

C The Hebrew Bible in Art

(America)

The widely held opinion of a generalized Jewish hostility against pictorial art is derived from Ex. 20, 4-5: "Thou shalt not make unto thee any graven image, or any likeness of anything that is in heaven above, or that is in the earth beneath, or that is in the water under the earth: Thou shalt not bow down thyself to them, nor serve them: for I the Lord thy God am a jealous God." It is true this command did not hinder King Solomon to put statues of lions on the steps of his throne or to have the 12 oxen cast for the bronze sea, because this did not mean bowing down to them or serving them. But the situation was completely changed when in 587 b. c.

The Israelites were
led into the Babylonian
exile. Now they
lived among a heathen
population, and in their
temples either stood the statues
of their idols or the
pagan images were
painted on the walls.
Most likely that didn't
fail to impress all
those among the
Jewish population
who were fascinated
by the possibility
of assimilation.
On the other hand
this attitude aroused
the passionate resistance
of the conservative
circles. For them there
existed only one possi-
bility to prevent their
people from being in-
corporated in their
surroundings, and
that was by under-
lining and carefully
fulfilling all those
laws and prescrip-
tions that were
peculiar to Jews and

small statue

different from their neighbours. And one of the most ~~use-~~ful commandments in this respect was the ban on images derivable from the quoted passage in the book of Exodus. But also after the return of the Israelites to their country they remained faithful to the once adopted course; and in the end - the ban on images even served to solve political problems. The Roman emperor Caligula uttered the wish to have his statue put up in the Holy of Holies in the Temple of Jerusalem. In this case it was easy for the high priest to refuse this desire looking at the Jewish ban on images.

But after the conquest of Jerusalem and after the destruction of the temple 70 A.D. the situation was changed again. And when during the 2nd cent. A.D. the palamitic sages started to polemize

in 2nd cent

against pictorial
figurative art, it is
obvious that figurative
art ~~must~~ had started
about that time. The
struggle of the sages
against images lasted
to the 4th cent. and
then subsided for
sheer lack of success.
But already from
the middle of the 3rd
cent. the following
saying about the
famous Palestinian
Johann bar Nappa-
cha, who died 279,
is handed down to
us (Abh. Zava III, 3):
"In the days of R.
Johann bar Nappa-
cha they started to cover
the walls with images
and he did'nt hinder
them." That means
R. Johann bar Nap-
pacha had to put up
with a situation he
could not stop any
more.

But often the
situation was
different and
the sages
did not
stop any
more.

workbooks
also

(+279)

and then subsided ^{C3}
for sheer lack of
success. But already
from ^{about} the middle
of the 3rd cent. the
following saying about
the famous Palestinian
Talmudic sage is handed
down to us (H. E. III, 3). "In
the days of R. Johanan bar
Nappacha they started
to cover the walls with
images and he did not
hinder them". That means
R. Johanan had to put
up with a situation he
could not alter any more.

And the absolute correct-
ness of this saying was
proved by the discovery
of a 3rd cent. A.D. syna-
gogue on the mound
of Dura Europos on the
Euphrates in Eastern
Syria. But the exciting
thing about this discovery
was, that the beautifully
preserved walls of the
synagogue were covered
from top to bottom
with glowing wall-
paintings illustrating
isolated scenes from
the Pentateuch (Genesis,
Exodus)

Plan: Dura/Palmyra

Ezekiel, and Esther.
The discovery of this
synagogue by a french
american excavation team
means that in late
antiquity Jewish
monumental pain-
ting existed, since
most certainly this
type of art did not
originate in a small
frontier outpost on
the Euphrates marking
the border between the
Roman Empire and
Persia.

This is the mound of P.E.
after the excavations.
Interior of Synagogue:

The synagogue was
erected just behind
the town-wall, with
the fore-shrine
niche towards west,
because Jerusalem
was west of P.E.

The west-wall, the
main wall remained
in fact up to a height
of about 7 metres.
According to an
inscription the

1.) Plan von P.E.

2.) Einblick in Synagoge

3.) Westwand

Synagogue had C4
 been inaugurated
 245 A.D. and was des-
 troyed again by an attack of
 the Persians in 256 A.D.;
 That means that the
 Synagogue of D.E.
 as it was found upon
 excavation stood
 only during 11 years,
 between 245 - 256.
 That explains the very
 good condition of the
 paintings.

Tora - Shrine:

4) Tora Shrine - Nische

Up panel above
 the tora shrine } 7 branched candelsticks
 Filabre
 Etrug

Facade of the destroyed temple
 of Jerusalem } Temple - Facade

5) Bar Kochba Mura

leader of the upheaval against
 Rome

(Born of Bar Koshba,
 132 - 135 A.D.;
 very similar)

6) Abrahamsopfer on mount Moria

It is the oldest
 figurative representation
 in the synagogue

Sacrifice of Abraham

The ideologically
 important panel
 above the Tora shrine
 was painted over
 twice.

The excavators
 were still able to
 distinguish between

Mittelteil d. Westwand:
 Tora shrine + Reredos

note the coloring

Reredos:
3. Schicht unten

Gen. 49, 10: "The sceptre shall not depart from Judah, nor a lawgiver from between his feet, until Shilo come, and unto him shall the gathering of the people be."

panel

the three layers, although the second layer was overpainted red and then divided horizontally

This is the ^{of the 3rd layer} bottom panel:

Left: Jacob's blessing over the 12 tribes

(Gen. 49); the David-Orphan figure above this scene connects his blessing with the blessing given to Judah in Gen. 49, 10

Next to it, the Lion of Judah.

Right: Jacob's blessing (according to Gen. 48) over the 2 sons of Joseph: Ephraim and Manasse.

This corresponds to a rabbinic concept current by the middle of the 2nd cent. A.D., of a Messiah, the son of David

and a Messiah, the son of Joseph.

The latter lives the role of a suffering Messiah,

Peredos
10) 3. Schicht: oben

Westwand

11) Infancy of Moses (encounter
nr. 5)

12) 1. Detail (encounter, nr. 6)

13) 2. Detail (encounter, nr. 9)

the former is a C 5
victorious triumphant
Messiah.

Top: The ruler sitting
on a throne and
surrounded by
his servants can
be interpreted as
as the Messiah of
the End of Days,
surrounded by
the ministering
angels.

This panel is on the
western wall and depicts
the infancy of Moses.

From right to left: pharaoh
sits in a posture of speech
before a wide open city
gate which symbolizes
Egypt. In front of him,
in a posture of speech, the
two Israelite midwives.
Below the basket with
Moses is thrown into
the Nile.

To the left, pharaoh's
daughter, standing
naked in the Nile, the
casket of Moses in
front of her; she is holding
Moses in her left arm.
Her right arm is

without question they are the sister and the mother of Moses.

the sister and the mother of the infant Moses,

there is explicitly said that

And as to the bath of Pharaoh's daughter, several midrashim report, that Pharaoh's daughter took a bath in the Nile to cure herself from leprosy and was ~~was~~ cured again, when she touched the basket with the infant Moses.

pointing to two women who are wearing the same clothing as the two midwives. One woman is handing the infant Moses to the other. The bathing of Pharaoh's daughter in the Nile and the fact that the two women beside her, are identical with the two midwives, ~~both~~ ^{these facts} correspond to rabbinic traditions; the two midwives were the mother and the sister of Moses.

The three women standing on the shore behind the princess are the attendants maidens mentioned in the Bible, but the objects they are holding in their hands (the first a jug, the second a easel, the 3rd a shell in front of ~~her~~ ^{her} bosom) identify them as nymphs, attending - according to the usage of late antiquity - the birth

7. 14) Mithraism
 15) Babel babs:
 a) Olympia + Therapera
 B) Ol. + Nebstanebas
 C) Alexandros + Nympha

~~Infancy of Moses~~
 Infancy of Moses

of outstanding, of C 6
 divine children. ✕
 The simplifying of
 aesthetic tradition
 and concepts current
 in late antiquity is
 typical of the Dura
 Europos paintings;
 just as the switch
 from the hellenistic
 fashion of late an-
 tiquity to parthian
 style clothing (in
 his picture the pharaoh
 with the court official
 and the scribe in front
 of him).

It is impossible to
 ascertain what kind
 of models were avail-
 able to painters wor-
 king in the synagogue.
 Did they work with
 the help of paraphrasing
 bible translations,
 or did they have
 special books with
 models? At any rate
 it can be stated
 that the pictorial
 models frequently
 showed, over and
 above the given

For instance in the excavated synagogue of Sardes in Asia Minor a dedication inscription of the 3rd cent. was found, saying: "I (the name is destroyed) together with my wife Regia and my children have given the marble incrustation and the zoographia as a present for the almighty god." That means that in the synagogue of Sardes there had been figurative pictorial representations.

canonical bible text, an intimate acquaintance with the rabbinic interpretation of any given verse. Moreover the synagogue paintings abounded in allegorical hellenistic allusions, thus providing the biblical narrative a degree of relatedness to the surrounding pagan world. Nothing comparable to Dura Europos was ever found again till now and nothing is known of Jewish pictorial art in the Western half of the Roman Empire, but it was already said that the synagogue of D.E. was certainly not the only monument of this type of Jewish monumental painting!

The middle of the 6th cent. A.D. witnessed

The middle of the 6th cent.
A. D. witnessed

a heightening of C76
Jewish national
consciousness;
nothing new was
created, existing art
was destroyed. This
iconoclastic move-
ment - based on the
ban on images -
was to prove decisive
for the newly arisen
religion of Islam, and
exerted some influence
on Christianity as well,
especially on Byzantine
iconoclasm in the East.
It was practically the
end of Jewish figurative
pictorial art in all
those areas now
under the rule of an
Islam, rigorously
set against pictorial
art, and this en-
compassed all those
areas in which
Jewish pictorial art
had flourished in
late antiquity. —
At the same time,
however, the Christian
countries of Western
and Middle Europe

† (beside monastic
scriptoria)

offered new possibilities for a fresh start in Jewish figurative painting. Owing to the fact that the cities had grown stronger in the course of the 13th cent., lay painters' workshops † had come into being. There Jewish craftsmen now had a chance to learn their craft, and they could learn more than merely how to make up rubs and dyes; an entire range of pictorial models and pictorial styles became available to them.

Not surprisingly, the rabbis again protested against the new stirrings in Jewish figurative art. Some of the rabbis, however, were quite ready to be tolerant, since Christian pictorial models in no way spelled out the danger of conversion to heathen practices, as had been the case in late antiquity.

C2

the Israelites were led into the Babylonian exile. Now for the rabbinic sages there existed only one possibility to prevent their people from being incorporated in their heathen surroundings, and that was by under-
living and carefully fulfilling all those laws and prescriptions, that were peculiar to Jews and different from their neighbours. And one of the most useful commandments in this respect was the ban on images derivable from the quoted passage in the book of Exodus.

But also after the return of the Israelites to their homeland ~~country~~ they remained faithful to the once adopted course. And, in the end, the ban on images even served to solve poli-

fiscal problems. The Roman emperor Caligula uttered the wish to have his statue put up in the Holy of Holies in the Temple of Jerusalem. In this case it was easy for the High Priest to refuse this desire linking it to the Jewish ban on images.

But after the conquest of Jerusalem and after the destruction of the temple 70 A.D. the situation was changed again. And when during the 2nd cent. A.D. the Palestinian sages started to polemize against pictorial figurative art, it is obvious that figurative art had started about that time. The struggle of the sages against images lasted to the 4th cent. and then subsided for sheer lack of success.

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the following saying
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R. Johanan bar Nap-
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R. J. b. Nap. had to put
up with a situation he
could not ^{change} ~~stop~~ any more.
And the absolute correct-
ness of this saying was
proved by the discovery
of a 3rd cent. synagogue
on the left of D. E. on
the Euphrates in eastern
Syria.

D.E. Interior of Synagogue

This is the interior of the
Synagogue after the ex-
cavation. And the
exciting thing about
this discovery was, that
the beautifully pre-
served walls of the
synagogue were

D. E. Westwall

covered from top to bottom with glowing wall-paintings, illustrating isolated scenes from the Pentateuch, Exodus, Kings, Esther and Esther. The west wall, the main wall, with the Toré-shrine-niche, because Jerusalem was west of D. E., the west wall of the synagogue had remained intact up to a height of about 7 meters. According to an inscription from the synagogue had been inaugurated 245 A.D. and was destroyed by an attack of the Persians in 256 A.D. That means that the synagogue of ~~D. E.~~ was only in use for 11 years, between 245-256. That explains the very good condition of the paintings.

Samuel bar Isaac!

Dūr or Europos, a little town, situated in the remotest east

of the Roman empire 64
right on the Persian
frontier, this town
was of course not the
birthplace of such a rich
collection of old testamen-
tal paintings. It is
understood that their
models were brought
here from one of the
metropolises in the East
of the Roman empire,
most likely from An-
tiochia on the Euphrates.

Of the paintings on the
western wall I'll
show you one sample,
the story of the Infancy
of Moses.

From right to left:
Pharaoh sits with a gesture
of speech before of a
wide open city gate which
symbolises Egypt. In
front of him, with a
gesture of speech as well,
the two Israelite mid-
wives. Below the basket
with Moses is put into
the Nile.

To the left Pharaoh's daughter,
standing naked in the
Nile, the basket of Moses
in front of her. She is hold-
ing Moses in her left arm.
Her right arm is pointing

D.E. Moses Infancy

D.E. " / 1. Detail

" / 2. Detail

necklace, earrings, bracelets

to two women who are wearing the same clothing as the two midwives. One woman is handing the infant Moses to the other - without question Sippora and Miriam, the mother and the sister of Moses. The identity of these two women with the two midwives does not correspond to the text of the bible, but to a rabbinic tradition, where it is explicitly said, that the two midwives were nobody else but the mother and sister of the infant Moses.

And also the bath of pharaoh's daughter in the Nile goes back to rabbinic tradition, where it is reported, that pharaoh's daughter took a bath in the Nile to cure herself from leprosy and was clean again, when she touched the basket with the infant Moses.

The 3 women standing on the shore behind the princess are the attendant maids, mentioned in the bible,

but the objects they are^{C 5}
holding in their hands
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second a cos bet, the
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of her bosom) identify
them as nymphs,
attending - according
to the usage of late
antiquity - the birth of
outstanding, of divine
children.

Mythraeum in Peltai,
Yugoslavia

Olympia - Therapena
" - Nebanebos

Alexandros - Nympha

The mingling of rebbic
tradition and concepts
current in late antiquity
is typical of the D. E.
pairings; just as the
switch from the hell-
enistic fashion of late
antiquity to parthian
style clothing (in this
picture the pharao
with the court official
and the scribe in
front of him).

Mythraeum

Basel

D. E. Infancy of Moses

The ~~revised~~ of the 6th
sept. A.D. witnessed

Nevertheless in some particular areas, above all in Germany, and especially in the very beginnings of re-born Jewish pictorial art, Jewish painters tried to meet the rabbis half way by avoiding to show a real likeness of man.

It was apparently Josef Kammermann, Josef the Zealot, who in the middle of the 13th cent. had offered such an expedient by his argument: "The ban on images refers only to a quite accurate reproduction". That means that a figurative representation does not fall within the scope of the ban on images, if a person is not represented in his exact likeness.

Therefore the human face was obscured by hair, human beings were given

The faces of animals and birds, or features were indicated by a single line within the oval of the face.

The various art provinces of Jewish pictorial art in Western and Middle Europe are quite clearly distinguished by individual thematic, iconographic, and stylistic traits, which are distinctive for each art province.

Those Western Jewish manuscripts which have survived, can be divided into three different groups:

1st group: the Ashkenazi one, comprising the German (especially the South German and the West German) as well as the Northern French manuscripts;

2nd group: the Sephardic one, comprising Iberian and Southern French manuscripts;

3rd group: is located 98
entirely within the
Italian area.

In all three groups,
Jewish pictorial art
of the middle ages
re-started in the 13th
cent. after an interruption
of almost 700 years.

The oldest dated
illuminated manus-
cripts of the middle
ages were from
Germany.

The first volume of
this bible, which is
now in the Biblioteca
Ambrosiana, was
written 1336 by Jacob
bar Schumel from
Würzburg for Josef
bar Mosche of Ulm.

Volumes two and three
(2 and 3) date to
roughly the middle
of the 13th cent.

f. 1v: This is the be-
ginning of the first
book of the bible
- Bereshit.

17) Ambros. Bibel I, f. 1v

~~187) Ambros. Bib. f. 10~~
~~Detail~~

It is one of the un-
merited possibili-
ties to depict a person
not in his exact
likeness.

~~Detail~~ Adam and Eve stand
to the right and the left
of the initial word. of the
~~First Books of the Bible.~~
The faces of Adam
and Eve are hidden
by hair, i.e. the back
of the head is shown
instead of the face. The
scene of paradise is
situated on Eve's out-
stretched right arm.

~~187) Ambros. Bib. III f. 136r~~

f 136r

Top: The animals which
in messianic times
will be turned into
food for the Rightous:
the Leviathan, the wild
ox and the bird 77.

Bottom: Messianic banquet
of the Rightous, The
resurrected Rightous
all have animal
heads. The picture
corresponds very
exactly to the "Al-
phabet of R. Akiba",
a midrash of the
3rd quarter of the
first millennium.

The same influence of
rabbinic traditional
literature is found

Ambros. Bibel III, f. 2v

III, f. 2v

C9

This illustration comes from the 3rd vol.

It is an illustration at the end of the Books of Ruth.

On top Ruth ^{is sitting} with a lion face - she is the ancestress of King David from the tribe of Juda - the heraldic animal of which was the lion.

By her side Boaz, her husband, is lying in bed.

Below that picture there is a messianic scene:

Elizah with a torch or a horn is walking in front of Messiah, who is riding a white donkey, according to Zach. 9, 9, where it is prophesized, that the future Messiah will arrive on a donkey.

At the bottom the streaming water

symbolises the mes-
sianic fertility;
p. e. Isaia 42, 19 we
read: "waters come
from the desert".

The initially human
faces of Boaz, the
Messiah and Elijah have
been erased, only the
lion face of Ruth has
been preserved.

~~An extremely strong
influence of rabbinic
traditional literature
is found~~

~~The 6 illustrations of
the Pentateuch of Repears
being are rooted al-
most exclusively in
rabbinic traditional
literature rather than
is canonical bible-
text.~~

fertility

At the bottom the streaming water as ^{9a} a symbol of messianic fruitfulness, according to Isaiah 42, 19: "waters come from the desert." The initially Sumerian faces of Boaz, the Messiah and Eliphaz have been erased, only the lion face of Ruth has been preserved.

On the last two opposite pages of the 3rd volume we find two full page illustrations.

Ambros. Bibel, 3. Bd. f. 13^{br} 13^{br}

On this page we see the Messianic banquet of the Righteous.

On top there are represented the animals, which in messianic times will be turned into food for the Righteous; the Leviathan, the wild Ox and the bird Ziz.

Below we see the messianic banquet

of the resurrected
Righteous. They all have
animal heads,
wear golden crowns
and a royal clothing
and are taking a sumptuous
meal.

In the left and in the
right corner a musician
is playing an instrument.

This representation cor-
responds very well to a
tradition in the so-
called Alphabet of
R. Akiba. According to
this midrash of the
third quarter of the 1st
millennium the Damned
can see the Righteous
sitting at their meal
wearing royal clothing
and crowns; each
of them is sitting on
a golden chair and
drinking from a golden
goblet. Thousands of
ministering angels
are playing on their
musical instruments
for them. The picture
of the manuscript cor-
responds to this description.

from the door of paradise

The 6 illustrations of
the Pentateuch of
Regeusbury are rooted
almost exclusively in
rabbinic traditional
literature rather than
in canonical
Bible text. The codex

C10
in the Regeusbury
pentateuch which is
only a few decades
younger than the
~~considerably smaller~~ codex.

was written in
Southern Germany
for the parents of Re-
geusbury (head of the
community) about
1300.

fol. 18v The page is divided
into 3 panels

Bottom left: Abraham's
sacrifice. Abraham
and Isaac have
normal faces but the
angel has an eagle's
head.

we see
In the top panel ~~there~~
is a ~~reflection~~ of a synagoga,
where a comparatively
big boy is circum-
cised while a second
smaller boy is brought
in for the same
purpose. The com-
bination of the 2
pictures seems to
depict the following
midrash: Isaac
and Isaac were
quarreling, who will
be the heir of God's

promise. Issachar said that he himself had agreed to being circumcised, because he was already 13 years old while Isaac was a baby of eight days. But Isaac answered that he had even given his assent to being sacrificed on Mount Moria, ready to give his life for the Lord.

The small picture bottom right depicts the devil, masked and with hair in the shape of flames - carrying Sara in his arms. The picture represents the continuation of this story reported in another midrash. There it is told that - when the devil saw, he could not hinder Isaac's disinheriting - he went to his mother Sara and told her lies, that Abraham had sacrificed his

reported in another

#fol. 154v:

Here Moses is receiving
the tablets of the law
on Mount Sinai.
He ~~is~~ is handing
them down to Aaron.
But Aaron presents them
to the Israelites looking
up inside Mount Sinai.
The scene alludes to
a midrash relating
that God enclosed
the Israelites within
Mount Sinai, until
they agreed to accept
the law.

which are

resisting son. And ^{c 11}
thereupon the fright-
ened Saria died.

The big prayer books
(Mahzorim) of the
Ashkenazi area, in
use since the 13th
cent. in Southern
and West Germany
have biblical scenes
by way of illustration
to the various prayers
(piyyutim) obligatory
for the liturgy of the
Holy days. Often the
relationship between
the canonical Bible
text and the represen-
tation of the scene is
a merely formal one,
because the illustration
bears either the clear
imprint of legendary
tradition (of a midrash)
or of rabbinic scrip-
tural interpretation.

Good examples for
both offers the

This is for the

21.) Leitzig - M. f. 52r

Feast of Purim

I

f

51v-52r

Malabar Gipsies from
the Upper Rhine,
dating from the be-
ginning of the 14th cent.
We see
These are scenes
from the books of
Esther. The scenes run from
left to right.

- a) Esther touches the sword
scepter of Hascherim.
- b) Haman leads the
Royal horse to
Mordechai
- c) Mordechai teaches
the children.
- d) Haman's daughter
wants to throw a
night pot on Mor-
dechai, but when
she notices that the
man leading the
horse is her father,
she falls out of the
window and dies.
- e) Haman and his
ten sons are han-
ging by their necks.

midresh

22.) f. 51v

23.) Leitzig - M. f. 130v

Feast of Shavu'ot

I

f

130v

Shavu'ot is celebra-
ted in remembrance
of Moses receiving

the two tablets of the LC 12
law on Mount Sinai.
But in the Meluzor Papyrus
instead of the two
tablets Moses receives a
codex, which he is
handing down to
Aaron and the Israelites.
The picture of the codex
alludes to the fact that
according to rabbinic
interpretation Moses had
not only got the tablets
with the Ten command-
ments but all the five
books of the Torah with
the 613 laws on Mount
Sinai.

The oldest illuminated
manuscript of the
Mishnaic Torah by Moses
Mainwaring was written
1295-96 in the Rhineland,
probably in Cologne, by
Nathan b. Isaac
Levi. 8 of the 15
frontispieces have bibli-
cal illustrations on
the lower bottom.
This illustration is
in the 4th volume.
Here Moses is depicted

24) Budapest Mishna
Tora, IV, f. 32r

25.) Mishne Torah IV, p. 32r - Detail

~~Handing the tablets of the law to the Israelites locked up inside Mount Sinai. The scene is alluding to a midrash relating that god enclosed the Israelites within Mount Sinai, until they agreed to accept the law.~~

The Bird's head Haggada is the oldest Passover Haggada set up as a book in its own right and not as part of a prayer book. It was produced in the Ashkenazi area in Southern Germany at the end of the 13th cent.

The characteristic marginal illustrations show ritual and text illustrations as well as biblical scenes.

26.) Vogelbopf - H. f. 22v - 23r

f. 22v - 23r

Besides the Israelite on the right side captures a quail by pressing it on the floor whereas the other Israelite holds a quail in his arm.

The manna and quails miracle. Two Israelites with bird-like faces and conical Jew's hat collect the multicoloured disks falling from the sky.

#

27.) Vogelkopf f. 23r

In the middle another¹³
quail. From a cloud
above, the two hands
of God (two miracles!)

f. 23r The giving of the
law: At the top of the
page out of a cloud
the hand of God is
handing down the
two tablets of the law
to Moses.

Below this scene:
Moses is handing
five tablets, obviously
the five books of Moses,
to two Israelites wait-
ing at the foot of the
mountain.

On the lower margin of
the page:
The roasting of the
Passover lamb a
ritual scene, illus-
trating the Haggada-Text.

The bird's head Hagg-
ada is a fore-runner
of the richly illustrated
Askenazi Passover
Haggadah of the 15th
cent.

In the 15th cent. a more
extensive cycle of
illustrations to the

Seder ritual and to the liturgical text of the Haggada has been developed. Besides — partly in connection with the text of the Haggada, partly without the slightest reference to the ~~text of the Haggada~~ —

Two cycles of biblical illustrations were added ~~to the text of the~~

to the Haggada. These ~~extensive~~ ^{we find} extensive biblical picture cycles ~~are~~ in the 2nd Nuremberg-Haggada and ⁱⁿ the Yelud-Haggada from the 2nd half of the 15th cent. Here in the first part of the Haggada ~~the~~ Egyptian bondage and the Exodus from Israel are combined with a cycle of Moses' infancy and youth. In the second half of the Haggada a cycle of selected scenes from the whole bible — starting with the fall from grace — is joined to the text.

≠ the illustrations of the

Moses'

28.) 2. Nuremberger H. f. 8r fol. 8r Pharaoh's daughter is standing at the river = bank stretching out her elongated right arm

the infant Moses, towards the ark of C 14
placed in the river
among the reeds. She
is followed by four
maiden. The outstretched
elongated arm of pharaoh's
daughter can only be
explained by a hebrew
play upon words: some
hebbic commentators
understood the hebrew
word amatah = servant
as amutah = arm
and therefore trans-
lated Ex. 2, 5 pharaoh's
daughter stretched out
her arm to fetch the
ark from the Nile
instead of she sent
her servant to fetch
the ark with the infant
Moses.

29.) 2. Nürnberger H. f. 21r

fol. 21r The Israelites led
by Moses with his golden
rod, pass through the
midst of the waters. To
the left an angel on top
of a pillar of fire, to the
right another angel on
top of a pillar of cloud.

30.) 2. Nürnberger H. f. 21v

fol. 21v Heads of drowning
men and horses among
the waves. pharaoh is
emerging with hands
joined in prayer.
Description: pharaoh was
saved, because he said:

"God is just" (Ex. 9, 27).

31.) 2. Nürnberger H. f. 33v

32.) " f. 33v/Detail

33.) 2. Nürnberger H. f. 37r

fol. 33v Jacob is pouring
lentil pottage into the
mouth of Esau sitting
at a table. This unusual
picture bears the imprint
of rabbinic tradition
where the voracious
appetite of Esau is
stressed; for instance
Raschi in connection
with Gen. 25, 30: "I open
my mouth and you
pour much into it."

fol. 37r The young crowned
Josef holding a sword
is riding a white horse.
But while in the bible
Gen. 41, 43 it is reported
that Josef rode in pharaoh's
second chariot, in the
Haggada Josef is on horse-
back, followed by a
groom and preceded by
a herald blowing a trump-
et. All that is not
mentioned in the bible.
But in the sefer ha-
ischar we find the fol-
lowing passage: "And
they put him on a huge
horse of the horses of the
king and made him
ride through the whole
land of Egypt. And by
order of the king musicians
accompanied him."

✓ of these two haggadot are

✓ because this text did not call for such scenes.

C 15
The picture in the
haggada corresponds
exactly to this text.
In general the biblical
illustrations are more
influenced by rabbinic
commentaries than
by the canonical text
of the bible. But the idea,
that these bible scenes
were devised merely
for the purpose of
illustrating a passover
haggade ~~whose text~~
~~did not call for such~~
~~scenes~~, can be rejected
out of hand. We there-
fore conclude, that the
Southern-German area
was a rich repository
of Bible illustrations,
the iconography of
which bears the im-
print of rabbinic tra-
dition. In this connection
we find an interesting
remark of David
Kaufmann in his
treatise in the book
of Julius von Schloss-
ser on the Haggada
of Saragosa, published
in Vienna 1898. There

we read (on page 262)
the following passage:
~~quotation:~~

Still Joh. Christoph
Wapenseil (1633-1705)
bears witness, that
he saw the fragment
of a hebrew penta-
teuch manuscript,
where on the margin
there were depicted
the biblical stories
by silly figures. //

The Sephardic Passover Haggadah, almost all of which were made during the 14th cent. have a totally different way of illumination. As a rule, continuous biblical scenes are presented on their own, preceding the text of the Haggadah or usually the illustrations are restricted to Exodus-scenes, occasionally this cycle is completed by scenes from the history of the patriarchs.

One of the most beautiful Sephardic Passover Haggadah is the Golden Haggadah, written and painted probably in Barcelona around 1320.

fol. 3r
above right: Noah is cutting grapes off a vine.

Noah is lying on the ground naked; two youths are holding a cloth to cover him.

following it.

34) Add. 27210 f. 3r
35) " " / Detail

36) Golden Hay. f. 3r / Detail

Top left: The builders
of the tower of babel
kill each other:
right: man is stab-
bing a man who is
drawing up a bucket
with a pulley.

Below him: man is
stoned by another
man looking out
of a window.

In front of the tower:

Two men are stabbing
each other.

The architect, standing
on the left, is being ^{stoned} by a man from a
higher window.

On top of the tower
~~is~~ a man's stabbing
another man in
the back.

The rabbinic inter-
pretation combines
the confusion of the
languages (nabhlā)
with the killing each
other (nābhēla). Besides
according to Rabbinic
tradition Nimrod
was responsible for
the building of the
tower of Babel. And
we see him on

Gen. 11, 7

wirre wollen verwirren

corpse = Leichnam on^e bhela

37.) Golden Hagg. f. 3r - Detail

C 17

bottom right:
To the right Nimrod
is seated under a
canopy pointing at
Abraham being thrown
into the fiery furnace.
The text for this scene
is a Midrash and
not the Text of the
Bible. According to
the Midrash Abraham
who had broken the
idols of his father,
was brought to bring
Nimrod who ordered
him to adore the
sun. After his refusal
he was thrown into
the fiery furnace,
but rescued by the
~~God's angels~~ God himself.
Here by two angels.

38.) Golden Hagg. f. 3r - Detail

bottom left: The three
angels visiting
Abraham ^{in Hauray} and the
prophecy to Sara.

But the abounding
in midrashic motifs,
as it is the case here,
is not a characteristic
feature of Sederdic
Passover Haggadah;
usually the illustrations

⑧ Mosche ben Jehu Fiel ha-bohen
lended money to the duke
of Milano, Galeazzo Marie
Sforza.

39) Rothschild Miscellany
YM 180/51 f. 164v

Job to whom the Lord
had returned his riches
sitting in his palace;
to his right his 7 sons
to his left his 3 daughters

40) Rothschild Misc. f. 165r
The artists: Christians.
Ms. was ordered by a rich
Jewish immigrant from
Germany? a banker.

41) Ms. par. 2162 p. 801

42) MDC, p. 77

are confined to the
text of the bible.

Italian Jewish book-
painting was influenced
more than the other two
groups by contemporary
local Christian art.
Rothschild Miscellany

The manuscript was
written in the region of Treviso
about 1470.

f. 65r. Find on the
opposite side we
see the returned
riches of Job.

Bible, maybe Florence,
1494:

S. 801 Moses teaches the
Israelites; an illu-
stration to the begin-
ning of the book
of Deuteronomy

One manuscript of the
16th cent., identified
only now in the early
eighties, represents a
unique link between
Germany and Italy.
It is a copy of a series
of woodcuts of a
picture-bible;

Ms. Paris. 1870, f. 198r

are confined to the 17a
text of the bible.

Italian Jewish books =
painting was influenced
more than the other two
groups by contemporaneous
Christian art

This is a psalter from
the end of the 13th cent.
Many of the chapter
openings have small
initial word - panels
illustrating the text.

This is the illustration
to psalm 138: "By
the waters of Babylon
there we sat down...
... We bring our harps
upon the willows in
the midst thereof."
We see two weeping
people with their
violins hung upon
a willow.

Rothschild Misc. f. 64v

ca. 1475.

This is a picture of
the so-called Roth-
schild - Miscellany, from
The manuscript was
ordered by a rich
Jewish immigrant
from Germany, who

had settled at or near
Treviso, the center of
the German Tunes
grants ~~into~~ Italy.
The scribes or ^{the} scribes
of the manuscript
were few; but it was
illuminated by two
different very good
Christian scriptoria.

Here Job, to whom the
Lord had returned his
riches, is sitting in his
palace; to his right his
seven sons, to his left
his three daughters.

On the opposite side
we see the riches, which
were restored to Job,
the fields, the animals,
the flocks, geese and
swans. The whole
painting looks like
a framed picture.

One manuscript of the
16th cent., identified
only recently in the
early eighties, represents
a unique link between
Germany and Italy.
It is the copy of a
series of woodcuts of
a picture - bible

Rothschild M. f. 65r

MAC P. 77

containing the 5 books of the pentateuch. The drawings are ~~very~~ poorly coloured pen-drawings. The woodcuts of the picture-bible could be connected up with the Jewish painter Moses Dal Castellazzo of Northern Italy. His father, the rabbinical scholar Abraham Sacks, had originally come from Germany and

settled in Lombardy, where he had a rabbinic academy. His son who lived as a painter, was obviously well trained in rabbinic studies as well.

→ The series of ^{of his picture bible} drawings are provided with bible-verse quotations in Hebrew and with ~~an~~ brief historical summaries in Italian for the content of each of the 123 pages.

P. 77 This is an illustration referring to Ex. 4, 24-26: "And it came to pass by the way in the inn, that the Lord met him (Moses) and

✱ he should

sought to bill him.
To the rabbis the mea-
ning of this text seemed
difficult to understand.
And they found the
following interpretation:
The Lord met Moses on
the 8th day after the
birth of his son.

Moses had reflected
whether ~~if~~ either circum-
cise his son and then
remain three days
on the same place
because it is dangerous
to travel at once after
the circumcision,
or to travel at once
and to postpone the
circumcision.

And all of a sudden
an angel appeared
to Moses looking
like a snake and
swallowed Moses
from his head to
his hips and then
from his feet to
his hips, and then
Zipporah, the wife of
Moses, understood,
that this happened
because of the cir-
cumcision and

she circumcised C 19
her son.

Right side: Moses is
returning with
his family to Egypt

Left side: On the right:
Moses is swallowed
by a monster

On the left:

Zippore is circum-
cising her son.

The same scene exists
is in the 2nd Nürnm-
berg - Hap.

2. Nürnberger H. f. 13v f. 13v On top: Moses is
swallowed by a
monster

below: Zippore
is circumcising
her son

bottom: Aaron
meets Moses who
is returning with
his family to
Egypt.

MdC fol. 71 On the right
side two women
are seated each

with 6 children; that corresponds to the rabbinic tradition, that in Egypt the Israelites multiplied very quickly because every mother had six children at a birth. —

The woodcuts of MDC seem to have had a certain influence on the woodcuts of the printed Italian Passover Haggadah;

MDC 6.9

45) Venez. Hag. 1609 p. 14

46) expens. Hag. p. 14 - Detail

This is the Passover^{c19a}
Haggada, printed
in Venice, 1609
p. 14 The Israelites
multiply in Egypt:
Middle: a mother with six
children.

Left: A man and a
woman are looking to-
gether into a mirror
for erotic stimula-
tion.

Right: When the pharaoh
wanted to kill the
children of the Israel-
ites, the earth
swallowed them and
only when the danger
was over, they came
out again from under
the earth.

~~in Austria and Germany
up to December~~

~~to be written and
illustrated for them.~~

~~Despite technical progress
in printing, illustrated
liturgical texts, richly
did not refrain from
ordering~~

~~religious and liturgi-
cal manuscripts to~~

~~In this way manuscript-
illumination experienced quite a
revival in the 18th
century.~~

* The same scene exists
in the 2nd Nuremberg-
Hoop. as well. Maybe
NDC borrowed his model
from an aschbenas picture
cycle of the bible:

43) 2. Nuremberger H. f. 13v

Left
Right

44) NDC p. 71

she circumcised C 19
her son.

On top: Moses swallowed
by a monster
below: Zippora circum-
cising her son

(bottom) Aaron meets
Moses who is re-
turning with his
family to Egypt

* On the right side
fol. 71 two women are
seated back with
six children; that
corresponds to the
rabbinic tradition
that in Egypt the
Israelites multi-
plied very quickly
because each mother
had six children
at a birth.

The woodcuts of Moses
dal Castellazzo seem
to have had a certain
influence on the
woodcuts of the prin-
ted Italian Passover
Haggadot.

rich Jewish merchants
and bankers, close
to court circles
and to men in
power

socially. —

C 19b

Despite technical
progress in print-
ing illustrated
liturgical texts,
~~rich Jews~~ in Austria
and Germany up
to Denmark wanted
to have religious
and liturgical ma-
nuscripts to be
written and illus-
trated for them per-
sonally. — In this way
manuscript illu-
mination experienced
quite a revival
in the 18th century.

banbers,

Jewish Merchants and 220
close to Court circles
and to men in
power asked Jewish
scribes, who happened
to be gifted and ex-
perienced painters
as well, to produce
for them illustrated
manuscripts.

The Passover Haggada
printed in Amsterdam
1712 was then the
model of preference
for ^{these} painted Passover
Haggadot. But the
paintings of the 18th cent.
deviate often decidedly
and sometimes in the
most astonishing way
from their models;
maybe in these cases
they met ^{with} the custo-
mer's either desired
or actual way of life.

± perhaps even

New York, JTS, Mc.
8253, f. 12v

King David the psalmist
believed like on the table
the instruments for a
whole orchestra.

This is a Passover
Haggada written and
painted by Josef ben
David of Lipsitz in
Moravia; but Josef b. David
emigrated to Germany;
his Hagg. he wrote in
Darmstadt, 1733!

This Passover Haggada he produced in Hamb/Alt. 1740.

48) 3 loose 3173, f. 12v

finally Josef b. David settled in Hamburg / Altona, which at that time belonged to Denmark. #

This picture, the finding of the infant Moses by the daughter of the Pharaoh is obviously the copy of a framed painting.

The ^{little} pyramidal in the background is an allusion to Egypt.

49) 3 loose 3173, f. 17v

This is the well known illustration of Moses receiving the two tablets on Mount Sinai. re-ceiving the two tablets of the law. But Moses is dressed like an older man of the time.

May-be a pupil of Josef b. David was Uri Feibusch ben Jikchag Segal 1720-1795. He was the scribe of the 3 communities of Hamburg - Altona - Wandsbek.

This Haggada was produced in Altona 1751.

50) Hamburg, cod. Levy 22 f. 9r

New York, JTS
Mic. 4446, f. 5v

(of the 18th cent.)

The model, as far as the painted Haggadah was the Tusterdan Haggadah, the engravings of which were made by a proselyte, a clergy-man from the Rhine-land, but the paintings looked definitely different.
Hamburg, SLVB, Cod. Levy 22, f. 9.

C21
This is ~~another~~^a Passover Haggadah of Josef ben David, which he wrote and illuminated 1732 in the house of a court Jew, the rabbin Eliph Musche Freidenburg. We see Abraham receiving the visit of the 3 angels in the garden of a baroque menagerie. #

This is another way to represent the visit of the 3 angels in Abraham's house. The scribe and painter was Uri Feibusch ben Yichap Segal, who made this Haggadah 1751 in Altona. Abraham is wearing Oriental clothing, but a little boy is carrying the brain of Abraham's genuine lined red coat. Nevertheless the patriarch himself is serving the calf to his guest - in spite of his brain!

Hamburg StVB, July 22
f. 112

In the same Haggada
there is a represen-
tation of Jacob driving
to Egypt in a beautiful
baroque coach pulled
by 6 horses and
followed by a troupe
of musicians. Jacob
is met by his son
Josef, whose carriage
is visible in the
background.

And this is the finding
of the infant Moses by
the daughter of the pharaoh.
The elegantly dressed
servant is holding up
the parcel over the
princess' head. The
baby is almost completely
hidden by the tree. *

Pictures like these were
the premises for a de-
velopment, which star-
ted towards the end
of the 18th cent. and
foreshadowed the Jewish
emancipation of the
19th cent. When profane
art no longer needed
the legitimization of
religion.

*We remember the
painting in the Syna-
gogue of D. F. of the
same subject -
Jewish painting
has gone a long
way!

f. 132

Hamburg Levy 22, f. 11r

And here Jacob is riding to Egypt in a baroque coach pulled by 6 horses and followed by a troop of minstrels. He is meeting his son Joseph, whose carriage is visible in the background.

57) *Hamburg* Levy 22, f. 13r

This is an illustration of the 3 angels visiting Abraham.

A little boy is carrying the train of Abraham's ermine lined red coat although the patriarch himself is serving the chicken to his guests.

And this is the finding of Moses by the daughter of the pharaoh. The elegantly dressed servant is holding up the parasol over the princess's head. The baby is almost hidden by the tree.

Pictures like these were the premises for a development which started toward the end of the 18th cent. and foreshadowed the Emancipation of the 19th cent., when profane art no longer needed the legitimization of religion.

Handwritten Bible in ar

D-Forstelp. 6

- 1.) Düse E. am Euphrat
- 2.) Einblick in d. Synagoge
- 3.) Westwand d. "
- 4.) Torschrein nische
- 5.) Feld oberhalb Torschrein
- 6.) Bar Kochbe Miuse - Detail
- 7.) Düse, Abrahamsopfer
- 8.) ganze Torschreinnische + reedos
- 9.) rot übermaltes Feld
- 10.) untere 3. Schicht
- 11.) obere " "
- 12.) Westwand
- 13.) Moses - Kindheit
- 14.) " " 1./2. Bild
- 15.) " " 3./4. "
- 16.) Mykranion
- 17.) Babelbeck - Mosarls
- 18.) Moses - Kindheit
- 19.) Ambros. Portel, I, f. 1v
- 20.) " " " " Detail
- 21.) " " III, f. 136r
- 22.) Regenstürz. pent. f. 18v
- 23.) " " f. 154v Geselspehung
- ~~27.) Vogelkopf f. 22v Hanna/Wacheln~~
- 24.) Leipziger Moh. I, f. 52r
- 25.) " " I, f. 51v
- 26.) " " I, f. 130v
- 27.) Vogelkopf f. 22v Hanna/Wacheln
- 28.) " " 23r

- 29.) 2. Nürnberg f. 8r
- 30.) " " f. 21r
- 31.) " " f. 21v
- 32.) " " f. 33v (Linsensuppe)
- 33.) " " " Detail
- 34.) " " f. 37r (reiternder Josef)

- 1.) Goldene Heng. f. 3r
- 2.) " " Detail "
- 3.) " " " "
- 4.) " " " "
- 5.) " " " "
- 6.) Rotenschild Mischl. f. 164v
- 7.) " " f. 165r
- 8.) Parer. 2162, p. 801 (Moses - Deuteronomium)
- 9.) Hd C, fol. 77
- 10.) 2. Nürnberg, f. 13v
- 11.) Hd C, f. 71: 6 Kinder
- 12.) Venedig, 1609, p. 14
- 13.) " " p. 14, Detail
- 14.) New York, Mic. 8253, f. 12v
- 15.) London, Sloane 3173, f. 12v
- 16.) " " f. 17v
- 17.) Hamburg, StUB Very 22 f. 9r
- 18.) " " f. 17r
- 19.) " " f. 13r