similar motifs — bird' beaks — used to distort the facial features, the resemblance lies rather in the composition of the page and in the figure style. In both manuscripts the main illustrations are on the vellum ground of the margins, unframed, and mostly related to

the text. There are in addition a few full-page arches with illustrations either within the arch or outside it, as well as initial words, some of them in panels.

The striking similarity in figure style can be seen, for example, in the man baking the *mazzah* in the *Worms Mahzor* (fol. 129r; Fig. 17) and those preparing it in the *Birds' Heads Haggadah* (fol. 26r; Fig. 18). The lean figures are rendered with dark outlines and sparse drapery folds, modelled by means of minimal colour gradation. This resemblance in style becomes more apparent if one compares the figures holding the scrolls in the Shavu'ot arch (fol. 111r; Fig. 19) with those of the Heavenly Jerusalem in the *Birds' Heads Haggadah* (fol. 47r; Fig. 11), despite the flaked-off colours in the former.

The *Birds' Heads Haggadah* is undated and its place of origin is unknown. Because of its similarity to the *Worms Mahzor*, it should be ascribed to the same region, if not to the same school, in the last quarter of the thirteenth century.

A manuscript related to the *Birds' Heads Haggadah* is the *Leipzig Mahzor*. Both these manuscripts were written by the same scribe, Menahem, who marked his name in them using the word *munahim* (מנחמים).⁸³ He also decorated some initial words in both with similar pen flourishes.⁸⁴ The composition of the page in the *Leipzig Mahzor* is also similar to that of the *Birds' Heads Haggadah* and the *Worms Mahzor* with unframed text illustrations in the margins on the vellum ground, some arched pages, and initial words, some in panels.

The resemblance can be seen in similar dragon motifs which decorate the initial word on fol. 36r of the *Birds' Heads Haggadah* and support the arches in Vol. II, fols. 74v and 176r of the *Leipzig Mahzor*. It can also be seen in the similar figure proportions and drapery style, for example in the figures in the Heavenly Jerusalem of the *Birds' Heads Haggadah* (fol. 47r; Fig. 11) and those of the *Parashat ha-Hodesh* in the *Leipzig Mahzor* (Vol. I, fol. 59r). Despite the similarity in composition and even in figure style and motifs, the illumination of the two manuscripts was done by two different artists. The artist of the *Leipzig Mahzor* often models the figures with colour gradation and highlights in yellow, for example in the three praying figures in Vol. I, fol. 27r, while the artist of the *Birds' Heads Haggadah* paints large areas in the same colour, with no gradation.

Despite the related style of the *Leipzig Mahzor* and the *Birds' Heads Haggadah*, together with the fact that both were written by the same scribe, it seems that the artist of the *Leipzig Mahzor* was also influenced by another school which produced such manuscripts as the *Tripartite Mahzor*,⁸⁵ *The Duke of Sussex Pentateuch*,⁸⁶ the *Schocken Bible*,⁸⁷ and the *Vienna Siddur and Smaq*.⁸⁸ These in turn are stylistically related to a group of Latin manuscripts produced in the vicinity of Lake Constance⁸⁹ and thus could also have been executed in that area.

The scribe Menahem does not mention a place of origin in either the *Birds' Heads Haggadah* or the *Leipzig Mahzor*. However, one is implied in the related *Worms Mahzor*. Although Simḥah, the scribe of the latter, refers to his father as “Judah the scribe of

81 Narkiss, *Relation*, p. 83.

82 Jerusalem, Israel Museum, MS 180/57. See Spitzer, *Bird's Head Haggadah*.

83 Cf. *Birds' Heads Haggadah*, fol. 11r, and *Leipzig Mahzor*, Vol. I, fol. 113r; see Narkiss, *Lipsiae*, p. 87.

84 Cf. *Birds' Heads Haggadah*, fol. 34v, and *Leipzig Mahzor*, Vol. I, fol. 133r.

85 See note 67 above.

86 London, British Library, MS. Add. 15282. See Leveen, *Bible*, pp. 107–109; Pl. XXXIII; Narkiss, *HIM*, p. 104, Pl. 32.

87 Jerusalem, Schocken Library, MS 14840. See Narkiss, *HIM*, p. 102, Pl. 31.

88 Vienna, Nationalbibliothek, Cod. hebr. 75; *Monumenta Judaica*, No. D.50, Figs. 20, 38, 39; *Staufer Catalogue*, No. 382, Fig. 198.

89 *The Gradual of St. Katharinenthal* of 1312, Zurich, Landesmuseum. See Beer, *Oberrhein*, pp. 111–124. The *Manesse Manuscript*, Heidelberg, Universitätsbibliothek, Pal. Germ. 848, see Koschorreck and W. Werner, *Manesse*.

Nuremberg" (fol. 95r), he does not specify where he himself lives. Professor Beit-Arié has observed (in his Introduction above, p. 20) a marginal note by the scribe on fol. 80r relating to a verse which "should be recited aloud on that day, as this is the custom in Würzburg" (זה אומרים באותו יום בקול רם, כך מנהגו של וירצבורק). He therefore suggests that the manuscript could have been written in Würzburg or its surroundings, since it specifies a contemporary Würzburg custom. This is supported by the fact that some *piyyuṭim* written by the scribe do not form part of the Worms rite, as later marginal notes indicate (e.g. fols. 34v, 89v, 117r–118r, 130v–131v, 135v, 156r). A notable example is the *piyyuṭ* וישע אור ישראל (fols. 219r–220r), which was written by a somewhat later hand as a substitute for the *piyyuṭ* אתה הארת יומם ולילה (fols. 89r–90r), which was apparently not recited in the liturgy of Worms. For this and other examples, see the Introductions of M. Beit-Arié and E. Fleischer (in particular pp. 18, 51).

The suggestion that Würzburg could indeed be the place of origin of the *Worms Maḥzor* finds support from stylistic parallels. Since the decoration of the *Worms Maḥzor* betrays two hands, that of the scribe and that of the artist, each will be dealt with separately.

THE ART OF THE SCRIBE

Simḥah's art stems from a scribal tradition, namely the embellishment of initial words, acrostics and important words in spared-ground technique or with surrounding pen flourishes depicting foliage and animal motifs. For this decoration a scribe invariably uses the same dark brown ink as that with which he writes or vocalizes. Sometimes, if he rubricates certain words, he may also use the vermilion for flourishes. In other words, as a rule the scribe uses the same ink for decoration as for writing. It is rare for him to resort to a painter's colour palette.

Our scribe, Simḥah, as Professor Beit-Arié has pointed out (p. 00), also wrote another manuscript. It is a Pentateuch in the Bodleian Library (MS Laud Or. 324) which is not only in his script, but also has a colophon mentioning his name (fol. 69r; Fig. 20). The brown ink decoration comprises pen flourishes surrounding two initial words (fol. 69v, Exodus, and fol. 127r, Leviticus), and a final word (fol. 265r), most probably carried out by the scribe. Of the three massorators distinguished by Professor Beit-Arié, the third outlined a pair of dragons in micrography (fol. 89r), revealing a different style.

The flourishes in the Pentateuch differ somewhat from those in our *Maḥzor*. Nevertheless, some of those in the former incorporating dragon's heads (fol. 69v; Fig. 21), resemble those in the *Maḥzor* (e.g. fols. 11r, 26v lower margin, 103v). Nor are the birds' heads in the Pentateuch (fol. 265r; Fig. 22) unlike those in our *Maḥzor* (e.g. fols. 63v, 77v).

Simḥah did not use exactly the same decorative motifs for both manuscripts: in contrast to the script, which remains similar throughout both, he felt free to vary the decoration.

It is difficult to assess scribal art. This example shows that a scribe may change motifs from manuscript to manuscript; on the other

hand, this limited decoration has only a small vocabulary of decorative motifs. Its frequent use by generations of scribes led to an established tradition, which hinders the dating of manuscripts on the basis of scribal decoration alone. Moreover, the frequently crude execution of the decoration by the scribes hardly permits stylistic comparisons. Thus the opening word in a *Rashi Commentary* of 1403 is decorated with masks and a hare hunt in spared-ground technique⁹⁰ similar to those adorning an initial word in the *Würzburg Siddur* of 1304 (Fig. 24).⁹¹

However, despite these difficulties, examination of manuscripts of known provenance has pointed to Franconia as the region where scribal art flourished, often to the exclusion of artists proper. Groups or schools can even be distinguished, with types of decoration and special motifs peculiar to each. One group which shows similar characteristics can be called the Würzburg-Bamberg school, for these places are mentioned in marginal notes to prayers or in legal documents copied as rabbinical examples. One *maḥzor* from Bamberg, for instance, dated 1279,⁹² is decorated with arcades in spared-ground technique, with the letters surrounded by flourishes (e.g. fols. 1v, 15v). It is worth noting the combination of motifs — acanthus scrolls, zigzags, chequers (e.g. fol. 1v; Fig. 23) — and their similarity to the opening arch of the *Worms Maḥzor* (fol. 1v). Even at a somewhat later date, the *Würzburg Siddur*, dated by means of its calendar to 1304,⁹³ shows similar decoration in spared-ground technique (e.g. fol. 1v; Fig. 24). This opening arch, however, is decorated with different foliage motifs from those in either the *Bamberg* or the *Worms Maḥzor*, and has animals and dragons in the arch and the initial word. Despite the different motifs, the aesthetic effect is strikingly similar: the dominance of the dark brown ink and its interplay with the light parchment lend the page its sombre, dramatic appearance.⁹⁴

Our scribe, Simḥah, in the *Bodleian Pentateuch* and the *Worms Maḥzor*, was an early exponent of the Würzburg-Bamberg group. The stark dramatic effect he aimed at in the opening arch of the *Maḥzor* (fol. 1v) was softened, however, by the colours which the artist added to it.

THE ARTIST'S STYLE

To trace the origins of our artist's style poses no lesser problems. The somewhat crude rendering, especially of human figures, rules out exact stylistic parallels, although the area of influence can be conjectured. The figures in the *Worms Maḥzor* (e.g. fols. 19r, 111r, 129r) and its closest parallel, the *Birds' Heads Haggadah* (e.g. fols. 26r, 47r), recall those in the earlier *Rashi Commentary* of 1232/3 from Würzburg.⁹⁵ The similarity is particularly marked in the postures of the figures, the dark outlines and the drapery folds, some of which form sharply pointed pleats (e.g. Vol. II, fol. 183r; Fig. 15). Another example comparable to the figure style of the *Worms Maḥzor* is a mid-thirteenth century Latin *Psalter*, probably from Würzburg (mentioned above in connection with the *Labours of the Months*).⁹⁶ Despite the fine execution of the *Psalter*, the small, lean figures in the top panels

90 London, British Library, MS Add. 22092, fol. 3v.

91 Oxford, Bodleian Library, Can. Or. 1, fol. 1v.

92 New York, Library of the Jewish Theological Seminary, Mic. 4843. It has a colophon mentioning Bamberg (fol. 162r).

93 Oxford, Bodleian Library, Can. Or. 1, attributed to Würzburg because of legal formulae on fols. 96v, 101v, 105r. On fols. 91v–92v there is a calendar for the 264th cycle, starting on its tenth year (50)64 of Creation (1304) and ending with 1313. See Narkiss, *British Isles*, III [not yet published], No. 37.

94 Other manuscripts of c. 1300 which can be attributed to this group are: Oxford, Bodleian Library, Opp. 673; Opp. 645; Can. Or. 70; Can. Or. 91.

95 Munich Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Cod. Heb. 5 I–II; see Gutmann, *Manuscript*, Pl. 17; Swarzenski, *XIII Cent.*, pp. 72–73; Figs. 982–985.

96 Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Lat. 3900. See Swarzenski, *XIII Cent.*, pp. 73, 157–159 (No. 86); Figs. 936–981; *Stausser Catalogue*, No. 737, fig. 530.

of the calendar⁹⁷ reveal a similarity to those in the *Mahzor*. Note particularly the attempt at colour gradation in some drapery folds, the twisted folds surrounding the ladies' feet and the long wavy hair in the *Mahzor* (e.g. fol. 34v) and those in the calendar of the *Psalter* (e.g. fols. 1v–2v; Fig. 25).⁹⁸ Although the figures in the *Würzburg Psalter* are more articulated and refined, the similarity shows that our artist was aware of the contemporary style of sumptuous Latin manuscripts, but that his skill did not permit him to emulate it.

A striking difference between the two manuscripts is that the full-page coloured illuminations in the Latin *Würzburg Psalter* are framed on burnished gold leaf, in contrast to the illuminations of the *Worms Mahzor*, which are on the vellum ground. Our *Mahzor* follows the *Archbishop Laud Mahzor* of c. 1260 in Oxford,⁹⁹ the earliest extant example where the figures are mostly attached to rather than enclosed within the initial word panels. This extraction of figures from panels was followed in the *Birds' Heads Haggadah* and the fourteenth-century *Leipzig Mahzor*, which is lavishly decorated, also using gold.

Besides the *Psalter*, the general Würzburg figure and drapery style can be seen in a *Pericope Book* in Munich,¹⁰⁰ which may have been illuminated in the same workshop as the 1232/3 *Rashi Commentary* and may pre-date it by a few years. One of the archaistic elements in the Würzburg *Pericope Book*, which continues the tradition of twelfth-century German illumination, is the geometric background of blue-green and magenta, which makes the figures stand out. This is prominent on fol. 1v (Fig. 26) of the Würzburg *Pericope Book*,¹⁰¹ as well as in most panels of the *Rashi Commentary* of 1232/3.¹⁰² It does not appear in the later *Würzburg Psalter*, but vestiges of it are discernible in the *Worms Mahzor* in the initial word panel of אקדמות מילין (fol. 146r), as well as in the medallions of the signs of the zodiac and the labours of the months (fols. 57v–59v). Here the ground is blue or green, framed by green or vermilion, as in the tympana enclosing the initial words of the three arches in our *Mahzor* (fols. 1v, 48v, 111r). The 1232/3 Würzburg *Rashi Commentary*, although in the same tradition and emanating from the same school as the *Würzburg Pericopes* and the *Würzburg Psalter*, has a different type of decoration, adapted to the Hebrew text. Instead of preceding full-page illustrations, as well as smaller panels enclosing initials next to the text, the Rashi artist placed small panels at the head of most *parashot* and books of the Bible. These panels combine both elements: the illustration in the lower part of the panel, and the initial word on a narrow upper strip. Comparing these elements on the one hand with the pen-decoration by the Rashi scribe, and on the other with the illustrations in the *Peri-*

cope Book, it is clear that the artist was responsible for the illustrations as well as for laying the gold on the initial words. Furthermore, apart from the size and position of the panels, which serve the text better, the artist belongs to the general tradition of the Würzburg School of illumination.

However, where the panel dissolves and the initial word becomes more prominent, as for example in the *Worms Mahzor*, it is the tradition of scribal art which predominates. The same is true for the pen-drawn, unframed arches decorated in spared-ground technique. It is a curious chance that in our *Mahzor*, after executing the opening arch, Simḥah the scribe handed the work over to the artist. The two arches, for Pesah and Shavu'ot, which the artist executed, although they are more elaborate, also stem from this same scribal tradition and stand in marked contrast to the decoration of the *Rashi Commentary* of 1232/3.

The style of the artist of the *Worms Mahzor* falls more in line with less sumptuous manuscripts. A good example is a copy of *Der Welsche Gast* by Thomasin von Zerclaere, now in Heidelberg University Library.¹⁰³ The figures illustrating the *piyyuṭ* for dew in the *Mahzor* (fols. 57v–59v), Haman and his sons (fol. 19r) and the bride and groom (fol. 34v) are comparable in figure proportions and drapery style to those in the Heidelberg manuscript (fols. 4r; Fig. 27; fol. 126r).¹⁰⁴ Moreover, grotesque features in the Heidelberg manuscript (fol. 2r; Fig. 28)¹⁰⁵ recall the birds' beaks in the *Mahzor*; and the figure blowing the horn in the *Welsche Gast* bear hunt (fol. 51v; Fig. 29)¹⁰⁶ is not unlike El'azar the Priest (fol. 21r) or the devil (fol. 130v) in the *Mahzor*. This is not to suggest that our artist originated from the same workshop, but rather that he was influenced by similar models.

Scholars are generally agreed that the Heidelberg manuscript was produced in Bavaria about 1250–1260, and Ewald Vetter even suggests¹⁰⁷ that its production was connected with the monastery at Scheyern in Lower Bavaria. If this is indeed so, then we should accept Lutze's contention¹⁰⁸ that the Scheyern school of illumination, which flourished between 1226 and 1259, influenced the Bamberg school.

Though restricted by lack of exact parallels, it is possible nevertheless to define the artistic sphere of the artist of the *Worms Mahzor*. It is broadly related to the Würzburg and Bamberg schools and their connections with Bavaria. This coincides with the Würzburg-Bamberg type of traditional scribal art which characterizes Simḥah's decoration. Thus both scribe and artist of our *Mahzor* were products of the same artistic milieu and joined forces, most probably at Würzburg, to produce what is now known as the *Worms Mahzor*.

97 Swarzenski, *XIII Cent.*, Figs. 957–968.

98 Swarzenski, *XIII Cent.*, Figs. 957–959.

99 Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Laud Or. 321. See Sed-Rajna, *Mahzor*, Figs. 2, 13, 23, 30, 35, 47, 48, 52.

100 Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, clm. 23256. See Swarzenski, *XIII Cent.*, No. 85, pp. 165–166; Figs. 935, 986–989, who dates it to c. 1240.

101 Swarzenski, *XIII Cent.*, p. 156, Fig. 935.

102 E.g. Vol. II, fols. 183r, 209r, Fig. 14; Swarzenski, *XIII Cent.*, Figs. 982, 983.

103 Cod. Pal. germ. 389. See Neumann and Vetter, *Welsche Gast*, Introduction, pp. 184–189; Oechelhaeuser, *Wälschen Gaste*, especially pp. 1–3; Pls. I, VI, VIII; Neumann and Vetter, *Zucht; Staufer Catalogue*, No. 365, Fig. 190.

104 See Neumann and Vetter, *Zucht*, especially fols. 2v, 4r, 126r.

105 Neumann and Vetter, *Zucht*, fol. 2v.

106 Neumann and Vetter, *Zucht*, fol. 51v.

107 Neumann and Vetter, *Zucht*, p. 147.

108 Lutze, *Fränkische Buchmalerei*, pp. 32–34.