

DIRECTIONS IN THE STUDY OF *PIYYUT* COMPOSITION IN GERMANY DURING THE HIGH MIDDLE AGES

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In several studies published over the past two decades, Menahem Schmelzer has focused his attention on the writing of *piyyut* in medieval Ashkenaz. In his own words: “Beginning with the 1990’s, my interest turned to medieval Hebrew poetry in Ashkenaz. I was fascinated to realize that medieval Ashkenazi rabbis were also prolific in composing occasional poems, many of them on weddings. This somehow stood in contrast with the stereotypical impression of them being the authors of exclusively lachrymose poems on tragic events. A few of my later articles deal with Ashkenazi *Piyyutim*.”¹

Included among these studies are two that deal extensively (from both the internal literary and comparative perspectives) with heretofore unknown *piyyutim* (a *yozer* and a *zulat*, on various themes and aspects of redemption) for the Sabbath(s) before Passover by R. Menahem b. Makhir, a leading German *payyeta*n of the late eleventh century.² Another article presents an unknown *ge’ulah* for one of the Sabbaths during the *Sefirat ha-Omer* period, by an Ashkenazic author named Solomon (whose precise identity is uncertain), which has an unusual focus on the economic hardships suffered by medieval Ashkenazic

1. See Menahem Schmelzer, *Studies in Jewish Bibliography and Medieval Hebrew Poetry* (New York and Jerusalem: Jewish Theological Seminary, 2006), on the first (unpaginated) page of the Preface (in both English and Hebrew).
2. These were published originally in *Me’ah She’arim: ‘Yunim be-‘Olamam ha-Ruḥani shel Yiśra’el bi-Yeme ha-Benayim*, ed. Ezra Fleischer et al. (Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 2001) and *‘Aṭarah le-Ḥayim: Meḥkarim ba-Sifrut ha-Talmudit veka-Rabanit li-Khevod Profesora Ḥayim Zalman Dimiṭrovski*, ed. Daniel Boyarin et al. (Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 2000), and can be found in the Hebrew section of *Studies in Jewish Bibliography*, 138–153, 154–161.

Jewry (in contrast to the security felt by the Jews of yore, when they were allowed to partake of the so-called *bizat Miṣrayyim*).³

A most important discovery by Professor Menahem Schmelzer, which further confirms the notion that Ashkenazic *payyetanim* also composed liturgical poems for “happy occasions,” is of a *ma‘ariv* for *Simḥat Torah*, by the German Tosafist R. Moses b. Ḥisdai Taku. Prior to this finding, R. Moses Taku’s only known *piyyut* output consisted of two *seliḥot*.⁴ Similarly, Professor Schmelzer has discussed some lesser-known venues for wedding *piyyutim* that were developed in medieval Ashkenaz, including different types of embellishments for the *Nishmat* prayer and the recitation of *E-l Adon* on the *Shabbat ḥattan*, and various *reshuyyot* associated with the *ḥattan* and his entourage.⁵

Moreover, Professor Schmelzer has most recently published a

3. See *Studies in Jewish Bibliography* [Hebrew section], 162–169 (published originally in Yaakov Elman, Ephraim Bezalet Halivni, Zvi Arie Steinfeld eds., *Neṭi‘ot le-David: Sefer ha-Yovel le-David ha-Livni* [Jerusalem: Orhot Press, 2004]).
4. See *Studies in Jewish Bibliography*, 170–176 [Hebrew section] (published originally in *Te‘udah* 19, 2003). On R. Moses’ career as a Tosafist and rabbinic decisor, see Ephraim E. Urbach, cited in *Studies in Jewish Bibliography*, 170n3; my “The Development and Diffusion of Unanimous Agreement in Medieval Ashkenaz,” *Studies in Medieval Jewish History and Literature*, vol. 3, eds. Isadore Twersky and Jay M. Harris (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Center for Jewish Studies, 2000), 29–32; and Simcha Emanuel, *Shivre Luḥot: Sefarim Avudim shel Ba‘ale ha-Tosafot* (Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 2006), 47–48, and 315n3.
5. See *Studies in Jewish Bibliography*, 190–208 [Hebrew section] (published originally in Zvia Ben-Yosef Ginor, ed., *Essays on Hebrew Literature in Honor of Avraham Holtz* [New York: Jewish Theological Seminary, 2003]). The bulk of the *piyyutim* mentioned to this point were found by Menahem Schmelzer in New York, Library of the Jewish Theological Seminary, MS 8972. He also published an analysis of the poetic openings and conclusions found in *Sefer Yihuse Tanna‘im va-Amora‘im* by the German Tosafist R. Judah b. Qalonymus b. Meir of Speyer (d. 1199), along with two parallels in manuscript to the seventh such section of poetic verses. See *Studies in Jewish Bibliography*, 177–187 [Hebrew section] (published originally in *Between History and Literature: Studies in Honor of Isaac Barzilay* ed. Stanley Nash [Tel Aviv: Hakibbutz Hameuchad, 1997]). Rabbinic works in Jewish law and exegesis were sometimes a significant venue for versification during the Tosafist period (which, as noted by Menahem Schmelzer, has received scant attention).

detailed study of manuscript collections of wedding poems for the Shabbat *ḥattan* (*yozerot*, *'ofanim*, *zulatot*, and *reshuyyot*) featuring *piyyutim* by some seventeen Ashkenazic authors, from the eleventh through the thirteenth centuries. A number of these *piyyutim* have never been published, including four by R. Joseph b. Nathan he-Ḥazzan of Wurzburg (mid-twelfth century), six by R. Menahem b. Jacob of Worms (d. 1203), two by R. Nathan b. Isaac of Mainz (ca. 1220), and three by R. Yaqar b. Samuel ha-Levi of Cologne (d. 1271).⁶

Among the larger group of seventeen rabbinic authors are several German Tosafists and leading figures during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, whose prowess and productivity as both talmudists and *payyetanim* are well known: R. Eliezer b. Nathan (Raban) of Mainz (d. ca. 1165), R. Ephraim b. Isaac of Regensburg (d. 1175), and R. Barukh b. Samuel of Mainz (d. 1221), each of whom composed approximately thirty *piyyutim*, and R. Eleazar of Worms (d. 1237), who composed more than fifty *piyyutim*. Ephraim Urbach, the preeminent biographer of the Tosafists, has provided detailed treatments of the rabbinic writings and methods of each of these figures. Toward the end of these treatments, he takes note of their achievements in *piyyut* composition as well.⁷

6. See Menahem Schmelzer, "Piyyutim le-Nissu'in le-Rishonei Hakhmei Ashkenaz," *Le-Ot Zikaron: Mehqarim ba-Shirah ha-'Ivrit uve-Moreshet Yiśra'el Sefer Zikaron le-Aharon Mirski*, ed. Ephraim Hazan and Joseph Yahalom (Ramat Gan: Bar-Ilan University, 2008), 173–185. Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Mich. 573 (Neubauer 1099), Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Opp. 673 (Neubauer 1149) and Moscow, Russian State Library, MS Guenzberg 611 were the main manuscript resources for this study.
7. See Ephraim E. Urbach, *Ba'ale ha-Tosafot* (Jerusalem: Mosad Bialik, 1980), 1:173–184, 199–207, 388–411; 425–433. Urbach's treatment of the halakhic writings of R. Barukh of Mainz and R. Eleazar of Worms should be supplemented by Emanuel, *Shivre Luhot*, 104–153, and idem., *Derashah le-Fesah / Rabi El'azar mi-Vermaiza* (Jerusalem: Mekitse Nirdamim, 2006), 3–66. For some of the pietistic and mystical proclivities of these figures, see my *'Peering through the Lattices': Mystical, Magical and Pietistic Dimensions in the Tosafist Period* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 2000), 103–106, 128–130, 161–165, and my "Esotericism and Magic in Ashkenazic Prayer during the Tosafist Period," *Studies on the History of the Jews of Ashkenaz* [Hebrew], eds. Gershon C. Ba-

Nearly complete critical editions of their numerous *piyyutim* have also been produced, with the lone exception of Raban.⁸

In light of Menahem Schmelzer's findings concerning the "happy" (occasional) *piyyutim* that were composed in Ashkenaz (as a suggestive supplement to the *seliḥot* and *qinnot* that were unfortunately never "out of season"), it is interesting to note that Raban was the most well-rounded within this group of leading rabbinic scholars and *payyetanim*,

con, Daniel Sperber, Aharon Gaimani (Ramat Gan: Bar Ilan University, 2008), 203–216.

8. See Abraham Meir Habermann, "Piyyutei Rabbenu Ephraim b. Yizhaq me-Regensburg," *Yedi'ot: Makhon le-Heker ha-Shirah ha-'Ivrit* 4 (1938): 121–195; idem., "Piyyutei Rabbenu Barukh b. Shmu'el mi-Magenza," *Yedi'ot: Makhon le-Heker ha-Shirah ha-'Ivrit* 6 (1946): 47–160; Isaac Meiseles, ed., *Shirat ha-Roke'aḥ: The Poems of Rabbi Eleazar Ben Yehudah of Worms* [Hebrew] (Jerusalem: Isaac Meiseles, 1993). Habermann, ed., *Gezerot Ashkenaz ve-Tsarfat* (Jerusalem: Sifre Tarshish, 1945), 72–88, Raban published a *seliḥah* (*E-lohim zedim qamu 'alenu*, 'Lord, the marauders have risen up against us') and a *zulat* (*E-lohim be-'oznenu shamanu*, 'Lord, we have heard with our ears'), as well as his lengthier, more prose-like chronicle, which were composed to mark the disastrous impact of the First Crusade. See also Avraham David, "Historical Records of the Persecutions during the First Crusade in Hebrew Printed Works and Manuscripts," *Facing the Cross* [Hebrew], ed. Yom Tov Assis et al. (Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 2000), 194–198. A series of liturgical compositions by Raban for the High Holy Days and the *Shalosh Regalim* (and by Ephraim of Regensburg and Eleazar of Worms as well) are found in the various *maḥzorim* edited by Daniel Goldschmidt and Yonah Fraenkel. See the index in *Maḥzor Shavu'ot* [Hebrew], ed. Yonah Fraenkel (Jerusalem: Koren, 2000), 715–716. Six of Raban's *seliḥot* are published in *Leket Piyyute Seliḥot*, ed. Daniel Goldschmidt and Avraham Fraenkel (Jerusalem: Mekitse Nirdamim, 1993), 1:64–73, as are nearly twenty by R. Eleazar of Worms (74–111), and one (for Yom Kippur) by R. Ephraim of Regensburg (113–116). Note that Raban's triplet (*shelishiyyah*), *Haniḥenu 'el har qodeshekha* (Goldschmidt and Fraenkel, 66), in which each stanza concludes with a verse that has the word 'al or ve-'al in it (and is quite similar to another *shelishiyyah* by Raban, *Tavo 'enqat asirekha*= Goldschmidt and Fraenkel, 71–72) was published from Parma, Biblioteca Palatina, MS 585 (fol. 137r), a *piyyut* manuscript of which Zunz was unaware. Similarly, R. Ephraim of Regensburg's *seliḥah* for Yom Kippur, *Umlalah yoshevet ba-mitah* (with a *siyyomet miqra'it*) was published from Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, ebr. 315, another manuscript to which Zunz did not have access.

with a third of his *piyyutim* linked to the *Shabbat ḥattan*, a third meant for the additional liturgy of the festivals, and a third consisting of *seliḥot* and *qinnot*. On the other hand, nearly three-quarters of R. Ephraim of Regensburg's *piyyut* corpus consist of *seliḥot* and related compositions, which is also the case for R. Eleazar of Worms and to a slightly lesser degree for R. Barukh of Mainz.⁹ At the same time, it is possible to detect the influence of Spanish meter and poetics (especially in terms of rhyme schemes and the artistic use of biblical phrases) in the *piyyutim* by this group of well-known Ashkenazic authors.¹⁰

Professor Schmelzer's recent research opens up a number of additional directions and possibilities for the study of *piyyut* in Germany during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries and for a more complete understanding of the intellectual and cultural interests and achievements of the Tosafists and their associates at that time. As a modest contribution toward this endeavor, we shall now look more closely at the types of *piyyutim* produced by four of the lesser-known German halakhists and rabbinic figures included by Menahem Schmelzer in his study of Ashkenazic *piyyutim* for the *Shabbat ḥattan* whose liturgical compositions have not been fully published (as noted above), R. Joseph of Wurzburg, R. Menahem of Worms, R. Nathan of Mainz and R. Yaqar of Cologne.

9. See my *The Intellectual History and Rabbinic Culture of Medieval Ashkenaz* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 2013), 396–397, 412–424, for a survey of the genres, styles and numbers of their *piyyutim*. The discussion there is preceded by an analysis of the patterns and genres of pre-Crusade Ashkenazic *piyyut*, which is indispensable for a complete discussion of these issues. Note that *seliḥot* for Yom Kippur and *yozerot* for Sabbaths during the *Sefirat ha-Omer* period (or for *Shabbat Shuvah* and *Shabbat Ḥazon*) are properly considered to be part of the *seliḥot-qinnot* category.
10. See, e.g., Ezra Fleischer, *ha-Yotsrot be-Hithayutan ve-Hitpathutam* (Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1984), 31 (n. 18), 646, 650, 667–670, 682, 688–690; and Leon J. Weinberger, *Jewish Hymnography: A Literary History* (Portland, Or.: Vallentine Mitchel, 1998), 161–162, 164–165.

II

R. Joseph b. Nathan Hazzan of Wurzburg, a rabbinic judge as well as a *shaliah zibbur*, corresponded with Raban in matters of monetary law,¹¹ and possibly with Rabbenu Tam (d. 1171) as well.¹² R. Joseph was the author of nearly fifteen *piyyutim* that were carefully metered in the Spanish style. Among these are five *seliḥot*: a *petiḥah* commemorating the events of 1096;¹³ a triplet (*shelishiyyah*) for the ten days of penitence in which each stanza ends with a biblical phrase that contains the Hebrew word for morning, *boqer*;¹⁴ another in which nearly every phrase is of biblical or Talmudic origin;¹⁵ another in which each stanza concludes with a biblical phrase from Exodus, chapters 32–34, relating to Moses' entreaty of the Almighty and the thirteen

11. See Solomon Zalman Ehrenreich, ed., *Even ha'-ezer hu Sefer Raban* (repr. Jerusalem: n.p., 1975), fols. 298b–299b, and Emanuel, *Shivre Luḥot*, 73–74 (n. 106). The questions sent by R. Joseph to Raban sought guidance in two cases that had come before him. The first involved a loan extended by A to the wife of B in which written collections (*quntresim*) of *seliḥot* were given as collateral (and were later misplaced). The second (and perhaps related) case involved a (holy) book that had been given as collateral, in the presence of witnesses.
12. There is some question as to whether this is also the R. Joseph (or Yose) of Trento (or perhaps Trani or Taranto) who corresponded with Rabbenu Tam and whose ruling about non-kosher brine is cited by Rabiah (and indeed, whether Joseph b. Nathan Hazzan of Wurzburg hailed originally from an Italian locale, or from Tirnau in central Europe). See Victor Aptowitz, *Mavo le-Sefer Rabiyaḥ* (Jerusalem: Mekitse Nirdamim, 1938), 257, 352; Leopold Zunz, *Literaturgeschichte der synagogalen Poesie* (Berlin: L. Gerschel Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1865; hereafter cited as *LG*), 271; Ismar Elbogen, Aron Freimann, Haim Tykocinski eds., *Germania Judaica*, vol. 1 (Tubingen: J.C.B. Mohr, 1963), 481–482; Emanuel, *Shivre Luḥot*, *ibid.*; and R. Reiner, "'A Tombstone Inscribed': Titles Used to Describe the Deceased in Tombstones from Würzburg between 1147–1148 and 1346," *Tarbiz* 78, no. 1 (2009): 141–142.
13. See Parma, Biblioteca Palatina, MS 3139 (De Rossi 588), sec. 10 (*E-l'erekh 'apayim nozer ḥesed la-'alafim*), published by Habermann in *Gezerot Ashkenaz ve-Tsarfat*, 89–90.
14. Agurah 'olamim be-'ohalekha (I will dwell forever in your tent).
15. *Tavo lefanekha shav'at 'enqat 'asir* (The pleas and the complaints of the restrained shall reach You).

Divine attributes that he invoked;¹⁶ and a *selihah* for the Tenth of *Tevet*.¹⁷

For the liturgy of the festivals, R. Joseph b. Nathan composed a *ma'ariv* for *Shemini Aẓeret*,¹⁸ as well as a *bikkur* addendum (to the final blessing of the evening *Shema, ha-pores sukkat shalom*), which focuses on the *simhat beit ha-sho'evah* that was celebrated in the Temple.¹⁹ Every stanza in these compositions concludes with a biblical verse (referred to in modern terminology as a *siyyomet miqra'it* or as a *soger min ha-miqra*), a technique frequently found in classical as well as Spanish liturgical poetry, which was then embraced by a number of Ashkenazic *payyetanim* as well.²⁰ The *ma'ariv-bikkur* and its themes were also the object of Ashkenazic *piyyut* commentary as found in several (related) manuscripts, an indication of the significance attached to these compositions.²¹ R. Joseph also authored two *reshuyyot*

16. *Uman be-'omdo le-hithanen lefanekha* (The artisan when he stood to make entreaties before You; [Moses is the artisan here]). These three *selihot* have been published (and annotated) in *Leḳeṭ Piyuṭe Selihot*, ed. Goldschmidt and Fraenkel, 1:275–280. In the notes on the *payyetanim* represented in their collection of *selihot*, (2:782–783), the editors question the attribution of *Uman be-'omdo* to R. Joseph Ḥazzan (which is attributed to Joseph by Zunz, *LG*, 273, followed by Israel Davidson, *Otsar ha-Shirah veba-Piyut* (repr. New York: Ktav, 1970) 1:86 (1854:ḥ), since this composition is found only in a manuscript of French (*selihot*) rites (Parma, Biblioteca Palatina, MS 3007 [De Rossi 654], fol. 67), while all of R. Joseph's other *piyyutim* are found in manuscripts of German rites and (*selihot*) collections. In addition, virtually all of Joseph's liturgical compositions are tightly metered (as has been noted), while this one is not.
17. *Affefu 'alai ra'ot be-koshi be-'ein mispar* (Difficult and innumerable tragedies have overcome me). See Davidson, *ibid.*, 1:326 (7159:ḥ). Note the *selihah* for the Tenth of *Tevet* by R. Eleazar of Worms with a very similar title (*Affefu 'alenu ra'ot*. 7160:ḥ) in Isaac Meiseles, *Shirat ha-Roke'aḥ*, 142–145.
18. *Shemini 'ototav u-ma'asav be-sefer nikhtavim* (The signs and performances of the eighth day [of assembly] are inscribed in the books [of the written and oral Torah]). See *Maḥzor Sukot*, ed. Yonah Fraenkel (Jerusalem: Koren, 1981), 289–294.
19. *Odor be'er ha-mayim 'ot hi le-'ezrahiyyim* (With regard to the well of water, it is a sign for all of the inhabitants). See *Maḥzor Sukot*, 294–297.
20. See, e.g., Ezra Fleischer, *Shirat ha-Kodesh ha-'Ivrit Bi-Yeme ha-Benayim* (Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 2007), 131, 221–223, 357, 362–363, 440–441.
21. See Parma, Biblioteca Palatina, MS 2342 (De Rossi 541), (Ashkenaz, thirteenth

for *Simḥat Torah*, one to fete the individual who was honored with the ‘*aliyyah* that completed the reading of the Torah (*ḥattan Torah*), and the other for the *ḥattan Bereshit*. Both of these were composed using another Spanish technique (which also tested the poetic skills of the composer), of a single rhyme throughout (referred to as a *ḥaruz ‘aḥid* or a *ḥaruz mavriah*), which is the typical rhyme scheme in which such *reshuyot* were written.²²

As noted by Menahem Schmelzer, R. Joseph Ḥazzan composed a *yozet*, ‘*ofan*, and *zulat* to be included in the *Shema* prayer on a *Shabbat ḥattan*, as well as a *reshut* for the groom’s being called to the Torah.²³ In addition, R. Joseph composed an *E-loheikhem* for the *Shabbat ḥattan*, which was meant to be recited at the end of the *Qedushah* for the *Musaf* service in conjunction with the biblical phrase found there (from Numbers 15:41), ‘*ani ha-Shem E-loheikhem*.²⁴ As such, fully

to fourteenth centuries), fols. 256r–262r; Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodl. 1208 (Ashkenaz, fifteenth century), fols. 8r–14r; and Lund, Universitetsbibliotek, MS L.O. 2 (Ashkenaz, 1407), fols. 69r–73v; and cf. Elisabeth Hollender, *Clavis Commentatorium of Hebrew Liturgical Poetry in Manuscript* (Leiden: Brill, 2005) 127, 901. Although the author of this commentary is otherwise unidentified, references are found in it to a comment by Rashi to Psalms, and to his Talmudic comments as well as to those of R. Isaac b. Asher ha-Levi (Riba *ha-Zagen*) of Speyer (d. 1133). See, e.g., Lund, Universitetsbibliotek MS L.O. 2, fols. 72r, 73r, and Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Mich. 365 (Neubauer 1208), fol. 13r. This commentary is closely followed by one from R. Meir of Rothenburg (d. 1293) to the *piyyut* titled ‘*odkha ki ‘anafta* (see Oxford, MS Mich. 365, fols. 16r–18r), in which he cites his father, R. Barukh. Cf. ‘*Arugat ha-Bosem*, ed. Ephraim Elimelch Urbach, vol. 4 (Jerusalem, 1963), 59–60, and Elisabeth Hollender, *Piyyut Commentary in Medieval Ashkenaz* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2008), 52.

22. See *Maḥzor Sukot*, ed. Fraenkel, 444–446 (*me-reshut yasad ‘erez be-ḥokhmah*) and 455–458 (*me-reshut ‘omer ‘azati taqum*). On *ḥaruz ‘aḥid* in these compositions and in Spain, see Fleischer, *Shirat ha-Kodesh*, 343–344 and 436–437.

23. See Schmelzer, “Piyyutim le-Nissu’in,” 177, sec. 8.

24. See Prague, Národní knihovna České republiky, VI Ea 2, sec. 117 (*E-loheikhem yosef yado shenit*), and cf. Hollender, *Clavis Commentatorium*, 298. On the *E-loheikhem* genre (and its use in Ashkenaz), see, e.g., Fleischer, *Shirat ha-Kodesh*, 449–449; Meiseles, *Shirat ha-Roqeah*, 14, 70–73; Weinberger, *Jewish Hymnography*, 175–176; Schmelzer, *Studies in Jewish Bibliography* [Hebrew section], 198n31, 61.

two-thirds of R. Joseph's *piyyutim* were composed for festivals and joyous occasions. Indeed, the distribution or balance of R. Joseph's *piyyut* corpus follows precisely the compositional pattern of Raban's thirty *piyyutim*. This suggests that *piyyut* composition at this point during the Tosafist period in Germany may have been governed, at least in part, by certain larger conventions or approaches.

III

R. Menahem b. Jacob of Worms, who had contact with the Tosafist (and student of Rabbenu Tam) R. Ephraim of Regensburg, was the senior member of the Worms rabbinical court on which R. Eleazar b. Judah of Worms (who was R. Menahem's nephew or perhaps his great nephew) also sat, and he was a leading local rabbinic authority and halakhic decisor. Indeed, the epitaph on his tombstone reads in part: *R. Menahem ben Ya'aqov 'avi ha-hokhmah, tanna doresh u-payyetan 'en ḥaser me-'umah, ba-Talmud rav uva-Mishnah yado herimah*. The Worms *Memorbuch* singles out the names of R. Menahem b. Jacob and R. Eleazar b. Judah for special recognition, followed by the otherwise unidentified rabbinic figures who also taught within the city of Worms (*she'ar ha-rabbanim she-hirbizu Torah be-Yisra'el*).²⁵

We do not know any of R. Menahem's students by name, and no remnants of any halakhic writings by R. Menahem have survived.²⁶ At the same time, however, R. Menahem's procedures for *kashering* utensils were cited by both R. Eleazar of Worms and by R. Eleazar's student, the anonymous author of the halakhic compendium *Sefer Assufot*; R. Eleazar also cites the practice of R. Menahem for eating

25. See my "Religious Leadership during the Tosafist Period — Between the Academy and the Rabbinic Court," *Jewish Religious Leadership: Image and Reality*, ed. Jack Wertheimer (New York: Jewish Theological Seminary, 2004), vol. 1, 268, 273, 301; Aptowitz, *Mavo le-Sefer Rabiya*, 382–384, 407; Emanuel, R. *Derashah le-Fesah / Rabi El'azar mi-Vermaiza*, 39; and cf. Avraham Grossman, *Hakhme Ashkenaz ha-Rishonim* (Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1981), 329.

26. It is perhaps for these reasons that Urbach barely mentions R. Menahem in his *Ba'ale ha-Tosafot* (1:369–370, 406).

milk and meat dishes (one after the other) on Shavuot.²⁷ R. Menahem is cited on a number of occasions in the circumcision manuals of R. Jacob ha-Gozer and his son R. Gershom, which were compiled in the first half of the thirteenth century by a third (anonymous) *mohel*.²⁸ Moreover, *Sefer Assufot* presents a variety of authoritative halakhic rulings and practices in the name of R. Menahem of Worms, and indicates in at least one instance that R. Menahem did in fact have a substantive group of students whom he instructed in matters of Jewish law.²⁹

At the same time, R. Menahem b. Jacob was a rather prolific *payyetan*, who composed more than thirty *piyyutim*.³⁰ As listed by Professor Schmelzer, R. Menahem composed three *yozerot* and two *reshuyyot* for a Shabbat *hattan*, as well as a *zulat*.³¹ R. Menahem also composed a *ma'ariv* and a *bikkur* for the last day(s) of Passover, both

27. See Emanuel, *Derashah le-Fesah* (above, n. 25), and *ibid.*, 72–73, n. 36.

28. See *Sefer Zikhron Berit la-Rishonim*, ed. Jacob Glassberg (Berlin, 1892; repr. Jerusalem: I. Monson, 1971), 30–31, 62, 74, 77, 80, 84. See also the introduction to *Zikhron Berit la-Rishonim* (by Y. Mueller), xii–xix; Aptowitzer, *Mavo la-Rabiyah*, 76–77.

29. See *Sefer Assufot* (whose author also identifies himself as a student of Rabiah), London, Montefiore Library (Halberstam Collection), Halb. 115 (formerly London Montefiore 134), fols. 22r (col. 2); 26r (col. 1, “and R. Menahem instructed his students in a case where the feather had broken off internally,” *hayah moreh le-talmidav*); 55r (col. 2); 66r (col. 2); 84v (col. 4); and see also 17r (col. 1). See also *Sefer Kushiyyot*, ed. Yaakov Yisrael Stal (Jerusalem: Yaakov Yisrael Stal, 2007), 167–168 (sec. 215), for *siman le-nerot Hanukkah* by R. Menahem based on a Talmudic *sugya*; and *Germania Judaica*, 1:452.

30. In one of his own *piyyut* commentaries, R. Eleazar of Worms cites an interpretation from R. Menahem b. Jacob (which R. Eleazar indicates was a part of R. Menahem’s larger commentary to the *piyyutim* of the pre-Crusade *payyetan*, R. Meir, *shaliah zibbur* of Worms). See Emanuel, *Derashah le-Fesah*, 39–40n153, and cf. ‘*Arugat ha-Bosem*, ed. Urbach, 33–34n69.

31. See Menahem Schmelzer, “*Piyyutim le-Nisu’in*,” 177–78, sec. 11 (and see Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Opp. 673 (Neubauer 1149), fols. 143v–144v, 161v–165v, 214r–218r, 233v–237v). Note also (for this occasion) *E-loheikhem meshortav sho’alim ’ayeh meqomo*, in Zunz, *LG*, 296, sec. 16. One of R. Menahem’s *yozerot* for the *hattan*, *Eleh toledot be-hibar’am pe’ulato*, was also designated for a Sabbath on which a circumcision took place.

with a *siyyomet miqra'it*.³² Professor Schmelzer has pointed to several passages in this *ma'ariv* that suggest that R. Menahem subscribed to the doctrine of the German Pietists concerning the (many) miracles that are presently hidden within nature (that will be revealed at the end of days, as represented by the biblical phrase *zekher 'asah le-nifle'otav* [Psalms 111:4]). This insight gains support in view of R. Menahem's association with R. Eleazar of Worms, and his affinity for mystical teachings and magical techniques more broadly.³³ The suggestion by Leon Weinberger, however, that R. Menahem b. Jacob composed a *ma'ariv* for Purim, is belied by the fact that this *piyyut* appears in *Maḥzor Vitry* in the name of (*mi-ma'amad*) R. Menahem b. Aaron.³⁴

In terms of commemorative *piyyutim*, R. Menahem composed two 'ahavot (which were to be recited just before the blessing *ha-boher be-'ammo Yisra'el be-'ahavah* in the morning *Shema*) for the Sabbath prior to Shavuot (that was typically designated by Ashkenazic communities

32. See *Maḥzor Pesah*, ed. Yonah Fraenkel (Jerusalem: Koren, 1993), 347–355; Paris, Musée de Cluny, Cluny 12290, fols. 160r-v; and Moscow, Russian State Library, MS Guenzberg 611, fols. 182v–184r. Fleischer, *Ha-Yotsrot*, 55, suggests that the *ma'ariv* was originally written for the seventh night of Passover, but, as often occurs, it was listed in some liturgies for the eighth night as well. See also Ezra Fleischer, “Prayer and Piyyut in the Worms Maḥzor,” [Hebrew] in the Introductory Volume to *Worms Maḥzor* (Jerusalem, National Library of Israel, MS Heb. 4° 781), ed. Malachi Beit-Arié (Vaduz [Liechtenstein]: Cylar Establishment; and Jerusalem: National and University Library, 1985), 31. The *ma'ariv* begins, *Ori ve-yish'i 'al ha-yam niglah* (My light and my salvation appeared on the sea); its *ge'ulah* section has the word *yam* (with different or no conjunctions) at the conclusion of each line. The brief *bikkur*, *Mattai 'avo ve-'er'eh pnei E-lohim la-haqbilah* (When will I come and see the presence of the Lord to greet it, as the focus of the pilgrimage to Jerusalem and the Temple), also has a *haruz 'ahid*. See also Giessen, Universitätsbibliothek, Giessen 892 (F 39878 in the IMHM), fols. 87r-v, in which R. Menahem's *ma'ariv* is followed by one from R. Eleazar of Worms (with a series of refrains) for the eighth day of Passover (fol. 88v–89v), *Emunat 'omen* (*Maḥzor Pesah*, 363–367, and see also Meiseles, *Shirat ha-Roḳeah*, 99–107).

33. See my *The Intellectual History and Rabbinic Culture of Medieval Ashkenaz*, 424–426, 461–464.

34. See L. Weinberger, *Jewish Hymnography*, 174, and *Maḥzor Vitry*, ed. S. Hurwitz, 583–584.

as the Sabbath on which the martyrs from 1096 and other persecutions were to be memorialized).³⁵ He also wrote a composite elegy for the martyrs of Boppard (1179–80) and York (1190), in which these martyrs are linked and compared to the sons of Aaron on the one hand and to Hananiah, Mishael, and Azariah on the other,³⁶ and a liturgical poem that marked the end of the siege of Worms in March of 1201.³⁷ In one of R. Menahem's three *qinnot* for the Ninth of Av (marking the destruction of the Temple), the final stiche of each stanza consists of a biblical phrase that ends with the word *bayit*.³⁸

R. Menahem composed a variety of penitential prayers. These include a *yozer* for *Shabbat Shuvah* that has a *siyyomet miqra'it*,³⁹

35. For *Elekha 'ayyin nasati* (I lift my eyes to You), see Fleischer, *Ha-Yotsrot*, 683, who notes a similarly innovative and stylish *'ahavah* by R. Menahem's predecessor R. Ephraim of Regensburg (*'Otkha kol ha-yom qivinu*). See also Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Opp. 673 (Neubauer 1149), fol. 50r, and L. Zunz, *LG*, 295, sec. 9. R. Menahem's second *'ahavah* is titled *Segulati meshakhtikh hesed*. See Yonah and Avraham Fraenkel, "Prayer and Piyyut in the *Mahzor Nuremberg*," [Hebrew] (Jerusalem, 2008), 74 [http://web.nli.org.il/sites/NLI/Hebrew/digitallibrary/moreshet_bareshet/Mahzor-Nuremberg/Documents/fraenkel_j_a.pdf]; Zunz, *ibid.*, sec. 10; and cf. Fleischer, *Ha-Yotsrot*, 625.
36. *Allelai li ki ba'u rov 'almon ve-shakkol* (Woe unto me that so much separation and loss have come). See Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 312, fols. 72r–73v, Susan Einbinder, *Beautiful Death: Jewish Poetry and Martyrdom in Medieval France* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2002), 30; Fleischer, *ibid.*, n. 49; and cf. Robert Chazan, *Medieval Stereotypes and Modern Antisemitism* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997), 54–55.
37. *Mazor ba'atah ha-'ir* (A siege has reached the city). See Zunz, *LG*, 296, sec. 21.
38. *Me'onei shamayim shehaqim yizbelukha, mele'im me-hodkha ve-hem lo yekhalkukha, ve-'af ki ha-bayit* (The celestial palaces, the heavens that house you, are filled with your splendor, yet they cannot contain You, how much less so the Temple?). See Zunz, *ibid.*, sec. 20. For the two other *qinnot*, see Zunz, *ibid.*, 296, secs. 17, 19.
39. See *Mahzor le-Yamim Nora'im*, ed. Goldschmidt, 1:318–320, *'E-lohei yish'enu nora'ot me-'euyam 'ot bi-revavah dagul u-mesuyam*. In Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Opp. 673 (Neubauer 1149) (fols. 72r–75v), this is introduced as *yozer le-shuvah me-R. Menahem b. Ya'aqov b. Shelomoh*. See also Parma, Biblioteca Palatina, MS 1904, fols. 123r–125v, and Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France MS héb. 648, fols. 57r–59v.

along with an *'ofan* and a *zulat*.⁴⁰ Among R. Menahem's *seliḥot* are three metered *teḥinot* for the end of the *seliḥot* service (one of which is also designated as a *tamid*),⁴¹ a *seliḥah* for the ten days of penitence with a *siyyomet miqra'it*,⁴² another in which each stanza concludes with a biblical verse that ends with the word (*le-*)*'olam*,⁴³ an *'aqedah* with a *siyyomet miqra'it*,⁴⁴ and a *seliḥah* for the Fast of Gedaliah.⁴⁵

In addition, R. Menahem composed three *pizmonim* including one for a circumcision that occurred on a fast day (in which each stanza concludes with a biblical verse that ends with the word [*ha-*]*berit*),⁴⁶ and another for the Fast of the Seventeenth of Tammuz (with a *siyyomet miqra'it*).⁴⁷ The third *pizmon*, which also has a *siyyomet miqra'it*, was related to (and modeled after) the *Zekhor berit pizmon* by Rabbenu Gershom for *'erev Rosh ha-Shanah* (with the double refrain, *ve-hashev shevut 'ohalei Ya'aqov--ve-shuv be-raḥamim 'al she'erit Yisra'el*). R. Menahem's version refers (similarly) to several themes: the destruction of the Temple by the Romans, contemporary persecutions at the hands

40. See Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France MS héb. 648, fol. 60r, for the *'ofan*, *Makhon kisse be-hod nose*, and fol. 61v for the *zulat* (to be recited in the *niggun* of *'ahuvah 'ani lefanekha*). See also the fourteenth-century Ashkenazic rite *maḥzor* in a private collection in Jerusalem (IMHM F 41225), fols. 86v–87r.

41. The identifying acrostic found within *E-lohim habbet be-shibbud galut*, published and annotated in *Leqet Piyutei Seliḥot*, eds. Goldschmidt and Fraenkel, 1:406–408 reads Zemaḥ b. Jacob (rather than Menahem b. Jacob). Zemaḥ and Menahem, however, have the same *gematria* value, and R. Menahem included this equivalent “nickname” in several of his other *seliḥot*; see *Leqet Piyutei Seliḥot*, 2:813. For the (lengthy) *teḥinnah-tamid*, *'Asiḥah 'im levavi ve-ruḥi ḥippes*, see *ibid.*, 1:413–417. The final *teḥinnah*, *Ashrei ha-'am beḥaram ha-E-l* (*ibid.*, 418–421) is not mentioned by either Zunz in his *LG*, or by Israel Davidson in his *Otsar ha-Shirah veba-Piyut*.

42. See *Leqet Piyutei Seliḥot*, 408–409, *Emet rosh devarkha nora ve-'ayom*.

43. *Ibid.*, 410–412, *Anaḥnu ha-deveqim ba-Shem ke-gadil ve-'avot*.

44. *Ibid.*, 422–425, *Et devar qodshekha zekhor ve-havtaḥat*.

45. *Et zom ha-shevi'i*. See Zunz, *LG*, 297, and Davidson, 1:389 (8594:8).

46. See *Leqet Piyutei Seliḥot*, 426–427, *Mi-bor tishlah 'asirai 'avor pasha li-she'erit* (to be recited to the *niggun* of *Shofet kol ha'arez*).

47. *Ibid.*, 429–430, *Mishneh shibbaron hoshbarti ve-nitati la-vuz*.

of the Christians, and calls for Divine vengeance that would be swift and thorough.⁴⁸

Although the percentage of R. Menahem b. Jacob's *piyyutim* that are not *seliḥot* or *qinnot* is not nearly as high as that of Raban (meaning that R. Menahem's output is not nearly as well balanced, and he is closer in this respect to R. Ephraim of Regensburg, R. Barukh of Mainz, and R. Eleazar of Worms), Ezra Fleischer has linked the *piyyutim* of R. Menahem to those of Raban in terms of their structure and significance, and has suggested that they are deserving of a critical edition and additional close literary study.⁴⁹ The importance of R. Menahem's *piyyutim* within medieval Ashkenaz is further underscored by the comments and interpretations that were offered to several of them.⁵⁰

IV

R. Nathan b. Isaac was a lesser-known *dayyan* in Mainz, who nonetheless was also a signatory (along with Rabiah, R. Simhah of Speyer, R. Eleazar of Worms, and other leading Tosafists and rabbinic authorities) of the so-called *Taqqanot Shu"m* that were promulgated in

48. Ibid., 428. Daniel Goldschmidt, *Mehkere Tefilah u-fiyut* (Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1980), 341–344 demonstrates that this *pizmon* form actually originated with R. Gershom's Italian predecessor, R. Shelomoh ha-Bavli. Goldschmidt's list of those who imitated Rabbenu Gershom's work (341n1) does not include the composition by R. Menahem b. Jacob. Note also R. Menahem's *seliḥah*, *E-l E-lohim 'ez 'aqah be-miluli* (for the ten martyrs) in Zunz, *LG*, 296, sec. 22, and his *seliḥah* for 'erev Rosh ha-Shanah, *Im yitaqa shofar*, in Zunz, *ibid.*, sec. 10, and in Davidson, *Otsar ha-Shirah ve-ha-Piyut*, 1:246 (5363:8).

49. See Fleischer, "Prayer and Piyut in the Worms Mahzor," 40n176. Cf. Tova Beeri, "Remarks on Ezra Fleischer's Research on Medieval Hebrew Liturgical Poetry" [Hebrew], *Jewish Studies* 45 (2008): 145–146n41.

50. See Hollender, *Clavis Commentatorium*, 126 (to R. Menahem's *ma'ariv* for the seventh day of Passover, *Odeh ḥasdo*); 168 (to the *ma'ariv* for the seventh day of Passover, *Ori ve-yish'i 'al ha-yam nigleh*); 337 (to the *zulat* for *Shabbat ha-Gadol*, 'Emun nu huva); 514–515 (to the *seliḥah* for the Fast of Gedalyah, *Et zom ha-shevi'i*); and 816 (to the *ma'ariv* for the seventh day of Passover, *Matai ve-'avo*).

the Rhineland during the 1220s. In addition, R. Nathan and his judicial colleague in Mainz, R. Eleazar b. Simeon, presented a matter that had come before them (concerning the wife of an impotent husband who wanted a divorce) to Rabiah for his input.⁵¹

R. Nathan b. Isaac of Mainz composed at least five *piyyutim* (and as many as eight).⁵² Three of these are *seliḥot* (with a *siyyomet miqra'it*) for the penitential period of the *Yamim Nora'im*.⁵³ Another *seliḥah*, for the Fast of Esther,⁵⁴ and a *qerovah*, for (the Amidah of) *Ta'anit Ester*, appear in the name of R. Nathan b. Isaac only in Provençal prayer rites, and thus may have been the products of a(n otherwise unknown) Provençal *payyetan* of the same name.⁵⁵ The remaining *piyyutim* composed by R. Nathan b. Isaac of Mainz are for “happy”

51. See Urbach, *Ba'ale ha-Tosafot*, 1:382, and Louis Finkelstein, *Jewish Self-Government in the Middle Ages* (New York: P. Feldheim, 1964), 232, 250.

52. See Davidson, *Otsar ha-Shirah ve-ha-Piyut*, 4:453; Zunz, *LG*, 332–333; and cf. Habermann, *Piyutim Nivḥarim le-Ḥagim vela-Mo'adim* (Lod: Mekhon Haberman le-Meḥkere Sifrut, 1992), 26–27.

53. For *Eikhakah 'ukhal ve-ra'iti 'erekh ma'anit*, see *Leḳeṭ Piyuṭe Seliḥot*, 2:505–509, and see also Cremona, Archivio di Stato, Cremona Arch 56 (Ashkenaz, fourteenth to fifteenth centuries, from book bindings; IMHM F 34136). As noted by the editors of *Leḳeṭ Piyuṭe Seliḥot*, this composition has phrases such as *va-yasimu 'otot be-qerev* (see Psalms 74:4), which serve as allusions to the Crusaders and their symbols, as well as a series of expressions about the misdeeds of Edom and references to the *Akedah*. For the *shelishiyyah*, *E-lohim shelah 'ezrah*, see *Leḳeṭ Piyuṭe Seliḥot*, 2:509–511, and see also Hamburg, Staats und Universitätsbibliothek, Cod. hebr. 39 (IMHM F 26291), and Modena, Archivio di Stato, Modena Arch 20 and Modena Arch 30 (IMHM #PH 6854); and for the *shelishiyyah*, *Anokhi 'afar va-'efer hata'ai 'azmu mi-lesapper*, see *Leḳeṭ Piyuṭe Seliḥot*, 2:511–513, and Parma, Biblioteca Palatina, Cod. Parm. 3139 (De Rossi 588), sec. 217.

54. See Zunz, *LG*, 587, *Ha-Shem nin buzeh zamam*, and Parma, Biblioteca Palatina, MS 1923 (De Rossi 1117) (a fifteenth-century Provençal *maḥzor*), fol. 152v.

55. *Ki E-li 'aveli he-mir le-gilah* (For my Lord has exchanged my mourning for joy); see Davidson, *Otsar ha-Shirah veka-Piyut*, 2:470 (182:ב), and Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, ebr. 553 (Provence, 1389), fol. 8v. Note also that *qerovot* were hardly produced by any German *payyetanim* after R. Meir Shatz of Worms (who was active in the late eleventh century). Cf. *Piyute R. Yehi'el b. Abraham me-Roma*, ed. Avraham Fraenkel (Jerusalem: Mekitse Nirdamim, 2007), editor's introduction, 11.

occasions, and consist of a *yozer* and a *zulat* for a *Shabbat ḥattan* (as noted by Menahem Schmelzer),⁵⁶ and perhaps an addendum to the *Nishmat prayer* on Shavuot.⁵⁷ The fact that virtually half of R. Nathan's *piyyut* output was intended for "happy" (occasional) venues takes on added significance when we consider that several German Tosafists and rabbinic judges during this period including Rabbiah, his father R. Yo'el ha-Levi, R. Simḥah of Speyer (and his students, R. Samuel b. Abraham ha-Levi [also called R. Bonfant] of Worms, and R. Isaac b. Moses *Or Zarua'*), R. She'alti'el b. Menahem, and R. Judah b. Moses ha-Kohen of Friedberg-Wurzburg (whose total output was on a scale similar to that of R. Nathan b. Isaac of Mainz) composed *seliḥot* (and *qinnot*) exclusively.⁵⁸

V

R. Yaqar of Cologne, the son of R. Samuel ha-Levi [R. Bonfant] of Worms, was an active communal judge, halakhist, and student of mysticism.⁵⁹ He produced a variegated corpus of *piyyutim*, much of

56. See Schmelzer, "Piyyutei Nissu'in," 178, sec. 14, and see also Moscow, Russian State Library, MS Guenzberg 611, secs. 203–204, and Zunz, *LG*, 332. In the Moscow manuscript, R. Nathan's wedding *piyyutim* are included just before four *'ofanim* (secs. 205–208) by R. Yehudah ha-Levi (whose *piyyutim* were widely appreciated in medieval Ashkenaz, along with those of Ibn Gabirol and Ibn Ezra; see, e.g., Schmelzer, *Studies in Jewish Bibliography* [Hebrew section], 194–198, and Fleischer, *Ha-Yotsrot*, 670–671, 680–683, 704–706), and a *yozer* and an *'ofan* for a circumcision on the Sabbath (secs. 209–210) by R. Menahem b. Jacob.

57. *Nishmat ne'imah penimah temimah qehilllah qedoshah*; see Davidson, *Otsar ha-Shirah veba-Piyut*, 3:233 (788:1), but cf. Zunz, *LG*, 727 (in the Hebrew index, 107). On this genre and venue in Ashkenaz, see Ezra Fleischer, *Shirat ha-Kodesh ha-'Ivrit Bi-Yeme ha-Benayim*, 461–463; idem., *Ha-Yotsrot*, 626, n. 40; and cf. *Maḥzor Shavu'ot*, ed. Fraenkel, 90–92. Similarities have been noted by these modern scholars between Ashkenazic *piyyutim* for *Nishmat* and those of the Sefardic *payyetaṇ*, R. Joseph Ibn Avitur. See also Schmelzer, *Studies in Jewish Bibliography*, 193–195.

58. See my *The Intellectual History and Rabbinic Culture of Medieval Ashkenaz*, 427–430. To be sure, the *seliḥot*-only model had a number of important earlier adherents in Ashkenaz, including Rabbenu Gershom and Rashi.

59. On R. Yaqar and his family, see Israel M. Ta-Shma, *Keneset Meḥḳarim*, vol. 1

which is still in manuscript. These include the *yozer*, *'ofan* and *zulat* for a *Shabbat ḥattan* noted by Menahem Schmelzer,⁶⁰ as well as an *E-loheikhem* for this occasion, and an *E-loheikhem* for the Sabbath of a circumcision.⁶¹ Interestingly, a manuscript passage asserts that the custom in Mainz was not to recite any *E-loheikhem* addenda to the *Qedushah* with three exceptions: when *Rosh Ḥodesh* occurred on the Sabbath, when there was a *Shabbat nissu'in*, and when there was a circumcision on the Sabbath. On these occasions, the *E-loheikhem* formulated (*she-yasad*) by R. Yaqar of Cologne was instituted (and recited) by R. Yaqar's son, R. Bonfant ha-Levi he-Ḥazzan.⁶²

A *reshut* authored by R. Yaqar to fete the *ḥattan Bereshit* (on *Simḥat Torah*), which was composed according to Spanish meter (and had both a *ḥaruz 'ahid* and an internal rhyme scheme), has an additional set of stanzas that could be added so that it might (also) serve as a *reshut* for a bridegroom.⁶³ R. Yaqar also composed a relatively rare *ge'ulah*

(Jerusalem: Mosad Bialik, 2004), 167–174. For R. Yaqar's judicial activities and halakhic writings, see also, e.g., S. Emanuel, *Shivre Luhot*, 255–256, 258, 260–261, 268, and my “Religious Leadership during the Tosafist Period,” 268, 276–277, 279, 292. For his esoteric studies, see my “Peering through the Lattices”: *Mystical, Magical and Pietistic Dimensions in the Tosafist Period*, 248.

60. See Schmelzer, “Piyyutim le-Nissu'in,” 178, sec. 15, on the basis of Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Mich. 573 (Neubauer 1099). These are also found in Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Opp. 673 (Neubauer 1149): the *yozer*, *Aqadem ve-'ikkaf be-shirah 'arevah* (fol. 110r); the *'ofan*, *E-l na'araz bimromei zevulim* (fol. 110v, where it is also noted that this *'ofan* was recited in the *niggun* of *'ehad qadosh*); and the *zulat* that follows, *Ahuvah kelulah meshukhat ḥasadim simḥat yaḥid simḥat rabbim*.

61. *E-loheikhem yaḥid ve-nissa mi-kol ne'elam*, in Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Opp. 673 (Neubauer 1149), fol. 146v; *E-loheikhem yozri ba-beten*, and Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Mich. 327–328 (Neubauer 1107–1108) (Ashkenaz, fourteenth century), fol. 244r (where the compiler also notes that this *piyyut* is from “my teacher R. Yaqar”) = Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Opp. 642 (Neubauer 1106), fols. 154v–155r.

62. See Hamburg Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, Cod. hebr. 86, fol. 72v, cited in Emanuel, *Shivre Luhot*, 181n128.

63. *Yefeh nof ta'avat 'ayin yelid ḥattan demutkekha*. See *Maḥzor Sukkot*, ed. Goldschmidt, 464–466.

(recited at the very end of the morning *Shema*, in conjunction with the blessing of *ga'al Yisra'el*) for a *Shabbat ḥattan*.⁶⁴

In terms of commemorative *piyyutim*, R. Yaqar composed a *zulat* for the Sabbath that fell after the twentieth of Tammuz, on which the pogrom of 1267 known as *gezerat Pforzheim* (*Purzin*, which was in Baden in western Germany), was commemorated.⁶⁵ He also wrote two *qinnot*, which are interspersed in a Cluny manuscript together with *qinnot* by Ibn Gabirol, R. Yehudah ha-Levi, and R. Menahem b. Jacob of Worms.⁶⁶ In addition, one of the authors of the extensive *piyyut* commentary found in Parma, Biblioteca Palatina, Cod. Parm. 3205 (De Rossi 655) identifies himself as a student of both R. Yehi'el of Paris and R. Yaqar of Cologne.⁶⁷

64. *Yeminkha E-li go'ali romemah tasir madveh [masveh] kelimah*. See Zunz, *LG*, 488. R. Yaqar's contemporary, R. Meir of Rothenburg (d. 1293), a leading Tosafist and prolific *payyetaṇ*, also composed a *ge'ulah* that imitated one by R. Yehudah ha-Levi. (The *ge'ulah* genre was indeed much more common in Spain.) See Fleischer, *Ha-Yotsrot*, 704–706.

65. See *Sefer ha-Dema'ot*, ed. Simon Bernfeld (Berlin: Eshkol, 1923), 1:322–325; Abraham Meir Habermann, *Gezerot Ashkenaz ve-Tsafat* (Jerusalem, n.p., 1945), 191–193; Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Opp. 673 (Neubauer 1149), fol. 55v. This *zulat* concludes with a plea for both consolation and revenge, on the order of the splitting of the Red Sea. It is “signed” (as are other *piyyutim* by Yaqar), Yaqar ha-Levi *he-'aluv*, the unfortunate, and was to be chanted to the tune of the *piyyut* titled *Naḥem tenaḥem*. Habermann notes that a *qinnah* by R. Meir of Rothenburg's brother Abraham (titled *Ez'aq be-mar lev*), about a pogrom in Pforzheim that mentions the deaths of R. Samuel ha-Levi and his son R. Yaqar, apparently reflects a second such episode that occurred there in 1271. See also Zunz, *LG*, 488, and Ta-Shma, above, n. 59.

66. See Paris, Musée de Cluny, MS 12290, fols. 346v–348v (*qinah she-yasad R. Yaqar ha-Levi ben ha-Rav R. Shmu'el, Zion ha-Shem lakhem behar me'onekha*). The “signature” on this *qinnah* is Yaqar b. Shmu'el, *naḥem yenuḥam*. The *qinnot* of Ibn Gabirol and R. Yehudah ha-Levi are on fols. 348v–349r, followed by R. Yaqar's second *qinnah* “on the destruction of the Temple and the deaths of the children of Israel and Judah,” *Evel 'a'orer 'aninut 'agarer bi-bekhi 'amarer behamat zorer*. This is then followed by a *qinnah* of R. Menahem of Worms and another by R. Yehudah ha-Levi (*Yom'akhpi hikhbadeta*). Cf. Schmelzer, *Studies in Jewish Bibliography*, 197–198.

67. The student, Orsherago b. Asher (fol. 32v) cites *mori* ha-Rav Yaqar ha-Levi on

Seven of R. Yaqar's ten *piyyut* compositions were focused on happy occasions, the largest such percentage of the German rabbinic figures whose work we have surveyed. His apparent awareness of Spanish poetic conventions and his interest in cultivating new genres or opportunities for *piyyut* composition reflect trends within German Tosafist and *beit din* circles that we have noted throughout this brief study. R. Yaqar's *piyyutim* also have at least a few things in common with the eighteen *piyyutim* by his better-known contemporary, R. Meir of Rothenburg as well.⁶⁸ It is interesting that all of the rabbinic *payyetanim* mentioned in this study, from the well known to the lesser known, functioned as *dayyanim* as well as Talmudists. One wonders whether this development is mere coincidence or happenstance, or whether *piyyut* composition was in some way an outgrowth or a reflection of the service that these rabbinic scholars provided as jurists (or of the way that they structured their intellectual and spiritual proclivities).

To be sure, their Tosafist counterparts in northern France during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, who were not as likely to serve as consistently as rabbinic judges (but rather as *rashei yeshivah*),⁶⁹ were also involved to an extent with *piyyut* composition, but that is another story.⁷⁰ Suffice it to say that the research of our *Ba'al ha-Yovel* has opened new vistas on the writing of *piyyut* in medieval Ashkenaz that have already borne fruit, and will continue to do so.

fol. 145r, 151v, and 158v. He also notes a comment that he heard from his teacher, R. Yehi'el of Paris (fol. 158r), and another that he heard from (or in the name of) R. Eleazar of Worms.

68. See, e.g., above, n. 64, and my *The Intellectual History and Rabbinic Culture of Medieval Ashkenaz*, 436–440.

69. See my “Religious Leadership during the Tosafist Period,” *passim*.

70. Comparison of the situations in northern France and Germany is a major focus of the chapter on *piyyut* in my recent book (above, n. 68).

Mehevah le-Menahem

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