

AUSTRIAN CONTRIBUTION TO THE RESEARCH OF JEWISH ART

Ursula Schubert

It was at the end of the last century and it was in Vienna that for the first time the modern scientific world became acquainted with the existence of Jewish figurative pictorial art. In 1898 two Viennese scholars, Julius von Schlosser, an art historian and custos of the arthistorical museum of Vienna on the one hand and David Heinrich Müller, professor for semitic studies and head of the Oriental Institute of the University of Vienna on the other hand published together the richly illustrated Spanish Sarajevo Haggada of the 14th century.

The scholars did not only refer to other Passover Haggadot with illustrations on biblical topics; they also described them and published some of their illustrations. In the preface J.v. Schlosser wrote: "It is a domain of research lying aside, and practically virgin soil; but its cultivation will be effectful also for general art history, and what we did, was only to cut the first sod."

The scientific world, however, took little notice of this newly discovered domain of research. But abroad, especially in Germany, at the same time and in the following decennia — Jewish art was studied and published in a far greater extent. Prof. Heinrich Frauberger, director of the museum for arts

and crafts in Düsseldorf, Germany, founded there the "Gesellschaft zur Erforschung jüdischer Kunstdenkmäler" (Society for the study of Jewish monuments). This society collected not only photos and exact descriptions of synagogues, Jewish ceremonial art, tombstones, Jewish bathrooms (*miqwaot*) and Jewish cemeteries but also photos of mural paintings in synagogues, photos of Hebrew illuminated manuscripts and of Hebrew illuminated early printings. Currently these collections were presented to an interested public in special expositions in different Jewish museums.

The interest, aroused by these publications and expositions before the First World War, was intensified by archaeological discoveries between the two World Wars. In 1929 the mosaic floor of Beth Alpha with the two scenes of Abraham's sacrifice was found in Galilee by Eliezer Sukenik, and in autumn of 1932 the ancient synagogue paintings of Dura Europos were discovered by a French-American excavation team on the bank of the Euphrates in Syria. These discoveries together with the publication of the Passover Haggada of Darmstadt, cod. Or. 8, by Bruno Italiener and the study of Rahel Wischnitzer on the sources of the Haggada of Amsterdam (in "Monatsschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judentums, 1931) ^{all this} concentrated scientific research on the problems of Jewish iconography. The most outstanding names to be mentioned in this connection are the art historians André Grabar, Kurt Weitzmann, C.O. Nordström and Otto Pächt. The late Prof. Pächt was an Austrian by birth, but ^{he} wrote the

respective paper for the jubilee volume of C.M. Swoboda in England before returning to Austria after the Nazi-Government. For the time being the study of Jewish art in Austria is concentrated both on the Institute for Jewish Studies of Vienna University and on the Austrian Jewish Museum in Eisenstadt.

It was a seminary on the wall-paintings of the catacomb in the Via Latina in Rome of the 4th century as well as a seminary on rabbinic influence on Christian biblical picture-cycles and a third seminary on rabbinic influence on the illumination of mahzorim that were the starting point for quite a lot of research work put down in a long list of extensive papers and publications.

In the following I want to report on the researches of the several collaborators of the Institute for Judaic studies at the University of Vienna:

Kurt Schubert, at that time was head of the Institute for Judaic studies. His interest in Jewish art was aroused by a mere accident on visiting the catacomb in the Via Latina in Rome. Here a great amount of the mural paintings render topics of the old testament and some of these pictures show iconographic peculiarities, which do not correspond to the text of the bible, but to the respective rabbinic interpretation of the bibletext. Therefore in 1972/73 Schubert prepared a seminary of the biblical subjects of the

wall-paintings of the catacomb in the Via Latina. His presumption turned out to be correct and the Jewish background of some of the biblical subjects could be proved by rabbinical commentaries.

Some years later there were seminars on the Ashburnham Pentateuch - an illuminated Latin Vulgata-text of the 7th century - and on the Wiener Genesis, a shortened illuminated Greek text of the 6th century, some illustrations of which were already brought in connection with rabbinic commentaries by several scholars. It was possible to add some further items to this list by the research of the seminary. These results were also used for expositions in Eisenstadt and Salzburg in Austria and in Jerusalem. The culminating point of these expositions was the exposition on "Judentum im Mittelalter" (Judaism in the middle ages), arranged by one of the federal countries of Austria. Here also results of research-work on Jewish medieval art could be used for the exposition.

By the financial support on a large scale of the "Fond for the promotion of scientific research in Austria" it was possible since 1979 to collect photos of illuminated Hebrew manuscripts in the different public libraries of the world. As a result the Institute for Judaic studies in Vienna is in possession of a remarkable collection of several thousands of photos of Jewish illuminated manuscripts. Besides - the mentioned fond made it possible to employ assistants for

classifying these photos according to subjects, countries of origin, libraries, etc. and to collect the results in a catalogue. The Institute for Judaic studies in Vienna is also publishing a Judaic journal, *Kairos*, where Schubert's papers on Ashburnham Pentateuch and on Wiener Genesis were published in 1976 and 1983 respectively. A special concern of Schubert was the panel above the tora-shrine in the synagogue of Dura Europos of the middle of the 3rd century. His respective researches convinced him that the isolated objects, represented here, are meant to denote the synagogue as a substitute for the destroyed temple, as a *ἑὸς τόπος*, a terminus used for synagogues of the diaspora as well as of Palestine from the 3rd to the 6th century.

D.E. panel above
Tora-shrine

In the middle of the panel above the tora-shrine of the synagogue there is the picture of the facade of the destroyed temple of Jerusalem.

coin of Bar-Ko.
+
Detail

This is a coin of Bar Kochba, the leader of the upheaval against Rome 132-135, and on the obverse there is a picture of the facade of the temple in Jerusalem. We see, the two pictures are very similar.

D.E. Tora-shr.

The seven-branched candle-stick was in the temple as well. The candle-stick from the temple was represented on the triumphal arch of the Roman emperor Titus.

candle-stick

Abraham's sacrif

To the right of the facade of the temple in the panel of the synagogue of Dura Europos we see Abraham's sacrifice. Abraham is looking up to the hand of the lord above the altar. In the foreground the ram is tied to the tree. Abraham's sacrifice beside the facade of the temple and above the niche of the tora-shrine corresponds to rabbinic tradition. According to this tradition it was on Mount Moria, the place of Abraham's sacrifice, where later on Salomo built the temple. And the substitute of the destroyed temple became - according to several sayings of different sages from the 2nd century A.D. onward - the synagogue.

D.E. Tora-shrine
reredos

The ideologically important panel above the tora-shrine was overpainted several times.

This is the first layer:

first layer

The tree of life, symbolising the *tora* - according to many rabbinic commentaries - grows out of the tora-shrine.

last layer

And this is the last layer:

The panel was divided horizontally into two compartments:

Bottom left:

Jacob's blessing over his 12 sons, the 12 tribes.

The David-Orpheus figure above and the lion of Juda in the middle connect this picture with the blessing given to Juda in Gen. 49,10 culminating in a messianic prophesy.

Bottom right:

Jacob's blessing over the 2 sons of Josef. Ephraim and Manasse.

This corresponds to a rabbinic concept current by the middle of the 2nd century A.D. of a Messiah, the son of David, and a Messiah, the son of Josef. The latter has the role of a suffering Messiah, the former is a victorious triumphant Messiah.

Further studies of Schubert concerned illuminated medieval Hebrew manuscripts. The iconography of the eschatological banquet in the Ambrosian Bible corresponds very well to the midrash of the so-called Alphabet of Rabbi Aqiba of the 3rd quarter of the 1st millenium. This was published in *Kairos* 1985.

Milano,
Bibl. Ambros.
B 32 inf. fol. 136 r

Scenes of Chanukka in cod. hebr. 37 in the National- and University Library of Hamburg were published in *Kairos* 1981 and now - more extensively - in the jubilee volume for Hermann Fillitz "Makkabäer - und Judithmotive in der jüdischen Buchmalerei" in *Aachener Kunstblätter* 1994.

Schuberts occupation with *wikkuach*-literature (polemical disputation) induced him to look for illustrations of this subject ~~in~~ illuminated manuscripts as well. This is the Spanish John Rylands Haggada of the 14th century. In hunting scenes in Hebrew manuscripts the hunter is always the representative of the Christian authority, the hare or the hind symbolises the persecuted Jew. Here the hunter is carrying a killed hare on his stick, another already bleeding hare is caught by a dog. This white dog with black patches is

Manchester
John Rylands Lib.
Ms 6, f. 29v

apparently an allusion to the missionary activities of the Dominican order in Spain. It is published in Jewish Art 12/13, 1986/87.

Preparing an exhibition on the culture of the Austrian Court-Jews Schubert has studied Hebrew illuminated manuscripts of the 18th century as well. In this connection it is informative to compare the illustrations of the 18th century with the respective prototype in the Haggada of Amsterdam. For instance this is a manuscript of Uri Feibush ben Jitzchaq Segal, Hamburg, cod. Levy 22, fol. 9, ^{the} Haggada ^{of} a.d. 1751:

Abraham and the three angels. A servant is carrying Abraham's train of his ermine-lined coat while Abraham himself is serving the meal to his visitors.

And this is the illustration in the Amsterdam-Haggada, 1695. The younger illustration reflects the Jewish trend of assimilation in the 18th century.

Schubert's latest publication as a book is "Jewish Pictorial Traditions in Early Christian Art, in: Heinz Schreckenberg, Kurt Schubert, Jewish Historiographical Iconography in Early and Medieval Christianity, Assen/Maastricht 1992, 139-260.

Hamburg, SUB,
cod. Levy 22, f. 9

Amsterdam Hag.
1695, 3 Engel

Günter Stemberger is a member of the institute since more than 20 years and full professor for Judaic studies. He took part in the seminary on the wall paintings of the catacomb of Via Latina and profited here by his previous studies of theology. Very quickly he made himself acquainted with the complex sphere of rabbinic literature and contributed to the seminary by interpreting the paintings of the patriarches on the background of Jewish tradition. It was published in *Kairos* 16, 1974. I want to show just one sample:

Abraham and the three angels in Mamre: To the left in the foreground Abraham - in a gesture of speech is sitting on a rock; before the rock a small calf is standing, opposite Abraham on a kind of terrace three young men in a gesture of speech are looking to Abraham. According to the text of Gen. 18 Abraham was sitting in the entrance of his tent, but when he saw the three young men visiting him, he ran towards them and bowed down to them; then he prepared a meal for them, which the visitors consumed. The picture in the Via Latina does not at all agree with this report, in contrast to the mosaic in the nave of Santa Maria Maggiore in Rome of the 5th century. This representation corresponds very well to the text of the bible.

But all the discrepancies in the Via Latina catacomb find an explanation by utilizing rabbinic commentaries. Already the Targum Neophyti combines the visit of the three angels with Abraham's circumcision. In Pirke de Rabbi Eliezer 29 a

Rome, Via Latina
3 angels
+ Abraham

Rome, St. Maria
Maggiore,
Abraham +
3 angels

tradition from the 1st half of the 3rd century is reported: "Rabban Gamaliel, the son of Jehuda Hannassi, said: 'Three days after Abraham's circumcision Abraham had great pains. There the Holy one, blessed be he, said to the ministering angels: Come ye, let us descend and visit the sick ... Then the Holy one, blessed be he, said to the ministering angels: Come ye and see the power of circumcision. Before Abraham was circumcised, *H E* fell on his face before *M E* and afterwards I spoke with him. Now, that he is circumcised, *H E* sits and *I* stand.'" That means that Abraham's sitting in front of his visitors is brought in connection with Abraham's circumcision three days before the visit of either the Holy one or the three angels - because the subject of Gen. 18, 1st verse is interchanging. At any rate the Jewish background for this picture is quite obvious. We see the same iconography on this sarcophagus as well.

Rome, Sarcophagus
of San Callisto

Another subject, carefully studied by Stemberger, was the meaning of the zodiac on the mosaic-floors of late antique synagogues. But contrary to ^{Prof.} E. Goodenough, who assumed here the influence of hellenistic Jewish mysticism, Stemberger came to the conclusion that the zodiac on the floor of the synagogue goes back to Palestinian rabbinic tradition reflected in *hekhalot* literature. In this connection Stemberger also referred to the narrow relation between liturgy and *hekhalot* literature. || From paganism the symbol of the chariot of the sun in the zodiac was taken, but it was combined with Jewish aspects. Thus the zodiac was interpreted

Beth Alpha
Zodiac

Beth Alpha
Chariot of sun

as mediating between the heavenly and the earthly world and thus as the way to salvation. Therefore in the synagogue pavement of Na'aran the zodiac is combined with a picture of Daniel with the lions. In Beth Alpha the zodiac symbolizes the ascent from Mount Moria through the spheres of the universe to the temple-objects, to the emblem of the messianic temple of the end of days, the destination of the heavenly journey. Stemberger published this paper in *Kairos* 17, 1975.

Su-Min Andreas Ri was another member of the seminary on the wall paintings of the catacomb in the Via Latina. He wrote his thesis on the Moses-scenes in the cubicula C and O; an abstract was published in *Kairos* 17, 1975.

At the entrance of cubiculum C Moses is being called by god to deliver Israel from Egyptian bondage; he is receiving the inaugural scroll on Mount Horeb. On the adjoining two walls follow the representation of the pursuing Egyptians and of the Israelites escaping to the right and Moses with his staff at the rear. On the opposite wall Moses is leading his people to a sanctuary. Above the sanctuary is the pillar of cloud. And in the upper half Moses, climbing a cloud, is receiving the ten commandments on Mount Sinai.

Below Moses is leading the Israelites to the sanctuary, the symbol of Mount Sinai; and Mount Sinai - according to rabbinic tradition - was corresponding to Mount Moria, the

Na'aran
Zodiac

Beth Alpha
total mosaic
of the floor

Rome, Via Latina
cub. C, Moses
(Ex. 3)

Via Latina, cub. C
Egyptians

Via Latina, cub. C
Sanctuary
(black + colour)

Violentia, cub. C,
Abraham's sacrifice

place of Abraham's sacrifice. And on the immediately adjoining wall we see Abraham's sacrifice in cubiculum C. From the pictures in the synagogues of Dura Europos and Beth Alpha we know, that such a symbolism met with the way of thinking of late antique Judaism. Maybe here a Jewish model was used. In another paper, published in *Kairos* 18, 1976, Su-Min Ri discussed the possibility of Jewish prototypes for the Moses-scenes on the wooden doors of Santa Sabina, Rome.

Katrin Kogman-Appel wrote her thesis on the iconography of the 2nd Nüremberg-Haggada, which is in Jerusalem in the Schocken-Library. She compared each illustration with a sister-manuscript, the Jehuda-Haggada, in the Israel-Museum in Jerusalem. The illustrations of these two Passover Haggadot of the 15th century are influenced to a considerable extent by midrashic motifs.

Schocken Lib.
2nd Nürem. Hag
fol. 30v

One of the peculiarities of these two Passover Haggadot is, that both of them contain - from fol. 30v, or fol. 29r respectively onwards - a long list of biblical scenes, which have no relation at all with the text of the Haggada. They start at the very beginning of the bible with a scene of the temptation of Adam and Eve.

On the same page at the bottom the infant Abraham is painted in the fiery furnace. Kogman is quoting the rabbinic commentary to Gen. 26,5 in this connection: "Because (אִשְׁרָא) Abraham listened to my voice." אִשְׁרָא has the numerical value

of 172. Because - according to the bible - Abraham died at the age of 175 one concluded, that Abraham was 3 years old, when he argued with king Nimrod about the true god and was thrown into the fiery furnace, from where he was rescued, here by an angel, in the midrash by the Lord himself.

2nd Nuremberg Haggada, fol. 31r: Abraham's sacrifice

2nd Nuremberg Haggada, fol. 31v:

At the bottom: Eliezer brings Rebecca from Haran to Kanaan as a wife for Isaak.

At the top: Isaak is seen descending from heaven, head first.

Kogman understands this as a continuation of Abraham's sacrifice. According to rabbinic tradition Isaak was really dead for three days, but returned from paradise, when Eliezer arrived with Rebecca.

2nd Nuremberg Haggada, fol. 32v:

At the top: Isaak and Rebecca are seen praying for children.

At the bottom: Rebecca, pregnant, is consulting Schem and Eber about the two struggling children in her womb.

2nd Nuremberg Haggada, fol. 33r:

At the top: Rebecca lying in bed before giving birth to her two sons.

At the bottom: Rebecca is taking her two sons to the sage Eber.

2nd Nuremberg Haggada, fol. 33v:

At the top: Esau as a hunter blowing a horn and deer pursued by two dogs.

At the bottom: Jacob is pouring lentil pottage into the mouth of Esau. That corresponds exactly to the commentary of the

2nd Nurem. H. f. 31r
2nd Nurem. H. f. 31v

2nd Nurem. H. f. 32v

2nd Nurem. H. f. 33r

2nd Nurem. H. f. 33v

Pentateuch by Raschi. Both haggadot contain further illustrations of the book of Genesis and of other books of the bible, their iconography often bearing the imprint of rabbinic tradition. Therefore Kogman concluded that the Southern German territory was a rich repository of bible illustrations in the 15th century for Jewish book illumination.

Mrs. Kogman studied at the institute for Judaic studies at the Vienna University; besides in 1982 she was an excellent guide in the Austrian Jewish Museum in Eisenstadt, and finally she concluded her studies in Austria by a doctor's degree. Since some years she is studying art history in Jerusalem and at the same time is already teaching there. For the time being she is in the States, writing an art-historical thesis on the 2nd Nuremberg Haggada.

Felicitas Heimann-Jelinek was employed as an assistant in the collection of photos of illuminated Hebrew manuscripts, supported by the "Fond for the promotion of scientific research in Austria" and a fellow-worker there since the beginning. Now she is in the Jewish Museum of Vienna. She wrote her thesis on the Passover Haggada of Darmstadt, Hessische Landes- und Hochschulbibliothek, cod. Or 28. As this manuscript is seriously damaged, some of its folios had to be completed by Mrs. Heimann. Quite accidentally a "sister"-haggada to the Darmstadt-Haggada, the former Ashkenasian Sassoon-Haggada, was sent to the Austrian National Library in Vienna for restoration. And as Mrs.

Heimann-Jelinek got an insight into this manuscript, she could fill up the gaps in the Darmstadt Haggada. But when the former Aschkenasian Sassoon-Haggada, now belonging to Floersheim in Zürich, was published as a facsimile-edition, no commentary whatsoever was added. Mrs. Heimann wrote a kind of introduction by comparing the Haggada in Darmstadt with the Floersheim-Haggada; this was published in *Kairos* 29, 1987. Certainly Mrs. Heimann is right, that the date 1402 on fol. 34 of the Floersheim Haggada is an error and that both haggadot date from the end of the 15th century.

Several pictures of Darmstadt, cod. Or 28; fol. 4v;

In the margin: a) "Tam", third son, the simple son, beside him a little dog.

In the margin: b) "Sche'eno jode'a lisch'ol", "the son who doesn't know how to enquire" a man is bowing down to him to open his mouth.

At the bottom: an illustration to: "In remotest days our ancestors were idolaters: Abraham is rescued from ~~the~~^{the} fire of the Chaldeans: We see Abraham standing in the fire of a stake, behind him a boy is working the bellows, while an angel to the left is trying to calm the fire; *in the middle* king Nimrod with Abraham's father Terach, who is denouncing his son; *to the right:* two idolaters worshipping the sun and the moon.

This is the same page, p. 7, in the Floersheim-Haggada, only here on top, above the simple son, ~~the~~^{the} the second son, the

Darmstadt, Or. 28
f. 4v

Zürich Floersheim
p. 7

rasha', the wicked, is added. Below these two the fourth son, who is too young to enquire.

At the bottom the same scene: Abraham at the stake (only the boy with the bellows and the angel are missing; *in the middle*: king Nimrod with Terach and Abraham's brother Haran, and the two idol-worshippers.

Another example of Darmstadt, cod. Or 28, fol. 6r:

In the margin on top: A naked woman with long hair is standing between two trees; under the trees two naked men are sitting; on top of a tree a little child: The text of the haggada is from Ez. 16,7: "I have caused thee to multiply as the buds of the field ... and thy shape is perfected, and thine hair is grown, whereas thou wast naked and bare."

The picture is only understandable if one knows the respective midrash in Ex. R. ^{chapter verse} 11,12. There it is told, that when pharao didn't allow the Israelites to return home at night to their wives, the wives brought food to their husbands to the fields and afterwards slept with them there. And when the time of their confinement arrived, they went out into the fields and were confined under an apple tree. And when the Egyptians wanted to kill the new-borns, there happened a wonder and the ground devoured them - afterwards the ground grew out again "like the buds of the field." This is a quotation of Ez. 16,7. Therefore the picture in the Haggada alludes to the fertility of the Israelites in Egypt.

Darmstadt cod. 28,
f. 6r

Flörsheim, p. 10

This is the Floersheim Haggada, p. 10. There we see only one naked woman with long hair standing in the field, but several children on or under the apple-trees.

Mrs. Heimann is an expert as a guide in the Austrian Jewish Museum in Eisenstadt and for other Jewish expositions as well. Therefore the private collector Max Berger from Vienna - he died already - wanted her cooperation for the exhibition of his rich collection in the Historical Museum of Vienna in 1987; she prepared the exhibition with the title "The holy community of Vienna".

Because of her rich experiences the director of the newly founded Jewish Museum in Frankfurt/Main invited Mrs. Heimann to prepare the opening-exhibition of the museum and to write the catalogue of the exhibition. The title of the catalogue is "Was übrig blieb" (what was left), ~~and was issued some years ago.~~

The Jewish Museum in Frankfurt acquired a Passover Haggada written and painted by Jacob May for his father Michael May Segal from Innsbruck in the year 1731 in Frankfurt/Main. For the commentary of the facsimile-edition of this manuscript, published by Propylaen-Ullstein in Frankfurt - Berlin 1988, Mrs. Heimann wrote a significant contribution. Now Mrs. Heimann is chief curator of the local Jewish Museum of Vienna.

Ursula Schubert: I am teaching Jewish art at Vienna University. After having studied first assyriology, terminated by a thesis on cuneiform texts, I studied art-history as a second study and wrote a paper on the mosaics of the triumphal arch of Santa Maria Maggiore in Rome, which is reprinted now (1994) in the jubilee volume for Prof. Kurt Weitzmann in Princeton, USA. In 1988 I got also a doctor's degree *honoris causa* from the theological faculty of the University of Fribourg, Switzerland.

It was only by a side way that I arrived at Jewish art. In connection with my studies on early Christian manuscripts I became aware of the fact that late antique Jewish art - together with Roman imperial art and with pagan art - had contributed to the formation of early Christian art. This was published under the title "Strukturelemente der frühchristlichen Kunst", *Kairos* 19, 1977.

Another important paper deals with the bondage of the Israelites in Egypt, extensively presented in the Ashburnham-Pentateuch and in the Anglo-Saxon Aelfric Paraphrase of the 11th century on the one hand and in the medieval Sephardi haggadot on the other hand. The close relationship in subject and iconography between the illustrations in the Christian manuscripts and those of medieval Jewish art suggest similar prototypes, most probably of Jewish origin. This might be a clue to the extensive treatment of the theme of oppression in the Christian manuscripts, a subject of

Paris B.N. 4007
acq. cat. 2334, f. 58r
Ashk. Pent.

little interest for the Christian reader. (This was published in *Journal of Jewish Art* 5, 1978)

As a result of all these studies, in 1974 I had organised an exhibition under the title "Late antique Judaism and Early Christian Art" and also issued a publication under the same title. This exhibition was presented in Givat Ram under the title: "*Haggadot u Midrashim ba omanut*".

For the already mentioned exhibition "Judentum im Mittelalter" (Judaism in the middle ages) I picked out the illustrations from the illuminated Hebrew manuscripts and wrote the respective contribution in the catalogue. Part of the exhibition containing the illuminated manuscripts was also exposed in *Beth Hatephuzot* in Tel-Aviv.

Together with my husband we wrote the first volume of "Buchkunst der Juden", published 1983 by Akademische Druck- und Verlagsanstalt in Graz. The second volume "Jüdische Buchkunst II" (from 1500-1800) I wrote alone; it was published by the same editor in 1993. The Hebrew translation of this second volume ^{was published some days ago} ~~will be published~~ in *Sifriat Helal ben Chajim* ^(end of October) ~~at the end of 1994~~. *Umanut hasefer jehudit*

By the end of 1982 the Viennese publishing house Bernthaler and Windischgrätz asked my husband and me to prepare a facsimile-edition of a Jewish picture-bible and to write the scientific commentary. Soon it became manifest to

me, that the 123 poorly coloured pen-drawings in my hands were the copy of the woodcuts of a picture-bible, which the Italian painter and medal-cutter Moses dal Castellazzo had described in a letter to the doge and the council of the Ten in Venice. In this letter he applied for the copyright for ~~ten~~ ^{ten} years for his carefully described picture-bible; according to an entry on the letter the copyright was granted to him. It was by the aid of these pen-drawings that the well known photo of a woodcut, published already 1925 in the first volume of Soncino-Blätter, could be recognised as belonging to this picture-bible.

Moses dal Cast. f. 84 This is the Picture-Bible of Moses dal Castellazzo, fol. 84:
Right side: Blood of lamb is put on door-posts and lintel.
Left side: Eating of Pesach, that means lamb with *mazzot* and bitter herbs - with girded loins, staff in hand.
At the top: Parts of the Hebrew bible - text of Ex. 12,6;7;8.
At the bottom: Italian legend.

Soncino Bl. 1925 woodcut This is the wood-cut of Soncino Blätter 1925 which is the same as Moses dal Castellazzo, fol. 84. There is no text; probably it should be written by hand. || The most interesting problem of this picture-bible concerned the origin of the different prototypes used by Moses dal Castellazzo.

Moses dal C. f. 99 Moses dal Castellazzo, fol. 99:
Middle: Menora
Right: Altar of burnt offerings
Left: Laver of brass; ⁱⁿ in the laver the mirrors of the women,

But according to the bible text, Ex. 38,8, the laver was made of the melted brass of the mirrors, whereas here the mirrors are standing inside, meant for Aaron and his sons to examine their dresses, before entering the sanctuary.

Chronicle Schedel, fol. XXXr yet ~~but~~ in the Chronicle of Hartmann Schedel, printed 1493 in Nuremberg and certainly on sale in Venice, on fol. XXXr there is an absolutely analogous representation of the laver of brass with the mirrors standing inside. The added text speaks of the mirrors meant for Aaron and his sons, to look into them before entering the sanctuary.

Moses d.C. fol. 77 This is Moses dal Castellazzo, fol. 77:

Right side: Moses returning to Egypt, his wife and the two sons on the ass.

Left side: Illustration to Ex. 4,24: The Lord met Moses and sought to kill him.

Rabbinic Tradition: 8 days after the birth of Moses' second son - before circumcising his son, Moses wanted first to settle the affair with the journey to Egypt. He thought, circumcision during the journey is dangerous, and therefore he didn't circumcise his son. But on the way to the inn a monster appeared to Moses and swallowed him first from the head to the loins, then from the feet to the loins. Thus Zippora understood that the monster had come because of circumcision.

Schocken Bib.
2nd Nür. H. f. 13v

In the 2nd Nuremberg Haggada of the 15th century, fol. 13v: This picture of the monster corresponds better to the rabbinic text, because the commentary speaks of a monster in the form of a snake.

The pen-drawings of the picture-bible of Moses dal Castellazzo - although from an aesthetic point of view not at all valuable - are from a scientific point of view probably the most interesting Hebrew wood-cut illustrations that we have. Photos of the pen-drawings of the picture-bible were part of an exhibition in the Austrian Jewish Museum in Eisenstadt under the title: "Pictures to the Bible in Judaism" in 1985; for this exhibition I wrote the catalogue, which has also an English translation.

Leon, S. Isidoro,
cod. 2, f. 50r

In 1988 I published a paper in "artibus et historiae" on an illustration in the Spanish bible manuscript dated 960 in San Isidoro de Leon, cod. 2, fol. 50r. It is an illustration of the temple with Aaron dressed as highpriest standing inside the sanctuary. The rectangle above Aaron's head is described as "labrum". Of course that was an error, because the labrum was outside the temple in the courtyard. But from the small vessels above the rectangle we guess, what was here on the prototype: the table with the shew-breads. The two rows with six by six dishes with the bread are floating in the air.

in a Hebrew bible from Spain from the 14th century above the table in the upper panel. It is the table with the shew-breads.

Milano,
Bib. Ambr.
C 105, f. 1v

This is a culture of the 14th century from the 14th century.
 In the upper panel there is the table with the shew-breads.

This is the Regensburg Pentateuch of about 1300; and in the rectangle on top left there is written inside each of the small panels: "shew-bread."

But in the bible of 960 the artist didn't understand his model. What kind of model was this, which *W E* can easily understand and *H E* did not? Certainly it was a Jewish model and this model must have been considerably older than 960, maybe from late antiquity. Without doubt Jewish Art existed in Spain in the 12th century and most likely before that time, what maybe can be concluded from my paper in the jubilee volume for Hermann Fillitz, *Aachener Kunstblätter* 1994.

In 1991 the Austrian Jewish Museum in Eisenstadt prepared an exhibition of the culture of the Austrian Court-Jews. In this connection the numerous illuminated Hebrew manuscripts of the 18th century were of eminent importance. The exhibition was opened in 1991. In 1992 an exhibition of Spanish Judaism followed with a decisive contribution of Spanish Hebrew manuscripts. In cooperation with the local Jewish Museum of Vienna there was represented the culture of the Sephardic Jews and their influence ^{from} on the Ottoman empire to Vienna by Heiman-Jelinek.

In 1990 the International University courses of the University of Vienna arranged a symposium under the title:

Israel Mus.
 Ms. Heb 180/52,
 f. 155v-156r

Pamplona-
 Bible for
 Sancho el
 Fuerte, 1197.

"The Jewish root of early Christian art" in the two institutes of Judaic Studies and of History of Art.

Katrin Kogman-Appel gave a lecture on the old testamental scenes in the nave of Santa Maria Maggiore in Rome and their relation to Jewish models. Kogman examined the different old-testamental scenes in the light of rabbinic literature. She differed between secure references (the proof is only found in rabbinic literature), possible references (the proof is found in rabbinic texts as well as in apocryph texts), and improbable references (the proof is only found in patristic literature). Kurt Schubert discussed the problem of the symposium under the point of view of the *halakha*.

In a lecture, which I gave at this symposium, I pointed to the influence of the Cotton Genesis Recension on quite a lot of illustrations in the Sephardic Pesach Haggada in London, British Library, Or 2884. The different papers of the symposium were published in *Kairos* 32/33, 1990/91.

This is a Hebrew Bible from Spain from the 14th century.
In the upper panel there is the subject with the shew-breads.

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