Turku - Finnland, 1990; Jerusalem, Nov. 1994

Jewish figurative art from 3rd to 18th cent.

The origin of the commonly accepted opinion, that Judaism is always and wherever hostile to images goes back to the bible, Ex. 20, 4-5 (Deut. 5, 8-9): "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 kings of Judah to put statues of lions on the steps of his throne or to have the twelf oxen cast for the bronze sea; because this did not mean bowing down to them

or serving them.
But in the Babylonian
exile there existed only
one possibility for
the conservative Jewish
circles, to prevent their
people from being in-
corporated 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
was the ban on
images derivable
from the quoted pas-
sage in the book of
Exodus. And also after
the return of the Israelites
to their homeland
they remained faith-
ful to the once adopted
course.
But after the year
70 a. d. the situation

was completely changed. In 70 a.d. Jerusalem was conquered by the Romans and the Temple was destroyed. That meant, that the Lord had lost his abode. In consequence of that the synagogue - until then the meeting-place of the community for prayer and for the reading of the Tora - now gained a new significance. Now every synagogue was understood as a possible domicile for the homeless presence of the Lord, the homeless sheltering — the synagogues in Israel as well as the synagogues abroad in the Diaspora. Such a new understanding of the synagogue is proved by quite a lot of rab-

biblical sayings. For instance in j. Berakhot V, 8d: „R. Jirmija said in the name of R. Abbahu: „Seek ye the Lord while he may be found" (Jesaiah, 55,6), where may he be found? In the synagogues and rabbinical academies."

Or in Megilla 29a you read: „Where stays the Shekhina in Babylonia? Abbaja answered: in the synagogue of Chuzal and in the synagogue of Nehardea. But don't think both here and there, no, sometimes here and sometimes there."

All that means, that the synagogue had become a substitute for the lost temple of Jerusalem. Now it was no longer a meeting place of the community!

† ὁ ἅγιος τόπος

‡ athra qadisha, as well as

Of a Rabbinical academy, moreover it was the abode of the Lord, a "sacred place". † And this expression we really find for the first time in the 3rd cent. as a designation for the synagogue of Stobi in Makedonia; then in the 4th cent. in the synagogue of Tiberias in Israel ‡ in the 5th cent. in Gerasa and in the 6th cent. in Na'aran near Jericho.

It is this new understanding of the synagogue

Why?

From the 2nd to the 3rd cent. A.D. and sometimes even longer I've found quite a lot of sayings of Rabbinic sages against images in the rabbinic writings. Apparently making a synagogue, the head of a synagogue – himself

belonging to hellenistic assimilated jewish circles - wished to demonstrate the new meaning of the synagogue by adequate images. This of course aroused the opposition of some sages. But the general trend could not be stopped. From the middle of the 3rd cent. the following sayings about the famous palestinian Rabbi Johanan bar Nappacha (died 279) is handed down to us: "In the days of R. Johanan bar Nappacha they began 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 really from exactly the same time, from

1) Plan mit Dura/Palmyra
Mediterranian sea - Selencia
on the persian gulf

2) Dura E. am Euphrat
~~Modell d. Synagoge~~

3) Einblick in Synagoge

the middle of the 3rd
cent. the most evident
proof for the correctness
of this saying was
found in the thirties
of this century on the
Euphrates in Syria.
It is the famous
synagogue of Dura
Europos, the walls
of which are partly
preserved to a height
of seven meters.
But the exciting thing
about this synagogue,
which made it so
famous, is the fact,
that all the four
walls of the synagogue,
as far as they are pre-
served, are completely
covered by paintings
from the old testament.
This is the interior of
the synagogue.
We find there repres-
entations of isolated
scenes from the book
of Genesis, Exodus
Kings, the prophets

Ezechiel and the book
of Esther.
From a dedication-
inscription on the
ceiling we learn,
that the synagogue
as well as the paintings
date from the year
245 a. D. Besides the
inscription tells us
that everything was made
by order of the head
of the community,
the archisynagogos.
That means, that
also the paintings in
the synagogue were
not tolerated but
ordered by the head
of the synagogue.

Dura Europos a little
town, situated in the
remotest east of the
Roman Empire right
on the persian frontier,
this town was of course
not the birthplace of
such a rich collection
of old testamental
paintings. It is under-
stood that their wonders

were brought here from one of the metropolises in the east of the Roman empire, most likely from Antiochia on the Orontes.

Westwall

This is the westwall, the main wall, with the niche of the forewest shrine, directed towards Jerusalem.

All the four walls of the synagogue are divided horizontally into three registers with narrative compositions of the Old Testament and rabbinical, midrashic and mystical traditions. Besides the lingua franca of late antiquity Hebrew also supplied its contribution.

Moses - Kindheitszyklus

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

From right to left: Pharao is sitting with

a gesture of speech in front of an open city-gate, which symbolises Egypt. A scribe and a court-official stand beside him. Opposite the pharaoh, with a gesture of speech as well, the two Israelite midwives. Below, the basket with the infant Moses is put into the water of the Nile. To the left, pharaoh's daughter, standing naked in the Nile, the basket of roses in front of her. She is holding roses in her left arm. With her right arm she is pointing towards two women, one of whom is handing the infant Moses to the other. The colours of their clothing are identical with those of the two midwives in front of pharaoh. That corresponds to a tradition where it is said, that these two

D.E. Wickhoff d. Gen. 3/4 Szene

D.E. Infancy of M. 3/4 Szene

D.E. Infancy of M. 1/2. Szene

D.E. Infancy, 3/4. Szene

wind vines were nobody else but mother and sister of Moses.// Another well known midrashic motive with reference to this picture is the story, that Pharaoh's daughter was [illegible] bath in the Nile in order to get cured of leprosy.# The three women standing on the shore behind the princess are the attendant maids mentioned in the bible, but they are holding queer things in their hands. The first a jug, the second a casket and the third a big shell in front of her bosom. These objects identify them as nymphs.

=mythology nymphs were attending birth and childhood of divine, of extraordinary children, p. e. Dionysos or Archilles or Alexander the Great

In the moment she touched the basket of Moses she was cured.//

~~Moses - Hrosztat, 3. u. f. [illegible]~~

Mythraeum

Baalbek - Mosaics

greek

Moses - Kiriadhetis zyklus

This stone-relief comes from a mythäe um, showing three nymphs with their respective utensils and one holding the sun-god Mythres as a baby to be bathed. On this mosaic from Baalbek in Syria on top on the right side we see Olympia, the mother of Alexander the Great with a servant; Below Alexander as a baby is standing in a basin to be bathed by a nymph. We read the inscriptions: Alexandros and Nymphé.

In Dura Europos the three maidens or nymphs are added to the scene to demonstrate the extraordinary and singular personality of Moses, the future liberator of the Egyptian bondage and the law-bringer from Sinai.

The mingling of rethoric tradition

with concepts current
in late antiquity is
typical of the Dura Europos
paintings. ——————
The figurative paintings
in this synagogue
were certainly
not an exception as
was suggested in con-
nexion with the models
already. Finds after
world war II bended to
confirm the hypothesis
that the synagogues
of late antiquity
frequently featured
figurative art, either
on wall-paintings or
on floor-mosaics. ——

The middle of the 6th
century A.D. witnessed
a heightening of Jewish
national consciousness
which has for instance
in synagogal literature
the Greek language
was ousted in favour
of Hebrew, and pictures
were rigorously
shunned. Nothing new

was created, existing objects of art were destroyed. It was practically the end of Jewish figurative art in all those areas in which Jewish pictorial art had flourished in late antiquity, which from the 7th century onwards had come under the rule of Islam, rigorously set against pictorial art.

But the Christian countries of western and middle Europe offered new possibilities for a fresh start of Jewish figurative painting.

It was for the Christian liturgy and for the Christian mobility, as well as for the clergy, that bibles and different liturgical manuscripts were illuminated and also adorned by figurative scenes in the scriptoria of the monasteries. Where in the first centuries of the second

millenium jewish merchants came into contact with both secular and ecclesiastical circles they could see manuscripts of this kind, often as a safeguard of a loan. For instance in the famous Bible of Admont, there we find the entry still now, that Farbas the Jew of Eisenburg had given a loan of 70 marks for this bible as a safeguard.
Apparently such beautifully adorned books stimulated rich as well as learned jewish merchants to have equally embellished hebrew codices written and painted for them as well. Owing to the fact that the cities had grown stronger in the course of the 13th cent. - beside monastical scriptoria

also 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 inks
and dyes; an entire
range of pictorial
symbols and pictorial
styles became available
to them.
Not surprisingly, the
rabbis again protested
against the ever
stirrings in Jewish
figurative art. Some
of the rabbis, however,
were quite ready to
be tolerant, since
Christian pictorial
symbols in no way
spelled out the danger
of conversion to
Christian practices,
as had been the case
in late antiquity.
Besides, the intensity
of objection to figu-
rative art was not

to agree with all talmudic sages. Nonetheless, 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 sages half-way by avoiding to show "all of Man", to show a real "likeness of Man". Such a definition was formulated by Josef the Zealot by the middle of the 13th cent. He wrote, that

[14] the ban on images refers only to a quite accurate reproduction.[14] That means that according to Joseph the realist a figurative representation does not fall within the scope of the ban on images, if a person is not represented

in his exact likeness.
Shadepens were resorted
to: the human face
was obscured by hair,
human beings were
given the faces of
animals and birds,
features were indicated
by a simple line within
the oval of the face,
or else features already
outlined were erased.

The oldest dated illumi-
nated manuscripts
of the middle ages
come from Germany.
The first volume of this
Bible, which is now in
the Bibliotheca Ambros. in
Milano, was written
1236 by Jacob ben Samuel
for Josef ben Moshe of
Trier. Volumes 2 and 3
date to roughly the
middle of the 13th cent.

f. 1v This is the begin-
ning of the 1st book
of the bible - Bereshit,
"In the beginning".
Adam and Eve
stand to the right

Ambros. Bibel, 1. Bd., f. 1v

" " Detail f. 1v

Ambros. Bibel, 1. Bd. f. 102 r

and ~~to the left~~ of the initial word. We see the ~~faces~~ (10
of Adam and Eve hidden
by hair, i.e. the backs
of the head is shown
instead of the face.
The snake of paradise
sits on Eve's outstretched
right arm.

f. 102 r Beginning of
Leviticus - Vaiqra. On
top of the initial word
to the 3rd Book of
Moses, which is devoted
to prescriptions for the
sacrificial cult, the
sacrifice of Isaac is
shown. According
to tradition the
Jewish Moria, where
Isaac's sacrifice took
place is identical with
the Temple Mount in
Jerusalem.
Abraham is shown
frontally except for
the face which is again
hidden by hair. The
face of Isaac is
merely hinted at, and

Ambros. Bibel, 3. Bd. f. 2v

in the oval of the face of the angel – left on top above the brush – there is only a simple line.

III. f. 2v This illustration comes from the 3rd volume. It is the final illustration to the Book of Ruth.
On top Ruth with a lion face – she is the ancestress of King David from the tribe of Judah – the heraldic animal of which was the lion.
By her side Boaz, her husband, lying in bed.
Below that picture a messianic scene: Elijah with a torch or lion and the Messiah riding a white donkey, according to Zech. 9, 9, where it is prophesized that the future Messiah will arrive on a donkey.

B. Ambrosiana B III inf, f. 136r

On the last page of the 3rd vol. the messianic banquet of the Righteous.

On top we see the animals which in messianic times will be turned into food for the Righteous: the Leviathan, the wild ox (Behemot) and the bird Ziz. Please note that the scales of the Leviathan and the cloven hoof of the wild ox (shor habbar) are very clearly drawn in order to legitimize these animals as being kosher.

(shor habbar)

Below we see the messianic banquet of the resurrected Righteous. They all have animal heads, wear golden crowns and a royal clothing and take a royal meal. In the left and in the right corner a musician is playing

an instrument.

The representation in the Ambrosian bible seems to be inspired by a tradition in the so-called Alphabeth of R. Aqiba. According to this midrash of the 3rd quarter of the first millenium 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 illustration in the Ambrosian bible corresponds to this description.

Mahzor

Dresdener-Mahzor, Shavu'ot f. 202v

~~corresponds to this description.~~

It was also in southern Germany from the middle of the 13th to the middle of the 14th cent. that the most remarkable prayer-books for the Holy Days / the *mahzorim* – were written and illuminated.

This is the so-called Mahzor of Dresden from the end of the 13th cent.

It is the beginning of the feast of Shavu'ot in remembrance of Moses receiving the tablets of the law on mount Sinai.

On top on the left: Moses is receiving the two tablets from the hand of the Lord, and on the right side he is handing them to a bleating man, who should be Aaron. Two angels are blowing long horns.

Leipzig Mahzor, Shavu'ot
Bd. II, f. 130v

At the bottom the
Israelites are waiting
for the return of Moses.

This is the illustration
for Shavu'ot from
the Mahzor Lipsiae
from the beginning
of the 14th cent.
Moses is standing on
Mt. Sinai, but instead
of receiving two tablets,
he gets a
codex, which he is
handing down to
Aaron and the Israa-
elites. The codex alludes
to the apprehension, that accor-
ding to jewish interpre-
tation that Moses had
not only recieved the
two tablets with the
ten commandments
on Mount Sinai, but
all the five books of
the Tora with the
613 obligations and prohibitions
ordained by god.

Leipzig Mahzor, II f. 164v

II 164v And this is an initial-
word illustration for
Jom Kippur, the day
of atonement, from

the same Midrash
Lipsiae.
At the bottom we see
an illustration of Abra-
ham saved from the
fire of the Chaldeans.
According to a mid-
rash Abraham was
summoned to appear
before king Nimrod-
after he had broken to-
pieces all the idols
in his father's worksh-
shop. After a theologi-
cal dispute, where
Abraham denied:
neither king Nimrod
nor the fire nor the
water to be the master
of the universe, he was
thrown into the fire but
then rescued by the
angel Gabriel.
Here we see two scenes:
On the left: Terach, the
father of Abraham, is
accusing his son
of his sinful behaviour
in front of king
Nimrod.

On the right: Abraham is rescued from the fire which here looks like a stake and not like a fiery furnace as usually. Maybe this is an allusion to Jewish reality often experienced with the crusaders at that time.

Haggada

Vogelbopthag. f. 26r
Mazzot-Backen

26r This is the Birds' Head Haggada, one of the oldest Passover Haggadot set up as a book in its own right; it was produced in southern Germany before 1300. The characteristical marginal illustrations show ritual topics such as:

usually accompanying the respective text

We see the baking of the Mazzot: right: a man is carrying a tray with three mazzot on it. left: a man is placing a mazza, on a long shovel, into an oven.

the preparation and the baking of the mazzot (unleavened bread) # Beside ritual and text illustrations also biblical scenes, - required by the

Vogelhaggadah f. 23r

23r

The Passover Haggadah

is read in the course of a ritual meal of the family-at home, on the 1st evening of Passover, the Seder Eve.

text of the Haggadah were set on the margin = as well: On the left we see of the law. The hand of the Lord is handing down to Moses the two arched tablets of the Law. Below, the narrative continues: Moses is delivering five tablets to two figures standing beneath. The five tablets are apparently an allusion to the rabbinical conception of Moses receiving all 5 books of the Torah at Sinai. At the bottom: The Roasting of the Passover lamb, again a ritual scene. A man is turning a spit with a lamb on the fire.

But Germany was only one country where Jewish pictorial art re-started in the 13th cent.; after an interruption of almost 700 years.

Another art province of Jewish pictorial art in the middle ages comprises the Iberian peninsula and southern France. Style and iconography of the sephardic manuscripts derive from both the Orient and the Occident.

Spanish bibles have mainly ornamental and floral decoration. Often the tabernacle implements are painted on the first two pages of a bible; but there are usually no or extremely few figurative scenes in a bible from Spain.

The Sephardic passover Haggadot almost all of which were made during the 14th century, have a totally different way of illumination, different from the spanish Bibles and different from the

reminiscent of western decorative elements.

Parm. 2668, f. 7v - 8r
Toledo, 1277

Jerusalem the Ashkenazi Passover Haggadah,

As a rule, continuous biblical scenes are presented on their own, either preceding or sometimes following the text of the Haggadah.

f.3r This is the so-called Golden Haggada, because the isolated scenes are put on a golden background. This is the drunkenness of Noah on the right he is pictured the drapes, on the left his two sons are covering their divested father with their coats. The Building of the Tower of Babel; the labourers fight and kill each other, according to a midrash, saying: "Because of their language will turn them into corpses." The biblical word balbela = confuse is changed into u'bbela = corpse.

Golden Hag f.3r

" " detail Top-Right

" " detail Top-left

" " Detail

Bottom right Abraham in Nimrod's fiery furnace - here it is the usual furnace and not the stake, which we saw in the Mahzor Lipsiae.

" " Detail

Bottom left: Abraham and the 3 angels in Mamre, and Sara in the house where they will leave that she will have a son.

By the expulsion of the Jews from Spain in 1492 hebrew sephardic book-painting came to an end forever.

Italy, the only country where a continued Jewish presence from late antiquity can be proved, is therefore the place, where one would most expect to find a continued tradition of Jewish pictorial art from late antiquity onwards. Yet, surprisingly, italian Jewish book-painting was influenced more

Ms. perm. 187, f. 198r

198r

in the other two
groups by contemporary
local Christian art.
This is a psalter from
the end of the 13th cent.
All the chapter-
openings have small
initialword-panels
illustrating the text.
This is the illustration
to Psalm 137: "By
the waters of Babylon
there we sat down
... We hung our harps
upon the willows
in the midst thereof."
We see two weeping
people, with their
violins hung upon
a willow.

Rothschild IV 180/51

fol. 64v

This is a picture of
the so-called Rothschild
Miscellany from N-
Italy of about 1475.
Job after the restauration
of his riches is sitting
in a palace, his seven
sons to his right,
his three daughters
to his left. The beautiful

manuscript was illustrated in a Christian workshop in Lombardy under the two leading masters Bonifacio Bembo and Cristoforo de Predis.

But he who ordered the manuscript was a well known Jewish banker, Moshe ben Jehuthiel ha-Kohen, living in the vicinity of Treviso, and emigrant from Germany.

‡ Ashkenazi

2. Nuremberg - Haggadah
Schocken Ms. 24087 fol. 6v

The Birds' Head Haggadah we have seen already was just a forerunner of the richly illustrated ‡ passover Haggadot of the 15th cent.
This is the 2nd Nuremberg Haggadah, which is now in the Schocken Library in Jerusalem.

6v "This is the beginning of the best of the Haggadah: "This is the bread of affliction, which our fathers did eat in the land of Egypt."

Below: The family is seated at the passover meal. The master of the house raised his wife's left up the golden seder-plate.

Above is the leading of the Afikoman, a ritual scene: The master

of the house is holding half a matzza under the table-cloth to be eaten after the meal.

Often the biblical illustrations are more influenced by rabbinic commentaries especially by the Pentateuch commentary of Raschi, than by the canonical text of the bible. Here we have a good example:

2. Nürnberg H. f. 13v Top right: The legs of the yourtaker, bareheaded roses are swallowed by a winged monster with hair and claws. And in Raschi's commentary we read: "A monster swallowed roses from his legs to his circumcised genitals, because he did not circumcise his son's foreskin, that means: he didn't circumcise him". And the text continues, that Zipporre, Moses' wife, understood and circumcised her son. That's what we

see in the middle.
Below Pippura and
her two sons are
riding on a donkey,
going back to Egypt.
And the last picture:
Moses on his way
back to Egypt is
meeting his brother
Aaron.

In the last quarter of
the 15th century Hebrew
printing-offices started
working in Italy.
The Passover Haggadot
are important examples
of the 16th century
Hebrew typesetting
in connection with
woodcuts || on either
textual or biblical
topics.
In the Mantua Hagg-
adah of 1560 we
find Renaissance
borders with festoons
and putti swinging
on them. || Only in
Italy it was possible
for Jews to remain
faithful to their own

Mantua Hagg. f. 60r Preparation of Mazzot

"This is the bread of affliction, which our fathers did eat in the land of Egypt."

* The Master of the house working in learned bread, before baking of the matzot.

tradition on the one hand and to take an active part in the cultural development of Renaissance-Italy on the other. There was no difficulty to use Christian models; for instance for two of the four sons, who represent four types of children, to each of whom the Exodus story should be recounted in a different way. The model for the Wise son was obviously a print of Michelangelo's Jeremia in the Sixtinian Chapel in Rom.

And for the 4th son, the son too young to enquire, the model came from a wood-cut of Hans Holbein the younger, from his „Picturies to the stories of the Old Testament" (Icones Historiarum Veteris Testamenti), printed

¶ on Seder-Eve: the Wise, the Unlicked, the Simple, and this one too young to enquire.

Mantua Hag. p > n, 4. Sohn

Michelangelo, Jeremias

Mantua Hag. 4. Sohn

H. Holbein

Venez. Hag. 1609, Titelseite

Around the text there are six woodcuts with the preparations for Passover: On top the grain for the mazzot is brought to the miller and sifted there. On both sides: The dishes are cleansed and burnished. At the bottom: The mixing and kneading of the dough and the baking of the mazza.

Venez. Hag. p. 10

in Basel 1523. It is the illustration to Psalm 53: "The fool says in his heart, there is no god."

But the Mantua Haggada was not yet the climax of the Italian Passover Haggadot. That was the Passover Haggada which Israel ben Daniel Zifroni printed 1609 in Venice. And on the opening page of his haggada we read: "Youths and maidens, elders and boys, will praise the name of the Lord. He brought into my heart, I the Zifroni, ~~to bring~~ ~~the light~~ this crown of beauty, so that no eye will be satiated to see its forms." ‡

p. 10 The compositional conception of the Venice Haggada differs from its precursors in the monumental layout

" " p. 10, under

of the page.
At the bottom of this page
there is an illustration
to the text: "In remotest
days our ancestors
were idolaters..."
The picture shows the
idol-worshippers
kneeling in front of
their idols. In the back-
ground one sees the
idols burning, while
Abraham and his
family embarks
on a boat, to leave the country
All the 17th cent. the
Mantua Haggada and
the Venice Haggada
of 1609 were sold not
only in Italy, but
in all transalpine
Jewish communities
where practically nothing
similar existed.
Yet in the long run
such an intellectual
dependency became
unbearable, especially
for the new commu-
nity of Amsterdam.

of the idolaters.

as well,

When in 1581 the Netherlands - since 1579 no longer under Spanish rule - pronounced general religious freedom for all citizens, plenty of Jewish emigrants from Spain and Portugal settled in the legal settled in the prospering city of Amsterdam. Also the center of the European book-market shifted from Venice to Amsterdam.

And at the end of the 17th cent. a former clergyman from the Rhineland - in Amsterdam - had converted to Judaism and had taken the name Abraham bar Jakob, his

Jewish convert had
the idea, to engrave
supplétes for a
passover - Haggada.
But where did he take
the models from?
It was Rahel Wischnitzer,
who already 1931 dis-
covered, that nearly
all the engravings
of the Amsterdam -
Haggada - as the Hagg-
gada is called - are derived
from Matkies Merian the
elder, who in 1627
had published an
album with engra-
vings of the Bible in Basel.
As these engravings
had pleased very much,
already three years
later - 1630 - a publisher
in Strassburg used
them to illustrate
a Bible of Merian
further. The new
technique was ob-
viously so successful

Kupferstichbibel
Bibles with copper-
engravings

and the inverbet al-
ways enlarging,
so that about 1660
a publisher in Frankf=
furt printed these
"Kupferstichbibeln"
- as they were called -
in large numbers
in definitely inferior
quality but at a very
reduced price. Con=
sidering the religious
interest of those days
these bibles found
a ready inverbet
among all classes
and were sold to
nearly every distin-
guished family.

Probably Abraham
bar Jakob hoped for
a similar interest
for Merian's bible-
=pictures in Jewish
circles as well. He
was obviously not
concerned that

Merian offered these pictures matched very poorly the text of the Passover Haggada and that no models at all for specific illustrations of the ritual text of the Haggada. For instance the story of the five sages banqueting at Bne Braq and discussing the meaning of the exodus from Egypt all night: ≠ For this passage of the Haggada Abraham ben Jakob could not detect any fitting suitable among Merian's engravings. Yet he found an unexpected solution: this is Merian's illustration of Joseph's banquet for his brothers in Egypt. Joseph is sitting with his ten brothers at the table and the servants are bringing the dishes and the wine. Above the table hangs a lustre, the candles of which are not burning. It is

≠ This is the Haggada of Venice, the Five Sages of Bne Braq and the two pupils coming in. p.8

Merian, Joseph's meal

Amsterdam Hag. f. 4r

daytime and the
open balcony offers
a beautiful view to
the garden and the
castle.
And here is the illu-
stration of the story
of the 5 steps in Bue
Breap in the Haggada.
The whole illustration
of Joseph's dampred remained
unchanged, only the
number of Joseph's
brothers ~~guests~~ was reduced to
eight and day-time
was transformed
into night; besides the
balcony was closed
by three windows.
All that means, that
Abraham bar Jakob
was obviously not
able to adapt the
unsuitable engraving
of persians
to the text of the Haggada.

In spite of these drawbacks, the number of which might be much increased, it is amazing, that the Amsterdam Haggada of 1695 is the self-evident model of every printed illustrated Bridesalpine passover Haggada until now.

In the 18th cent. something unexpected happened in Austria and Germany with regard to Passover-Haggadot and other illustrated liturgical texts. Courtjews as well as rich Jewish merchants and bankers close to court-circles and to men in power charged Jewish scribes who happened to be gifted painters as well, with the production of illustrated manuscripts for them. For the (nicht wenden! Nächstes Blatt !!)

(Forbestehung: Trends of assimilation, Jerusalem, Congress 1989).

Merian's Bible pictures
matched very poorly
the text of the passover
Haggada and offered
no models at all
for the ritual
illustrations. For the
representation of the
4 sons R. Wischnitzer
has shown that
Abraham bar Jekob
took each model
from a different
publication of Merian's;
but - contrary to
former usage, he
put all four of them
together on one
page - without
reference to the respec-
tive text. The model
for the simple son
for instance - he
found in the first
book of Samuel,
chapt. 10, where Saul
is anointed king
by the prophet Samuel.

Austerd. Hagg., 4 Söhne

Merian 1 Sam. 10: Saul
wird von Samuel gesalbt

London, Br. Mus. Add. 8881
a) 22 roben

Passover Haggada the model of preference was the printed Amsterdam Haggada. But the paintings deviate often decidedly and sometimes in the most astonishing way from their model. The mode of life, the clothing, the surroundings of the represented persons make us recognize what kind of life the customer of the manuscript was obviously longing for for himself.

This manuscript is attributed to Meshullam Simmel from Polene in Moravia. He was active in the second decennium of the 18th cent. in Vienna. It is a figurine shabbat ms. The pictures illustrate the text of this tractatus. In chapter 6, 3 verse it is explicitly said, what a woman and what a man must not do on shabbat. The text of the mishna says: "A woman may not go out with a needle that is pierced nor with a ring bearing a signet,

Add. 8881, f. 22r recto

Haggada Joseph Melammed

This is the ~~The 4 sons there are libe in the~~ ~~This is our~~ Haggada by Joseph Melammed, painted 1734 in Darmstadt. || Joseph Melammed might be Josef ben David, who was in Darmstadt at the same time. ||

ver a hearpin in the shape of a cochlea, nor a sent-bottle". And a man must not go out with a sword, bow, lance or spear." The rifle replaces the spear here.

The represented people are all assimilators and therefore trespassers with regard to jewish law. One step further in this connection goes Joseph ben David from Leipnik in Moravia in his passover-Haggada. He wrote and illustrated it 1738 in Altona, which was belonging to Denmark at that time. ‡ In both Haggadot the second of the four sons, the wicked son, is dressed like a ~~dandy~~ with a sword, what again means, he is an assimilator. To this interpretation corresponds the wicked son's question: "What mean you by this service?" And the text

of the Haggadah continues: "When he thus says you, he purposely excludes himself and so rejects one of the principles of Judaism."

This is the point of view of representatives of the church as well, because still in the seventies of the 18th cent. Cardinal Migazzi denounced the courtier Königsberger at the imperial chancellery in Vienna, because Königsberger dared to wear a sword.

It was only emperor Joseph II, who in his Toleranzpatent of 1782 declared explicitly, that the great merchants and their sons and people of ranks are permitted to wear swords.

This is the Passover Haggada of Uri Feibusch ben Jitzchaq Segal, written and

Uri phaibusch ben jitzchaq, Haggada, 1751

Amsterdam Hag. f. 6a
Uri phaibusch, 1751
f. 9

painted 1751 in Altona. Abraham is receiving the visit of the three angels. He is wearing oriental clothing, but a little boy is carrying the train of Abraham's crimson lined red coat. Nevertheless the patriarch himself is serving the chicken — in spite of his train.

The last picture of the Amsterdam-Haggada, — the model for all the different painters — is a representation of the eschatological Jerusalem. We see a town, surrounded by walls, and the reerected temple in the middle. It is an exact copy of Merian's engraving.

But in the first Haggada of Uri Pharisch ben Jitzchaq Segal, which he wrote and illustrated 1739 in Kopenhagen, only 20 years old, the town is a castle. And

From this picture the representation in the Amsterdam Hag. f.6r differs of course very much.

Amsterdam Hag. f.23r = 24r

Merian, engraving (1Kg.6)

Uri pharisch, Hag. 1739 f. 31r

Kopenhagen, Rosenborg

it seems to be possible to say which castle it is. Apparently it is Rosenborg, one of the castles of the danish king in Kopenhagen. May-be for the büger of the Haggada the king's palace was like the heaven on earth, a place of heavenly peace. —— These pictures of the Passover Haggadot of the 18th cent. and of similar manuscripts were the premises for a development, which started towards the end of the 18th cent. and foreshadowed the emancipation of the 19th cent. Then jewish artists no longer needed the legitimation of religion for painting pictures.